

KURUX (KARMA) SONGS: ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY*

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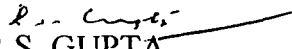
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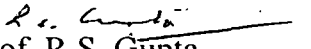
CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation titled “**KURUX (KARMA) SONGS: ANALYSIS AND TRANSLATION**” which is being submitted by **REETU RAJ EKKA** for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** is her original work, and it has not been submitted previously for the award of any degree of this or any other university.

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

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To my Parents

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a tribe as a group of families under a single recognized leader with blood ties and usually having a common culture and dialect unique in itself. The term according to anthropologists has a variety of meanings. A Tribe is also defined as a group of people characterized by a common and distinct name sharing a common sentiment, and having a properly demarcated territory. It is often endogamous and has a set of unique laws for maintaining order in the community. A Tribe is also described as a homogeneous and self-contained unit without any hierarchical discrimination. In general usage the term tribe is applied to people who are primitive, uncouth, ferocious, savage, who live in backward areas, and hardly know the use of writing. The popular image of a tribe or a tribal supports this view of a tribal, as otherwise a childlike being, naïve, scrupulous and 'unsullied by the vices of modern civilization'¹. Etymologically, the term tribe derives its origin from the word tribuz, which means three divisions. The Romans perceive a tribe as a political division. In Western world as well as in India, a tribe is perceived as the highest political unit comprising several districts, which in turn are composed of several clans. A Tribe occupies a definite marked geographical area and exercises jurisprudence over its people. Often longer stay in a particular area gave geographical identity to a tribe. A Tribe was also known by the area it inhabited, or, the territory under its domain was generally named after it. In the Indian context, India or Bharat is considered a derivation of the mighty Bharata

¹ Hansdak', Ivy Imogene. *The Tribal as the 'Primitive' Other in Indian Literature*. M.Phil. Dissertation. New Delhi: JNU, 1997. Introduction.p.3.

Tribe, which ruled it for many years. However, the present meaning of the term tribe is more economic as it connotes groups of people who are comparatively far too ill-developed and backward in economic field and their culture is viewed from the same perspective.

In the Western context, there are only two major groups of tribes. The first group of the tribals comprises of the ancient tribes of Greece, Rome and Gaul, which are referred to as the great tribes of all time and more precisely are known as races or the supreme white race. The other group of the tribals comprises of all those natives the supreme white race confronted during the colonial expeditions, for example, all the populations of New World, Australia and Tropical Africa were termed as tribals. The colonial expeditions which started with the times of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Drake and others found the natives different from them in culture, religion, race, and society. It was hardly surprising going by the temperaments, attitudes and designs of the colonial powers to establish the natives as bereft of the ideas of 'nation' and 'religion'. The natives were labelled as lacking intelligence to form a nation and their religion was termed 'animistic' or 'animism'.

In the Indian context, the term tribe has held various other connotations. In the beginning, the term was applied to all social categories irrespective of any other category. The Rajput and the Jat as well as the aboriginals were all categorized as tribes, for all of these represented a social group or community. In later usage, the term tribe was restricted to refer only to the autochthones, the aboriginal, and the primitive groups. At no stage, however, the term 'tribe', 'tribal' or 'tribalness' was

clearly defined. However, most anthropologists agree that the 'tribe' or 'tribes' should conform to some, if not all, of the following characteristics:

1. Their roots in the soil date back to a very early period: if they are not original inhabitants, they are at least some of the oldest inhabitants of the land.
2. They live in the relative isolation of the hills and the forests.
3. Their sense of history is shallow for, among them, the remembered history of five to six generations tends to get merged in mythology.
4. They have a low level of techno-economic development.
5. In terms of their cultural ethos- language, institutions, beliefs and customs- they stand out from the other sections of the society.
6. If they are not egalitarian, they are at least non-hierarchic and undifferentiated.²

There is a scientific meaning of the term tribe, which is very different from the other definitions of the term tribe, as it refers to the taxonomic category (family). For instance, the entire cat like carnivores belong to a family or tribe called 'Felidae'. Scientifically a 'tribe' in current meaning has no significance because it does not refer even to a sub-species or race, which is an artificial division of a species.³

² Dube, S.C. 'Ethnicity, Identity & Interaction', *Tribal Heritage of India*. Vol.1. New Delhi: Vikas publishing House Pvt. Ltd., IAS, 1977. p.2.

³ Tiwari, S.K. *Antiquity of Indian Tribes*. New Delhi: Sarup & Sons, 1998.p.6.

There is another perspective with which to view a tribe and that is according to the Reader's Digest Encyclopaedia Dictionary, there are five different ways elaborated to define a tribe. They are:

1. Group of primitive or barbarous clan under recognised chiefs.
2. Second meaning is related to Roman history (clans of Romans were termed as Tribes).
3. The word also refers to similar division whether of natural or political divisions.
4. Fourth meaning relates to a unit of taxonomy and
5. The fifth meaning is used for 'large numbers'.⁴

The Constitution of India under Article 366 defines 'Scheduled Tribes' as:

'Such tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of this Constitution.'⁵

The word 'Tribe' we find is not precisely defined in the constitution of India, which however refers to tribal communities as 'Scheduled Tribe' which is the constitutional name covering all the tribals. The other synonyms by which Scheduled Tribes are known are 'Anusuchit Janjati', 'Adivasi', 'Vanvasi', or 'Adimjati' and more correctly 'Tribal'. But more appropriately an 'Adivasi' means an 'Aboriginal', a 'Vanvasi' means a 'Forest dweller' and an 'Adimjati' is the

⁴ Ibid.,p.7.

⁵ Desai, A.R. 'Tribes in Transition' in *Tribe, Caste and Religion in India*. Ed. by Romesh Thapar. Meerut: The Macmillan Company of India Ltd., 1977.p.17-18.

‘Original or the oldest inhabitant’. These three words focus merely on the general characteristics of the so-called Indian Tribals, and cannot be said to convey either the correct meaning of the word ‘Tribal’ or the social realities of the Indian Tribes. The other synonyms by which the tribals are referred to are Vanyajati (castes of forest), Pahari (hill-dwellers), Janjati (folk people) etc. Among all these terms of reference to the tribals, the term Adivasi is used more extensively by the people.⁶ However, it must be noted that during the pre-colonial times in India there was no equivalent indigenous term for the word “Tribe”. Some scholars are of the view that the term “desyus” which was applied to the dark skinned peoples was in actuality a reference to the forefathers of the present Indian tribes.⁷ Another scholar Jaganath Pathy opines that the Sanskrit term “atavika jana” comes closest to the meaning of “Tribe” but is devoid of the negative connotations that the term “Tribe” carries.⁸ Among the well-known historians of the early twentieth century, such as V.D. Savarkar, Lala Lajpat Rai and Jawaharlal Nehru, only Nehru has made an ambiguous reference to the tribals in *The Discovery of India*. In this book, he has traced the beginning of the Indus Valley Culture and related it to the Dravidian Culture in South India, which he believes has its basis in the Indus Valley Civilization.⁹

⁶ Vidyarthi, L.P. & Rai, B.K. *The Tribal Culture of India*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1985.p.25.

