

Open Access

Research article

Adivasi Identity, Kingly-citizenship and Ethno-cultural Politics in the Jungle Kingdoms of Odisha

PRASANNA KUMAR NAYAK

*Utkal University
Odisha, India*

RAJAKISHOR MAHANA

*Khallikote Autonomous College, Khallikote University
Berhampur, Odisha, India*

[†]ANGELICA MARINESCU

*Romanian Academy, Institute of Sociology Bucharest, Romania;
Indian Council for Cultural Relations Scholar (2017-2020)*

[†]Corresponding author: angeli.marinescu@gmail.com

[Received: December, 1, 2019; Accepted: December 10, 2019]

The paper sheds light on the socio-cultural and political identity of the adivasis in relationship to their king(s), in the past as well as nowadays. Based on long time field observations (Nayak, 1972-2005), enforced by theoretical remarks and viewpoints, the research emphasizes that the adivasis in the former “Jungle Kingdoms” of Odisha organize community-based rituals and festivals as politically more organized groups than mere social groups, lineage groups or clan groups with the ultimate purpose of upholding and renewing legitimacy over their land and territory. The use of certain royal symbols and insignia in ritual rites makes explicit how the authority of the king assumes prime- most importance from the point of view of their identity and status as legitimate citizens or, at least as state-owned denizens. The paper intends to discuss these kingly religious rites in their varied manifestations drawing examples from tribal people inhabiting Odisha as a regional variation of the middle Indian tribes.

Keywords: adivasi identity; ethno-cultural politics; citizenship; Jungle Kingdoms; Odisha

Introduction

Adivasis inhabiting the erstwhile Jungle Kingdoms of Odisha maintained their respective identities pride-fully through negotiations with the ruling kings of regions and sub-regions concerned. A named adivasi society followed a cultural life-style of its own; maintained social ties within an espoused structural model of its own; organized itself territorially adopting a political system of its own being abided by political authorities of its own in negotiation with the then vassal kings and chiefs of feudatory estates at the top. The kings/kingsmen used to attend annual festivals embodying the distinctiveness of an adivasi group. People feel proud of their presence in the ceremony and thereby become assured of their identity and legitimate rights over their land and territory. While worshipping the earth goddess, worship of a sword or the like, representing the authority of the king, is a must. Most importantly, the kings in their palaces/capital headquarters celebrate the Dussehra festival every year and invite the adivasi politico-ritual functionaries to participate in it heartily. The king used to offer typical headgears to the headmen appropriate to their respective attire and adornment, status and identity. No more the feudatory king's rule over them. The king is dead, yet kingly citizenship and identity still reverberate in adivasi minds. To an appreciable extent, they continue to participate in the annual celebration of Dussehra festival in the premises of king's palace and also in the specially designed festival ground earmarked for the adivasi participants. A majority of hill dwelling adivasis in Odisha continue to maintain their respective cultural and social identities even today in the same rigor. However, their traditional local political systems continue to remain functional in conjunction with the introduction Panchayat Raj Institutions of Government of India.

Additionally, the territorial chief, the village headman and the priest, inseparably together play important roles in observance of all community-based rituals, feasts and festivals. Although the priest is the religious specialist, the chief or the headman presides over all religious functions, and the credit for the success of the function goes exclusively to the chief or the headman. The chief or village headman represents the king in the temporal world and the god king in the spiritual world. In these respects, there are striking structural parallels between the religions of the tribal world and those of the Hindu caste world. In annual rituals and festivals organized in Hindu temples, the arrival of the king in person or his symbolic appearance there in some form or other constitutes essentially a ritual event (Nayak, 2007).

While discussing these facts, the emerging theoretical viewpoints which need close examination are that (1) understanding the adivasis and their cultures in relation to the kings in the historical past is more imperative than seeing them as an ahistorical and isolated lot without having any interaction with the world outside their land and territory (Nayak, 2010a); (2) adivasi religions and for that matter adivasi cultures, in the Indian context in particular, do not only have caste Hindu elements ingrained in them but also predate as precursors of early Hinduism; (3) The tribe-caste distinction seems to be more artificial and constructed than a natural one.

Use of Kingly Insignia in adivasi Religious Rites

Organization of community festivals and their observance in pomp and ceremony in which the entire community participates in full mirth and merry, and often in furry is very remarkable in adivasi societies. The village headman, the clan chief presides over the observance, and the priest performs the religious rites and rituals. People display, on these

occasions, their cultural pride and dignity. They put on the prescribed attires and adornments and the entire community dines together over a grand feast. The village chief appears in his kingly robe, headgear, Pata-Pagadi and the priest in his robe of ritual appeal. People honour them for their significant roles in the success of the functions and show allegiance to them. On the occasion of the Dussehra festival observed in the palaces of the regional kings and feudal lords the village or clan functionaries as representatives of the adivasi communities are specially invited to attend it. They offer *bheti*, gifts of native produce to the king and in return the king adorns them *pagadi*, headgears of specific dimensions and colours in recognition of the respective adivasi's socio-cultural statuses (Schnepel, 2002, Kulke, 2010, Tripathy, 2010, Nayak, 2010b). The most favoured adivasis get special offers of swords along with headgears which they carry back home and preserve it and use and reuse them as the king's insignia in their religious rites and offer it a worship especially on the occasions of community festivals, organized at a grand scale. The king also favours them with gifts of buffaloes and goats, which they sacrifice outside the palace and enjoy the sacrificial meat over a feast. In the process of give and take interactions between the king and the adivasis on the ritual occasions, the adivasi communities remain loyal to the king and the king enjoys legitimate authority over the adivasis. The priest performs the rituals, appeases the deities and along with it takes out the sword preserved by him and offers it *puja*, as an insignia of the king.

The following description of the cases of use and reuse of kingly insignia in religious rites observed among some of the adivasis of Odisha will further clarify and testify the main argument made in the paper:

(1) In the historical past, the Bonda highlanders were loyal to the royal family of Nandpur and later to the same royal family when the capital was shifted to Jeypore. On the Dussehra festival the *Naik*, the village headman of Mudulipada and the chief of the *barjangar*, group of twelve villages, accompanied by the chief Mandra of village Dantipada, get invited by the king to participate in the festival. It may be said here that in the long past, Mandra is a special lineage group resettled by the king in the Bonda hills, whose chief function is to sanctify the seeds before sowing in the field. The *Naik* and the *Mandra* bring with them gifts of rice, millets, two cocks and a goat as a token of their *bheti*, annual presentation to the royal family. Both of them were offered one *pata pagadi* each as an insignia of royal patronage to the Bonda highlanders. The royal symbol Patkhanda, the sword given to the Bonda by an erstwhile queen has been kept on a huge banyan tree in the sacred grove at Mudulipada settlement and it is considered as the supreme deity of the Bonda highlanders, which gets propitiated with ritual offerings of goats, cocks, sun-dried rice and turmeric immediately after the return of the *Naik* and *Mandra* from the king's palace. On this day the seeds of a variety of crops brought by the Bonda villagers are worshiped and sanctified by the *Mandra* before they are sown in their farms and fields. They believe that the very touch of seeds by the *Mandra* on this occasion will bring them good luck and bumper harvest.

