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Didayi, A picturesque tribe of Orissa

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The Didayi are a small primitive hill tribe inhabiting a small forest clad hill-tract hidden inside the inaccessible 4,000' plateau of Kondakamberu range of Eastern Ghats which stretches along the South-Eastern border between Malkangiri and Koraput Sadar Subdivisions of Koraput District. Living far away from the main-stream of civilisation, this little community is almost unknown to outside and hence devoid of ethnographic attention. Dr. Verrier Elwin refers them as a 'wild tribe' in his 'Tribal Myths of Orissa' and in 'The Bonda High landers'. The natives call themselves 'Gntre'-the people. The present name Didayi meaning the wild people has been bestowed upon them by their Oriya neighbours, which they have accepted unhesitatingly.

Population

The whole tribe number, 2,164 individuals including 1,131 males and 1,033 females (1971 Census). In 1941 Census their population was 1,661 only which rose to 1,978 (962 males and 1,016 females) in 1961.

Physical features

The Didayi are a well-built, medium statured, brown complexioned, squarish faced, and flat nosed people possessing coarse and wavy hair, scanty bodily hairs, depressed nasal bridge, and concave nasal profile, narrow eyes some times exhibiting traces of Mongolian (Epicanthic) eye fold and prominent cheek. Didayi men and women are graceful and charming.

Dialect

The Didayi dialect which comes closer to those of Paraja, Gadaba, Bonda, Soura and Juang belongs to the Non-Kherwary branch of

the Munda-Kol group under Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family. Hence linguistically the tribe stands at the most ancient stratum of Austro-Asiatic group of tribes in this country.

The timid Didayi living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Paraja, Gadaba, Kondh and the aggressive Bonda maintain peaceful and cordial social ties with all of them. Dr. Elwin and Thurston consider Didayi as a part of Paraja tribe with whom they are intimately related by their mythical origin and inter marriage relationship. Mr. R. C. S. Bells in the Koraput District Gazetteer states that the Didayi are more or less similar to Gadava than Bonda. According to Furer Heimondorf the Didayi and the 'Reddis of Bison Hills' are of a related stock and are also remnants of an ancient Asiatic culture despite their present diversities. However the Didayi Gadava identify themselves as separate tribal group and regard all their tribal neighbours as their brethren.

Legendary Origin

The Universe, *ab initio* was filled with infinite water. Once a gourd containing two little children, a boy and a girl, fell from heaven and started floating on the surface of water. The panicked children cried helplessly that echoed at Mahapru's ears. He sent a crow to find out the matter. The crow discovered the source and reported Mahapru who came down to help the destitute children. He tore off a handful of stars from the sky and planted as mother earth. Then he created trees, flowers, mountains, animals, birds, rivers, springs, lakes and ponds out of His hair, blood, teeth, eye-brow, sweat, cough, spittings and urine respectively. After creating the world He directed the boy and the girl to

travel in opposite direction. They obeyed. After a long separation they met again below a Kendu tree when they have attained their blooming youth. Irresistible carnal desire indulged them in passionate love. The children born out of their union scattered all over the earth and became Adivasis like Bonda, Gadava, Paraja, Didayi, etc., Hence all the Adivasis are believed to be their brethren and the Bondas are considered as the elder brothers of Didayi.

Settlement pattern and housing

Formerly the Didayi were semi-nomadic shifting cultivators preferring to dwell on the plateau amidst sylvian surroundings. Now a bulk of their population have migrated to the plains and valleys on either side of the mountain range—preferably more to the Eastern valley side in search of better livelihood and settled in 20 villages adopting low land plough cultivation. Here impact of neighbouring Oriya and Telugu speaking population is noticeable in the spheres of their social behaviour, economy, material culture, dress and dialect. Their dialect now contains a few Telugu and Oriya terms. These villagees are not only bigger in size, compact and populous—often consisting as much as 118 households (village Oringi) but also socio-economically better off as compared to the smaller and unclan uphill settlements hardly comprising more than 10 households scattered at random. The hill Didayi because of their geographical, cultural and physical seclusion have remained more primitive and backward than their plain living counterparts. Thus on the basis of such visible cultural disparity between both the groups, there can be made a dichotomy as the plains and the hill or highland Didayi.

The Didayi villages are characterised by isolated homesteads fenced within enclosures scattered at random implying individualistic housing pattern. Houses, in the Didayi villages lie scattered. In hill villages the difference between two houses may be one kilometre or so. In the large-sized plain villages families belonging to different clans and communities live in separate hamlets inter-connected by narrow foot paths. 'Gulusung' the communal place for conducting the dances, ceremonies, festivals council meetings is located at a central place of a Didayi village.

Didayi houses are rectangular in size having mud walls and floor. The grass (Piri) thatched sloping roofs are supported by centre and side poles. Each house had a long verandah (Mnah Plida) and a short verandah (Dhna Plida) in front separated by the main door entrance. The verandahs are used for sleeping by grown up children at night, and grinding and husking purposes, in day time. In hill villages smaller verandahs are seen because nobody sleeps there under severe cold climate. The houses are divided into three parts, i. e. kitchen, living and store, which are often separated by wattle partitions. The hearth (trusu) is built around one corner below an over-hanging wattle container to keep provisions and dry grains during monsoons. The middle portion meant for living and sleeping is furnished with mats and gutted cot. Pots utensils, baskets, etc., are kept on a platform called 'Bakho'. The remaining few material belongings including agricultural implements are kept in the store. The remarkable feature of Didayi housing is the attic made of reeds or bamboo mating approached by a bamboo ladder. It serves as general store room especially for storing grains and food stuff in large baskets (Hondra). Generally Didayi houses are neat and clean and have one door but without windows. Domestic animals are sheltered in separate sheds. Indeed Didayi housing is much similar to that of neighbouring Bonda.

Economy

The traditional subsistence economy of Didayi is mainly dependent upon cultivation supplemented by hunting and food collection. The hill Didayi still continue to practise shifting cultivation. "Bri"—the shifting cultivation sites are found on precipitous hill slopes around Didayi settlements.

Shifting Cultivation

The Didayi follow their traditional method of practising shifting cultivation. Even though, it requires the minimum and simplest kind of implements, manure and other inputs, the output is inadequate to fill their stomach for the whole year. The crops cultivated are Red-gram (Give), Jowary millet (Dahua), Black-gram (Romia), Brinjal (Koraihai), Millet, Niger (Olsi), Ragi and Suan, etc. Generally the steep hill slope with rich vegetations which is adjacent to the village is selected for practising shifting cultivation.

The operation starts from winter (January-February) when the patch is cleared off. The Didayis use axe and sickle to cut down trees and shrubs respectively. These are allowed to dry up for a month or so after which the time is set. Then the ashes are distributed all over the plot which is fenced with wattle. The sowing of seeds starts from June—after the onset of monsoon, followed by raking with the help of hoe and weeding after one and half months. Small iron sickles are used for reaping the corn. Threshing is done on a clean ground specially prepared for this purpose by beating with wooden sticks or treading of the animals. The grains and seeds are carefully stored in storing baskets. Alternatively the plot at one site is cultivated in cyclic rotation for three consecutive years and then abandoned for 10 to 12 years.

In the past the Didayis were enjoying unchallenged liberty to exploit the forest around them to procure all their needs. But now most of their former shifting cultivation tracts are protected under reserve forests, reducing them to a stage of starvation. Yet the hill Didayi carry on this old practice in unreserved forest areas with permission from the Forest Officials.

Plough Cultivation

The plains Didayi are socio-economically better off than their hill brethren. They have been used to settle themselves permanently taking up plough cultivation and also wet land cultivation wherever possible. The new agrarian pattern demands better implements, domestic animals, organised endeavour and skills to cover larger area effectively. The yield is definitely higher often producing surpluses. The need of money for purchasing sophisticated implements agrarian animals from local markets and paying land revenue oriented the natives to the money and market economy over and above the former barter system. The noticeable enhancement of living standards and social status of prosperous cultivators have gradually tempted all but many plains Didayi families living in lower slopes, foot hills and valleys (in the villages Koningi, Oringi, Mudulipada, Purna Gumma, Kasamput, Sindhiguda) to change over to plough cultivation from shifting cultivation. The main crops grown are paddy, jowary millet, ragi, suan, pulses besides the recent addition of vegetables like brinjal, tomato, onion, chillies, beans, pumpkin which fetches ready cash at the local market. Thus the perceptible shift from hoe to

plough brings about a socio-economic revolution precipitating far reaching implications in Didayi standard of living, despite the unsuitability of the major part of the Didayi area for plough cultivation and other related adversities

In spite of the aforesaid agrarian revolution majority of Didayi population are poor, landless and lead a hand to mouth living. The hill dwelling shifting cultivators always look at the forest for their needs. The landless and marginal farmers either having less land or infertile land with lower yield try to make up their deficiencies by working as agricultural labourers under their well-to-do neighbours, forest contractors to earn wages in cash or kind. In addition to that most of them resort to food gathering and collection, basket making as subsidiary vocations so as to keep their body and soul together.

Collection and gathering of the forest produces.

The Didayi men, women and children go in small batches of 2 to 8 persons with digging sticks and collecting baskets to procure wild fruits, roots and tubers in all seasons. Women and children come back home in the evening while the men camp inside the forest at night to continue their mission for a longer period. Fruits like mango (Ulih), Kendu (Treh), Dimiri ((Lewa), Tangani Siali (Hiansla), Kabri, Tal (Taria), Tamarind, roots and tubers called Kirla Gha, Torla, Soreila, Tomo and leaves known as Korlha, Dhuly, Chadibade, Bhajji, Gudiali are among the principal items collected from the jungle. Mohua flowers and seeds are procured for brewing liquor and extract oils. Kendu leaves used in manufacture of Bidis are collected to get money by selling them to local contractors.

Hunting

Didayis are hunters with their bow and arrow of which they are proud of themselves. Hunting was concomitant with their food gathering stage. Presently the paucity of animals, restrictions on hunting and the economic change over to plough cultivation have limited the scope but could not redeem the importance of hunting by the Didayi. The ceremonies and rituals connected with hunting are still observed. Didayi men take advantage leisure especially during festive occasions in summer to hunt in group after propitiating forest deities.

Birds and animals except the totemic animals such as snake, tiger, monkey, deer, crocodile and tortoise are killed and eaten. The kill is equally distributed among all the households of the village and guests who are present on that day. Only the real hunter, Headman—Naik and the Plashi, the priest get a slightly bigger share. The hunter receives a larger portion of hind quarters and the skin of the animals while the Plashi receives the head. Didayi use simple bow and arrow, axe (Tangi) and trained dogs in hunting.

Fishing

Fishing is a pastime of Didayis dwelling in the banks of Machkund river and perennial streams. Small hand nets and fishing baskets are mainly used for this purpose. Often they kill fish by poisoning water.

Animal domestication

The hill Didayi rear few animals like dogs, pigs and cocks. The plain Didayi keep cattle for ploughing and supply of meat. They are not used to drink milk but take eggs. Now a days they are becoming interested in keeping goats, sheeps for meat and better financial gain.

Basketry

Didayi men and women are very good at preparing various handy materials out of bamboo in their spare time to meet their requirements making use of plentifully available bamboo from the jungle. The bamboo products include a variety of grain storing baskets, winnowing fan, mat wattle, bolt arrow, digging stick, fishing basket, large hat, etc., which they use themselves.

Division of Labour and Mutual Co-operation

Sexwise division of labour is conspicuously marked among the Didayi regarding carrying out their regular subsistence activities. Men shoulder the harder responsibilities like cutting down trees, tilling land, constructing and thatching the house, hunting and food preparation in communal feasts which are tabooed for women. Women apart from their cooking, clearing utensils sweeping and the household activities co-operate with men to work in the fields, clearing shifting cultivation sites, weeding, fencing, reaping and thrashing corns, harvesting, preserving grain and food materials, rearing animals, collection of food and forest produces,

fishing, basket making, in all possible ways. Among the Didayi co-ordination of efforts and collective endeavour through mutual help and co-operation show significant characteristic of their social life based on peaceful co-existence that is observed particularly in hunting in group, house building, felling down trees, harvesting, marriage and mortuary rites and in all communal festivities whenever and wherever such need is felt.

Food Habits

Rice, ragi and millet constitute the staple food of Didayi supplemented by vegetables, fish, meat, eggs a variety of seasonal fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle. Few simple items from boiled rice, ragi and millet and their gruels are prepared and regularly eaten. Spices, tamarind, chilli, salt, turmeric are also used for making vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The Didayi eat thrice daily—morning, noon and night. Men, women and children are addicted to drinking country liquor brewed by themselves from Salap and Mohua. An enormous quantity of liquor, cakes and other delicacies prepared from millet and rice are taken during festive occasions.

Material Culture

The Didayi are simple and self sufficient. They are content with what they have at present and don't want more than their actual requirement. They fight with their immediate physical environment with the aid of the least and simplest kind of material objects, tools and artifacts most of which they design themselves. To cultivate the land the Didayi needs plough (Sinhi) with iron share (Sinlah), yoke (Rigna), hoe (Mulvai), sickle (Hoishak), axe and knife. Food collection is carried out with simple digging sticks having iron heads, collecting baskets, hoe, knife and axe. The weapons of hunting are simple bow and arrow and bolt arrow (Bita) made of bamboo, axe and knife. The fishing implements include few variety of fishing baskets of bamboo—a conical one (Gumghur), a semi spherical one (Geera) and a tumbler type (Bhandar) besides small hand nets. The Didayi household possesses scanty material belongings such as brass, aluminium and earthen utensils, gourds to store water, grain storing baskets, winnowing fans, mat and wattle made of bamboo, ropes, poles, grinding stone, husking lever, etc.

Dress and Personal Adornments

The traditional dress of women is known as "Kisalu", a self made short, unstitched clothing made of bark fibres and thread. It was being wound around waist to cover the lower parts of the body while the upper part left uncovered. But now the popularity of cotton sarees and blouses among Didayi women have replaced this 'Kisalu'. Didayi women are fond of wearing ornaments like silver, aluminium, gold and bead necklaces, brass ear rings and nose rings, aluminium and brass rings in finger and toes, aluminium anklets (Pohari), the glass and aluminium bangles. Wearing nose rings (Tandrimu) is compulsory for all married women. Men put on a small piece of a loin cloth. Gradually they have started wearing shirts, banians, dhoti, etc. by the influence of plain people. Use of fashionable dresses and

ornaments and modern cosmetics is unknown to both the sexes.

Social Organisation

The structural organisation of Didayi society is characterised by moiety and totemism. The whole society is divided into two exogamous segments or moiety each composed of totemic group of clans. One's own moiety is his (Niramon) or group of brothers and the other one in which he can marry is his moiety. There are 5 exogamous group of clans called "Gta" or Bonso "namely" Nkhoo (tiger), Mala (cobra), Gbe (deer), Mosali (Crocodile), Goi (Tortoise) out of which the first one, i. e., the Nkhoo Gta constitute one moiety and the remaining four are grouped under the other moiety. The social structure is represented in the following table:

Didayi Social Structure

		Didayi Tribe				
		Moity (I)	Moity (II)			
		Nkhoo Gta (Tiger)	Mala Gta (Cobra)	Gbe Gta (Bear)	Musali Gta (Crocodile)	Goi Gta (Tortoise)
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Totemic groups of clan name.	1. Gudia ..	1. Ntar ..	1. Sanyasi ..	Kumbai ..	Rachhi	
	2. Ghia ..	2. Golpeda ..	2. Bhoja ..			
	3. Dongar Majhi ..	3. Pujari ..	3. Golpeda ..			
	4. Dongar Majhi Palasi.	4. Gta ..	4. Rajpeda ..			
	5. Nkak ..	5. Palasi				
	6. Muduli ..	6. Truk ..				
	7. Muduli Palasi ..	7. Snobo				
	8. Sig ..	8. Angra				
		9. Bisoi ..				
		10. Kusuah				
		11. Mleh ..				
		12. Rimbi ..				