⁷ Hansdak', Ivy Imogene. *The Tribal as the 'Primitive' Other in Indian Literature*. M.Phil. Dissertation. New Delhi: JNU, 1997. Introduction.p.15.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., p.16.

On a purely theoretical level, a tribe is considered to be in an ideal state, as a self-contained unit. A Tribe constitutes a society in itself. The anthropologist Nadel, defines a society in this way:

... societies are made up of people; societies have boundaries, people either belonging to them or not; and people belong to a society in virtue of rules under which they stand, and which impose on them regular, determinate ways of acting towards and in regard to one another.¹⁰

The tribal population in India is estimated to be around 67 million as per 1991 census, as against 53 million in 1981 census. The 1981 census figures had placed the tribal population at 7.85 percent of country's national population but this figure shrank a little in 1991 as the census figures placed the nation's total population to be 864 million of which a mere 67 million of tribal population was placed at 7.75 per cent of nation's total population.

There are around six hundred tribal communities in India of which a sizeable percent is unknown due to the isolated refuges of these tribal groups. A major number of tribal groups are listed in the official schedule as the Scheduled Tribes. The Scheduled Tribes together with the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Communities constitute the bulk of the country's rural population. It must also be mentioned that the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Communities are synonymous with the rural population of India. The Scheduled Castes prefer to be known as Dalits while the Scheduled Tribes are popularly known

¹⁰ Beteille, Andre 'The Definition of Tribe' in *Tribe, Caste and Religion in India*. Ed. by Romesh Thapar. Meerut: The Macmillan Company of India Limited, 1977.p.8.

as 'Adivasis'. There are many tribal groups existing in India. In fact the tribal population in India constitutes about one-sixth of the total population of the country. It is believed that the tribals inhabited the country long before the incursion of the Aryan-speaking peoples. The evidence of this is found in the two great epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, and the ancient epic literatures, the Vedas, the Puranas, all of which give enough evidence to prove the existence of the various tribal groups in India. These two epics are also a record to show the eviction of the tribals from the mainstream, who were then forced to inhabit the wild parts of the country due to fear of oppression, attack and intrusion into their culture and society. In the *Ramayana*, Valmiki has given an elaborate account of the Indian society and men in Indian society. Therefore the *Ramayana* also comes across as an ethnographic account of Bharatvarsha as it carries not only mention but an elaborate description of the Arya, Deva, Danava, Rakshasa, Vanara, etc.¹¹ The *Ramayana* mentions Rakshasas and Vanaras as the two major aboriginal groups of the Deccan. The other tribes are most probably off-shoots of these two tribal groups. The Rakshasas according to Vyas were probably the earliest inhabitants of Southern India and Sri Lanka.¹² The Rakshasas were the parent tribe of -

1. Viradhas - progeny of Jaya and Satahrada.
2. Tribe of Ravana - progeny of Pulastya and Diti.
3. Tribe of Kabandha - Kabandha was the son of Danu.¹³

¹¹ Ibid., p.3.

¹² Ibid., p.27-28.

¹³ Hansdak', Ivy Imogene. *The Tribal as the 'Primitive' Other in Indian Literature*. M.Phil. Dissertation. New Delhi: JNU, 1997.p.19.

Of all these three tribes, only Ravana's tribe has survived probably because it converted to Aryan faith and saved itself from extinction. This tribe was traced by G. Ramdas to the Kui-Gond tribe of Central India.¹⁴

The other tribal group of Vanaras was the parent tribe of-

1. Nishadas.
2. Jatayus.
3. Sabaras.
4. Vanaras.¹⁵

The *Mahabhartā* also gives evidences to prove the existence of the tribals since ancient times. The Tribal groups like the Nagas, the Mundas, the Karushas or Kuruxs are mentioned in the *Mahabhartā*. Some of these groups identify themselves with the Kauravas in *Mahabhartā*. The Kauravas were supported by the tribal groups of the Nagas, the Mundas and the Karushas (Kuruxs) during the war. It is believed that the Kauravas garnered Naga support due to the anti-Naga policy adopted by the Pandavas in order to exterminate the Naga people. The legendary hero Arjuna had supposedly burnt down the Khandava forest, which was the abode of the Nagas, to establish a new capital, which was later called Indraprastha.¹⁶

The Karushas or Kuruxs who form the basis of my research content are mentioned in the *Mahabhartā* and the Purāṇas inhabiting perhaps a region included in or contiguous to the Janapada of the Chedis with whom they are constantly

¹⁴ Ibid., p.19.

¹⁵ Ibid., p.20.

¹⁶ Singh, K.S. 'The Mahabhartā: An Anthropological Perspective' in *The Mahabhartā in the Tribal and Folk Traditions of India*. Ed. by K.S. Singh. New Delhi: ASI & Shimla: IIAS, 1993. p.3.

associated in the *Mahabharata*. The Padmapurāṇa establishes a connection between the Cedis and Karushas by tracing the king of Karusha, Dantavakra's lineage to Caidya. Other than that it is found that the Karushas were connected to Paṇḍu and to the Chedis, the Yādavas, i.e. Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa, and all his relations and the Pauravas.¹⁷

The origin of the Karushas is traced back to the Purana, which mentions the Karushas as one of the nine sons of Vaivasvata Manu. The other sons were- Ikṣvāku, Nābhāga, Dhṛṣṭa, Saryāti, Narisyanta, Prāṁśu, Nābhāne diṣṭha and Pṛṣadhra.¹⁸

The Kurusas or Karusas had different settlements at different periods-

- (a) In the Mahabharata they are often mentioned along with the Matsyas, the Kāsis, the Chedis, and the Pancālas. The Vishnu Purāṇa also mentions them with the Mastyas, the Cedis, and the Bhojas. Pargiter, therefore, suggests that the country of this tribe lay to the south of Kāśī and Vatsa between Cedi on the west and Magadha on the east enclosing the Kaimur hills, in short, the country of Rewa from the Ken in the west to the confines of Bihar in the east. The Karūsha country is, however, the same as Adhirāja which was conquered by Sahadeva, one of the five Pāṇḍavas.
- (b) The Bālakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, however, seems to locate the tribe in the district, now known as Shahabad in Bihar from where they probably migrated southwest to the region indicated by the Mahābhārta. According to tradition the southern district of Shahabad between the river Sona and Karmanāśā was called Karukh-deśa or Karūshadeśa. This tradition is supported by a modern local inscription found at Masār in Shahabad district designating the territory as Karūshadeśa. Vedagarbhapuri or modern Buxar is referred to in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa to have been situated in Karūṣa.
- (c) They had probably another settlement in the territory known in ancient times as Puṇḍra, for, according to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Karūṣa seems to have been another name for Puṇḍra roughly identical with north Bengal.