(2) *Dharani Penu*, the Earth goddess, is the supreme goddess of the Dongria Kondh. *Dharani Penu*, represented by three stones is kept opposed to the eastern wall of the *Sadar ghar*, the shrine-cum-the community house. A sword leans on the wall as the insignia of king. Outside the eastern wall of the *Sadar ghar*, the Dongria worship the *Koteiwalli penu*, represented by a long stone which stand erect in the open flanked by two wooden pillars and a wooden plank hinged onto the tips of the pillars. On both sides of the horizontal piece of wood are hung balls made out of coloured threads and small triangular pieces of carved wooden pieces representing combs. A wooden sword leans on

to wooden plank bears testimony to the insignia of king which is worshipped along with the *Kateiwalli penu*. This is the reflection of the fact that the Dongria males sport long hair tied in a knot in which they adorn wooden combs as ordained by the king.

(3) The King of Boudh had a garh, fort at Balaskumpa. In the celebration of Durga Puja in Barali Devi temple at Balaskumpa Janis, the priests of six Desia/Malia Kondh Muthas (territorial units) of Kondhmal, used to play significant roles with the patronage of the local kings. The mode of worship of Baral Devi, the main deity in the locality, bears an adivasi motif witnessing a large-scale animal sacrifice blended with semi-Vedic ritual touch. The installation of Durga in in-iconic form at Balaskumpa and other places of Kondhmal and the fixing of *Chhatkhamba*, resembling the Stambeswari or Khambeswari, as insignia of Goddess Durga in the Kondha villages by the kings speak of the royal practices in adivasi religion.



FIG. 1. Dhongria-Kond sword, Niamgiri Hills, Odisha, 1976 (see also Nayak, 2011).

(4) Jeypore town continues to be the center of tribal Dussehra in southern Odisha. The tribal chiefs and the priests of adivasis like, Omanatya, Bhatara, Bhumiya, Bonda, Didayi, Durua, Gadaba, Gond, Kondh, Koya, Paraja etc., who inhabit different localities of the erstwhile Jeypore kingdom, used to carry with them scores of holy bamboo clubs, 'Lathis' and gift items like rice, dal, ghee, vegetables, honey and come to Jeypore palace in a procession amidst traditional ceremonial music of *toories*, *birkahali*, *nagara* and tribal dances to pay obeisance to goddess Durga on the *Astami* day of Dussehra and pay respect and show allegiance to the king. The adivasi chiefs and village headmen were being offered headgears (*saries/pagadies*) by the king. As a part of the tradition, now the district administration as well as the Puja Committees play host to adivasi priests and chiefs of the region and felicitate them with headgears and costumes. The palace goddess Kanank Durga is carried in a large procession, *patuara*. The traditional troupes of musicians and dancers and the adivasi chiefs and priests in their traditional attire carrying with them 'Lathis' gather on the festival ground near the 'Banko Matha'. Arrangements are made to keep their holy 'Lathis' at one special pandal till the rituals are complete. The puja rituals continue the whole night along with the archery competition and adivasi dances. It is believed by the adivasis that the holy 'Lathis' are the incarnation of the Goddess Durga. The devotees from far and wide proceed to Jeypore and offer buffalo sacrifices to them.

(5) Dantha dance is one of the important dances of Santals performed during Soharai Festival. This dance is a type of war dance which displays skills and techniques of the battle field with the musical beats. Participants wear *Kacha Dhuti*, *Sendho Ganji* (a type of banyans), *dahlia* (turban) and peacock feather on the head with bows, arrows and swords in the hand. Specific dantha war songs are sung during the dance.



FIG. 2. Dantha, the Santal martial dance, 1982, Bhubaneswar Tribal Festival (see Nayak, 2011).

(6) Observance of Janthal festival is wide spread among the adivasis of north Odisha. According to folk belief, once king Ramachandra Bhanj Dev escorted by the Santals was returning to Rairangpur from a visit to his treasury, *rajkosha* at Motha Padia under the Jamda territory, *pirha*. While crossing the Pakna mountain a branch from tree fell down. Earlier the area was covered with dense forest. The king enquired if there was a god nearby. The Santals told him regarding god Paknapat. The king worshipped Paknapat and declared Him the chief deity of the Jamda territory. From that day, god Paknapat is being worshipped in an organised way by the tribal communities like the Santal, Ho, Munda, Kolha and others inhabiting the area. In the month of September every year people observe Janthal festival for three days and offer sacrifices of buffaloes and sheep to the deity.

The Ritual Order and Organisation

All religious rites observed in an adivasi society follow an order. Roles of the village/clan functionaries are well defined and each functionary is expected to perform its role to the satisfaction of the community. Any deviation is retaliated, may it be the village headman or clan chief. They are held responsible to the people of the community. Any indiscipline on the part of anyone is admonished by the village council. Prior to observance of the community festival/ritual the village council is convened and all the matters relating to organization of the festival are discussed in threadbare over long sittings till the finer points are reached and made clear to all towards making the festival a success. Expert opinions are sought, dates are fixed, and accordingly all arrangements move step by step. Individuals discharge functions according to their respective status positions; they mobilize the group and they lead the events. The order is hierarchical, and on these ritual occasions it becomes apparent and the hierarchical role relationships visible. On the occasion of *kodru parbu* annual festival organized at the clan territory level, the Dongria

Kondh sing a song expressing stratification and raking of roles among the main functionaries as follows:

Bismajhi hechi wechineyu
Jani dakineyu
Pujari wajineyu
Mondleyu mondiwineyu

The literary meaning of this is that the *bismajhi* (the sub-clan elder who looks after revenue matters) need to bring rice from home, the *jani* (the priest) need to call the names of the deities, the *pujari* (the assistant priest) needs to cook the meals and the *mondal* (the clan chief) need to preside and supervise pervasively. Seeing the frenzied crowd at the festival awaiting the sacrificial buffalo to appear at the altar of the earth goddess the elderly Dongria ladies portend that the peace needs to prevail and all it is dependent on the authority of *mondal*, the clan chief.