Each clan (gta) has its own tale to tell their relationship with the totemic ancestor. The Didayi rarely worship their respective totemic animals but they avoid killing or injuring them. The clans are strictly exogamous because members of one clan consider themselves as brothers and sisters. Hence any sexual relationship between them is regarded as incest. This rule is not strictly followed now-a-days. There is evidences of inter-marriage between Nusali Gta and Goi Gta which belong to same moiety.

Lineage

The clan is divided into several lineage groups. Consaguinal kins of patrilineally related families in a village form one lineage or "Biria". Manang and Dhanang the eldest and the second eldest male members of Biria discharge important social functions in the matters of regulating the conduct of members and bringing the offender to book. They represent and protect interest of their lineage members in Lepur—the traditional village Panchayat. The proposal for marriage,

bride price and divorce, etc., are dealt through Manang and Dhanang along with other senior members of the lineage. Gradually the lineage organisation is declining.

Family

Family, the smallest basic unit and institution of Didayi society is patriarchal in nature. It is mostly nuclear and monogamous type, which includes the man, wife and their unmarried children. Sometimes the membership is extended to the widowed, divorced or unmarried sister or daughter, newly married son and daughter-in-law dependant old parents. However married sons leave the family of orientation to live in their own families of procreation within a year of marriage. Family members, the husband, wife and children form a close knit group to struggle against the physical environment. The role and status of each member is well defined. Within a very congenial atmosphere the children are brought up with extreme fondness and love. They help their parents when they grow up. Women exercise a dominant influence over domestic affairs and the husband as well. Succession and inheritance of property is strictly patrilineal. If a man dies leaving a daughter but no son his property goes to his brother.

Marriage

The institution of marriage is the most significant event in Didayi social life. Not only it unites two souls to enter into their newly made separate love nest and reproduce but it confers a prestigious status of full fledged manhood and womanhood and membership of society as well providing socio economic and immotional security also. Monogamy is the common practice although very few cases of polygyny is available. Didayi prefer adult marriage; girls are fit for marriage after attaining puberty, boys marry within 16 to 24 years of age. Boys and girls are free to select their mate without least parental interference. Premarital and post-marital love and sexual intimacy is present and tolerated in the society. Therefore most Didayi marriages are love marriages. Consent of the girl is badly essential in finalising such affairs. The marriage season is between January and June. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are considered most auspicious for the purpose. The following kinds of marriages are practised.

1. *Cross cousin marriage* —(Marshaboyi) It is considered to be the most ideal form of marriage.

Marriage of a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter (Marshaboyi) is most welcomed. However both boy and the girl are free to choose their beloved partner transgressing this preferential matrimony. In that case the boy appeases his maternal uncle by paying a compensation ("Managhar") before one month of his marriage and frees himself from this social bondage and obligation with the latter. Otherwise his marriage and post-marital life will be in shambles by the curse and black magic inflicted by his aggrieved uncle.

2. *Marriage by negotiation* —(Toshu) Toshu is the traditional form of marriage in which boy's parents negotiate matrimony with the girl's parents through "Jhora-Khatia"—the go betweens. Girl's parents accept the proposal after getting the consent of their daughter. Few days before the wedding bride price is settled and paid to girl's parents after which the marriage is finalised. On the wedding day the girl comes to the boy's house in a procession with her mates and relations where she is pompously received by groom's mother and village boys and girls. Marriage rituals take place amidst dance, music and fun fare. The groom puts a ring on the left ring finger of the bride and takes her to his home. On the day following the wedding parents and elderly ladies of the newly wed pair sit in a customary session to offer valuable advices regarding ideal conjugal life to the couple. It is called "Budhi Gyan Bhashangre". Then a sumptuous feast is given to the villagers. As it is an expensive and elaborate affair only well-to-do persons can afford for such type of marriages.

3. *Marriage by elopement* —(Udulia)—The boy elopes with his beloved and hides her in a friend's or relatives house, Girl's parents hearing this come to the boy with their relatives and villagers to demand bride price. Marriage ritual follows negotiation of bride price which is less than that of Toshu wedding.

4. *Marriage by capture* —The boy kidnaps the girl of his choice from the market place with the help of his friends when he fails to marry her otherwise. The girl is kept in the friend's house and given the best food and treatment in order to get her consent for marriage. After a week her parents and relations come to the boy to claim bride price and finalise the marriage which is always subject to the willingness of the girl.

5. *Marriage by intrusion* —(Ghasiamandi)—The girl enters forcibly into the family of his beloved

and stays there. If the boy is willing to accept her he can do so but he does not pay brideprice in that case. Otherwise he throws a pot of water on the yard and breaks off 3 broom sticks which means the girl may face disastrous circumstances like the pot of water in case she urges to live with him. Such refusal is rare.

6. *Marriage by service*—(Gharjwa) A poor boy who is unable to pay the bride price for his desired girl may in lieu of that serve her parents for a stipulated period of time usually for 3 years. Then he is allowed to marry the girl and move to his new home with her. The boy approaches girl's parents with a gourd of Salap wine and a goat. When he finally leaves with his bride he is presented with a cow, a goat, a gold nose ring, other brass and bead ornaments, cloth, about 10 Kgs. of rice, salt, ragi, millet, and Rs. 30 by his parents-in-law in the presence of relatives, village elders, Naik and Palasi who perform rites-de-marriage.

Post Marital love affairs and re-marriage—Didayi women tend to indulge clan destinely in licentious relationships with men other than their husband. If such illicit intimacy is caught red handed by the husband he has every right to beat the adulterer and caution him against further advances. If he likes so he can bring him before the traditional village Panchayat. In case the accused pleads guilty or his guilt is proved otherwise he is fined and warned against repeatation. If the woman wants to leave her husband and marry him, re-marriage is allowed by the Laper collecting a fine of Rs. 50, two goats and one pig which is deposited in the common village fund except the cash that is paid to the husband as compensation. When one's wife elopes with her lover the former claims compensation double the amount of bride price he has paid for the woman from the latter. In case of rape and pregnancy caused by rape or illicit relationship the male offender is severely fined and forced to marry the victim by the Laper which accepts the truth of woman's accusals.

Widow marriage, levirate and Sororate—Widow marriage and junior levirate is prevalent among the Didayi. A young widow may marry the younger brother of her late husband to avoid complication regarding property inheritance if she has children. Of course she is free to marry any male person of her choice other than the younger brother. In that case her new

husband has to pay compensation to the younger brother of her ex-husband and to her parents-in-law. Or she may leave her exhusband's house and stay with her parents house if she so likes. Illicit relationship with one's younger brother's wife is strictly tabooed even if she is young and widow. Sororate and sororal polygyne, i.e, marrying wife's younger sister is absent though not prohibited.

Divorce

The cases of divorce and re-marriage due to unhappy marital life are few. Only men have the right to divorce under the following grounds:—

1. Illicit relationship of the wife with a lover.
2. Elopement with a lover.
3. Laziness and non-co-operation of the wife in domestic affairs such as cooking, child care, food gathering, etc.
4. Misbehaviour, mal-adjustment, misunderstanding and frequent quarrels between the man and wife.

Sterility or barrenness is not accepted as a reason for divorce since they believe that either of the spouses are responsible for this. The husband can take a second wife with the consent of his first wife to get children in this case. The divorce is finalised in presence of the husband, wife's brother, the Naik, Chalan, Palasi, the lineage elders and village elders. The husband pays Rs. 10 and a saree to his departing wife. She can re-marry after few months. In that case her former husband cannot claim his share of compensatory bride price from her new husband. Though wife cannot divorce her husband she can desert him any time and stay with anybody else she loves. Thus her husband is forced to divorce her after collecting compensation from her second husband.

Kinship

The relationship and behaviour pattern of kinship in Didayi society corresponds to its classificatory terminological sub-system. Father's elder brother and mother's elder sister are called 'Baha' and are highly respected. The relationship with father's elder brother and his wife and mother's younger sister are of respect and familiarity. Father's sister, mother's brother and wife,s parents are highly respected. Extereme

form of joking relationship and intimacy is permissible among cross cousins who are potential mates, grand parents, grand children and wife's younger sister while there is strict avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and elder sister, a woman and her husband's elder brother and parents.

Life Cycle

Didayi's journey from mother's womb to the grave is a passage of seven steps. Their kinship system plays an indispensable role in these phases of an individual's life cycle. Biria women and neighbouring kins woman attend the woman during her child birth. The new born infant is given a name and membership of the society in presence of the kith and kin on the day of name giving ceremony (Senujha), held on the tenth day of his birth. Mother protects the helpless child against evil eyes by putting iron bangles and father ties a black thread (Bneya) around his waist to ensure their life long ties. His first hair cutting ceremony is performed by his father when he is 2 or 3 months old. His father facing east, buries hair shaved from his head. A chicken is sacrificed, cooked with rice and eaten with Salap wine in a feast by the family and Biria members. The child is given the soup of chicken's head and a small peg of plam wine to sip. Likewise when the first deciduous tooth of the child's lower jaw drops out it is buried in the yard, If it belongs to the upper jaw it is thrown on the roof by the mother.

Thus the infant steps into the first phase of his life—'Chirlo' and commences his onward journey to reach his Gorhoyo—the childhood and then gradually steps into adolecense the third phase, followed by the youth. The fourth stage is the best and the most romantic period of his life. No specific rites, ceremonies and taboos are associated with initiation and puberty. At this time the boys are called 'Ingire' and the girls 'Shella' who enjoy un-fettered freedom of pre-marital love and romance among themselves before they finally chose their life companion to be tied in wed lock and be called as Bhendia Binghak (Man) and Diya Koye (Woman).

Death Rites

As soon as a person dies the women folk start wailing loudly. The Chalan announces the sad event inside the village and the deceased's consaguinal and affinal kins living in adjacent villages are called for. The nearest kins such as the brother and parallel cousins move the

corpse to the front yard, bathe it anointing turmeric and oil, wear it a new cloth, put it on a bamboo mattress and tie it across a bamboo pole. It is carried to the cremation ground on the shoulders by the male agnatic relatives belonging to the deceased's clan excluding sons and brothers. Women and few Doms residing in village accompany the funeral procession wailing, weeping and beating their breasts. The corpse is kept on the pyre with its head to the east and the brothcr ignites the pyre after pairing the nails of the deceased and cutting off the Bneya the black thread tied around a persons waist by his father on the day on his name giving ceremony. Some of the deceased's favourite belongings like axe, hoe, bow and arrow, knife, etc. are thrown to the pyre. After the body is burnt down the brother pours water on the ashes and the whole party returns taking bath enroute. They are fed a vegetarian meal by the deceaseds Biria members. On that day cooking in the dead man's house and taking non-vegetarian meal or liquor is strictly prohibited.

Much similar to that of Hindu mortuary rites, the Didayi perform the purificatory 'Lykandisho' ritual (like Hindu Dasah) on the 10th day of death and 'Gighayasha' the Sradha on the ensuing first anniversary in order to restore status quo from the mortuary pollutions and propitiate the departed soul against causing harm to the life and property of the living relatives. Palasi, the village priest conducts the 'Lykandisho' by offering the ghost a black chicken and rice which is cooked and taken by all the Biria members of the dead person. The 'Gighayasha' is conducted more or less in the similar way in which the ghost is offered food at his funeral site and then all the relatives as well as the villagers take part in a big feast accompanied by alcoholic drinks and dance. This ceremony marks the end of annual mourning when the departed soul attains the status of the dead ancestors.

The aforesaid agenda of funeral observances is not followed for abnormal deaths caused by small pox, cholera and other epidemics, by accidents, such as drowning, falling down from a tree, attack of a tiger and other wild animals and also for the death of pregnant woman and small children. Such dead bodies are immediately buried and a purificatory ritual is performed by the Guniar, the witch doctor immediately within a week of death so as to save the relatives and villagers from the fiery wrath of the angry and

ferocious ghost. Only old age deaths are considered normal and natural by the Didayi.

Political Organisation

The Didayi are custom bound and peace loving people. Social control and confirmity are effectively ensured in their socio-political set up. Living in geographical isolation they were in the past nevertheless politicaliy well organised developing traditional territorial and autonomous socio-political system at central, regional and village level. The central territorial organisation was a larger union of all Didayi villages whose meetings were being regularly held at Kudumulugumma to solve inter-village and inter-tribal problems, to consider bigger issues *ultra vires* to lower political level and reinforce espritde corps in their tribal life at large. The elderly persons and the traditional village officials like Naik and Chalan from component villages were attending the meeting. The regional territorial organisations were composed of few contiguous or neighbouring villages sharing more or less the same geographical environment so as to enjoy and defend their common usufructuary rights to exploit their well defined forest territories. These local units in the pre-independence period transcended into Mustajari system as revenue units under Jeypore Zamindari resembling the Mutha organisation of the Kondh and Koya. In these days such old traditional political institutions no longer exist except in the sweet memories of Didayi old men.

Village

Village is the only political organisation that has survived the test of time. A Didayi village (Hihhi) is the smallest basic socio-political unit that is autonomous, independent and self-sufficient having full access to its assets and resources including exclusive ownership rights to the land and forest. It is a co-operative and corporate body functioning through its own agencies and arrangements. There is a village Council, the Lepar consisting of village officials such as the Naik or the Headman, Chalan his executive assistant and Palasi, the priest. Naik is the secular chief of the village. His post is elective, but hereditary in actual practice. On vacancy it is taken over by the nearest patrilinear or patrilineal kin of the predecessor and thus remains inside the same lineage and clan. In the Didayi village Oringi the former Naik, Buda Naik relinquished his post when his

old age and deafness impaired his efficiency and his brother Basu Naik succeeded him. The Naik continues in his post as long as he enjoys the confidence of the people and the Lepar of the village. His Office is most important since his normal duties and responsibilities involve administering law and order, justice, peace, good will and confirmity in the village in accordance with their social norms. He also represents his village in all occasions, protects its interest, heads the village council and exccutes its decisions. He is assisted by the Chalan whose post is not hereditary but given to any one even a non-Didayi member of the village who volunteers his service for this. He acts as the official messenger, convener of village council meetings, organiser, fund collector and assistant to the Palasi for communal functions and host to the visiting guests and officials.

Palasi is the secredottal chief who usually hails from one clan or lineage for generations though his office is not hereditary. He organises and conducts communal rituals, special rituals for the success of hunting expeditions, for driving out evil spirits causing epidemics, drought or otherwise harmful to the life and property of the villagers and for such occasions as birth, death, marriage, besides fixing up dates for the annual calendar of rituals and ceremonies and propitiating gods, deities ancestral spirits regularly.