¹⁷ Churn Law, Bimala . *Ancient Indian Tribes*. Vol. II. London: Luzac & Co., 1934. p.31-33.

¹⁸ Ibid.

(d) In the Vāyu (ch. 45), Matsya (114. 54), and Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇas (ch. 57. 53-55), the Kārūṣas are said to have occupied the back tract of land of the Vindhya range.¹⁹

The Karusas find mention in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, along with the Kerelas and Utkalas. They are also mentioned in the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa along with the Mālavas, Utkalas, and the Daśārṇas. All these groups are mentioned as inhabitants of the Vindhyan ranges. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa not only mentions the Karusas but also establishes their contiguity with the Arbudas and Mālavas. It is highly confirmed fact based on the evidences provided by the Purāṇas that the Karusas were not only of ancient origin, thus confirming its origin as an ancient tribe but also had established its stay and settlement for a considerable long period of time in the Vindhya ranges. This also confirms the establishment of the Karusas in the Deccan region for a considerably long time.

There is a slight disagreement between some scholars on the issue of which side the Karusas fought on. As against Dr. K.S. Singh's view, Bimala Churn Law believes that the Karusas fought along with the Kekayas, Pañcālas, Matsyas, Cedis and Kosalas who rallied on the side of the Pandavas.²⁰

Some historians hold variant views on the origin of this particular tribe. The Kuruxs as they are popularly called were settled near the river Tungabhadra, in the Rohtas-Khand. It is believed that the city of Kishkindhya, which is mentioned in the

¹⁹ Ibid., p.31-33.

²⁰ Ibid.

Ramayana, was somewhere near that place.²¹ The fort of Rohtas-Khand was besieged by a powerful Aryan army when the inhabitants of Rohtas fort were busy in merrymaking and revelry and had no foreboding of such a disaster. They were overthrown by their enemies and had to save their lives by hiding in a dense forest, and were thenceforth known by the name of the new land they occupied.

A different theory places these people as the descendants of King Shugrib of the *Ramayana*, who was the king of the Vanaras, the followers of Ramchandra, the legendary hero of ancient India.²²

This tribal group called Kurux is formerly known as Oraon. The Oraon tribe belongs to the Mediterranean stock, the other two being the Negritos and the Mongoloids are all the three stocks constituting all the tribal groups of India. The Mediterranean people are generally known as Dravidians and form the bulk of the tribal population in India. The Dravidians are classified under this category on account of their being one of the major linguistic group and have no ethnic relevance whatsoever. The tribes, which constitute the Dravidians group, are found in the Chotanagpur Plateau, the Rajmahal Hills region, the Aravelli ranges, the Central Vindhya, the Deccan Plateau region and Nilgiri Hills. This linguistic group apart from Southern states also survives in Central India where its traces are found in the dialects spoken by the Oraons, the Gonds, the Mundas, the Malers, the Khonds and other tribes. The Dravidians are further divided into the Kolarians who speak a dialect called Mundari and the Dravidians proper who speak the languages such as

²¹ Banerjee, Monoranjan. *Primitive Men in India*. India: The Indian Publications, Ambala Cantt, 1964.p.80- 81.

²² Ibid.

Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada. The Oraons, alongwith the Mundas, the Santals and other tribes of Chotanagpur Plateau region constitute the Kolarian stock.

The Oraons are believed to be the third largest single ethnic group among the tribes after the Santals and the Gonds. In Bihar, they are found in vast numbers after the Santals. According to the 1971 census, the Oraons were placed at approximately 8,76,218 in Bihar.²³ The Oraons are spread in different parts of Bihar; their facts and figures according to the 1961 census are as follows – Ranchi - 564,774; Palamau - 83,390; Purnea - 26,624; Singhbhum - 22,084; Hazaribagh - 15,608. Other than these, the Oraons have sizeable population in Santal parganas, Shahabad, Dhanbad, Bhagalpur, Champaran, Saharsa, Patna, Gaya, Monghyr, Darbanga, Muzaffarpur, and Saran.²⁴

In Madhya Pradesh, the Oraon population was placed at approximately 3,70,652 according to the 1971 census.²⁵ The 1961 census had placed their figures as in Raigarh - 169, 311; Surguja - 106,186; Bilaspur - 4,962; Narsimhapur - 1,593. The Oraons are also found in Raipur, Hoshangabad, Durg, Mandla, Bastar, Seoni, Chhindwara, East Nimar, and Betul.²⁶

In West Bengal, the Oraons were placed at approximately 2,91,173 according to the 1971 census.²⁷ The 1961 census had traced the Oraons in Jalpaiguri - 181,749; Darjeeling -28,388; 24 Parganas - 24,407; West Dinajpur - 22,287; Nadia

²³ 'Sinagi Dai'. 2. April-June. New Delhi. 1999.p.5-8.

²⁴ *Annexure to the Tribal Map of India*. Calcutta: ASI, 1971.p.13-16.

²⁵ 'Sinagi Dai'. 2. April-June. New Delhi. 1999.p.5-8.

²⁶ *Annexure to the Tribal Map of India*. Calcutta: ASI, 1971.p.29-34.

²⁷ 'Sinagi Dai'. 2. April-June. New Delhi. 1999.p.5-8.

- 9,794; Burdwan - 5,699; Purulia - 5,266; Malda - 4,783; Midnapur - 4,588; Hooghly - 3,743; Cooch Behar - 2,310; Howrah - 1,894; Murshidabad - 1,345; Bankura - 549; Calcutta - 323; Birbhum - 269.²⁸

The Oraons were placed at approximately 1,64,619 in Orissa, according to the 1971 census.²⁹ The 1961 census traced the maximum number of Oraons in Sundargarh - 114,103; Sambalpur - 12,129; Mayurbhanj - 1,783; Keonjhar - 1,003; Dhenkanal - 20; Puri-11; Cuttack - 5; Bolangir - 4; Kalahandi - 3.³⁰

The Oraons were placed at approximately 3,428 in Tripura according to the 1971 census.³¹ They are also found in Assam where their figures are placed at approximately 1 lakh.³² They migrated to Assam in search of jobs and are employed in tea-garden estates. The migration of Oraons from Chotanagpur to Assam started as early as 1828 during the British regime, which saw the movement of Oraons, Mundas, Kharias and Santals as indentured tea-garden labourers to Assam.

A minuscule population of Oraons is also found in Uttar Pradesh - 24,072, Delhi - 2,000 as according to the 1971 census.³³ A small number of Oraons are also found residing in states of Maharashtra, Srinagar, capital of Jammu & Kashmir, and Andaman Island.³⁴

²⁸ *Annexure to the Tribal Map of India*. Calcutta: ASI, 1971.p.67-70.

²⁹ 'Sinagi Dai'. 2. April-June. New Delhi. 1999.p.5-8.