A large participation in the ritual is ensured. A grand scale celebration is designed. Kinsmen, relatives and important guests from outside the community are invited to witness the ritual. The invitees are given good treatment and food is served to them according to their preferences. Lavishness is marked in these rituals. The village headman maintains calm and remains composed. As if the ritual is the testing time for the seat of the village headman and the clan chief. The extent of the success of the festival attests the powerfulness of the chief, who in turn gets the recognition of the king and is bestowed with royal rewards and whenever required he becomes a special invitee to the king's palace. The kingdom's sovereignty and security thus largely depend upon how powerful its local adivasi chiefs are. Rituals are observed for all round health, happiness and wellbeing of the people and to keep the community and society united. The king cherishes that and that is the reason why the King's insignia in symbolic forms gets integrated into the ritual rites of tribal religions. The system, the order, the requisites in rituals as if ordained from above, the state, the king being at the top, and the interface between people's order and the state order merge with one another. On ritual occasions it becomes prominently clear how the adivasi people value the primacy of the state over their social life and living and how they interact with the state and participate in state-building contributing their might.

The village headman and territorial chief play their roles holding authority over the people in organizing the rituals the same way the kings do exercise authority over the people of the kingdom and reciprocally the people in turn look up to the king, the territorial chief and the village headman for all round success of the ritual, prosperity of the village or the territory or the kingdom. Thus, the village headman and territorial chiefs not only represent the king in all community rituals and festivals but behave and act like kings. On the ritual occasions every participant becomes alert at the arrival of the authorities either by blowing horns or *veera kahali* and conch. In 1994 I happened to observe *Sivaratri* at Brahmeswar temple in Bhubaneswar. I observed a group of temple functionaries who arrived in the temple late in the evening in a procession with blowing of *Veera kahali* and conch. They came and sat in front of the temple. I enquired about that event and I was told by the priest that it symbolized the arrival of the king. Further I was told that the very arrival of the authority, the king indicated that it would not take any more time for the *mahadeepa* (fire in earthen lamp) from Lingaraj temple to reach the Brahmeswar temple. Thus, the king manifests in every annual ritual/festival, be it

organized in an adivasi village or a Hindu caste temple. No more we have kings, but kingship encompasses the ritual rites (Nayak, field observations, 1972-2005).

The God as King

Adivasi people in Odisha believe in both gods and spirits, and they propitiate and appease them by offering sacrifices. They are very practical in choosing them. Most importantly, worship of earth goddess and sun god and appeasement of ancestors and a host of nature spirits those who dwell in hills, forests and streams are a must for them. They are considered as benefactors of the people and the whole community and the society at large. Unless appeased, they spell disasters. People feel obliged to them in several such ways, and by organizing the rituals they invoke and admire them. Malevolent spirits are warded off.

The mythical ancestors, their progenitors are worshipped as creators and protectors of the human populace of their land and territory, their kingdom. They are revered as kings and god kings. adivasi people, in some form or other, trace their ancestry to these god kings and thereby express strong attachment to their land and territory with pride and dignity. Territorial integrity and unity among the people are quintessential for their day to day living and for which they give their mythical ancestor the label of a king, who by dint of His prowess acquired the territory and defended it from invasion from outside. In all community rituals they are invoked first, offered sacrifices and appeased, and then follows worships of other gods, goddesses and spirits.

In the historical past, the kings felt safe in the hands of the adivasis, who were capable of defending themselves and their territories. Therefore, adivasis were the first choices of the kings; they constituted the king's favorites and the choicest citizens of royal patronage. The king in order to exercise legitimate authority over the adivasis and win their confidence used to install the adivasi deities in their palaces and worshiped them regularly engaging adivasi priests and in course of time Hindu priests. Commingling of adivasi priests and Hindu priests is seen in most of the temples around the centers of power and authority all over Odisha.

The adivasis, those who trace royal ancestry, used to say that they are *Raja Loka*, the king's people; they themselves having kingly status (Nayak 2010a). That is the reason why until 1970/1980s adivasi such as the Dongria Kondh, the Kutia Kondh, the Malia Kondh, the Pauri Bhuiyan, the Lanjia Saora, the Mankidia were refusing to work as hired wage labourers. They bluntly say no when asked to carry your belongings even on payment. During P. K. Nayak's field study in the above tribal areas from 1975 to 1985, he had used the services of the local non-tribals to carry his luggage to field stations. They used to say that how can they carry things of others', serve others who are aliens, presumably of low origin while they were themselves kingly? Carrying a load means subservience. They can carry their own load not the load given to them by anybody else. They are not subservient to anyone, not even to the king. The king is their equal and their own. They own the king as the king owns them. Whenever required they work for the king as he is considered as their own. Whenever, the king's men, the militia or the revenue persons used to visit them, their scheduled caste neighbors are usually engaged as carriers of their luggage and other belongings. They consider the scheduled caste neighbors as their *Praja*, who are subservient to them. They own land whereas their neighbors become dependent on them and work as labourers without any ownership right over any land and tree. The scheduled castes are there to serve them and serve the king and the king's men.

The Dongria Kondhs trace their ancestry to Niam Raja, the god king of Niamgiri Hills and all the clan chiefs of all the clan territories, *Muthas* worship the Niam Raja and follow the rules of the Niam Raja. In recognition of their unity the Vassal King at Bissamcuttack built a temple of Niam Raja, where all the Dongria clans congregate on the invitation of the king to sacrifice buffaloes on the occasion of Dussehra festival at Bissamcuttack (Nayak, 1989). So also, the Bhuiyan consider the King of Keonjhar as their own son, of Bhuiyan origin, born to a Bhuiyan mother (Nayak, 2007).

adivasi people in general claim an authoritative status, very much kingly. By dint of their prowess and physical power, hard work and positive winning spirit cleared the bush, made the hill slopes cultivable, set up settlements, built territories and claimed ownership of all land and forest under the territories. They were the owners of the earth, a territory, both a *khyatra* and *khetra*, a kingdom or a dominion however little it might be.

The King as God

The adivasi people are of the firm opinion that gods, goddesses and spirits are supernatural entities who preside over both the natural and the supernatural worlds whereas the king presides over the human world, their own world and protects them. As long as the king is safe and secured, their safety and security is ensured. That is the reason they do everything for the king, obey his commands and orders and never deviate from regarding him the highest representative of god, the highest priest, and living god himself. They venerate the king as they venerate god. In tribal myths all over middle India, the kings have been depicted as gods and the gods as kings (cf. Mahapatra, 1977). Whenever, the kings or any member of their families visit adivasi areas, they are propitiated as gods after washing their feet with turmeric water. It spills over to rural areas, which were ruled over by the erstwhile feudal lords. It is really amazing to see even now how the folk in the erstwhile feudatory estates receive a person of kingly origin visiting their villages for seeking votes contesting in state or parliamentary election. The ladies welcome such a person by washing his or her feet with turmeric water and chanting *hula huli*, an auspicious vocation, and the people greet him or her bowing down their heads as a mark of high reverence.