Lepar or traditional village council is a corporate body of household heads headed by the Naik. It is a well defined powerful organisation regulating all corporate activities in social, political, religious and economic spheres of the village. It elects and removes the office bearers, decides cases relating to theft, quarrel, incest, adultery, marriage, bride price, divorce, etc. and punishes the wrong doer sometimes by ostracism or ex-communication but more often than not in terms of fine which is proportionately shared among the aggrieved party, the village officials and the council members. Its meetings are regularly held in an open space inside the village called—Gulisung, on specific dates and also as and when required. The village elders more specifically the elderly persons from the numerically dominant clan exercise a decisive influence over the socio-political system of the village. The Naik usually comes from the dominant clan and lineage. In the post-independent days with the radical transformation of socio-political environment and particularly with the super imposition of statutory Pancha-

yatiraj system over Didayi political set up, a new pattern of leadership is emerging to challenge the pre-existing political set up. Evidently the member, the new office bearer is gaining importance in the village affairs in parallel with the traditional chief, Naik where the Naik and member are not one and the same person. In the plains Didayi village Oringi, Sanysi Angra, the present member appeared more confident and smart in respect of dealing with outsiders and visiting officials to the author.

Today the Didayi people living in plains come in contact with the outsiders in the weekly markets at Kudumulugumma and Onukudelli held

on Thursday apart from numerous other modern agencies of acculturation. Their behavioural patterns of culture is undergoing a slow change that is overtly visible while their original core of social life remains in tact. As a result a superiority complex is developing among them with relation to their hill living counterparts whom they look down upon for unclean and undignified habits. Therefore they do not like to make matrimonial alliances with the latter. No longer the plains Didayi are the living specimens of isolated wild people of Dr. Elwin if one observes their degree of sophistication and acquired mannerisms with the outsiders now-a-days.

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Aspects of Juang Folklore

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Introduction

The romance and love, the horror and mental agony that once quivered the skeleton of the Juang in the remote past, being unknown, are still murmured in their stories, songs, dances—combinedly taken as folklore and exist as an invincible culture—complex against the waves of contemporary changes, drawing its inspiration from the legendary rivers, mountains and forests.

The present work is an attempt to give a fundamental picture of the folklore of the Juangs—one of the most primitive tribes of India.

Folklore to-day does not merely involve either collection of vast amount of data for the sake of preservation and publication of the same or emphasizing the study of the language, origin, diffusion and transmission of folklore, but on the other hand it calls for a new technique of collection of data, its preservation through proper classification, building theory upon the obtained classified data with which the modern folklorists are concerned.

The description of the Juangs folklore is presented in two major thought lines—

- (1) presentation of folklore data through a well-planned classification; and
- (2) study of the Juang folklife from these obtained classified materials.

Definition of Folklore

The term 'Folklore' has been defined by many authorities in various dimensions. Etimologically speaking, folklore is the knowledge of a group

of people more or less primitive. (Folk—any ethnic group—Lore—Knowledge). One of the traditional meanings of the folklore is that folklore is "said to be, or to be in oral tradition". This definition includes almost all the items of a non-literate society, where everything is orally transmitted. There are certain definitions which are too narrow in nature, for example William Bascom's "verbal art" speaks of items such as folktales, myths legends, folksongs, ballads, epic and poems, proverbs, riddles, formula of various kinds. According to American Anthropological definition, folklore is "art and literature orally transmitted". Samuel P. Bayard criticises Bascom's non-inclusion of traditional belief and custom in the definition of folklore. According to him, "In theory or in operation, traditional belief and custom cannot be separated from folk-literature." In broader sense, folklore, as defined by Encyclopaedia Britannica is "Folklore means folk-learnings, it comprehends all knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and all crafts and techniques that are learned by imitation or example, as well as products of these arts. Taylor, Botkin and Herzog have gone to the extent of including language in the folklore. Botkins in the broadest sense opines "in a purely oral culture everything is folklore."

Taking folklore in these broadest sense no proper study of folklore is made on without less difficulty. In preparing this work I have adopted the itemised definitions of Moria Leach, Francis Lee Utley and Alan Dundes, which are practical and pointed towards the exact nature of folklore. All the items (which are enlisted in definitions of above authors) are examined on a statistical

basis can be described under four major items. They are—

- Folk literature,
- Folk Art (including dance),
- Folk belief and custom, and
- Crafts and language.

Out of these four major items folk-literature and art are anonymous choices of all folklorists. Hence, our working definition of Juang folklore in the light of the above informations will be a "folklore is a complex whose (Tylor) which includes folk-literature, art and music of a 'folk' and which are capable of being transmitted from one generation to another."

Relevance of study

Anthropology has got a close relationship with Folklore. Any ethnographic account of a tribe is incomplete if it does not include items such as folktales, legends, myths, riddles, proverbs and all other forms of folk literature, along with kinship organisation, political control and economic and social organisation. In the study of folklore this tribe is unavoidable so far as it contributes a major appliance in making of the culture of the Juangs. Its importance lies in its universality and in fact that there is no known culture which does not include folklore. Any people irrespective of their complexities, irrespective of the technologies must employ some forms of folklore. As folklore i. e., in its tales and proverbs known to both is a bridge between literate and non-literate people. As it bears the record of the past events, it helps the ethnographers as a 'living fossil' in understanding the living pre-history. Folklore serves to sanction and validate, religious, political, social and economic institution and play an important role as an educative device in their transmission from one generation to another.

Method of study

As the folklore data are qualitative nature, direct observation and participation method was employed to collect data. Most of the informations gathered in Kanjipani Grama Panchayat of Keonjhar district, Orissa, the following thirteen villages of Kanjipani Grama Panchayat were covered:—

The villages are Kanjipani, Kouawar, Astadiha, Talapanasanasa, Kirikanjipani, Uparpanasanasa, Talpada, Raidiha, Gonasika, Guptagange, Barura, Phulbari and Budhighar.

The 'Juangs'—A Brief Introduction

The present folklore thought centres around the Juangs, one of the most primitive tribes of India. They are a tribe of Munda-speaking aboriginal people inhabiting the forest clad upland regions and the villages of Keonjhar district of Orissa. The complexion of their skin varies from light brown to dark brown. They have many wavy hairs and yellowish eyes. In general they are of medium height.

Village Organisation

The Juangs mainly live in the villages or in hamlets. The houses in the villages are scattered and no definite village structure is marked. A dormitory the majang or "Darabar" or Mandaghar as they call it must be present at the entrance of every village. Every Juang village is headed by a 'Pradhan' (head-man) who in the social and political affairs represent the village. The village also has a "Dehuri", the religious head to assist in religious activities; and a 'Rai Uriha' the village witch doctor.

There are two institutions present in the village, viz.—

1. *The majang*—(Youth dormitory) is the centre of dancing activities of the Juang unmarried youth. Most important decisions relating to the village and inter-village affairs are settled here.

2. *Gramasiri*—is the religious institutions. The village deity is placed on a piece of stone of the left side of the majang which constitute the "Gramsiri".

Social Institution

Family—Mainly nuclear, joint families rarely found.

Marriage—Monogamy type of marriage is fairly common, but polygamy though extremely rare is not abandoned altogether. Three common procedures are adopted for marriage, viz., there are marriage by negotiation (Kandria), marriage by capture (Ghichha) and love marriage. The latter two occur rarely.

Kinship

Among Juangs kinship ties is important. The whole tribe is divided into as many as twelve exogamous clans named after birds and animals. Sometimes the entire village is found to be uniclans.

Language

The Juangs generally talk in Oriya and among themselves use Mundari language.

CLASSIFICATION OF FOLKLORE

The definition on the basis of itemised list of the forms of folklore indicates the classification of folklore in order to represent its content. However, to complete the definition of folklore, all other items are to be equally defined. So far as my materials regarding folklore obtained from the Juang are concerned they can be classified under three heads such as:—

Folk literature,

Folk Art and

Folk Dance.

At the first sight, it may appear as the condensation of all the items suggested by various authors. The term "folk literature" is a synonym to the term "verbal art" as coined by William Bascom. Under this term he has included such items as folk-tales, myths, legends, folksong, proverbs, riddles etc., My study is no exception to this. But there are other forms of verbal art such as traditional folk-speech, including practical jokes, blessings, curse etc., which are traditional and which pass through one generation to next. I have included all these in 'folk literature'. For the sake of better representation all these items have been further classified.

Most of the authors have described primitive art as graphic and plastic art in a combining whole. In describing the Juang art I have not made any sharp distinction between the two. Graphic art includes painting and lineal drawing on a plane object, and plastic art includes statues, sculptures, engravings, carvings etc.. So far the Juang art materials are concerned they cannot be classified with such distinction. For example, there are many instances of lineal engravings present in house posts, wooden doors etc., Thus the Juang art is classified not on this basis. The classification of the Juang folklore is better expressed in the following diagrammatic representation.

(A) Folk Literature

The folk literature is the literary activities of a folk. It cannot be equated with the literature of our conception. The Juang literature is a spoken one and it is not in any written form. So far as language is concerned the Juang have much

resemblance with the Mundari language. Most of the materials of their folk literature are spoken in Oriya, especially what Dr. V. Elwin has suggested as "bastard Oriya" language. The literary activities of the people are not altogether accepted as folk literature; it is rather an artistic expression of the tribal thought passing down from generation to generation.

The origin of their folk literature is exactly the same causing the origin of folklore. A Juang man maintains flexibility in course of his harder life—in collection of food, in hunting and in shifting cultivation. The thought and emotions caused out of these activities are revealed in a certain artistic frame work. Thus it is obvious to think that the composer of a poem, the narrator of a story, the reciters of riddles and proverbs have little or no headache as to whether their productions maintain any theoretical ordering. We can only expect from their unrythmical, unartistic (not so artistic) and prosaic verbal art, the description of folk life patched with their feeling, emotion, mental agony and frustration and happy moments of the Changu dance, the marriage dance and merrymaking at the Karama puja. Materials collected so far can be classified in the following manner:—

- (i) Folk-tale
- (ii) Myth
- (iii) Legend
- (iv) Folk song
- (v) Riddle
- (vi) Proverbs
- (vii) Folk speech

Again, all these items of literature, can be further put under two major heads such as,

The primitive prose and

The primitive poetry.

The three major items such as folk-tale, myth and legends are the components of the Juang prose order. These three contents are essentially stories. The basic interrogatives of all languages that is, the "whoness", "whatness", "whereness", and "wheness" of things are very well reflected in these stories and these are explained in the simplest manner. They tell us what happened, where and when, and most of the narrations have taken place on this simple and anecdotal plan. These stories as a whole, usually less

structured and less demanding have very little "points"—from the modern literary point of view. But the social significance embodied in these stories is not less. In addition to stories which mostly occur in the prose order of the Juang, there are also folk wit and folk speech which can be conveniently placed under this head. Under folk poetry includes three important forms such as folksong, riddles and proverbs. These folksongs are not produced here as it is to be appeared in the Banaphul journal of Orissa by this author.

(i) *Folk-tales*—Folk-tales are often confused with myth and legends and most of the authors in this respect have not given the definition of folk-tale as a distinguished one from the other two. Most of the authors including Roth Benedict have defined folk-tales which includes myth and legends and fairy tales. However to include myth and legend under the title "folk-tale" is a serious misunderstanding and there are several criteria according to which folk-tale can be distinguished from myth and legend. In a broader sense these three can be congregated under a common name i. e., folk-tale, so far as they are regarded as stories and so far as they note the characters of a story such as plot, incident, conflict, climax, motivation, and character development. Thus folk-tale, in its wider sense can include myth and legend but as we will see there are more than one reason which distinguish it from the two.

Thus folk-tale is the story of the group of people, more or less primitive in nature and is characterised by oral transmission from generation to generation. Folk tales have their roots in the hoary past, when man acquired the power of articulate expression. He proudly gave out his heroic feelings in case of hunting. He used his rich imaginative faculty to express his inner feelings and emotions which took the shape of a tale. It does not entirely devote its theme in the eternal interest (as in case of myth and legend). Thus a traditional tale is likely to present the mixture of both the items namely the mixture of actuality and fantasy.

G. S. Kirk has given a preliminary definition of folk-tale. According to him, "folk tales are the traditional tales of no firmly established form; in which supernatural elements are subsidiary, they are not primarily concerned with the serious subjects or reflections of deep problems and pre-occupations; and their first appeal lies in their narrative interests".

The Juang folk-tales can be best described in the light of this definition, Juang folk-tales are not titled. It means that they can interpret the story well without knowing the title. Most Juang folk tales are told about certain things. "But these certain things or objects are not the real titles of the story. For my own purpose I have given the title of the stories mostly based on the understanding of the Juang folk or what the story is told about. Most of the primitive folk-tales are fables. Even these fables are present in almost all the cultures. But there is no fable in the folk-tales of the Juang. Although I have extracted one story titled as "the story of brother monkey" it cannot be regarded as a fable in the true sense of the term. Though it contains the fabulous character it speaks of no moral (which a fable must contain), and there the monkey talks with men and not with animals which are generally dumb. In this respect it has very less possibility of becoming a fable, and besides, "one Sallow does not make a summer". According to the characteristic they exhibit the Juang folk tales can be classified into two categories, such as—

- * The stories having no poetic elements and the stories.
- * Having poetic element in the form of verses or proverbs.

Under the first category the following two stories can be included.

THE STORY OF KING KANAK'S DAUGHTER

The story of "King Kanak's daughter" is centered round the evil character of a princess. Here the prince, her husband marks the evil aspect of her character in the guise of a beggar. In spite of this he marries her and brings out the dark side of her character which compels her to commit suicide. The Juang used to describe the story like this :

A certain king was once riding through a forest route in search of a beautiful girl (bride for his young son. Another king named 'Kanak' was in quest of a handsome bridegroom in order to give his daughter in marriage. Both the kings chanced to meet each other along the same route and took a decision. As the bride and bridegroom were too small to marry, they postponed the wedding awaiting the proper time. After some days the old father of the would-be bridegroom died. Time passed on. His son

took the throne as he attained his youth. His mother told him about the betrothal between his late father and the king Kanaka. The prince wanted to go to his father-in-law's house in order to see his supposed wife. His mother told him the way to king Kanak's palace. The prince, in order to test the chastity of the princess went in disguise as a beggar. Underneath the ragged clothes of a beggar he put on a shirt of iron. He reached the palace of the king and gave his recognition as a beggar.

The king, out of compassion provided him with a room and made a provision of ordinary subsistence. At nightfall his dwelling was dark. He slept on a cot of rope, wrapped in a blanket from head to foot. In the darkness he became aware of two distinct voices at the dead of the night. He could guess that the two persons were the princess and the general of the king. They were playing dice and were engaged in merry-making. After sometime they marked the presence of the beggar on the cot and so immediately put off the light, anticipating that he might not recognize them in the dark. But as soon as the prince uncovered his face from the blanket his golden teeth illumined the whole room and as a result both of them could not hide their identity from the beggar. There after the princess brought a false allegation against the beggar stating that the latter was trying to kidnap her in that dark night. The king believed her and in his mad rage ordered his minister to kill the beggar at once, and to show him his blood. The Minister took him to the forest to slay. The prince cleverly bridged him with Rs. 40 which he had carried in his shirt of iron and escaped. Then the Minister killed a bird and showed its blood to the king and the king was satisfied. The prince returned home. He sent a royal messenger to 'Kanak Raja' with the message that he was eager to marry his daughter as per the wishes of his deceased father. The king immediately agreed and fixed the nuptials. The prince accompanied by his Ministers, counsellors in a procession arrived there. King Kanak received the prince as he dismounted the elephant. After the marriage, the bride and the bridegroom came to the palace of the prince. At night they met. The prince related a story to his newly wed princess and she listened to it with rapt attention. It was the story of the adventure of a prince during which he was acting as a beggar. In course of his narration the princess fully understood that it was the sad tale of her own illicit relation with the general

and the beggar was none but her husband. She could bear no more. She woke up abruptly from her bed and in the pretext of going outside the room to answer the call of nature, she went to the bamboo bush behind the house.