³⁰ *Annexure to the Tribal Map of India*. Calcutta: ASI, 1971.p.53-57.

³¹ 'Sinagi Dai'. 2. April-June. New Delhi. 1999.p.5-8.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

The Oraons are found in sizeable numbers in Bangladesh, which has more than 50,000 Oraons settled in Sundarban and Chitgraon following a typical Kurux lifestyle, and they have also sustained their gotra without any deviation and they speak Kurux language.³⁵

The Oraons are also found in Bhutan, Mauritius, West Indies, Surinaam, and Fiji Islands.³⁶ It is not very clear how the Oraons reached these places but it is widely believed that the Oraons were taken to these places as indentured labourers many years ago and have since then resided there.

The Oraons are found in large numbers in Nepal. In Nepal, they are found in Sunsari, Morang, Rajberaj, and Janakpur Sirha districts. It seems the Oraons entered Nepal as nomads as they were prone to leading a nomadic life in earlier years of their settlements. Therefore, it is highly probable that the group migration made inroads into unknown untraversed land and landed in lower himalay as called Nepal. The hard working Oraons were called Dhangars in Nepal. The Oraons residing in Nepal still follow a typical Kurux lifestyle, speaking Kurux language and celebrating all the festivals like Karam, Xaddi, and Phagu with equal pump and splendour. The traditional welcome of guests with rice-beer is still the custom among the tribal tradition conscious Oraons of Nepal.

The Oraons are known by various names in different parts of the country. They are called Dhanka, Dhangad, Dhangar, Uraons in Madhya Pradesh; Uraons, Dhangar in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar; Kurukh, Dhangad in Maharashtra; in the

³⁵ Ibid., p.5-8.

³⁶ Ibid.

Sambalpur district of Orissa, as well as in the Bamra, Raikhol, and Pal – Lahera states in Orissa, they are known as Kisan, Kora and Dhangar-Kora and also as Dhangar as in Sarangarh tributary state in Orissa; Orang, Oraon in Tripura; Kurukh in Assam; Kuda (digger), Kisan (cultivator), Dhangar (labourer, farm-servant or Hillman) are the various other synonyms associated with the Oraons. The designation 'Oraon' or 'Orao' is a nickname given to the Oraon tribals by their non-tribals neighbours. The Oraons prefer to call themselves Kuruxs, which not only denotes their linguistic group but also has other associations. Sir G. Grierson observes that 'Kurukh' may be connected with Tamil 'Kurugh', that is, an eagle and this may be the name of a totemistic clan.³⁷The variant of Oraon 'Orao' is very close to Oraya which means farmservant.³⁸The name Oraon is given by the Hindus. According To S.C. Roy, the Hindus called them first Raona Put or O-rawan, and O-rawan, eventually became Oraon. The story goes back to early days of Oraon settlements in Chotanagpur. The Hindu immigrants into Chotanagpur perceived the rapidity with which the Oraons multiplied. This was enough for them to naturally compare this tribe to the progeny of the legendary monster-king Rawana of the *Ramayana*. The popular tradition represents king Rawana as having been blessed with one-hundred-thousand sons and one-hundred-and-twenty-five-thousand grandsons. To the Hindus the Oraons' monstrously impure habits, and the capability of extraordinary prolificness was horrifying beyond description, so, they appropriated the name Raona Put to them which translated literally means the

³⁷ Shashi, S.S. (ed.). *Encyclopaedia of Indian Tribes*. Vol. 5. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1994.p.99.

³⁸ Ibid.

progeny of Rawana. Further the name Rawan, pronounced, with a little twist of the tongue arrests 'O' sound at the beginning and easily makes it 'O-rawan' or Oraon.³⁹ He further adds that according to some Oraons ' the name derives from Ur (chest), because they are believed to have been born of the blood from the chest of a Muni, a holy ascetic. The appellation was Uragon Thakur, but the people were not clean and therefore were called Oraon.'⁴⁰This has a direct reference to the pre-Chotanagpur days when the Oraons domiciled in Rohtasgarh wore a sacred thread like the Brahmans and were considered on par with them. Later on flight from their enemies they sought shelter among the Mundas and consumed beef after discarding their sacred thread after which they also forfeited their right and claim to the name of Uragon Thakurs, and came to be called simply Oraons.⁴¹ This supports the version that holds the right term to be Uraons and not Oraons. Yet another version holds that the Uraon being a Dravidian term is made of two words - ur meaning village and awan meaning inhabitants. Therefore, the term Uraon refers to "those who lived in villages".⁴²

Some scholars are of the view that the original name of the Oraons, might have been Maler ("Man") as a group of Oraons inhabiting Rajmahal Hills are ascribed by that name today. The name 'Kurux' is symptomatic of another theory of S.C. Roy's extensive research on this particular tribe. He is of the view that 'Kurux' may have been a derivation of king karakh of Karukh Des (country of king karakh).

³⁹ Roy, S.C. *The Oraons of Chotanagpur*. Ranchi: Author, Bar Library, 1915.p.13-14.

⁴⁰ Tirkey, Boniface. *The Smiling Oraon*. Patna: Navjyoti Niketan, 1989.p.4.

⁴¹ Roy, S.C. *The Oraons of Chotanagpur*. Ranchi: Author, Bar Library, 1915.p.16.

⁴² Sahay, K.N. 'Tribal Self-Image & Identity' in *Tribal Heritage of India*. Vol.1.Ed. by S.C.Dube. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., IIAS, 1977.p.12-13.

Similarly, 'Kuruxar' the term by which the Oraons or Kuruxs like to call themselves, by same application becomes tribesman or tribesmen of king karakh.⁴³ Therefore the name Kuruxar is also replete with historic associations for the Oraons.

Another theory holds that the term 'Kurukh' means man or people. The term Kurukh is applied to men or people associated with agriculture. Therefore, it also means agriculturists.⁴⁴ Yet another theory holds that the name 'Kurukh' is derived from an obsolete Dravidian word meaning 'man'.⁴⁵ It may also have been given to the mythical king Karakh just in the same way as the name Adam was given to the Hebrew progenitor of mankind.⁴⁶ S.C. Roy says that the term 'Kurukh' by which the Oraons prefer to call themselves has a strong resemblance to Sanskrit root word krs, which means 'to plough'. The term also finds close resemblance to krsak or kisan, which means 'ploughman' or 'cultivator'. So the theory that the Kuruxs called themselves Kurukh in the sense of being a tribe of agriculturists holds true.⁴⁷

The term Kurux also has suggestive reference to a place called Korkai, in the ancient Pandya Kingdom of Karnataka. It is widely believed by the scholars that the remarkable resemblance between Kurux and Korkai has its base in the theory that the Oraons were earlier descendants of this land Korkai for a considerable long period of time before migrating to Chotanagpur. Korkai is a small village on the Tambraparni river in Tinnevely. It was in ancient days the capital town of Pandya

⁴³ Tirkey, Boniface. *The Smiling Oraon*. Patna: Navjyoti Niketan, 1989, p.4.