Owning the King: Ethno-cultural Politics in Bhuiyan *Pirha*

Bhuiyans are a community, who inhabit today the hills and plateaus of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Sundergarh districts of Odisha. Historically, they are the inhabitants of three spatially contiguous Garhjats or feudatory states, namely, Keonjhar, Pallahara and Bonai and are found concentrated in these regions in established village settlements and have a distinct identity of their own. The Bhuiyan village settlements come under a larger territorial body called *Pirha*, a socio-ritualistic and politico-administrative unit. Thus, the village settlements have names of their own while at the same time having their *Pirha* names and identities. Bhuiyas' association with *Pirha* is remarkable, for it gives them their ethnic identity and sovereignty under the tutelage of the rulers of the *Garh*. People exercise their rights over land and other resources of the *Pirha* territory, and such entitlements cannot be challenged by any authority. *Pirha* gives them the dignity of a settled community, a special social status and recognizes their independence in these matters, not to be interfered with at any level, and their allegiance to the king is not taken for granted. So long as the king listens to their leaders they adore him and remain loyal but when he is indifferent towards the Bhuiyans they reject him. In the Bhuiyan estimation, the Sardar is

to the Pirha as the king is to the Kingdom. The relationship between the Sardar and the king and the Pirha and the Garh is based on mutuality and reciprocity. It is clear that the Bhuiyan are as kingly as the king himself and that the Bhuiyan community is a kingly community. Royal blood runs through their veins and they possess a royal psyche; it is as if ownership of everything is their birth right. They own the king as the king owns them. In other words, the association of the Bhuiyan with the Pirha suggests that the Pirha polity is part of a higher and larger polity and they complement each other.

In order to acquire a better understanding of the Bhuiyan Pirha and its close link or rather filiations with the Garh or the Raja the Juang Pirha is alluded here. Interestingly, in Keonjhar-Pallahara Garhjats, the Juang, another community considered a primitive tribe do have Pirha organizations like that of the Bhuiyan. It can therefore be argued that Juangs are an equally autonomous community, who interact directly with the king of Keonjhar and are rightful inhabitants of the kingdom. The Bhuiyan Pirha and the Juang Pirha in fact constituted the major part of the jungle kingdom of Keonjhar Garha, and the Bhuiyans and Juangs were the main inhabitants and rightful subjects and the owning communities possessing cultural habits relatively different from each other. The visible differences include the following: the Bhuiyan speak Oriya, one of the Sanskritic languages and had long eschewed taking beef, whereas the Juang speak Munda, one of the Austro-Asiatic languages and take beef. Socio-culturally and politically, the Bhuiyan are more progressive and outward-looking and techno-economically more advanced than the Juang. However, the Juang remain a passive and tenacious people and stay aloof from State politics and are not used to putting forward their grievances unless they are treated badly and provoked in a way that hurts their sentiments. The Juang never claim a proximity to the king nor do they assert a filial connection with the king; they only participate in royal functions rendering services and discharging duties imposed by the king. They were certainly conscious of their own rights over land and territory but not the rights over the Raj or the State. Participation in State affairs has never been their priority.

Nomenclature of Bhuiyan

In Odisha, the term Bhuiyan refers to a group of people called Bhuiyan or it may refer to a title, an honorific title people possess or given to them as their surname. Although the term Bhuyan is derived from the Oriya word *Bhuin*, meaning earth, in the former case its literary usage is those who are earth-based, those who derive subsistence from the produce of the earth, a cultivating community or a community of expert and very confident cultivators of hill slope land, a land-owning community, a community of Lord of the Earth etc. In the latter case its usage is 'he who is a landlord' equivalent to Zamindar, a big man, a Headman, a leader, a warlord, a man of high social origin and status.

One of the Bhuiyan origin myths depicts that there were three sections of people in the beginning. In order to determine the socio-economic status of the three groups, God brought three jars duly sealed at the mouths and asked them to take one jar each. When opened the Bhuiyan found the jar filled with earth and other two contained gold and money. Thus, the Bhuiyan became the owner of land and from that day they were called 'Bhuiyan'.

The Bhuiyan claim for having formed this *Rajya* and feel proud as they are the founder of this land and owner of this land of the Bhuiyan kingdom. The chief traits in the character of the Bhuiyan are fidelity and hospitality. They are frank, honest, peace-loving, law abiding, and have passionate love for liberty. Strangers to their villages are treated as honored guests. They do not approve of intoxicated alcoholic drinks. The

Bhuiyans are not treated as a low caste. The Hindus take water from them and their touch is no defilement.

Traditional Political Structure (in hierarchical order)

King

Supreme authority of the State, Jungle Kingdom

Sardar:

Head of Desha or all Pirha councils

Sardar:

Head at Pirha level administration

Mahanayak

Head of Socio-cultural/Ethnic matters. He presides over the *Desha* (Bhuiyan country) meetings and his decision is final. Generally, the village headman, Padhan, representative from each village attends the meeting. In his absence an elderly member of village council represents him to participate in the deliberations of the Desha/Pirha council and offer his valuable suggestions and opinions.

Padhan

Village Headman

Dakua

There is a Dakua in each Pirha council, whom the Bhuiyan call as *Dangua* in their term. He is the messenger-cum-learned man whose duty is to inform the date and venue of the Pirha council meeting to all the villages so that the members assemble there on the appointed day. It is also his duty to intimate the date of *Pirha Jatal Puja* to all the villages concerned. Annually he gets five rupees from each of the villages within his Pirha for his work. Besides, he collects ten *Pai* of paddy, some quantity of niger, mustard seeds from each village during the harvest every year. It shows that there exists a patron-client relationship between the Dakua and the Bhuiyan. Of all the functionaries the Dakua gets the most as his due.

Pirha Bhandari or

Barber

The duty of the *Pirha Bhandari* is to shave the head of the offender. In the past one of the Mala *Bhuiyans* was employed to act as the barber of the Pirha council but currently a man of barber caste is employed to act as Pirha Bhandari. It is believed that shaving by a barber ritually purifies the offender and makes him free from ritual pollution. He receives a piece of new cloth, some measures of husked rice and five rupees as honorarium.

Dhoba or

Washerman

Each Pirha council has a washerman, *Dhoba*. He washes the clothes of the offender on the day of the Pirha council meeting. Ordinarily the Bhuiyan wash their own clothes, but on occasions of child birth, death, and in case of cow-killing the clothes are washed by a Dhoba

for ceremonial purification. He gets a piece of new cloth and five rupees with a fixed measure of husked rice.

Pirha Brahman

In a later period, coming in contact with the Hindu castes, the Pauri Bhuiyans now have seen the services of the Brahman priest in Pirha council to purify the offender. After the offender undergoes the traditional rites and rituals to purify himself the Brahman burns some ghee (Homa) to complete the final purification. The Pirha Brahman receives a new cloth and a token remuneration of two-five rupees.