And by means of a rope, she committed suicide.

THE STORY OF A SADHAB'S SON

The story of Sadhab's son is another folk-tale of this category. It tells about a merchant's son who got back his life through the miracles of a 'Rusiputra'. The story runs as under—

There was the son of a rich merchant. He was the only son. Once his parents asked a foreteller about the longevity of their son. It was found that he would survive only for two months more. The son heard this and with a vast amount of wealth he left home. He distributed all the money among his friends, in the way. At last he saw a 'Rusiputra' who was sitting on an ant-hill. The 'Rusiputra', as soon as he caught sight of the merchant's son shouted "Oh you there, you shall die soon, Hari, Hari". The merchant's son was surprised at the omniscience of the 'Rushiputra' and appealed to save him who had been destined to die within two months. The "Rushiputra" said, "Here is the paper on which your life time is recorded. He showed him the paper and then said"—"Let us go to the Court of Lord Yama". Then he made himself free from the ant hill and both started for Lord "Yama".—"Why have you come here?" asked "Yama". Behold this boy, "the 'Rushiputra' said. Lord Yama looked at the boy and said "His life time is already over. I have sent a messenger to his home in order to bring him". After he uttered these words he was silent and was lost in some thought. Taking advantage of his absent-mindedness the Rushiputra enhanced the longevity of the merchant's son by 40 years more inserting it in Yam's record that lay in front. The Rushiputra then drew his attention to the paper and the Yama exclaimed—Oh I have forgotten that". Thus Yama Raja begged excuse for the untimely death of the merchant's son and released him. The merchant's son and the Rushiputra returned. But on the way, when he looked back, the Rushiputra had disappeared. The merchant's son reached home and saw his parents weeping bitterly at the loss of their son. Having seen their son come, their joys knew no bounds.

THE STORY OF THE SECOND CATEGORY

The essence of this type of story is that it contains small poems, proverbs etc., in course of its narration. The important dialogues that are exchanged between the characters are often in the form of songs. The following are the two stories of this type—

THE STORY OF SHAHADABATI

There was a merchant (Sadhab) who had six sons and two daughters. The two daughters were named as Marua and Ferua. All except the youngest one got married (by means of Ghichha). The merchant went on searching for a beautiful bride for his son but could not find. Then his son set on a journey for the same purpose carrying rice and dal (pulses) in a bag with him. One day, while he was cooking under a tree, he saw a beautiful lady appearing in a Shahada tree, just by the river side. The young man returned and said to his father that he wanted to marry the Shahada tree. But what will you do by marrying a Shahada tree? The old man asked him in utter astonishment. He replied that he had seen a handsome lady living in that tree. The servants of the merchant cut down the tree, and the marriage took place between the young merchant and the log of Shahada tree. After the marriage his elder brother decided to observe as to how a Shahada tree could cook and serve them. In order to have a keen observation, one of them kept himself awake to watch the activity of the log-bride. But as he was taking a short rest he fell fast asleep. Shahadabati came out of the log. She smeared that floor of the house with cowdung, cooked the rice and served foods to all including the brother, who at that time was asleep. At last she took her own food and then went back into the log. In a like manner the other three brothers too failed in their endeavour to observe the activities of the log-bride. At last it was the elder brother's turn who unlike others did not sleep. Shahadabati thought—"Alas he is not at all sleeping. What shall I do?", and therefore she was compelled to come outside to do her duty. The eldest son saw her, and remarked that she was rather more beautiful than any of their wives. Then the four brothers grew impatient to have a look of her and were seeking for a chance. Once their king named Hatia arranged a pala and made it known to all. In the night Shahadabati came out of the log to witness the pala. Taking

this opportunity the other brothers burnt the log with kerosene and ultimately she became houseless. While she was sadly looking at her burnt Shahada house she was glanced by a servant of the king Hatia. The king soon was informed of the great beauty of Shahadabati and he planned to have her very soon. He ordered all the six sons of the Sadhab to go abroad for trade and commerce. The youngest son went to his father and requested him to take the utmost care of his wife as the king had cast his evil eyes on her. He also warned his wife not to go to the river to bath and advised her to utilise the water of their well in the compound.

His request embodying the advice in the Juang language is composed in a stanza which depicts the pathos of a lover for his beloved, especially when he was compelled to leave and her safety was at stake. The stanza runs as under:

Tate ki holain babalo, bale huanta
Bahu chinta Tara rahila, bale huanta
Badi pechhade Kualo, bale huanta
Seithi snahana kariba, bale huanta
Nai, sarobare najiba, bale huanta
Hatia Rajar asichhi, bale huanta
Haata lagai neba lo, bale hunta.

It means:

Can I request you O-h my dear father
To take care of my wife
In my absence?
The well is in our dackyard
There will she take her bath
Never should she go to a river or a lake
The servants of the king Hatia,
Are watching
He can take her
By playing the taut (by playing haat)

His father having heard this song advised him to go to his mother and request her to be vigilant. He repeated the same song before her mother, and she advised him to go to his two sisters, who could take better care than all. And her sisters too accepted his request. The young merchant left Shahadabati and started for abroad.

As soon as they left the king made on all out effort to fulfil his evil desire. The servants of the king threw some mud in the water of the well and ultimately the polluted well was rendered useless. Shahadabati went to Marua

and Ferua and told them to accompany her to the river to take bath. They reminded her of the warning that their brother had given. But however they had to go to the river for the well water was of no avail, being muddy. In the river they saw a dimiri fruit (Fig fruit) and on enquiry Shahadabati was told that the contents of the fruit were only seeds. At the nick of time a hair follicle fell into water which she brought to keep inside the fruit, lest it might be taken by cows and buffaloes, But misfortune would have it, the fruit came to the notice of the king who was also taking bath down the stream. He found a long hair follicle kept inside. Being curious about such long hair, he came to know from his servants that it belonged to Shahadabati. While they were returning king Hatia met them and demanded fare from them. They had no money at the time, She offered to give her leg-ring. But the king refused to take that, as it was meant for her legs. She went on offering all other ornaments on her body and finally she offered to give any one of the sister-in-law Maria and Ferua. But the king remained resolute. At last she said.

“Oh what shall I do,
Take me on your elephant”.

No sooner did she utter this then the king took her. Marua and Ferua reported to their parents under what circumstances their sister-in-law had been kidnapped. Their parents consoled them to take up the matter after return of their brothers.

The six trading merchants returned and were welcome by their wives. As the youngest son was about to present his wife with the 'Intrimintri' (a beautiful sari) and a Paniki (kitchen knife)-his presentations, he learned the tragic loss of his wife and much bemoaned it. In his desperation and disinterestedness he tore off the beautiful sari into a Kantha (nap) and converted the kitchen knife into a knife, made a whip with the materials of a bowel and himself took up a Sarangi (harp) and went on signing —

“I made 'Intrimintri sari' into a nap,
The bowel into a whip,
The paniki into a knife,
And I became a Yogi only for Sahadabati”.

The king came to know the eloquence of his music through his servant. While he was passing the king invited him to his place.

With much reluctance he went and sang the song. When the king asked him to accept the alms of rice and dal he insisted that he would be very happy if it was given by the queen. He requested him to sing once again and he sang the same song. While the queen extended her hand with a handful of rice the young merchant in the guise of a Yogi, slew himself with the knife (prepared out of paniki) in front of the queen who was none but his beautiful Shahadabati. Hatia, the king, ordered the funeral ceremony of the dead in the cremation ground. At this moment Shahadabati requested the king to allow her to accompany the king to the cremation ground as she had never been at the funeral of a Yogi. The king granted her request and both went to cremation ground on an elephant. Whenever the elephant was making delay, the queen used to sing —

“Chal chal chal re hati
Yogi poda saribati”
(Go quickly elephant go,
Lest the cremation of the Yogi might
be over).

At last they reached the cremation ground. While the king was unmindful the queen jumped into the funeral pyre of the Yogi. Seeing this the king also jumped into the fire out of grief. Now the other queens were against this provocative action of the king and they uttered —

“The nun died for the Yogi,
What fault had queen Mandodari?”

Meanwhile Iswar and Parvati were passing through that way. Seeing the sorrowful situation they blessed the Yogi and Yogini (Shahadabati) with their lives.

THE STORY OF BROTHER MONKEY

There was an old merchant. He and his wife used to dig out Bainga and Tunga (the root) in the forest; and lived on them. They had one son and so it was a contented family. One day monkey seller came by their house. The merchant and his wife were not at home. Their son bought one of the monkeys in exchange of some rice. The merchant came home and did not find his rice. He got angry with his son as he had exchanged his hard-earned grains for a mere monkey. “Let's come to the forest”- he said to his son. And in the forest he killed

his son. When he reached his home, the monkey asked—

“Where is my brother?”

“He has gone to the river side to take bath”.

“But it is too late, what is the matter?”

The monkey doubted and the merchant replied nothing. The monkey was tied with an iron chain, and having broken this he released himself and went straight to the young merchant who was lying dead in the forest. He brought him back to life. They decided not to go back home. The monkey said “Brother, we will build a house in the forest”. And they made a house. Then the monkey said now we have made a house in the forest. What shall we do next? Decide now”.

“Now I am going to bring a goat” said the monkey and then he brought a goat too. After this, he brought a cow. Again he went out of the forest to fetch some more valuable commodities. He saw some cartmen coming towards him with their bullock carts loaded with bags of rice. The monkey hit upon a plan. He lay in front of the bullock carts having closed his eyes, and pretended as if he were dead. Out of compassion and pity the cart-men stared at the monkey and at this time the monkey threw a handful of dust into their eyes and they lost their vision. They left the cart there and went away. The monkey then drove the cart home and kept the bullocks in the cow-house. Thus he and his friend lived happily. One day they decided to bring a bride (for the merchant’s son). There was a tree near the steps of a bathing ghat. The monkey climbed up the tree and from there he observed a suitable brides among those, who were coming to take their bath. She was the daughter of a merchant who had twelve sons and twelve daughters-in-law, As she reached the bank, she placed her ornaments on the step leading into the river. The monkey took away her “Jhumpa, Kaudi, Pirpira, Gobiyana (various ornaments) and climbed up the tree. The merchant’s daughter finished her bath but forgot to think about her ornaments. “Where are your ornaments?” her mother asked. She requested her mother to go and bring back her ornaments. But she refused to go. She herself went to the river again, but could not find the ornament. She saw the reflection of the monkey with the ornaments in the water. Then she begged of the monkey all her ornaments in these words—

Dinging Dinging Sama Kahe,
Gobiyande dinging

Dinging Dinging Sama Kahe,
Pata Jumpa dinging

Dinging Dinging Sama Kahe,
Pansanatiki dinging (Kaudi)

Then the monkey said,

Gangalo ganga Semilandai,
Gobianke gangang

Gangalo ganga Semilandai,
Patchaupati gangang

Gangalo ganga Semilandai
Basanti Ke gangang.

She begged her each of the ornaments by saying—Give me my Gobiyanke, Patchaupati, Basanti—each for one line. And then the monkey said—“Come, come and take your such and such ornaments”. The monkey then climbed down the tree and proceeded towards the merchant’s daughter and the merchant’s daughter also proceeded towards the monkey, in order to get back the ornaments. At last the monkey caught the hands of the merchant’s daughter and took her into the forest in order to give her in marriage with the merchant’s son. They married and lived happily with the brother monkey.

These are the folk tales. Like other stories they possess characters, namely prince, princess, merchants and monkey, etc., playing as hero, heroines; and like the other stories it is developed, under a definite plot, reaches its climax and then meets the usual end. Except the first one, all other folk tales which I have mentioned have a happy ending. In case of the former it has a tragic end, followed by the suicide of the princess.

(ii) *MYTHS OF THE JUANGS*

Meaning

Myths constitute an important part of the prose order of the Folklore. The term myth is derived from the greek word “Muthos” just meant a tale, a story or the plot of a play. Sometimes it is substituted for fable and legend. It is an invented story containing the plot on primitive faith on supernatural, and imaginary persons or things.

The term “mythologia” was first used by Plato, who meant it as not more than telling stories. To describe the juang myths, it is

necessary to distinguish itself from Folk stories and legends which are often confused with the myth. Myths, legends and folk stories are similar as all of them present the story elements such as plot, incidents, conflict, climax, motivation and character development. But myth is not legend as the former is not historically true and not folk stories as it mainly centres round mythological character i. e., gods and goddesses.

Myth is the interpretation of natural and cultural phenomenon in a possible limited manner: It is believed to be a fact, though it is not, It justifies the present. Myth is treated as religious phenomenon as it describes the doings and undoings of *gods and goddesses. It is the product of intellectual thoughts of folk mind and therefore considered to be the primitive philosophy. Again, it describes the origin of natural and cosmic bodies.

The Juang myths can be best understood in the light of above description. For the purpose of presentation I have classified these various myths into two categories—

- (1) Functional myths
- (2) Cosmogonic myths

Functional myths

The functional myths are mainly concerned with every day life of the Juangs. They justify their customs, behaviour and origin of their social activities such as food habits, dress pattern, youth dormitory and dance, etc. Under this category the following myths can be enumerated.

(1) *Myth on use of tooth twig*—The first and foremost function is that Juang performs in a day is to clean his teeth with tooth twig. The myth goes to Mahadev, who after making two dolls representing Juang male and female gave them life through Mahaprabhu (The Vishnu). Afterwards Parvati demanded food for the two dolls, who had got life. Mahadev took two twigs and put them in their mouths. This did not satisfy Parvati and she requested to give them grains. On the request of Parvati Mahaprabhu appealed to Laxmi who created grains. But they (Juangs) still kept the twigs and every day put them in their mouth. So that they can get enough to eat well.

(2) *On shifting cultivation*—The major activities of the Juangs are concerned with shifting cultivation. But I could not get any myth regarding this. In the village Panasanasa I noted something on shifting cultivation. It is rather a belief Basudev once said to the Juangs that the male Juangs should make shifting cultivation and females should make patia (a type of mat prepared out of datepalm leaves) in order to survive. From that day onwards they have been making shifting cultivation and females making patias.

(3) *On food of the Juangs*—Juangs own tradition is that they are omnivorous. The myth concerning this is peculiar one. It is said that Rau Uriha (Juangs witch doctor) ate all the six servants who were sent by Dharma Devata (the supreme God) by the application of this witch-craft and denied when Dharma Devata made an enquiry on this. Then he asked Rau Uriha to open his mouth and there was a hair (Jhunta) growing on his tongue, Rau Uriha then realised his sin and sincerely requested Dharma Devata to make his tongue free of hair. Dharma Devata tried to remove the hair but it could not be removed. He gave Rau Uriha a frog to eat but the hair remained as it was. Subsequently he was given fish, snake, crab, tiger and beef—every thing to eat, but the hair did not come out. Finally, he gave him a hairy caterpillar and the hair came out. Dharma Devata said—“since you have eaten every thing, you will take into your mouth anything you get”. Since then they are taking everything.