⁴⁴ Singh, K.S. *India's Communities. N-Z*. Delhi: ASI, OUP, 1998. p.2675.

⁴⁵ Diwakar, R.R. *Bihar Through the Ages*. India: Orient Longmans, 1959. p.88-89.

⁴⁶ Roy, S.C. *The Oraons of Chotanagpur*. Ranchi: Author, Bar Library, 1915. p.4.

⁴⁷ Sahay, K.N. 'Tribal Self-Image & Identity' in *Tribal Heritage of India*. Vol.1. Ed. by S.C. Dube. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., IIAS, 1977. p. 12-13.

kingdom, long before the Christian era. In addition, most linguists find close association between the language Kanarese or Canarese and the Oraon or Kurukh tongue.⁴⁸ Moreover the customary addressing of each other among the Oraons by the place of their origin, birth, or domicile strengthens the theory that the Kurux or Kuruxar means, “people from Korkai”.⁴⁹

The Oraons’ have a traditionary legend among themselves which supposes the origin of the tribe coupled with the account given by the Vanaras as contained in the *Ramayana*, that the Oraons formed part of the Vanara army that helped the Aryan hero Ramchandra in defeating the non-Aryan king Rawana of Lanka, whose dominions probably included some states of Southern India. The Oraons recite a long story of the genesis of man and the spirits at their periodical Danda-Katta ceremony, of ‘cutting the (evil) teeth’. In the story Ramachandra is spoken of as their ‘grand-father’, his wife Sita as their ‘grand-mother’, and his monkey-general Hanuman as their ‘uncle’. In addition, some versions of this long story carry the name of Rama as synonymous with Dharmes (God) Himself, and Sita as Parvati, the wife of Dharmes. Moreover in the *Ramayana* the Vanaras are projected as dusky ‘cloud-coloured’ people with large teeth, and their men and women are represented as addicted to drink and music of the mridanga or mander. All these characteristics are found in abundance in the Oraons of Chotanagpur, which they share with many other Dravidian jungle-tribes. The reference to all the helpers of Ramachandra as ‘Vanaras’ by the Aryan hero himself could be a reference with love and could also be due to the belief in the tribal totemism of monkey among the leading section of

⁴⁸ Roy, S.C. *The Oraons of Chotanagpur*. Ranchi: Author, Bar Library, 1915.p.4-5.

⁴⁹ Tirkey, Boniface. *The Smiling Oraon*. Patna: Navjyoti Niketan, 1989.p.5.

Dravidian hill-men who formed Ramchandra's original army. Even to this day there are monkey-totems amongst the Oraons tribals of Chotanagpur. There are Oraons of the Haluman (baboon) gotra (totemic sept) and the Gari (common monkey) gotra, who have each a species of the monkey for their totem, and who abstain from killing or injuring or even domesticating a monkey. Moreover the flesh of the monkey is taboo to all Oraons, irrespective of their sept-totem, although they eat the meat of almost every other animal. This idea supports the suggestion of S.C. Roy that the 'Vanara' or monkey was once the tribal totem of the Oraons, and the totem was derived from the mother's side, for descent being matrilineal in those days, paternity was imperfectly understood.⁵⁰

ORIGIN:

It is not clear from whence the Oraons originated. The scholars have researched a lot on this aspect of origination of the Oraon tribe and are of different opinions on this issue. The historical analysis of the Oraons has led scholars to hold the view that the Oraons are autochthones or natives of the Indian Peninsula. They are thus sons-of-the-soil and not outsiders in any way. The physical and linguistic characteristics of the Oraons are pointers to their basis in the Dravidian land. The physical and linguistic characteristics of the Oraons point to their close affinity to the Dravidians. On the basis of this evidence, the anthropologists' claim is well founded that the Oraons as a Dravidian tribe were well settled in the Deccan, in South India with other Dravidian communities of the Tamil, Telugu, Malyali and Kanarese language. Thus, the claim of some scholars that the Oraons were originally

⁵⁰ Roy, S.C. *The Oraons of Chotanagpur*. Ranchi: Author, Bar Library, 1915.p.19-23.

habituated in Karnataka's ancient Pandya kingdom long before the Christian era is well founded. But a well known Oraon tribal researcher Mahli Livin Tirkey from Chotanagpur contends that the Oraons have migrated from the Indus Valley which was their first habitation some 3,500 years ago before Christ. This claim is propounded on the excavations conducted at Mohen-jo-daro on the banks of the River Sindhu and at Harappa on the River Sutlej and these excavations have confirmed the Indus Valley culture to have been Dravidian.⁵¹ This theory is further strengthened by Prof. Asko Parpola's, (a well-known scholar of Indus Valley scripts) claim that the Indus language is likely to have belonged to the North Dravidian sub-branch, represented today by Brahui spoken in the mountain valleys and plateaus of Afghanistan and Baluchistan, the central area where the Early Harappan Neolithic cultures flourished and by the Kurux spoken in North India from Nepal and Madhya Pradesh to Orissa, Bengal and Assam.⁵² The close resemblance between Kurux, and Malto to Brahui language strengthens the aforesaid theory's claim to the origin of Oraons in Indus Valley, as the Kurux language appears to have been one of the spoken languages during the period of Harappan civilization.⁵³ Moreover Sauria Paharias who are considered off shoots of Oraon tribe speak Malto, which is allied to Kurux. These two languages are considered to belong to the intermediate group of Dravidian languages and are found to be very distinct from both the Aryan and the Austric groups. They are very different from the above said groups in terms of 'pronunciation, modes of indicating gender, declension of nouns,

⁵¹ Tirkey, Boniface. *The Smiling Oraon*. Patna: Navjyoti Niketan, 1989. p.6-7

⁵² Tirkey, Livinus. *Tribals, Their Languages and Literature*. Ranchi: Don Bosco, 1998. p.23-24.

⁵³ Ibid.

method of indicating the relationship between verb and object, numerical system, principle of conjugation, methods of indicating the negative and in their vocabularies Kurukh and Malto represent a Dravidian enclave in a region of Munda speech.⁵⁴ Kurukh is found to be more closely connected with ancient Tamil and Kannada than with any other Dravidian language. The speakers of Malto, Sauria Paharias habituate in the northern Santhal Parganas and their language Malto has therefore lots of Santhali and Bengali words incorporated in its vocabulary.⁵⁵

MIGRATION OF THE ORAONS TO CHOTANAGPUR PLATEAU:



There are varying views on the sojourn of the Oraons from their original habitat to Chotanagpur Plateau. One scholarly hypothesis supported by S.C. Roy, P. Dehon and Col. Dalton argues that the Oraons have migrated from Deccan, which was their original habitat to Chotanagpur Plateau. The Oraons are believed to have followed the route along the Western Coast, followed the River Narmada and proceeded east, crossed the Vindhya and reached the source of River Son in the Amarkantak forest ranges. After crossing the Son valley, the Oraons reached the Bihar plateau of Shahabad. This was to be their home for about 800 years before Christ.