All the above functionaries who hold the offices on the occasion of Pirha council meetings are honorary. But for discharging their duties they receive some privileges. The Padhan in particular is not given any remuneration for participating in the meeting. But he is given some money collected as fines from the offenders.

Method and Procedure of the Pirha Council Meeting

The Pirha Council meeting is generally held in the village of the offender. After the case is detected in the Council by the village Padhan concerned, the Pirha Dakua sends the message to all the villages of the Pirha, informing the date fixed for the Pirha Council meeting. On the appointed day, delegates from different villages arrive in the village of the offender. After the delegates sit down for arbitration, the Padhan/Sardar speaks aloud the topic concerning the offender in front of all. After a detailed discussion and taking all elder's opinion, lastly the issue is finalised. If the accused accepted his fault, a decision is taken for his re-acceptance into the Bhuiyan community restoring him his social standing. The Pirha Bhandari sprinkles a few drops of cow-dung water on the head of the offender, shaves his head and pares his nails. The Dhoba washes his clothes. Thus, after he is purified in traditional methods, the Pirha Brahman makes him purified by burning some ghee (putting ghee to the fire – Homa) and sprinkles water with holy basil leaves on him.

Then the nature of fines he has to pay is determined. The fine may be a few measures of husked rice, a goat, some money, *handia* etc. He arranges feast for the delegates. This makes the offender free from all sins and he regains all his normal position in the society.

Rules and Regulations of Desha

- i. Pirha Council is also convened in the case any Bhuiyan dies without leaving behind any male heir to inherit his property. In such a case a small share of the property of the deceased is given to his married daughters and close agnates and the rest are sold away. The sale proceeds are utilized by the Pirha Council in a common feast.
- ii. Incest cases are dealt with utmost severity. In case of adultery the adulterer is asked to accept the woman as co-wife to his wife.
- iii. If a Pauri Bhuiyan girl elopes away with a Munda boy or any other non-tribal, her parents may have to pay the fine to Pirha Council. If the girl changes her mind and wants to remain as a Bhuiyan, the Council may restore her membership in the Bhuiyan community. But she has to undergo the Pirha council trials and tribulations and obey their verdict.
- iv. Pauri Bhuiyans marrying in Jatis/adivasi groups which are considered very lowly by them such as, Munda and Kol are permanently outcasted.

Making of the King by the Bhuiyans

Coronation of the king is done according to the Vedic rituals performed by the royal priest, *Raja Purohit*. However, some informants recount their past memories of the coronation ceremony of Nrusingha in 1969 and they are of the opinion that coronation of the king takes place according to the Bhuiyan tradition, usually on the day following Dussehra, on the occasion when the Bhuiyans come and meet and greet the king. The coronation of the new king is widely remembered in certain verses of songs, like “*Katei heba Pidha, mahanayak heba Ghoda, Phula Jatri.*” The meaning is these verses of the song is: Katei (will extend) extends his lap for the king to sit on it, Mahanayak (will carry) carries the would-be king on his back like a horse, and villagers of Jatra (will offer) offer a turban made of flowers to the new king. As a matter of fact, these ritual functionaries, namely Katei, live in Banspal village, Mahanayak in Adala village and villagers of Jatra provide a crown/turban made of flowers on the coronation day.

In 1977, when Kunja, after the death of his father Makhmal, was officiated in the post of Sardar, the same practice was followed they used to follow in coronating the king of Keonjhar. The living generation of the Bhuiyan people relate to themselves with five personalities in the family of Keonjhar king. Balabhadra Bhanj and his wife, Manoja Manjari were popularly known among the Bhuiyans as *Budha Raja* and *Budhi Rani* respectively. The present Sardar Patu’s father Makhmal of Daanla village made Narsingha the king in 1969 by making him sit on his lap. Laxminarayan Bhanja, popularly known as “Chhotray Saheb” became a member of Indian Parliament twice. After the death of Narasingha there was confusion, whether Laxminarayan will be next king, being the younger son. The Bhuiyan six Pirhas were summoned to decide their king and Laxminarayan became the king.

Ananta Narayan Bhanja (Tikeit *sahab*), the present king of Keonjhar became formally the king after the death of his father, Laxmi Narayan Bhanja in 1983. In his *Abhiseka*, coronation ceremony, Ghantra Sardar of Dereng Pirha and Patu (Kunja) Sardar of Charigaon Pirha were present in the palace along with other Bhuiyan ritual functionaries, such as Katei, Mahanayak and Rana. Both Ghantra and Patu proudly claim that they were instrumental in making the present king. Ghantra claims that the name ‘Ananta Narayana’ was given to the king by him on the day of *Abhiseka*. Ghantra’s wife proclaims that Ananta and his wife are considered as her son and daughter-in-law.

Although abolition of princely states and demolition of king’s power were already implemented by 1950, the importance of Bhuiyan Pirha and their Sardars was there as long as Makhmal Sardar of Charigaon Pirha was alive, till 1977. During his tenure, Makhmal, by virtue of his wider contact, communication skill with outsiders and his great personality was regarded as the King (Raja) among the Bhuiyan Sardars. He could directly interact with the king. Because of his family’s affinal relationship with Dharanidhar, the Bhuiyan rebel (Makhmal’s father Jagannath was married to Dharanidhar’s sister), he was already enjoying a close relationship with the king of Keonjhar. At a later point of time, ritual friendship developed between members of both the families. The king Balabhadra addressed Makhmal as ‘brother’, *Bhai*, because Makhmal’s sister had ritual relationship, *Phula*, with Alekha Jema, Balabhadra’s brother’s daughter. In the next generation, Makhmal’s daughter Patu had ritual friendship with Balabhadra’s eldest daughter Swarna Prabha Manjari. In the aftermath of the king’s tenure, Makhmal’s sister Damani Devi became (was elected) the Chairperson of Banspal Block. Her husband, Shyamasundar Giri, succeeded her for some years as Chairman of the Block and during his time he brought

about a number of revolutionary changes and development among the Bhuiyan. For this he worked very hard, and is highly esteemed till today. Makhmal's eldest son, Pandav became Sarpanch of Banspal Block, while his youngest son Patu became Sardar after the death of his father. Because of their personal relationship with the king's family and their village being the gateway to Bhuiyan Pirha, they enjoy the friendship of important persons visiting them from outside. Indira Gandhi, late Prime Minister of India once visited Daanla and on this occasion Rajmata of Keonjhar, who accompanied Indira Gandhi stayed for some time at Makhmal's place.