(4) *On Leaf Dress*—Dharma Devata gave *Rushi Putra (i.e. Juangs) clothes to wear. Once they were busy on plastering the floors with cow dung and therefore, their clothes turned dirty. They put the clothes outside and wearing leaves round their waist started their work. Dharma Devata saw this and cursed them to wear leaves for ever.

Again from the Dehuri (the priest) of Baruda village I came to know what happened when a man put on clothes instead of leaf-dress. He said when he went to the jungle wearing clothes, he was killed by the tiger. So they had given up the use of clothes.*

* The present paper is an attempt to describe various myths inhabiting Keonjhar district of Orissa. The duration of the field study was one month and confined to fourteen villages of Kanjhipani block of Keonjhar district.

* Rushi Putra—The Juangs believe themselves to be descendants of Rushi and Rusain (the wife of Rushi).

of the Juangs, one of the most primitive tribes of India

field study was one month and confined to fourteen

the great Rushi. Therefore, they are sons and daughters

(5) *Creation of the Juang Dance*—Rusi and Rusain lived with their children. But as the children grew older, it was inconvenient for them to sleep at night in one room. So Rusi made another room for his children. But at the night the children disturbed them. Rusi taught them the art of dance. Since then the Juangs started dancing.

Cosmogonic Myths

Cosmogonic Myths of my classification explain the origin and the interpretation of the cosmic phenomenon such as the creation of the sun, the moon, the earth, the water, the lightning and thunder, etc.

(6) *Creation of the Universe*—From the very beginning (Benusu) the earth (Matj Prithvi) was not steady. Dharma Devata made it possible by sacrificing the son of Rushi. The myth runs like this. All the Gods went to Rushi for his son and in exchange they offered him two sons. But Rusain the wife of Rushi was reluctant to give her son for sacrifice. Again she armed her son with an iron bow and arrow, lest he might be killed by the tiger. Once, when the boy was bathing putting off the iron bow and arrow on the bank a tiger killed the boy while he was unarmed. Gods came; they swung the boy round and round, blood oozed out from his body in all directions and was sprinkled every where to make the earth steady. From his hands and feet came the hills and from his hair grew the forest. Rushi had again twelve sons and daughters and through them the Juangs came into the world.

(7) *Creation of Water (Lalak)*—At the very beginning there was no water in the world. The Rushi Putras once felt thirsty in the jungle, where they had gone hunting and as per the prior assurance of their mother, the youngest one uttering her name lifted a stone and found water under lying it.

(8) *Creation of Fire (Lalai)*—At first there was no fire. Men ate their food raw. Rushi and Rusain went to find fire and in the jungle when they broke a tree, fire came out of it.

(9) *Creation of Sun and Moon (Bela & Lerang)*—Bela and Lerang (Sun and Moon, respectively) were co-wives of Dharma Devata. Their relationship was not good. The Moon killed all the children of sun, and kept her own children in the platform just beneath the roof.

At night she spared them and they spread over the sky as stars (Kenun Dak). The sharp enmity between Sun and Moon made them not to meet at any time and therefore Sun appears in the day and Moon at night. This dichotomous forms resulted in the day and night.

(10) *Creation of thunder and lightening (Batas)* Indra married the daughter of Sun. His head and belly were so big that the girl ran away from him. Every now and then she looked and laughed at him. The flashing of her teeth is the lightening. Indra gets angry and beat her. The sound of his billows is thunder,

(11) *Creation of Stars (Kenun Dak)*—This is another myth regarding the creation of falling star. The Juangs believe that when a man is hanged his soul (Misani) goes to Maha Prabhu with a cord round its neck. But Mahaprabhu rebukes him and he falls down. Thus he is turned into a Ghost and can be seen as a falling star.

(iii) LEGEND

Myth and Legends fall in the same category. One of the chief characters as distinguished from myth and folk tale is that it is believed to be historically true. Legend implies an exaggerated and colourful account of an event. The historical importance is not its reality and we cannot make history relying upon these legends. Therefore it is generally disdained by historians. "Legend" according to many folklorists is a traditional oral narrative regarded as true by its teller and by many members of the society in which it circulates but, containing remarkable or supernatural elements that follow a pattern. There is a very little difference between myth and legend. Many authors, including Richard M. Dorson, have opined that myth leads into a world of reality and legends into world of fantasy. However, this may not be true for almost all the myths are fantastic in nature. Again, legends do not entirely deal with the fantastical world. It has a greater concern with persons, places and events. Because they purport to history and fact, they must be associated in the mind of the community with some known individual, geographical land mark, or particular episode. Many or all of the members of a given social group will have heard of the tradition and can recall it in brief or in an elaborate form.

Richard M. Dorson divided the legends into three kinds. The personal legend may deal with nationally famous statesmen, an obscure eccentric, a celebrated outlay or a high society wit. Again it is divided into heroic legend i.e., recounting the extraordinary feats of a superman and the anecdotal legend repeating the clever sayings and odd actions of a comical man. The second kind of legend is a sort of place legend connected with a locality, rather than with a person. The story behind a haunted house or a haunted spot is such a legend. The third type of legend is also connected with persons and places, but their interest focusses on an action or a deed that excites the community.

Juang legends so far collected falls into these three categories such as, place legend, heroic legend and anecdotal legend.

Place Legend—Regarding the question how the river Baitarani came into existence, there is a place legend. There were some Rusiputros. They used to go to the forest every day. Once they felt hungry, there was nothing to eat. They could find only a cow. They ate its flesh and buried its head. The Rusi asked them about their food. They answered that they had taken the flesh of a Sambar, having killed it. The Rusi came to know the truth some how and asked them if that was so. Then the Rusi said that water should come out of the nostrils of the cow and it immediately happened so. Then the mountain from where the water flowed out was named as "Gonasika" (Go-cow, Nasika-nostrils) and the stream was known as 'Baitarani'. The Gonasika hill is a sacred place for the Juangs.

There is another legend of this category concerning the place "Gupta Ganga". It is connected with the first legend. As the mountain Gonasika became impure due to the burial of the cow, the river had to step there and again appeared at a place which is named as Gupta-ganga. The famous Brahmeswar temple is built there.

There is another place known as Rusi Tanger near Barura village. The legend is rather incomplete and cannot be described as in a story. This place stood as the play ground of the Rusi putras in the past.

The second type of legend has been divided into two kinds, the heroic legends and anecdotal legends.

Heroic legend—The legend regarding the origin of king is rather a fantastic one. While they were in search of a Raja, they saw a boar with manlike hands and legs and the face of a pig. They brought it and made him their Raja. It was a custom with the Juang that a married lady should be enjoyed by the king first, before she goes to her husband. Once the Juang demanded some presents from the king and he refused the reward. This resulted in a great humiliation among them, and they planned to kill him and not supplying him water from any stream. The king came to know it soon. He was scared and thought of escaping. While running away he was caught by an one-eyed person. Thus they killed their king. Then they selected an ibony tree as their king, But the tree did not talk and so they broke it into pieces, Then they searched for a king. The prince of Mayurbhanj at that time was hunting in the forest. They stole and declared him their king.

Anecdotal Legend—The following two are the other types of legends (Anecdotal) displaying the intelligence of a person.

(i) The five fingers were five brothers. On one occasion a person had to discharge a 'Namaskar' by folding his two hands. Then there occurred a quarrel among the five fingers as to who would be the greatest of all. The thumb claimed this position, saying that at first it touches the chin of the person. The forefinger, when folded, touches the nose of the person. Therefore he claimed that he was great. Likewise, the middle finger being the tallest of all demanded his superiority. Similarly the other fingers quarrelled for this position. Then they went to that person, the owner who had given namaskar, to decide their quarrel.

—"Who is the greatest of us?", they asked.

—"Certainly the little finger", the wise man replied.

—"How?", they enquired

He explained, "at the time of discharging namaskar the little finger is seen first by the person who receives",

(ii) There is also another legend concerning the intelligence of a girl. The legend is like this.

Once there was a poor man who had no son but a daughter who was very intelligent. The man had borrowed some money from a Mahajan

(a money lender) and it remained unpaid. As the Mahajan did not receive any payment, one day he came and the old man was absent. His daughter was there.

- “Where is your father ?”
- “He has gone to mix soil with soil”
- “Where is your mother ?”
- “She has gone to produce two out of one”
- “What are you doing ?”
- “I am cooking the son, by burning the mother”.

The Mahajan said, “I do not follow your answer. Please make me understand”. She explained that a man had died in their village. Her father had gone to bury his corpse. A man is a product of the earth. It gets lost in the earth again after death. Her mother had gone to grind “Harad” (a pulse). In the grinding process one hard gram is divided into two halves and so she had gone to make two out of one. Again “Harad plant” is the mother of “Harad”. She was preparing harad dal (son) by using the dried stem (mother) as fuel.

The Mahajan was pleased with the answers and did not ask for money.

(iv) RIDDLES

The primitive intelligence; the extent of application of man's reason in exercising intellectual activities can be best marked in the riddle. A riddle is a puzzling question. It is the obscured description of some thing which the hearer is asked to find out. W. H. Jansen has defined it as—

“A riddle is a question, direct or indirect, complete or incomplete, in traditional form, whereby the questioner challenges a listener to recognize and identify the accuracy, the unit, the truth, in a statement that usually seems implausible or self-contradictory, but that is true in its own peculiar light”.

P. D. Beachat has described riddle as the major form of folklore and has described its logical patterns. According to her, for example, one type of folkloristic structure, simply a statement is a pattern of contradiction in which the second, of a pair of elements denies a logical or natural attribute of the first. The contradictions occur because it is apparently impossible to have

A without B, where B is a logical attribute of A. The Juang riddle can provide a concrete example of the riddle concerning “potter's wheel”. It is described as something which “lays eggs of 18 (eighteen) types but not a bird”. Thus the capacity of laying eggs, is the logical attribute of a bird which is denied in this riddle. There are many examples of this type in the Juang society as Beachat has found in the Bantu society. But in addition to this type there is also another type which carries a chain of such propositions having a common name and justifying all. Next type of riddle, common to all culture is the obscure description of certain things.

The Juang riddles are of two types as—

- Riddles of structure, (dichotomies found in proportions).
- Riddles of description (often obscure in nature).

Riddles of structure—This can again be classified in two types such as Riddles containing one self-contradictory propositions and Riddles containing more than one self-contradictory propositions, i. e., in a chain. The following is the example of a Riddle containing one self-contradictory proposition—

Gute selanki
menu tiniti

Meaning—One lady with three breasts

Answer—Hearth

This is only one member of the first order of riddles. Here a woman cannot think of having three breasts. Thus the natural and logical property of a woman (in the first line) is denied by describing her with three breasts (in the second line),

The following are a few examples of Riddles containing more than one contradictory propositions—

Aikan nai haiganati
Balada nai singh dioti
Daudi nai pade kabata
Mahazani pua chaluchhi bata

Meaning—What is that which has two horns, but is not a bullock, it has a door to be closed, but has no rope to attach, can walk majestically, but it is not the son of a merchant.

Answer—Pilla (Snail)

Thus it contains a chain of self-contradictory propositions,

Ken karat ken karat
Pokhari hudare karuchhi nata
Nuhen pakhi—padai dim Atharjati

Meaning—It sounds “ken”. It dances along the margin of a pool. It is not a bird, but lays eggs of eighteen types. It always visits the ocean.

Answer—Potters wheel

It is the potter's wheel. The eggs are referred to different types of potteries which bear water and thus are related to pool and ocean.

Riddles of description—The following are a few examples of this category.

Ede kuti mankada
Bhuinki mare chapada

Meaning—It is a small monkey who slaps the ground.

Answer—Spade

Chopa tana
Manja kanal

Meaning—Its skin is hard, but the core is tender.

Answer—A grain, harder than rice

Ei parbat sei parbat
Majhire maila machha
Sita thakurani kahi patheichhi
Kou phalati kancha

Meaning—The first three lines convey no significant meaning in the understanding of the whole riddle. This riddle can be substituted for —“which fruit is always green?”

Answer—The tongue of a man

Mala belaku chide besi
Jianta belaku nai

Meaning—It cries more after death but never cries during the life-time.

Answer—Goat

The Changu is made of the skin of a goat. When the Changu is beaten it makes a high sound, so the goat's cry is compared to the musical sound of the Changu.

Gachha mua meru
Patar saru
Puar nama Gunthia goru

Meaning—The tree is large, its leaves are thin. The name of the son (fruit) is Gunthia goru (having large muscle-like structure).

Answer—Tamarind

Gotie sapa
Duiti munda

Meaning—One snake with two heads

Answer—Sika

It is a type of carrier of rope hung on both the sides of a pole. Luggages and goods are carried on shoulders with it.

Edekuti chadhei
Bansa malare galipadai
Mahaparuku juhar

Meaning—Small bird, often hides in the bamboo bush and salutes the sun by calling his name.

Answer—Hen

(v) PROVERB

Archer Tylor says, the definition of proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking. According to him and B. J. Whiting, the description of proverbs as—“short, plain, common, figurative ancient and true” is as good as any formal definition. These authorities characterize proverb as “saying” which “summaeses a situation and its own inimitable way passes some sort of judgement on it or characterises its essence”. The old definition—proverb is the wisdom of many and wit of one is also sharp and effective.

According to R. B. Browne, “To the most credulous members of society proverbs and the proverbial expressions are the accumulated knowledge of the ages, the voice of the history; they are tried and true, and as such are pragmatic unassailable wisdom”.

A proverb is thus the product of a very interesting incident and therefore it is spoken in the Juang language as “dhengo”. A few proverbs which I have collected are given below :—

Kathara dunduru
Matir pinda,
Ghaita chhuali
Maipa dinda.

Meaning—The tree is of wood and the verandah is of soil. The husband bears children and wife remains dinda (unmarried).

Origin—There was an old man who used to cut trees in the forest. Once he saw some eggs of a bird. He proposed to watch them hatch. After some days, he saw some young birds hatch out of it. The father of the young ones was present only. Another day he saw the same thing and marked that their mother was always out of the nest in search of food. He marked the absence of the mother several times. It thus appeared to him to be very interesting.

Passing of the judgement on this—When the old man came back he related this interesting phenomenon to others in form of a couplet.

The occasion of use—In Juang society when a mother, on certain occasion, leaves her duty to her husband, the proverb is recited to criticise her:

Thangirita
Thangiri bhitare burusata
Burusata bhitare thangirita
Thangiri bhitare burusata

Meaning—Here there are three words—Thangiri for the external cover, i.e., the hard upper covering of an egg, Burusata for the tender body portion of the hen, Bhitare—stands for 'inside'. Thus the meaning is clear.

Origin—This is the wit of an unknown man of the Juang society. Once he broke a hen's egg. He was puzzled to think—whether the egg is for yolk or the yolk is for egg. Thus the idea that yolk would produce chicken and when grown up it could lay eggs which would again produce similar hens.

Passing the judgement—As he understood this phenomenon he composed this proverb.

The occasion of use—This can be used by two persons who are interdependent and when their needs are complementary.