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The other view proposed by Mahli Livin Tirkey, a native Oraon of Chotanagpur traces the migration of Oraons from Indus Valley to Rohtas in Shahabad district in Bihar. The migration of the Oraons was forced by the fear of attack by the Aryan army in 1750 B.C. The Aryans being an inimical race threatened

⁵⁴ Diwakar, R.R. *Bihar Through the Ages*. New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1959.p.88-89.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

the existence of the peace loving sons of the soil who were forced to look for an alternative habitat in Shahabad district of Bihar. The Oraons reached a place called Rohtas in Shahabad between 800-900 B.C. after a long sojourn from the North-west. There they were to settle, establish and fortify their stay till around 600 B.C. when another inimical tribe called Cheros who ruled the north-gangetic plains began to uproot the Oraons from their new habitat. The Oraons, blessed with strong nature and physical character thwarted the plans of the enemy thrice but eventually buckled under pressure. Driven out from Rohtasgarh, the party split into two groups, one of which travelling north-east followed the course of the Ganges and reached Rajmahal Hills and settled there. They are called Maler men and speak a language called Malto, which means belonging to men. The other group fled south-east, proceeded up the Son river into Palamau and pursuing the course eastward along the Koel river, found itself on the high land of Chotanagpur. This place was to be their home for generations after!

The Oraons have dwelled in Chotanagpur for more than 2000 years. It is still the present home of Oraons. A major percent of the Oraons population is concentrated in Chotanagpur. The chronicles of the Nagvansi Raj family of Chotanagpur mention the crowning of Phani Mukut Rai as the first Nagvansi Raja over the tribals in 64 A.D. The Oraons and Mundas seem to have been witnesses of this grand event of the ascension of throne of this foster son of a Munda chief. The place Chotanagpur also finds mention in the records of Ptolemy, a Greek traveler who had visited India in the year 175. In his *Ancient Geography*, he talks about a country called Kokkonagai, which most probably is the land the Oraons had occupied. Kokkonagai, scholars point out might be a contraction of Kuruxar-gahi

(literature “of Kuruxar”), and Kokkonagai might also have meant “the land of the Kurux”. Kokkonagai is also seen as bearing a stark resemblance to Khokhera or Khukhra, the country the Nagvansi kings of the Oraons and Mundas ruled. It appears that the Oraons has settled down in Chotanagpur much before Plotemy’s time, because he says, “Further east than those towards the Ganges are the Kokkonagai with the city ‘Dasara’. Lassens’ identification of Kokkonagai with Khokra or Khukra, and Dosara with Doesa, is compatible with the Oraon tradition that the Oraons built a fort in Doesa and were later defeated by the Mundas under a chief who was an ancestor of Phani Mukut Rai, the first Chotanagpur Raja.”⁵⁶ The seventh century Chinese traveler Huen Tsang described this country as a land covered with thick, impenetrable forests. And Kokkonagai, Khokhera or Khukhra, the land covered with thick, impenetrable forests is Chotanagpur.⁵⁷

The name ‘Nagpur’ might be a derivation of Nagbansis who ruled the country around 64 A.D. The term ‘Chota’ is a corruption of ‘Chutia’, a village on the outskirts of Ranchi where the remains of the old fort of the Nagbansi chiefs, ancestors of the present Maharaja, still lie in ruins.⁵⁸

Culture defines a society, be it tribal or non-tribal. If the literature of a society forms the backbone of a society, cultures forms the soul of a society, for, literature, language, etc., are inseparable from culture and form a whole together with culture. The Oxford English dictionary gives the definition of Culture as

⁵⁶ Dhan, R.O. *These are my Tribesmen: The Oraons*. Ranchi: G.E.L. Church Press, 1967.p.7.

⁵⁷ Tirkey, Boniface. *The Smiling Oraon*. Patna: Navjyoti Niketan, 1989.p.10.

⁵⁸ Houlton, John. *Bihar: The Heart of India*. India: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1949.p.127.

'customs and civilization of a particular time or people'. Culture denotes a sum total of mores and conventions developed by a group of people or a nation.⁵⁹ Culture consists of man's beliefs, norms, attitudes, etc., which form the basis of his behaviour.⁶⁰ Culture includes every actions, events and observances that distinctly define a society. Culture includes in its fold the religion of a society, the form of worship adopted, conventions a society follows, rituals a society believes in, food and drink, art and craft, music and dance, birth, marriage, death rites, sex taboos and prohibitions etc.

The different tribal communities exist as minority communities, conspicuous by the distinctness in culture, language and lifestyle they follow, which also sets them apart from the other majority communities. Apart from these characteristics that define a tribal community, mention must be made of changes that influence a particular culture- urbanization, industrialization, community development programmes, non- official welfare organisation and welfare department of the state government and Christianity have effected change to a major extent in the tribal communities. These changes have touched all aspects of tribal life, be it social, cultural or economic and have led to a widespread awakening among the tribals of their values that matter in tribal culture. The changes are also effected by the continuous cultural interaction between the tribals and the non-tribals in the tribal areas. The interaction between the tribals and non-tribals and between tribals and

⁵⁹ Sattar, Abdus. *Tribal Culture in Bangladesh*. Dacca: Muktaadhara, 1975.p.3.

⁶⁰ Areeparampil, Mathew. *Tribals of Jharkhand: Victims of Development*. New Delhi: ISI, 1998.p.49.

(other) tribals has been going on since time immemorial. Lincoln has rightly observed in *Culture Change in Tribal Bihar* that:

Cultures are infinitely perfectible and everything indicates that all cultures are in a constant state of change. The rate of its change will, of course, differ from one culture to another and even at different points in the same cultural continuum, but some modifications are always under way...Cultures are the most flexible or adaptive mechanisms.⁶¹

The Oraons of Chotanagpur observe two types of customs- religious and social. The Oraons give more significance to the social customs, which often always gets infused with the religious aspects. This 'infusion' is conspicuous in the festivals and social gatherings of the tribals. This is their essential 'tribalism', their tribal identity which is valued, preserved and guarded with much fervour and zeal by the tribals.

The Oraons are very scrupulous and naïve people, habituating in the lap of Nature. Their lifestyle reflects the simplicity of their nature and character, which shares a perfect harmony with Nature. Their domicile in the lap of Nature has a soothing effect on their psyche too. They are found often singing songs about Nature and its phenomenal activities. Their exuberance is well given expression in the collection of songs *Mausimi Rag*, which forms an integral part of Oraon culture. *Mausimi Rag* literally translated means seasonal songs based on the changing atmosphere of different seasons of the year. The tribal's exuberance for life and living finds expression in music, song and dance. Tribal song and dance is always

⁶¹ Sachchidananda. *Culture Change in Tribal Bihar: Munda and Oraon*. Calcutta: Bookland Pvt. Ltd., 1964.p.130.

accompanied by tribal music, which is music to the ears of even non-tribal hearers. Music, song and dance uplifts the tribal from his day-to-day worries about living and gives him tremendous power of endurance and survival against all odds. The Oraons' love for ease, recreation, fun and frolic is much in conformity with the unparalleled optimism that they entertain about life. All this is manifested in their celebration of festivals and music and dance. The tribal songs are essential to the understanding of tribal sentiments and view of life. A very few translations of tribal songs and literature are available due to the lack of interest and research done in this field. The low literacy rate among the tribals could be cited as another reason for the minuscule availability of literature of this tribe.