Living Sardars and elderly persons now reflect on their obligations and annual gifts they were presenting to the king of Keonjhar. A messenger, Tandkar, moves around Bhuiyan villages now-a-days to intimate the message to the people to arrange the required gift items to be presented to the king at the time of Dussehra, Ratha Jatra and on other important occasions. On the occasion of Ratha Jatra, the Bhuiyans make *Ratha Bheti*. They collect Siali (*Bauhinia vahlii*) creepers from the forest and bring them in huge quantities to Keonjhar and stay there on in a temporary thatched structure, *Budha Basa*, laid close to Matia Bondh, the big pond very close to the palace. They make ropes under the shade of a huge peepal tree on the south-east corner of the pond. They used to thatch the Gundicha temple and Ratna mandap of the chariot. At present the district administration has given the responsibility to the Bhuiyans to supply ropes for pulling the chariot on the car festival day at Keonjhar. In 2004 the Sub-Divisional Officer, Keonjhar ordered for ropes for the chariot. The district office purchased one rope from the Juang Pirha and three ropes from the Charigaon, Atas and Dereng Pirhas at the cost of Rs.2700.00 per rope. The district officials collect these ropes from the people and transport these to Keonjhar by jeep. Bhuiyans join the festival for chariot pulling. On this occasion, Sardars are given a new cloth each. A thick log of wood which is formed as the main spoke of the wheel of the chariot is brought by the Bhuiyans. A leaf umbrella made of Siali (*Bauhinia vahlii*) leaves which is called Dharani Chhata is procured by the Bhuiyans. A contingent of labour force has to come to Keonjhar to pull the chariot. As Dussehra Bheti to the king, the Bhuiyans offer goats to be sacrificed before the Danda Devi. Sardars and Pradhans used to attend the Dussehra festival at Keonjhar palace and the Dussehra field. As Inda Bheti, ropes of Sabai grass (*Panasi daudi*) are made by the Bhuiyans. Muthikia Bheti is a Bheti of handful of mustard and niger, oil seeds made by individual Bhuiyan households. The oil is used for the lamp lighted at Siddha Matha and Bada Deula, Baladevji temple. Oil seeds given by the Juangs, Juang Muthi is also meant for the Siddha Matha. Rama Boitalu, red coloured gourd and a bird named Kansei Pakshi or Kui Chadhi which builds its nests on a very high precipice of hills are offered to the king and the queen as very valuable gifts. Thereby the Bhuiyan honour the king and the queen.

The widely held view among the Bhuiyans in the Pirha area is that as the king of Keonjhar belonged to their lineage, they had all along enjoyed rent free land without paying any revenue to the king. In practice, Sardars used to visit Keonjhar in company of Padhanis to deposit annual plough tax. Sardars used to get such an amount equivalent to the total plough tax of one village per annum as their remuneration. Individual Sardars continue to visit the Keonjhar palace carrying gifts of pumpkins with them. The king extends them hospitality by giving them food to eat, new clothes and some pocket money when they return home. Now-a-days the goats sacrificed in the Danda Devi temple are purchased by the king.

Sardar being selected by the people and acknowledged by the King

In the event of an officiating Sardar's death or impeachment the hereditary claims and rights to the post are given due recognition by the headmen and ordinary subjects of the Pirha villages. In addition, as Pandava, Baya, and Ghantra echoed the similar opinion that Bhuiyan country people (Desha) is the sole authority to decide by choice their next Sardar on the basis of individual personality, power, authority, and empathetic disposition and ability to lead as a link between the palace officials and Bhuiyans. After the Sardar is selected by the people, he is acknowledged by the king.

Bhuiyan Darbar or Mondghar, Youth Club-cum-Community-House-cum-Assembly Hall

The youth club cum community house of the Bhuiyan is called *Mondghar*. It is usually bigger and taller in size with massive wooden pillars, posts and planks than the ordinary houses and is situated at the centre of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys who sleep here at night. The unmarried girls plaster it in every two or three days. Inside the *Mondghar* are kept the drums (*changu*) and food grains of the village common fund. A fire is kept burning day and night at the centre of the *Mondghar* and the boys sleep encircling it. They sleep on mats of datepalm leaves woven by girls and have a wooden structure as pillow. While sleeping they keep their feet towards the fire and their heads to the direction of the walls. One ceases to be a member after his/ her marriage. However, the widowers always sleep in the *Mondghar* and also cooperate and take active part in the group activities of the youth.

To be considered as a formal member of the *Mondghar* a boy should undergo an initiation ceremony on the *Am nua* (first mango eating ceremony). It is observed in the month of February-March when mango fruits are ceremonially offered to the village deities and ancestors before the villagers start eating mangoes. The young men worship the *changu* and drums and offer their respective shares of chicken and rice to the *changu* gods. The new candidates offer shares of cooked rice to the ancestors in a kneeling posture keeping one of his legs on a pole spread horizontally over two forked posts of 4 to 5 feet high. The elderly members throw hot water at his pelvis and private parts and the boys thus have to face the ordeal boldly without complain. A torn piece of mat is tied around his head and a bail hung at his waist. He runs around the *Mondghar* seven times with other members accompanied by a small boy beating *changu* with a stick in front. While the boys keep running around the *Mondghar* the older people shout loudly and throw ashes at them from inside the *Mondghar*. When the boys run around the *Mondghar*, the bell rings and the villagers come to know about their admission into the youth club.

Members of the youth club bring big logs of firewood for the *Mondghar* fire. They thatch and repair the *Mondghar* whenever required. They make *changu* and drums, help in cooking and fetching water in feasts and marriages, beating *changu* overnight on ritual days. They constitute a strong labour force of the village and form the labour cooperative, help the officials and kingsmen in carrying their bags and baggages from one village to the next nearest village. Similarly, the young unmarried girls although do not have formal clubs, they form a group who dance with boys coming from other villages on ritual or formal occasions and plaster the *Mondghar*, sweep it regularly by terms, supply leaf cups and leaf plates on feasts and festivities, grind spices for the feast, husking paddy given from common fund of the village. They also form a labour cooperative to carry out specific agricultural tasks like weeding out in the crop field which boys would not like to do.

Under the guidance of one elderly lady or widow of the village the girls select the villages to which they should go on dancing visits. She accompanies them and helps in developing courtship between girls and the affinal village boys.

The youth have collective responsibility for the community wellbeing as well as keeping friendship among boys and girls. Youths can perform *changu* dance both in day and night, but usually night is preferred. At night the village elders retire from the *Mondghar* and go to sleep in their own houses. A strong competitive spirit develops between boys and girls and each party tries to defeat the other. The boys try to beat *changu* overnight and make the girls to dance. They do this in alternate and split up groups. If girls try to flee from the dancing ground, the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise, the girls do not allow let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. During the dance both parties try to display fun to each other. The girls kick and step on the foot of the boys while dancing. They also throw ashes, mud water and turmeric water at the boys and the boys throw the same at the girls. At the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep, the boys take the girls to secluded places and indulge in sexual jokes and make fun of fondling the breasts of girls but hardly indulge in sexual intercourse. On the partying day the girls are entertained with a meat-meal of goats, pigs and sheep and some extra to carry to eat on the way along with *ragi* (little millet), *saru* (colocasia), *mandia* (finger millet), maize, jackfruits and other seasonal crops. The boys go upto certain distance to see the girls off. On the way, the boys decorate their buns with wild flowers.