(vii) FOLK SPEECH

Folk speeches are often in the manner of a prose which have been used by a folk from the remote part as common language to express on certain occasions. It has no special form. It is the every day spoken language of the people. These are speeches in common language, used on special

occasions. Many of the folklorists have included five or six items such as tease, taunts, curse, blessings chants, practical jokes, oaths, insults, etc., in their itemised definition of folklore. These can be very well put into the category of folk speech. In addition to these, greeting and leave-taking formula, nicknaming, gestures, symbols, prayers, etc., can also be included under folk speech.

However, it is true to say, in each tribe the above mentioned forms of speech may not be present. The following forms of folk speech of the Juang can be mentioned—

1. Blessings
2. Curses or rebukes
3. Practical jokes
4. Traditional sayings on special occasions

Blessings—Blessings can be given while bride and bridegroom leave the parents of the bride. The bride offers 'olagi' to her parents at the time of leaving. They bless in the following speech:

Air kamare do
Aupa dengeng do
Kam dam sekina
Dung dang jena dungura
Landi dae
Dia masina

Meaning—"As you have been born a girl, you must have to leave your parent's house and live in your mother-in-law's house. You should work hard there. Your husband as destined by God may be lame, deaf, blind or one-eyed, or whatever also, you must not come back to us. You must not allow our prestige to go down. Go and don't look back. May your life be prosperous and happy".

This is not the only kind of blessing. Blessings vary according to various situations. But all these are not traditional, one may bless according to his own will.

Curse (Rebukes)

The women are the best carrier of these traditional forms of rebuke. Rebukes are occasioned in several incidents. Generally they rebuke in this manner:

Jama isade
Kalakuta isade
Mama ghaitesu

Bagha kite jiminam
Babung kimeta gamang

Meaning—

"Let 'Yama' take you
Let 'Kalakuta' take you
You may die soon
Let a tiger kill you in the forest
Let a snake bite you."

Practical Jokes

There are several occasions when practical jokes are used. They are enumerated below:—

Jokes between affinal brothers-in-law at the time of marriage. Jokes between two dancing groups (between unmarried boys and girls in course of dance).

Joke between affinal brothers-in-law mostly occur in their activities during the marriage. They may take wine prior to marriage and all sorts of jokes are revealed in activities. Example of such jokes are throwing haladi and kajal to each other. The bridegroom says to brother-in-law.

—I will take your sister today
—But your attempt will be futile. I can very well take your younger sister (if present).

There can be jokes between sister-in-law and the bridegroom. In order to tease him they make the opening of the thola (a pot prepared out of leaves) narrow while serving rice and dal, etc. They throw haladi mixed with water on the bridegroom. They offer large salua sticks to the bridegroom as tooth-twig to clean the teeth in the morning.

The Juang dancers often make dancing trips to their Bandhu villages. They have certain jokes during their counter with them. The male dancers present them with dried rice cakes. They say—"Please put the skin of the goat" (referring to changu). The girls take their presentation from their changus. The boys ask "How are you? Are you well here?" They answer, "We are living in a "Sukusuka" condition,—Oh, no, you are looking strong and healthy, taking fine rice and dal every day, the boys say. "But we are in a poor condition, we are very thin, eating tunga and bainga only," (two types of roots) the girls reply. "We have taken so many presentations for you. If you really like this, take it now or put it here, so that

we can take these when we return", the boys say. The girls reply, "We are really fond of these things, why don't we take?"

During their dance, the male dancers play jokes with them. They can utter many joking terms to the girls. Of course the girls cannot express their replies during the dance but they usually throw ash, cow-dung, mixed with water, often put their legs on the other party.

After their dance, the boys and girls converse in the following manner:

The boys start—

—Let's come to jungle

—We do not know the art of massaging,
Girls reply.

—Come with us, we will teach you,
boys say.

They usually go to a secluded place near the village and talk with each other in the most hospitable manner. At that time they can fondle their breasts with much fun.

The boys say—

—We have given you much trouble by living here for two days. Now we are leaving you. Please don't be angry.

The girls reply—

—The village was beautiful due to your presence. Now it looks ugly. Before leaving them, the boys sing—

"Bundu jhia ku bundu pua
Lagichhi sansar,
Dulo buruna mesar."

"The world is really related to unmarried girls and boys. Let's take leave of one another."

There are every day speeches which can be put under folk speech. For example the settlement of marriage in the Juang is followed by a procedure which contains certain kinds of speeches.

"Kandra" marriage is the predominant type of marriage. This marriage undergoes a definite procedure. The Kandra comes to the house of the bride with four people. The other people in the village ask them—

"Sadaka gotakandi
Baanka gotang
Itenchere ju?"

"Whether you are going to some other place along with your straight road or you are coming here for relaxation?"

They reply—

—We are merchants, we have come here just for a journey. They are invited to sit in the majang. They say we have come just on a journey to a bandhu house. Can you show us his home? Then they go to the bandhu's house, and the speech goes on.

—Why have you come, friends, to my house?

—We are merchants, travelling in search of a fine cucumber which (we hear) is growing in your house.

—But merchants are rich people and we are afraid of them.

Please go elsewhere

—We have not come to buy pot and dishes. We only seek the beautiful cucumber (meaning the girl) that is growing in your house. Then if the girls' parents are willing, they can start their usual talks regarding marriage.

After the marriage, the parents of the bride will say to their bandhu about their daughter in the following manner.

"Look bandhu"

The daughter was with us uptill now. Neither she was (Olei) (foolish) nor Kangali (greedy of food) nor a Dahani (witch) nor a Chorani (thief). Take her, bandhu. Whether she is dirty, deaf, mad, or hunch-back, she is yours."

And the bandhu takes her and says, "whatever she may be, she is ours".

(C) JUANG FOLK ART

Juang graphic and plastic art include the following.

1. Carving and engraving
2. Clay modelling
3. Paintings made on paper
4. Weaving pattern in patia and basketry
5. Tatooing
6. Personal ornaments.

Carving & Engraving

There is a little difference between carving and engraving. These are mainly found on the wooden objects. No stone or metal working is marked in any of the villages. The Juang artists, in case of carving and engraving are more regarded as the carpenter-cum-artist.

The Juang art can be classified under the following headings :

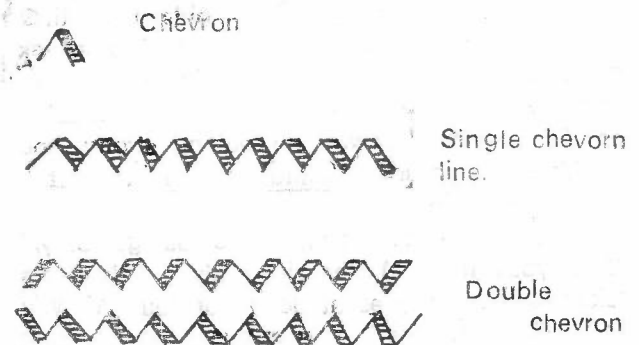
- (i) Designs carved on pillars of the Majang
- (ii) Engravings on the roof posts
- (iii) Carving in the wooden doors
- (iv) Carving on the comb.

Designs Carved on Pillars of Majang

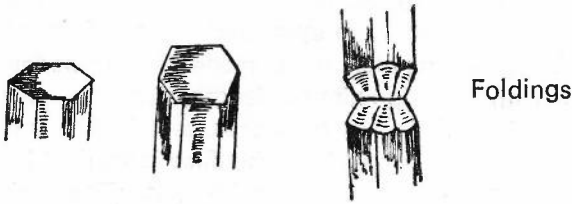
The front side of the Majang is supported by various decorated pillars. The pillars of the Majang, observed in the Panasanasa and Barura villages are rich in artistic materials and worthy of mention.

The pillars are six feet high and of one foot diametre and most of the pillars are less than six inches in diametre. The various decorations of pillars show some common designs. Designs carved are mostly chevrons and zigzag lines followed by polished surface, with more than six foldings. Chevrons depicted on the pillars are triangles carved one after another covering the circumference of the pillar. These are one inch long each (on its two sides) and one inch long at its base and one inch deep or one inch higher than the surface. Again these chevrons may be present on single or double line. When chevrons are carved in one line covering the circumference, this is single and when two such lines are present close to each other it is double.

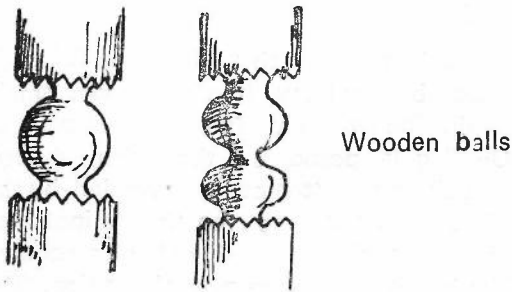
The chevron designs can be represented graphically in the following manner :



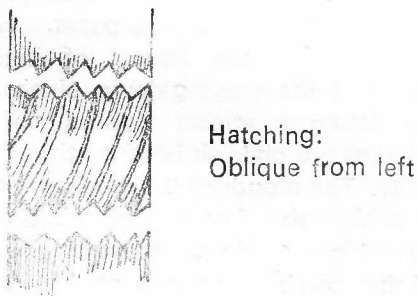
The foldings are frequently marked on almost every pillar. Sometimes these are accompanied by carving of petals of lotus flower. These are polished and smooth. These can be represented in the following way.



Sometimes the pillars also consist of ball like structures. These ball like structure as sometimes more than two and are placed one upon another. They can be drawn as shown below :



Again the lower part of most of the pillars is carved with 'hatching', which are oblique from the left. In some cases it may be between the single and the double lined chevrons. The pattern is as drawn below :



These are the common traits with which pillars are decorated.

Engravings on the Beams of the house

The Majang beams are carved and engraved with realistic pictures. The figures of man, bird, flowers are always present in the beams of the Majang. The beams of the private houses are not decorated and most of the houses are without beams.

The front beams of the Majang of Baruda village are decorated with various objects. From the left it starts with carvings of lozenge shaped figures looking like an insect. According to the villagers it is the figure of a crab having eight legs on four sides. It is followed by the carvings of flower. The flower start with four concentric circle and the last circle bears — six to nine petals which are sometimes 'U' shaped and there are also secondary petals on all these 'U' shaped petals.

The figure of man is carved with double lines. The body is somewhat triangular in shape. The palm of the hand is represented by a small rhombus out of which the fingers are carved. The neck is made by a small triangle. The body in totality shows the posture of a dancing man.

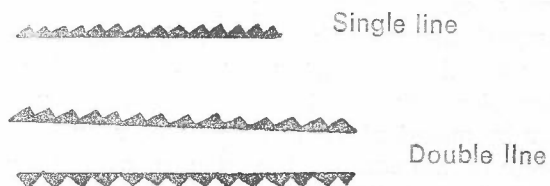
The beams are carved as such in every Juang dormitory. In the case of the Majang of Panasanasa, beams are carved with flowers only and a wooden sculpture is present to support the roof of the beam.

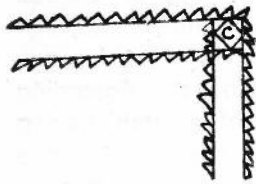
Engravings of wooden doors

Engraved doors are found in almost all the villages. The common and chief characteristics of these engravings are given below. The wooden doors are carved mostly with the figures of flowers, zigzag lines forming the border line, and other natural figures such as elephant, bird, leaves, etc.

Boundary lines

Most of the boundaries of the wooden doors are decorative. They consist of minute triangles carved in a line. Sometimes (as in case of Shahadev Juang's wooden door) there are double lines marked on every side of the door. And ultimately there are four squares on each corner of a door produced as a result of the cross section of the lines drawn from each side. These squares are again decorated (carved) in to lozenges inside it and each lozenge possesses a little square in the centre. This is represented in the following drawing :

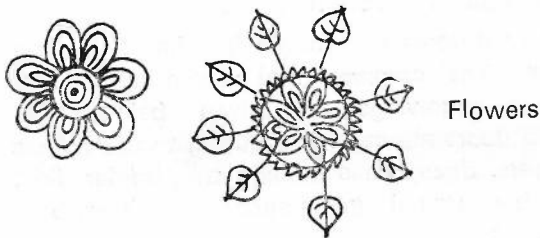




Intusection showing lozenge.

Flower

Two kinds of flowers can be distinguished. There are flowers exactly like one engraved on the beams. These are made by carving of concentric circles on which further concentric circle or semi-concentric circles (often 'U' shaped) are made to symbolise the petals. Another type of flowers consist of petals surrounded by a circle. The form of petals is exactly like that of a lilly which is carved with a secondary line over it. Again, the circles surrounding these, consist of small triangles on them and leaves are carved out in between each two triangles. The following is the drawing pertaining to this design.



Flowers

Natural Figures

Natural figures consist mainly of birds, elephants and fishes. These figures are symbolic, with an attempt to achieve reality, rather than geometry.

Carvings on comb, made of bamboo

The combs of the Juangs sustain a style from the long past. These types of combs have been mentioned by Dr. V. Elwin. These are made by three rectangular bamboo pieces. Out of these, two are alike. Another piece (the real comb) is clamped between these two, by means of thread tied all over. One end of the single bamboo piece (the comb) is carved with figures of man by means of niddle. and other end has the teeth of the comb. The figures carved on these combs are often geometric.

Sculpture

In Panasanasa village, I chanced to see the work of Iswar Juang on a piece of wood. This cannot be called sculpture in the real sense. But it is different from all other forms of art; in respect of its tendency to achieve a three dimensional form, and marks in the eyes and in the form of the body as a whole. It is made of a wooden plate with an approximate length, breadth and depth of one foot and six inches, ten inches and three inches respectively. The face is marked by the presence of eyes, nose and mouth. The neck is made by simply narrowing the plate below the face. It has no hands, legs are widely separated and are without feet. The nose and mouth are indicated by the carving of lines and eyes show engraving.

Clay Modelling

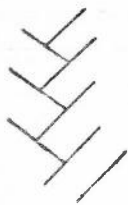
This is only one form that I found in Talapada village made by a widow. Its size is very small, about eight inches only. There is no palm or feet. One leg is posed on the other, though not by a deliberate attempt as revealed by the artist. The eyes, nose and mouth are indicated by means of a stick produced out of a coconut leaf. The hands are in the normal position. The whole body is fixed on the ending of the wall, extreme end nearer to the lower part of the door.

Graphic figures on paper

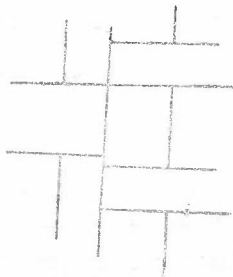
Sunia Juang of Tala Panasanasa village is said to be a pioneer artist who has attempted to reveal his art in the pencil and paper. His art on the papers reveals the figures of birds, Jack-fruit tree with fruits hanging down, elephant and scenery depicting a stream flowing down the hill. The figures are childish because they fail to achieve reality. The mouth of the elephant and the pattern in which the feathers of a bird are painted show a high tendency towards reality. The figures of the comb, are the most realistic and very well depict the pattern of tying the threads.

In respect of weaving pattern there is no change. It is followed by their tradition. The weaving pattern in patia is very general, and this pattern is found everywhere. Each patia consists of parts (small patias) usually six or nine in number. The breadth of the patia is determined by the size of the leaves of 'Khajuri' tree. The leaves are usually four to five inches

long. The weaving pattern of the patia is given below.



Similarly basketry has no special artistic function, as distinguished from others which are marked every where. Its style is as given below:



Thus in the technique of weaving of patia, making of basketry there is no special artistic value attached. They are regarded as art so far they have achieved perfection in this line.