Literacy reached the land of Oraons very late. The Christian missionaries set foot in the land of Chotanagpur in the year 1845. The first Christian mission to enter Chotanagpur was the Gossner Mission in 1845. It stayed on in Chotanagpur for one hundred and fourteen years and did a tremendous amount of work in Chotanagpur. Its main interest was the production of literature, particularly religious and educational, in Hindi and tribal languages. Rev. A. Notrott got the first Mundari Primer in 1871 and the Mundari Hymn book was printed the same year at Benaras. A stone Lithographic Press was also set up at Ranchi in 1873 which enabled the issue of 'Gharbandhu' a fortnightly journal in Hindi in 1877. In 1881, Rev. Notrott also made available the first Mundari grammar in the German language to enable the young missionaries coming to Chotanagpur to deal effectively with the tribals in their own language. This book was later translated into English by Rev. P. Wagner. In 1832, a printing Press was also set up at Ranchi and the following year saw numerous publications of religious and educational books in Hindi, Mundari, and

Oraon. The year 1908 saw approximately 45, 136 copies of books on Christianity coming out in Hindi, Mundari and Oraon. Rev. F. Hahn did a commendable work in making available works of Oraons in English. Rev. U.E. Kujur translated the Bible in the Oraon language under the auspices of the church council.

The Anglican Mission began its work in Chotanagpur on April 17, 1869. With it, the Chotanagpur saw the publication of first New Testament in Oraon in 1952 due to the efforts of Archdeacon Ven. J. A. Cable.

The Catholic Church of Chotanagpur had a most tremendous impact on the inhabitants of Chotanagpur. Fr. Constance Lievens did commendable work in promoting Oraon language and literature. He was the main force behind setting up of the catholic press in Ranchi. The Catholic missionaries published the Mundari Encyclopedia in 13 volumes in Chotanagpur. Frs. Blesses, De Gryse and Bodsens brought out grammars in Oraon. Fr. B. Shanti Nowrangi wrote and published a grammar book and many volumes of Sadani stories. A monthly magazine 'Nishkalanka' was published by Fr. Simon Bara. Rev. Batsh, J Block, Cadwell, Rev. A. Grignard, Rev. O. Flex and Rev. F. Hahn brought out Kurux grammar books in Roman script. The Oraons had preferred and adopted Devanagri script, which is more familiar and easy to the tribals. S. S. P. Bakhla, P.C. Beck and Ahlad Tirkey brought out grammar books in Devanagri script. A number of dictionaries Kurux-English, Hindi-Kurux were brought out in the year 1900. Rev. Hahn made available the first Kurux-English dictionary in 1900. A. Grignard's Oraon-English dictionary and Rev. C. Blesses' English-Oraon dictionary was brought out in the year 1924 and 1956 respectively. The literary field witnessed the publication of collected Kurux

seasonal songs called “Leelkhora Khekhel” or “The Blue Land” in three versions by W.G.Archer, Rev. F. Hahn and Dharamdas Lakra. A. Grignard published “Oraon Folklore” by Rev. F. Hahn with critical analysis, translations, and notes in 1931. Another publication “Munta Poonp Jhumpa” or “The Bouquet of the First Blossoms”, a collection of 64 poems by Daole Kujur Annem was published in 1950. In prose, “Innelanta” (Of Nowadays), a collection of short stories in Kurux is an excellent work by Ignace Kujur. Ahlad Tirkey, a well known litterateur, published another collection of short stories entitled “Kurux Purkha Xiree”. The latest publication of collection of poems “Katha Sor” was compiled and brought out by Pius Lakra in 1990. Till date very few novels have been written and published in Kurux language. Justine Ekka has published to his credit a novel called “Namhai Erpa” (Our Home), which is based on social tradition of the Oraons and was published in 1987.

There have been numerous periodicals published in Kurux language since 1940s. The very first periodical to see light of day was “Bij Binko” (Morning Star) written in Devanagri script and published in 1940. This periodical lasted for six months and paved way for the other such periodicals in this field. “Bolta” (Voice) came soon enough in 1949 followed by “Dhumkuria” by Ahlad Tirkey in 1950 and this particular journal survived its precedents by three years. “Kuruxan” followed in the year 1962 and was highly successful providing an excellent opportunity for the young impassioned minds to give vent to their feelings and expressing them in most vociferous language.

At present the only well known and popular periodical by demand is “Sinagi Dai” edited by Shri Livinus Tirkey. “Sinagi Dai” is a tribute to the brave tribal princess of Rohtasgarh who saved the day when the Cheros attacked the Oraons during the time of Sarhul festival. A legend is woven around the name Sinagi Dai as she stands an epitome of courage, valour, honour and duty for men and women alike. “Sinagi Dai” was started in 1981 as an annual issue but due to some financial problems, it could not be continued. It was started in 1986 as a quarterly journal and has been highly successful in publishing stories, poems and articles on culture and development in social, economic and other related fields of interest to the tribals.

CHAPTER 2

The term Folklore encompasses within its domain folk tales, proverbs, riddles, songs, music and dance. This term was first used in 1846 by W.G. Thomas for the traditional customs, rites, beliefs, stories and myths.¹ These traditional customs, rites and beliefs of the tribals are considered to belong to a lower intellectual level than the officially recognized customs, rites and beliefs of the dominant groups who are in majority and with whom the tribals' traditional customs, rites and beliefs are compared. However, the present meaning of the term Folklore has undergone a transformation and it has been attributed with positive connotations and the meaning has been extended so as to incorporate folk arts and crafts and other manifestations of folklore which are helpful in understanding of folklore and, hence, folk culture. Folklore is also helpful as it lays bare the prehistory of the human mind. By studying the folk customs, folk rites, folk beliefs, folk tales, folk arts and crafts of a particular group, one comes across many interesting evidences and facts which highlight not only the functioning of the systems of the society but also reveals the functioning of the systems of the human mind which has been rightly termed 'fossils of the mind' by Dr. James Frazer which also illustrates 'an early stage in the progress of thought from its low beginnings to heights yet unknown'.²

Folklore in popular usage refers to folk art and is the most widely accepted aspect of folklore in general. Folklores are widely accepted to refer and mean oral

¹ Bose, Nirmal Kumar (ed.). *Studies in Indian Anthropology*, by S.C. Roy. Calcutta: Indian Studies, 1966.p.7.