Mondghar is the common meeting ground where the village elders gather for some time after the day's toil to gossip and relax before retiring to bed. They talk and amuse sitting around fire. Important matters affecting the village life are always discussed in the *Mondghar*. Matters like the selection of days for village rituals, decision for changing village site, selection of traditional officers of the village, giving away brides to affinal families or proposal for bringing a bride from another village are first discussed in the *Mondghar*. Junior members get socialized in interaction with the seniors in the *Mondghar* in all matters. *Mondghar* serves as a court house for the village where quarrels and conflicts are mitigated. The villagers gather around the fire and discuss all matters of dispute and conflict and resolve them. In case of major offences, the culprit is fined and has to pay rice, goat and money for liquor to the village elders. Otherwise, he would be asked to pay a fine of rupees one or two for liquor. Both intra and inter-village conflicts involving Bhuiyans are also settled in the *Mondghar*. Impact of outsiders and the changing life of people have brought about striking changes in the youth club organisation of the Bhuiyan.

Reflections and Remarks

Based on the above discussions, we could remark that:

- a) The autonomy of the jungle kingdoms largely emanated rather from the will of the people than the wish of the king.
- b) Politics in the jungle kingdoms had more socio-cultural and ritualistic dimensions, which always deemed the allegiance and loyalty of the people to the king more important than the politics of the ruler and the ruled. As the records show, the intermediaries between the king and the Bhuiyan sometimes chose means and methods to the detriment of king's image, and in consequence, the uneasiness of the relationship led to revolt against the king.
- c) From the peoples' accounts one gets the impression that the Bhuiyans came, conquered and established their kingdom by installing the king. The stories recounted by

people and depiction of the stolen king and memory sites associated with this attest the fact that the elementary idea of kingship came from below, within and with the people rather than from above, without and not-with the people. One has to have the ideal of a peoples' king.

d) From archival and historical records, it is evident that the King, the king's men and the Bhuiyan were interacting at a level quite distinct from that of the rest of the ethnic groups and communities inhabiting the Keonjhar kingdom. The intimate interaction between the King, his royal officers, other kingsmen, the palace, the palace caretakers, service holders and the State rituals and the Bhuiyan speak of the quality of relationship between the king and the Bhuiyan which assumes to be more at a socio-cultural plane than at a pure political plane. The Bhuiyan regarded the king in the same terms as their Pirha Sardars were being regarded, and in return they expected the king to look at them and their problems in the same way as their Pirha Sardars were taking care of them and dealing with their problems as one amongst them. The king and the Sardar were different grades of rulers in a definite hierarchical order of the created socio-cultural and political space. The king and the Sardars were bound to one another as agents-covalents. People wanted both, their own Sardars and their own King. Even an alien becoming king had to be socialized - besides being enthroned formally by the people through their active participation - and owned by the people and here in this case, by the Bhuiyan. The direct verbal communication between the king and the Bhuiyan and that mediated by the royal office bearers bears testimony to degree of nearness between the king and the people positively valued in affective terms, more so in kin-terms, real or less abstract symbolic terms. These less abstract terms evolved later in history (colonial and post-colonial phases) into more abstract terms because of abstract formulations of the Raja-Praja relationship as the ruler-ruled relationship, the god-servitor relationship by an intervening third mediating agency, that is, the Brahman priest in complicity with the British Raj.

e) In consequence, due to the intervention, the peoples' view of Pirha and Garha, which were conceived respectively as 'unit' and 'horizon', and were culturo-spatially continuous were made discontinuous and led to the resultant split between the king and the people. The *Praja Andolan* in all the Garjats took various shapes and forms – which was against the king, against the British and at one time at some level against the Brahman or especially their priestly practices and their function as the royal counsellor. The politics of a relatively global order brought about local insurgence (the Bhuiyan insurgence and uprising). The Bhuiyan worldview was that Keonjhar was the last limit of their world. The cultural pride and dignity which the Bhuiyan had created around them and their king got jeopardised/ruptured in subsequent phases and people were reduced to passive followers rather than active players in the polity of the State/ Keonjhar Garh.

f) Written records attest the fact that the Bhuiyan constituted an important section of people of the jungle kingdom. This is further substantiated by oral history collected from a wider cross-section of the people, irrespective of caste and tribes, the palace functionaries and the local chiefs and functionaries.

g) Both Bhuiyans themselves and their neighbours recognise and admit the fact that the Bhuiyans are a class of people socio-culturally superior to other categories of people inhabiting the jungle kingdom and had a decisive ethno-cultural dominance which was to a decisive degree identified with all that the Keonjhar kingdom behoved. The Bhuiyans were innovative agriculturists and at the same time had military outfits to support the king and protect the kingdom.

h) The Bhuiyan must certainly have migrated from the northern parts, from Mayurbhanj and Midnapur areas and must have settled in valleys and plateaus of Keonjhar propagating and flourishing through the practice of settled agriculture in peaceful cohabitation with the Juang autochthones as their neighbours. The other tribal and caste communities must have come to this area later whenever the Keonhar king or the Bhuiyan chiefs wished to meet the multiple service requirements of the kingdom and enhance the status of the king and his kingdom.

i) At a later point of time, rulers from outside might have come and subjugated people and kept them under their control but they could not have gone against the will of the people. This is especially true of most of the jungle kingdoms and Keonjhar kingdom bears testimony to this.

j) Ethnically the Bhuiyan have the propensity of owning land and drive for territorial aggrandisement in the process of which they had all got spread out and established their dominions. As a people, since they had the prowess, they overpowered their neighbours and thus controlled the natural resource bases and established their cultural superiority over others.

k) Given this ethnic background the Bhuiyan must have flexed their muscles to choose their own king and have their own kingdom to rule directly or indirectly. They were resolute and receptive and intelligently responded to stimulus from above and outside. That is, they were forward looking with innate culture building capabilities and perceived themselves as higher and superior.

l) The mutual interdependence between the king and the Bhuiyan Sardars declined with the advent of Brahmanical influence; the king's councilors and officials from coastal Odisha became jealous of Bhuiyan Sardars and changed the mindset of the king towards the Bhuiyan; introduced systems which were exploitative of the people, especially demand of milk and milk products by the king's officials and deputies for their use and above all, the arbitrary decisions taken by the British administration in collusion with the kings' men alienated the Bhuiyan from the king. In the past Bhuiyans were more faithful and loyal to the king than other ethnic groups living in Keonjhar, but were critical of the kings' men and other officials for their exploitative behavior. There was decline of mutual trust, respect, allegiance on the part of the Bhuiyan and at the same time of the paternalistic attitude of the king towards the Bhuiyan.