Bodily Ornaments

Beads are the most important of their ornaments. Formerly they used to make the beads by themselves. But now they buy these in the market. The beads are of different sizes and made of clay or plastic. The beads which are made of clay are of different colours mostly red (crimson) and yellow.

No artistic skill is marked in any of their ornaments as they obtain these from market and further they are not made by themselves. Different ornaments are used to decorate their nose, ear, legs, etc., are made of silver and are of mostly decorative character.

Tattooing

Tattooing is made to promote the beauty of the body. The face, including the foreheads, cheek, chin and hand (of upper extremities) are given tattoo marks.

The procedure of making this, involves certain amount of cruelty. Firstly minute holes are made on the skin by niddle or any horn according to the size of the tattoo mark. Then a solution of black colour obtained from the black earthen

vessel and castor oil are applied on the skin, where the small drops of bloods ooze out from the holes made by niddle. The tattoo marks given on the forehead and two cheeks are three straight lines with a little gap in between and connected with another line from the beginning. The chin is decorated with small points as well as the hand is.

Tattooing is gradually disappearing as they have started realising that this spoils the beauty of their faces.

FOLK-DANCE

Juang dance is intimately connected with the Juang youth dormitory. Obviously the members of dormitory in each village are the dancers. There is certain specific age which is the criterion of membership. Youth dormitories are the organisations of unmarried youths who cease to be its member after their marriage. In the unmarried lists spinsters and bachelors are included. I have seen in Tala Raidiha village, a divorced wife, eldest of all come to Astadiha to dance. The widows and widowers may not dance, but they are formally regarded as the members and can sleep at the 'Majang' (youth dormitory) and may watch dance. There is no specific age for dance for the dancers. A boy can be a member of the Majang with a special rite in 'Ambanue' (at the first mango eating ceremony) and girls can be members after receiving presentation from a boy. The boy, after attaining his adulthood and a girl after attaining her maturity, and both being the members of dormitory, can participate in dance.

There are also others who do not dance. The old man and women including married women cannot dance. Children cannot participate in the dance. They can dance within their age-group but that is only for pleasure; they cannot have dancing trip to bandhu villages. There are also some conditions which must be fulfilled in order to be the members of the dormitory, and thereby to achieve the privilege of dancing. An unmarried youth becomes a member of dormitory accompanied by rites-de-passage. He must go through initiation ceremony, he must be able to contribute some thing for the dormitory on this occasion. (Some thing; in the form of grain, rice, etc.). Therefore a poor, uninitiated fellow cannot enjoy the privilege of dancing, by not being its member. I have also found other causes for which a young unmarried youth cannot participate in communal dance. In Panasanasa village Nata Sardar's sons —Purandar and

his elder brother; and his daughter Saudamini did not dance with the others in the village, not that they were unable to pay the initiation fees or were not initiated, nor that they could dance and sing, but that Nata Sardar did not allow them to dance, because he had an enmity with the villagers. Arjuna Juang, the son of Jayant Juang of Barura village also did not dance as he was a student reading in class seven.

In Juang society dance is not a one-man activity. In every Juang village it is neither shared by only girls nor by only boys, nor by taking one from each sex. On the other hand the groups are chosen from each sex to dance. There is no fixed one-one ratio between the boys and girls to dance. I have found for several times in villages like Astadiha, Gonasika, Barura, Panasanasa the dance being participated between six to eight boys with two or three girls and *vice versa*. In the village level there may be dance consisting of the boys and girls of the same village, but they cannot marry among themselves. So supplementary activities which follow the performance of a dance with bandhu participants, such as joking, communal masaging, etc., do not take place when the dance is limited to the same village. The Juang have several clans and each village is a uniclans and the form of marriage specially developed by dance (made by bandhu dancers) is strictly prohibited among them, as they belong to same kutumb (clan).

The youths of one village can have dancing trip to their bandhu village to dance with the girls there. The boys take presentation for the girls and are welcomed to dance with them. They may remain in the village for even two nights, working in Tailas, cutting woods in the day time and dancing in the night. Girls can also make dancing trip to their bandhu village in the similar manner.

Among the Juang there is no hard and fast rule regarding the time and place for dance, But night is considered favourable, to become more free to enjoy privacy and they do not like to dance in the day time. Their dances are performed in the day time with full interest, when bandhu dancers (females) come to dance, and when they take wine prior to the dance in some festivals i. e, Karama puja etc. They usually dance between seven to eight P. M. after taking their evening meal. They gather in front of the Mandaghar of the Majang. The dance is performed without special light

arrangement. The only light is available at that time is from the fire in the Mandaghar which is always kept burning. And this never-extinguishing fire is used for pika, to warm the leathery face of the Changu.

There is no special or traditional dress for dancers during their dancing. Girls generally wear different types of heads and necklaces around their neck and breasts. Now-a-days there is a tendency marked in the young ladies to wear red saris. I have found, out of seven dancers, four ladies put on red saris. On the occasion of their dancing in bandhu village, the bandhu girls take special care of their beauty by wearing ornaments, ribbons, etc. At the time of dance the girls tighten their saris to perform the dance well. The Juang male dancers wear clothes (often white in colour), banion and turban on their head.

The chief musical instrument used for dance is Changu. Although there are other types of musical instruments, yet none has the universal usage in every dance like Changu. Dance is begun by the males. At first the males gather in front of the Majang. They may be small in number. The Changu is beaten first in order to call the girls. About the Changu they have a saying "by slapping the dead she-goat you can assemble the girls." (Here the dead she-goat refers to its skin of which the Changu is made.) A Changu is beaten for about half an hour which declares the dance. All other males gather with their Changu. The girls come and gather together beside the Majang in order to appear at the proper time. When the first term of drumming the Changu is over they start singing.

Nare Nare Nare Nare
Nare Nare
Are, nare nare nare
nare nare

This continues atleast for three or four minutes. Then they sing the following song—

Dakiana kulabhai nilagiriki
Darsan kariba jai lo Gajapatiki

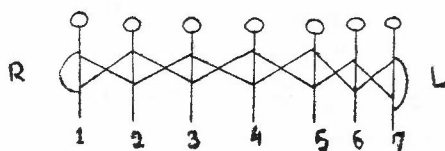
They repeat it several times and continue. It is described in "folk song" in detail. Thus it must be sung at the beginning of every dance (i.e., in every song). After its recitation they beat the Changu, and girls suddenly appear in front of them, being arranged in a line and immediately they initiate the dance. Then dances of different types start.

Dalton has described various types of Juang dances. Especially he has shown a variety of sportive dances which are "dramatic in effect". Dr. Elwin has described various dances such as deer dance, boar dance, elephant dance, bear dance, koel dance with appropriate songs. But during my investigation of one month I have never come across such dances nor have I received any information regarding this. Among fourteen villages of the Juang there is universal presence of only one type of dance which does not conform to any dance that Dalton and Elwin have mentioned. There is only one genuine reason to account for this difference. Elwin visited the Juang (of Keonjhar) forty years ago and Dalton did it even before him. During this forty years, their dance pattern might have declined. According to Bidhu Juang of Astadiha village (who is about sixty years old) who had seen the vulture dance in his boy hood, such dances are performed rarely. Purander Juang of Tala Panasanasa village informed me about two other type of dances. In the first type of dance the males dance raising their right legs and females by bending their bodies. In the second type, the males dance while sitting in a semi-circle. But evidence to support this information is rare. He described that they dance after taking wine (which they do sometimes). Such dances are performed out of emotion. Besides, I have marked in their dance after Karama Puja, which the artists performed, being intoxicated. They danced in almost every style, being independent of each other and in the most disorganised manner. Such dances, which originate out of excitement due to liquor, and which they do not accept in their normal mood, cannot be accepted as 'types of dances'.

Again their roles in dancing must be clarified, before describing the most predominant type of dance. In the dance only males have the right to sing and to use joking terms. They also beat the Changu. Females only dance, they cannot answer any joke during dance; they are capable of making musical sounds befitting the rhythm of dance by means of their 'Chudi' (which is natural). They can reply in song alternatively after their dance or at the time of returning from market, etc.

In the most common type of dance the girls stand in front of the boys who beat the Changu. They usually stand in a straight line, but during the dance it becomes semi-circular. They hold each other, hand in hand chained to each other

as expressed in the following graphic representation.



In course of their dance the girls of the extreme ends may release their left or right hand. Boys do not stand in such an interconnected manner. What they do is that they maintain a straight line, which is often a curve during their dance. As soon as the boys sing the song, both parties start dancing by bending their body from the waist and advance backward and forward generally with two steps. Each line of the song is repeated. In the repetition both boys and girls erect their bodies and thus come back to their normal condition. In this state their dance goes advancing backward and forward with the two steps. After one line of the song is over the boys shift their line into a new direction, generally to the right and females in their dancing state shift the line to face them. Before changing the direction, boys for a little time stand and beat the Changu. Usually one song takes half an hour. After one song, the girls may relax breaking the line. The next song begins with their usual nare, nare, etc. which directs the tune of the next song. There are also proverbs and other relaxing songs that are sung at intervals. One such song come to my notice. It is a pure Oriya song, its meaning is given below—

"I have got four villages
 Out of which three are bad;
 One is good.
 The villagers of the good village
 Made three earthen pots.
 Out of the three earthen pots
 Two were bad and one was good.
 They cooked three 'pai' (1/4th of any unit)
 of rice
 In the good earthen pot.
 Out of three 'Pais'
 Two 'Pais' of rice were cooked badly
 And one 'Pai' was good.

To eat one 'pai' of good cooked rice
 Three guests came
 Out of the three
 Two quarrelled with each other
 One of the guests was found to be well.
 He gave three bamboos
 Out of three, two were bad,
 One was good.
 Out of one bamboo
 Three bows were made
 Out of the three, two were bad,
 By the one good bow
 They decided to
 Kill three 'Sambaras'.
 Out of three Sambaras
 Two ran away
 And one was killed."

The song is recited occasionally. Is saim is to give charm during dance. The next song starts and thus dance goes on. Elders of the village retire from the Majang. A strong competitive spirit develops between them and each party tries to defeat the other. In case of 'bandhu' girls, the boys try to beat the changu over night and keep the girls dancing. In order to do that they may be divided into two groups to dance alternatively. If a girl's party tries to flee away from the dancing ground, the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. During their dance, joking activities are marked. I have found from the dance in Astadiha where ladies came from Tal Raidiha village. Among them there was an elderly lady, (a divorced wife), she was the laughing stock of the boys (dancers) of the Astadiha village. They made fun of her by telling funny words to her. They often put their changu on her head. On the other side she advanced in her dancing so quickly that her head knocked against the Changu of the boys. The girls do not give reply to the jokes of the boys during dance. What they can do is to kick and step on the foot of the boys. They can throw ashes, mud water, at the boys. They can also pull Changu in order to reply their Changu beating. They can also be divided into two group to dance with the boys alternatively. The dance may continue the whole of the night. Generally they end it at the dead

of the night when all the villagers fall asleep. The boys take the girls to the nearest secluded place for massaging.

CONCLUSION

Study of Juang folk literature through folklore

Folklore is the product of individuals which owes much of its excellence to society in which a folk lives. It is therefore obvious to think that folklore bears the inner view of the society along with the producer's own motives, thoughts and feelings. The great arts of today bear the evidences of social life and there are innumerable instances present to justify it. The ancient mythologies such as the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Iliad and Odyssey, the Panchatantra, etc., are full of social significances. It may not be equal to the modern twentieth century literature to search for record of social life. But the social life sketched in the ancient literatures is full of supernatural imaginations where as the modern literature and art reflect the society most realistically.

The study of the folklore without folk life becomes partial. Folklore is the voice of the folk and imprint of the natural surrounding. Social life of the individuals of the Jung is greatly reflected in their folklore (in their folk literature, dance and art.) But all the genres of folklore may not bear such social significance. For instance in the styles of dance, in the decorative designs of pillars of the Majang, etc., it may entirely lack. In spite of these the Juang folklore is a great repository of social life. To start with the Juang literature, the folk stories are replete with social significance.

In the story Shahadabati the matrimonial affairs, regarding the condition of the marriage are well reflected. It is in their story that sons of the merchant marry by means of 'Ghicha, (marriage by capture). Ghicha marriage is not unfamiliar to Juang society. Instances of such marriages are abundant. For the youngest son (in the story) there was no bride to be captured- the father had to go in search of a bride. The behaviour and service, which a daughter-in-law ought to maintain in a Juang society is very well depicted in the character of Shahadabati. In her character we see a Juang house wife doing her daily chores starting with smearing the floor of the house with cowdung, then cooking food, serving the food to every member of the family and lastly taking it herself. In other literary forms the character of the women did not get an opportunity to reveal themselves.

In other stories the ladies are characterised not from the positive point of view. The ladies as painted in stories are often disloyal, cunning and submissive to injustice. This type of characterization is not due to the personal prejudice of story tellers against women, but according to the character, behaviour and manner of the women found among the Juang. In the Shahadabati story the youngest daughter-in-law remains silent at the time of her remarriage with king Hatia. Again she cannot recognize her husband from his voice and appearance as he is in disguise as a yogi. She has only committed suicide after knowing this—which was the only alternative for her. But she does not make any attempt to protest against the injustice done to her. In the story of King Kanak's daughter the lady is cunning and villain every inch. She loved the general of the State, though she had been predetermined to marry the prince of another State. She was playing dice in a secluded room where the prince was sleeping in disguise as a beggar. Her evil character was revealed there. Very cunningly she overcame that and very skilfully pronounced a death sentence to the prince through her father. As a result, at the end of the story, she had to commit suicide, the only reward for a devil's life. This is neither the story teller's imagination to paint their heroines like this, nor is it my intellectual charm to deduce such a proposition from their stories. But it is the actual life of the Juang which is characterized.

I found the history of the wife of Mali Juang of Barura village, where the girl has no fidelity to her lover which is reflected in the story of King Kanak's daughter. In this case the girl (Mali Juang's wife) had developed a special love for a boy of Upar Raidiha village before her marriage. It took the form of an arranged marriage by the mutual consent of their parents. When such was the situation the girl came to dance in Barura village and there she was captured by Mali Juang and they married (by means of Ghicha). This is not irony of her fate, as she married him without any protest and she is quite happy with her husband, forgetting her lover. There are some other examples to justify this character as painted in their stories. A proper insight into their way of life provides much more material to correlate the characters of the stories with those of the real life.

Again, in the Juang Society a new bride is better accompanied by her sisters-in-law than her parents-in-law, this is well reflected in the

story of Shahadabati. Here both the parents-in-law refused to take care of the bride (Shahadabati) in the absence of her husband and directed him to ask his sisters who could take better care of her.

The Juang heroes, as depicted in the stories are characterized in a positive manner—perhaps for the sake of the story. But there are certain examples in their stories which reveal the Juang character. A Juang prince is kind hearted, strong, beautiful no doubt. But he bribed the Minister to escape a death punishment. Rusi, the hero of another story resorted to forgery in order to spare the life of the merchant's son. In the story of 'Brother monkey' the monkey went on kidnapping the goat, the cow, the bullock-cart and finally the merchant's daughter. Thus the fraudulent character has found expression in this story. But for this there are positive means which could be adopted to achieve these ends. But due to lack of positive imagination and influence of the society upon the story tellers, the characters are painted so weakly.

Local colour is printed every where irrespective of the time, Place and person. The Juang have the idea of king, but they are not conscious of what kinship means, so far as the royal position and majestic character of a king is concerned. In most of their stories whether king or rich merchant they go on digging out tunga and bainga (two roots used as means of their livelihood), the king eats rice and dal as the royal dish; a king can sleep on a cot made up of rope, which is found frequently in the day-to-day life of the Juang. The names of kings are always local. The king is often named as 'Kanak' 'Hatia' etc. The prince may use golden teeth to replace the tooth which might decay on account of smoking pika. The dress pattern of the king is very simple, not different from that of a common Juang man. He can use turban and an iron shirt. The kings ride on an elephant only, shows his distinction as a king. This has been reflected in the story Shahadabati and in the story of King Kanak's daughter. Shahadabati receives the prestige of a queen by being taken on an elephant; the king and queen go to see the cremation of the yogi on an elephant; the prince in his marriage procession rides an elephant. In their various songs the importance of elephant is marked. These are not the mere descriptions of stories, but the descriptions of the Juang social life.

Myth and legend in their main aspects give recognition to the social action of the people. They contain only frame work of the main stories to justify the situation, rather than the descriptions to contain enough social instances. But even in their small stature, possessing less description, they speak a good deal of the Juang. Now-a-days the Juang do not eat beef. But they were taking that and there is a myth present to justify their beef-eating habit. Again, there is another legend where this phenomena is again reflected. Here the Rusiputra had taken beef and told a lie. The Rusi cursed them on that account. The Juang social character is disclosed when these two phenomena are analysed. Here in one myth the Juang have been sanctioned to take beef. But in another they have been cursed for doing so. This justifies the fact that, though they were beef eaters yet it was not culturally sanctioned. That is why the Rusi putras immediately denied their having taken beef and were cursed. This shows that the Juang are conscious of the fact that beef eating is a sign of low status, and the persons like Rusi putras should not take beef. This inner view of the Juang is continued by receiving poor inspiration from the myth regarding beef eating. And its truth is again justified when they abruptly stop beef eating by a single knock of cultural revolution made by Rabi Mishra on the pre-existing Juang culture. Coming to the more practical life its truth is again clarified. For example there have been so many reforms made by many authorities to abolish such customs as leaf dress, dance, drinking wine, etc. But the Juang have been showing their reluctance to be reformed (as evidenced from their present existing customs). Even, there have been sharp reactions pointed against the items such as wearing of clothes instead of leaf dress, as expressed in their myth and songs. But nothing is made against the abolition of beef eating. They have accepted it with their own realization regarding social prestige.

Juang brothers and sisters do not live in their house during the night; they engage themselves in dance (through not with each other). Here the myth regarding their youth dormitory justifies the social action. The apprehension that brothers and sisters by sleeping with their parents in the same house may exhibit their inner urge in the form of sexual intercourse—is originated from the thought of Rusi in their myth.

There is a good reason as to the question why the Juang are not in favour of keeping co-wives though polygamy exists (rarely) in their society. Generally they take a second wife when the first wife is proved to be barren, and if the second wife bears children, then an enmity between the co-wives develops. Even if two wives have children there is always quarrel among them due to the fact that each-mother develops paying special attention towards her own children. This family quarrel and mental agony exist in the polygamous household is well reflected in their myth concerning the creation of day and night and stars, where enmity between the sun and the moon (co-wives) leads to the death of their children and the separation of one from another. They are allowed to meet at the same time neither in the day nor in the night.

The folk songs of the Juang are patched with a great deal of social significance. In many songs the Juang house has been mentioned in relation to the natural objects. Their house is always described with Mahua tree, Jack fruit tree, cowdung hill, clouds and the moon. In many of the songs the description of the house with the night's darkness is depicted vividly. A special mention can be made regarding the personification of natural places in the songs. The river Mahanadi, Baitarani; hills like Gonasika, Malyagiri; places like Gonasikabari, Keonjhar, Banai are always personified in their songs. From the agricultural songs we find the agricultural activities of the people. From the songs of 'love and beauty' and innumerable social situations can be visualized. In these songs there is description of beautiful girls. There is the mental image of a girl whose teeth are clear, who walks gently in river Baitarani, whose ornaments are new, who stands in front of the cowdung hills looking herself, whether she looks beautiful or not. Thus the general psychology of the Juang girls has been noted. She looks beautiful in relation to the rising moon. In another song the poet has seen her in the Jungle where a Sahib hunts an elephant. He has seen her when she carries leaf cups on her head. Sometimes the beautiful girl is named as 'Nigunamali'—the esteemed lady of the dancers. They have been searching for her for about fifteen days. Her walks are charming. She has no small-pox marks on her face, she is as tender as a bean creeper. The boy, in order to present her, collects crabs from the

streams, from the Suakati market, he brings dukta for pika and ornaments for her. Again the girls from Cuttack are always beautiful.

All these descriptions are original. These are the descriptions relating to the beauty of girls of their imagination which borrow most of the evidences from their real life. In the hunting songs there is description of preparing curry with the flesh of an animal, how it is prepared and with what spices. The songs containing historical evidence are full of social exemplifications. One song expresses the disasters that be fell due to the introduction of cloth and it records a clear picture of the contemporary Juang society, that is, the Juang of today do not obey their parents, the cows and buffaloes are carried away by small-pox disease, the annual crops are damaged, the chastity of ladies is at stake.

The expeditions of the Shahibs (the British officials) are always described in the social context. The Shahibs come, they pitch their tents fixing the ropes with Asan logs, they make their supper with the help of the Pana and the Patras (local people), they go to the jungle for hunting. Here Shahibs' hunting of the elephants is not tolerated by the Juang. Not only hunting of elephants, but also cutting down of the big trees like Sal, etc., are always painful to the Juang. In the folk song the mental agony and sorrow also come into picture. From one song it is clear that the hunting of an elephant does not cause less sorrow than the stabbing of the Sial arrow into the heart. The Shahibs return by their bus. By their orders large pieces of logs are carried to the river from where it is transported to Calcutta.

The religious recitations speak of the social attitude of the people. The tie of friendship among the Juang is very strong. When a boy leaves the Majang after his marriage he has to go through many rituals and he has to beg excuse for his departure from Changu dance and other communal activities participated by youths. Co-operation and friendship among the bachelors on occasions of dancing, shifting cultivation, making dancing trip, etc. are very strong and lovable. There is a song regarding Lord Shrikrishna's return to Mathura. Here Krishna is not seen-off by the ladies of the Gopapura; but by his fellow friends, whom he loves the most. The fellow friends are extremely unhappy to remain without Krishna.

The Juang social action can be exhibited in this light. In many societies or in our famous 'Bhagabat' there is the description of the parting of Shrikrishna with his parents, 'Radha' and other ladies of Gopapura. But Srikrishna's leave taking from his friends is not so thoroughly depicted. The Juang uniqueness can be realized in this respect. Here Krishna is regarded more as an unmarried Juang Youth who co-operates with them on every occasion, rather than as a lover of the sixteen hundred ladies of Gopapura and no Radha laments at his departure, but his friends. This is nothing but strong social relationship that causes such a deviation.

There are many riddles which I have omitted due to their naked sexual implications. Further they are also of less importance. The riddles such as how vagina swallows the haldi grinding stone; position of the couple at the time of their sexual intercourse who look like a big monster, having two heads, etc.—are the outcome of such social actions. The Juang riddles are greatly related to their social surrounding. The description of the earthen vessels, Changu, Mahula tree, Potter's wheel, the shell and all other objects around which the Juang material culture centres, have been intellectually versed in the riddles.

Proverbs have originated from the interesting events that occur in the society. The practical jokes played on occasions of dancing trips and other joking relationships, have great social significance. The Juang boys go to another bandhu village to dance. In their speech ensured between them bear their social behaviour. The girls always call themselves as untouchables and boys look thin and beautiful as they are supplied with fine rice and dal. The marriage of brothers and sisters are universally tabooed. This is here interpreted jokingly. If the girls do not come to their bandhu village, the boys humorously tell them that they should remain in their village and marry their own brothers. In the marriage the bridegroom always cuts joke with his brother-in-law saying that he would marry his own sister.

In the Juang dance, especially in its style the social phenomena is less reflected. Dance has a greater significance than its functional point of view, but bears no greater social reflection. Regarding the dress of dancers, social significance is greatly marked. They have no special dress to be worn during their dance. They usually wear ordinary clothes at that time also.

The satisfaction of an artist lies not in the creation of something new but in the expression of reality. So various 'schools' or 'isms' of art are meaningless to a Juang artist. In this respect a Juang artist's free imagination does not cross the boundaries of the society in which he lives. The Juang art does not involve any complete, definite theme, but only fragments of social phenomena. The leaves carved on the wooden doors show the artist's awareness of the social surrounding. The carving of the man on the wooden beam, though not realistic, shows a dancing pose. The Juang combs that I have found are pretty old, the figures carved on them are men in dancing pose. But it has no resemblance to the Juang dance, or to any activity of the Juang. One informant gave his opinion, that he had carved the figure of a man in his natural condition. The information obtained from another man is quite interesting. He said that the group of people that he carved on the comb are the dancers, and the irregularity marked in their limbs, is due to the fact that they have taken liquor before dance. If this interpretation is regarded as true and correct, then it should be realized that the artist has observed the society keenly which he has depicted on the comb.

FUNCTIONS OF FOLKLORE

According to Alan Dundes "the aspect of function is of least concern to literary folklorists but perhaps of greater concern to anthropological folklorists". Folklore in the Juang in its various forms performs the functions in the following manner. One of the major functions that folklore performs in the Juang society, irrespective whether in the form of literature, art and dance, is that it provides entertainment to the minds of the people. The Juang economy is of low status and so is their way of living. Pleasure is generally scarce in this society where people have to face hard reality of life and where the struggle for existence is acute. Folklore has its function here. Listening to the intricate complexities and adventures embodied in their folk stories, myth and legends, the humour, the gestures and practical jokes in their dance accompanied by the Changu music, daru and communal massaging in the night, representing their thought and artistic excellency in their walls, pillars and wooden doors provides an enjoyable escape from the hard reality of their life.

Folklore helps promoting education. Here education does not stand for academic education. Folklore is synonym to tribal culture—their way of life. The function in this regard is performed by educating the people according to their own culture. For example, in their society the males are trained well to carry on shifting cultivation and females are made accustomed to weave Patias. This fact of their myth prevailing among them after innumerable generations provides a strong support to their culture in this respect. There are a good number of instances as to how the manner and style of folk dance, the decorative art, etc., are made by folklore. On the other hand the Juang, though in a limited number listen to the stories, myths and legends songs, etc., and know the meaning—which educate them in providing these thoughtful materials.

One of the functions which folk literature seeks to perform is to provide a media to satisfy the epistemological urge of the Juang people. Their intellectual thirst is quenched by providing a ready made interpretation to the natural and cultural phenomena that surround them.

The role of folk literature, in promoting education is more remarkable than any other forms. This happens in two ways. Firstly, it educates them to enrich knowledge and help them in learning their culture. Secondly this educational process is sustained by transmission from one generation to another. Myth and legend have special place in performing this function. They contain certain essential educational informations which are believed to be true. For example one may say that to tell lie is as in, but myth and legend show clearly, how by telling lies the Rusiputras were cursed and how river Baitarani emerged from the nostrils of the cow.

Riddles are the other media through which intellect of the Juang has been displayed. It teaches as to how animals, plants and other things of nature can be intellectually interpreted. This opens up other characters, which can be metaphorically used and thus increases their sense of beauty in forming a sentence. For example in their society Changu is conceived as a musical instrument. Through riddle it is interpreted in another way, that is 'beating of a dead goat can gather the girls'. This again helps reforming their way of talking. For example

they may say "hang the goat skin on the wall", instead of saying "hang the Changu on the wall".

There are certain forms of legend which also have educative value. The anecdotal legend relating to the quarrel among the five fingers is a very good evidence of the wisdom and intellect of their master who explained that the little finger was superior to all other fingers in spite of its small size. In another, an intelligent girl frees her father of a debt by means of her sharp intellect in interpreting the various words in her speech. Further, all these educational materials are transmitted and they function as a permanent school of learning.

In the Juang society folk literature helps maintain conformity to cultural values and accepted patterns of behaviour. It is widely used to express their approval and disapproval through the application of social pressure and social control imposed on them. The myths forwarded by the Juang justify reason behind almost every phenomenon. There are folk tales displaying ideal patterns. In all these items the appreciation of the people concerning every social action is exhibited. Disapproval is also marked in some of them. In this State whenever there is a question of social control there is a reaction immediately by means of all these existing beliefs and explanations.

The song regarding the use of cloth relates a truth in this regard. The British officials compelled them not to wear leaf dress which they accepted with much unwillingness and in mental agony. It is true that they did not revolt against this openly. But their sharp reaction was expressed in the song 'Sunagundi Matigundi...'

Not only the songs, but also various myths suggest how by using clothes a woman was killed by tiger in the forest. Folk songs are also used to criticise and rebuke. For instance British officials came and killed the elephants and cut down the big trees and this was reacted by the Juang in the words 'Gachha kata kampaniki nahela marana' (in the song 'Gajaku akat kale chaudiga...')

In order to criticise and condemn one's action going against the ideal of the society, proverbs contribute much in this respect. For instance the part of the proverb—"Ghaita chhuali, maipa einda" (in the proverb "Kathara dunduru...") is usually expressed to criticise a woman who

leaves her work to be done by her husband. Thus it acts as a strong stimulant factor to keep the duty of man and woman without interchange or any alternation.

Another function is that folklore acts as a kind of social authority. Malinowski has shown how myth provides a warrant and charter for magic, ceremony, ritual and social structure. Myths of the Juang are cited as an authority on the question of religious beliefs, ritual procedures and justify social action.

There are some important functions behind their dance. The Juang dance, as I have seen, is not a complicated one, that is, any body and every body in their society can dance according to this style. This is mainly due to the fact that dance is a necessary activity and not a leisurely activity like other forms of folklore. The fact that dance is "artistic performance of some" is replaced here by the fact that it is an "inartistic performance of all". This inartistic dance, performed by all is due to the fact that it has got some necessity in the Juang Society. The functions of dance are manifold. Firstly, dance establishes marriage relationship. The reason is apparent. The dancers make dancing trips to their bandhu villages and their relations being developed through love result in marriage settlement. There are certain rules in the dance which help maintenance of stability in their society. For example, boys and girls of one village, being brothers and sisters cannot marry; therefore there cannot be communal massaging between them and thus free talk is restricted there. Again this fact leads to the prohibition of dance between two kutumb villages. Thus by this rule social taboo is well maintained. Further by despatching dancing trips friendship between two bandhu villages is continued and the friendship of the dancers—boys and girls, develops the most cordial relationship. Thus sluggish people must dance in order to have such function.

Art has no great function except to promote artistic capability. The influence of arts, embodied in the Majang makes others practise art. For example in the Barura village, the Majang was rebuilt by the Sardar, Padhan and Achhab Juang of the village. Along with these they have made certain new pillars which are more artistic than the former ones.

Thus in brief, folklore performs important functions such as promoting education, providing an enjoyable escape from the hard reality, acting as an authority to answer the disturbances arising from the existing state of pattern. Further it helps maintaining social solidarity and is the media of reaction to maintain cultural continuity and stability.

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