Conclusion

From the foregoing assertion of facts, it is evident that understanding the adivasis, their society and culture and for that matter the ritual rites without their connections with the kings and the state renders it sterile. What is indigenous is not fully the people own, it is an adopted one, designed in constant interaction between the people and the state, the adivasi people and the king. Each adivasi culture has evolved through a process of adaptation and adoption, a concerted creation and design, which served the purpose of the people and the king, serving each other's purpose. An adivasi society remains adivasi not only because they wanted to remain as such but the king wanted them to maintain their identity and remain united. The very adivasi identity is often dictated from above, the king and the state. The autonomous character of adivasi societies emerged from a consensus, a rapprochement between the adivasis and the kings. The role of the king for the growth and enrichment of adivasi culture is of paramount importance. Many such socio-cultural institutions and practices which are prevalent among the individual adivasi communities have been either introduced by the king at different points in time or have

been given patronage by the king. While involved in a ritual, the community enjoys the observance, remembers its glorious past as well as the kingly order it follows, and for moments it gives confidence in the people themselves and their kingly pride and dignity. Adivasi everywhere live in pride and dignity. That is the reason one hardly comes across a beggar in a tribal society. They would prefer to die but would never beg, or even borrow. They produce themselves as citizens of a just society and an organic state with flesh and blood.

At the internal level, there are striking parallels between adivasi and caste Hindu rituals. Scores of important studies have been made on how there have been absorptions of caste Hindu elements, particularly Hindu religion into adivasi religions and cultures. These studies have been made looking at the adivasi and Hindu religions as two distinct religions. But it is supposed here that the scholars have been ethnocentrically biased and have rather been pejorative of tribal religions as lowly. In reality, the adivasi religions and their practices show that probably they constituted pre-Hinduism, pre-Brahmanical Hinduism or proto-Hinduism from which the entire textual knowledge of the world and the supernatural world have been produced through a process of cultural translation and translation of the adivasi ritual language. One could safely say that adivasi religions not only predates Hinduism but are precursors of Hinduism, the ontogeny of Hinduism.

Now one might question the very tribe-caste distinction which had already been made by scholars in explicit terms. But, to us, the distinction is more artificial than natural. Tribes are *Jatis* as castes are. At the internal level both are *Jatis* which with the deliberate injunction and intervention of the kings at different points in time adhering to the concept of purity and pollution, an instrument of hierarchical gradation of *Jatis*, the distance was kept sacrosanct. Caste prefigured more prominently in texts which the foreigners, the British, the French and the Portuguese preferred and proffered. Our contention is that tribe and *jati* in the Indian context are the same and similar, one is the variation of the other; the distinction cannot be made in absolute terms, rather evaluated in relative terms. Adivasi is a *jati*, appropriately labeled *Janajati*.

NOTES

1. The reflections in this paper is the resultant of Nayak's long years (1972-2005) of intimate field observations of adivasi socio-cultural and political phenomena in Odisha and productive discussions with Schnepel, Kulke and Mitra at various stages of collaborative research undertakings on 'king and the tribes' (1999-2005).
2. Devdas Mohanty assisted in collecting data for the collaborative research project on the Bhuiyan undertaken by Kulke, Schnepel & Nayak (1999-2005).

REFERENCES

- Barik, Niranjana, (After Independence) *Keonjhar Itihasa*.
 Chakravorti Debasis, 2001. *Kendujhar Parichiti*, Sansar Press, Telenga Bazar, Cuttack.
 Das, Bipin Bihari, 1980 [1950]. *Bhanjabhumi Kendujhari*, (Part-I), Badabil, Kendujhar: Neelachala Printing Works.
 Das, Bipin Bihari, 1989. *Bhanjabhumi Kendujhari*, (Part-II), Badabil, Kendujhar: Neelachala Printing Works.

- Kulke, Hermann, 2010. "Feudatory States of Orissa: Centres out There" in *Centres Out There? Facets of Subregional Identities in Orissa* (ed) by Hermann Kulke and Georg Berkemer, pp.49-80, Delhi: Manohar.
- Mishra, Kshetramohan, *Keonjhar Bhugola*.
 _____ *Keonjhar History*.
- Mitra, S.K, 2010. Citizenship as onceptual Flow: Model, method and Design for a Comparative study, draft paper for Bhubaneswar Conference, Jan. 2010.
- Mahapatra, L.K. 1977. "Gods, Kings and Caste System in India" in *The New Wind: Changing Identities in South Asia*. (ed) by Kenneth David, Mouton, The Hague.
- Nayak Krutibas, *Kendujhar Darpana*
- Nayak, P. K, 1989. *Blood, Women and Territory: An Analysis of Clan Feuds of Dongria Konds*. Reliance Publishing House. New Delhi
- _____. 2003. 'Jagannath and adivasi: Reconsidering the cult and its traditions" in *Jagannath Revisited* (ed) by Kulke and Schnepel, Manohar publications, New Delhi.
- _____. 2007. "Owning the King: Ethno-cultural Politics in Bhuiyan Pirha", *Man in Society*, Vol.XVII, Dept. of Anthropology, Bhubaneswar, India.
- _____. 2010 (a). "Inheritance of Kingly Citizenship: Tribals at Cross-roads in Modern State of Orissa, India" in *Citizenship in the Era of Globalization: Structure, Agency, Power, and the Flow of Ideas?* (ed) by Subrata K. Mitra. Manohar Publications, New Delhi.
- _____. 2010 (b). "Politics of Art and the Art of Politics: Re-use of tribal art and artifacts in Orissa, India" in *Re-use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*. (ed) by Hegewald and Mitra. Manohar Publications, New Delhi.
- _____. 2011. 'They are different but not Primitive': Tribes in the 'Jungle Kingdoms of Orissa'. Seminal papers, published by the Coordinator, CAS in Anthropology, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar.
- Padhi, Jayakrishna, "Kendujhari" – A Descriptive anthology of poems (Kabya)
- Schnepel, B, 2002. *The Jungle Kings. Ethnological Aspects of Politics and Ritual in Orissa*. New Delhi: Manohar.
- Tripathy, G. C., 2010. "The Transformation of a tribal state into a Centre of Regional Culture: The Case of the Bhanjas of Keonjhar" in *Centres Out There? Facets of Subregional Identities in Orissa* (ed) by Hermann Kulke and Georg Berkemer, pp. 81-112, Delhi: Manohar.