² Ibid.

literary traditions and as the name suggests are virtually devoid of the tradition of written language and any record of such traditions are found to exist only in the minds and memories of men and are transmitted from one generation to another through word of mouth. This is a characteristic feature of all folk cultures.

In all folk cultures are found a plethora of folk tales, folk songs, proverbs, riddles etc., which form a part and parcel of the life of the tribals. They also point to the richness of a culture. Any culture which has these artistic genres in abundance is considered to be rich and sophisticated. The functions of these artistic genres in a culture are individual oriented. The folk tales, proverbs and riddles are highly conducive to the mental and moral growth of the individual into a more ethical and mature human being. The individual derives strength from these supplements to build up a strong and ethical persona to endure and survive and counteract all vices and vicissitudes of life at all stages of growth, progress and development. Apart from all the ethical and moral functions of the folklores, the function of entertainment and the role of community-building manifested in the act of storytelling, proverbs, riddles etc. cannot be denied. The very act of storytelling envisages a group gathering and an atmosphere of closeness and warmth is immediately evoked. Every evening after a hard day's work, the tribal, young and old, sit in a group cracking jokes, narrating the day's events, telling proverbs and solving riddles. A lively competition ensues which sees a playful 'tackling' of one another with good spirit. It builds up a spirit of fraternity, community-sharing, love and together-ness. By bringing the people closer in a group, it strengthens their character, builds up trust between them and reflects a general atmosphere of warmth and sophistication that only these people possess. The tribal consciousness is

invoked through such gatherings and sharing becomes a habit and need, which gets expressed in their social attitudes. Proverbs and riddles also facilitate a glimpse into the tribal mind. It also facilitates a graphic picture of their language and the powerful use of language by moulding it into proverbs and riddles to impart, educate and edify. The finer aspects of a tribal's mind and wisdom are further highlighted in their manipulation of language to construct proverbs and riddles. This reflects that the tribal wisdom is based on their actual experience and pragmatic attitudes to life and living.

The folk stories of the tribals follow a unique pattern which is so characteristic of folk cultures. The stories are excellently intertwined with songs and morals and narrated in such a manner as to cast a spell on the listeners. The narration of stories with songs keeps the beauty of the stories intact and a moral at the end enlightens the young listener's mind to exemplary heights. Some stories are constructed with lots of riddles, which sharpens the intellectual and reasoning faculties of the tribals and encourages them to think, reason, counteract, endure and survive against all odds. The stories are narrated with such vigour and exuberance that the ordinariness of themes hardly matter. And what else could form the themes and content of the stories of the tribals than Nature and its creation, amidst which the sons-of-the-soil inhabit and flourish with much happiness and vivacity of spirit. The touch of Nature is seen even in the cosmic world, which is largely explained through the story of the moon and its spot. The presence of a dark spot on the moon is explained as the huge banyan tree behind which the moon had attempted to hide.

The folk stories are instructions or rather ethical codes, which set up a criteria for the tribal's behaviour in society with his fellow beings. The higher values of life like justice and truth are imparted to them through the simple means of storytelling, which lack violent actions and abusive language so relevant to modern day stories. The stories are, however, not devoid of superstitions and complexes which have seeped in due to the ramifications of contact and interaction with other cultural groups in the neighbouring areas.

The stories are, thus, not devoid of the latent magico-religious content. The folk stories, in general, may irritate and exasperate the non-tribal's mind, who may find the stories too fanciful, too crude, too puerile in content but that's an outsider's perception and no amount of negative perception of an outsider can diminish and dampen the beauty and the spirit with which the stories are fabricated and narrated.

There are several themes in tribal folk narratives like the creation of the world, the origin of gods and goddesses, the origin of man and woman, the sun, the moon, the trees, animals and birds, food and drink, songs and dances, social customs, rituals, beliefs, societal taboos etc,. In fact, everything under the sun forms a theme for a story. The favourite theme, however, remains the myth of creation of the world. Surprisingly the tale of creation of the tribals conforms to the tale of creation of non-tribals. Stories of this kind highlights the imaginative powers of the tribals. The stories also demonstrate the ability of the tribals to ruminate and reason on the phenomenal activities of Nature and the Cosmos and weave a tale of magic and beauty around the mysteries of occurrences that are beyond human reason. The

stories also delineate the fundamental relation that exists between man and the Universe and Nature, all of which form the primary source of the folk narratives.

FOLKSONGS:

Songs, music and dance are the fundamental components that govern the human life. They are the requisites of tribal life, in which the hours of physical labour far exceed the leisurely hours. After a hard day's labour, when a tribal returns home to rest and relax, he needs some panacea to soothe his lethargic body and spirit to restful leisure and tranquility. Here music becomes imperative as it satisfies not only the tribal's aesthetic sense but also provides entertainment. The songs and music are the rejuvenating supplements, so essential to life lived in a rigorous routine as to deprive the mind and body of essential relaxation so any moment of 'breaking free' from the rigorous routine is a welcome break, in other words, sheer ecstasy and exultation of those moments of life which though ordinary are reminders of the joy of living together in a community or just living a life of beauty and happiness.

The tribals are sons-of-the-soil. In other words they are the children of Nature. So elements of Nature so often found in the celebrations of tribals, in songs and music are symptomatic of the essential nature of their habituation in a particular habitat. The folklores and folk songs take birth in the proximity of the forests, fields and rivers. They grow out of Nature and have an essential simplicity due to the simple lifestyle that the tribals lead. The love and yearnings for Nature when away from it and the exultation of the tribals when near to it are palpable in the songs sung

by the tribals. The folk songs are a mirror of the tribals' nature and character. They are the reflection of the fundamentals that govern a tribal's life.

The songs, music and dance are the vital components of the tribals' socio-cultural system and the Oraon tribals are no exception. The Oraons like their other tribal brethren are music-loving people. They take delight in the occurrences in life and any occasion, whether celebration of life or mourning of passing away of life merits songs and music. Music has been the major element, that has contributed heavily into shaping of tribal culture. There has been no official training institute to teach the tribals the basics of songs, music and dance. The tribals have been blessed with the power of Nature to compose and organize the musical melodies present in Nature and apply them to their day-to-day activities and have thus cultivated this natural art to perfection. There is no formal singer or institute of music in tribal community. The only singer and institute of music the tribals know of are the God and Nature. They have been cultivating, improvising and modifying this art since ages and now this art has become indispensable part of their socio-cultural system and adorns as embellishments all their social functions. There is no function, festival or gathering complete without songs and dances.

These songs have been an oral heritage of the Oraon tribals. No attempt was made earlier to collect and organize these songs into some form and category. Later when the British missionaries and administrators infiltrated into the hilly terrains of Chotanagpur, they felt instantly struck by the pristine beauty of this tribal culture and made attempts to collect and organize all the literary genres of the Oraons. Later the educated Oraons also made efforts in the same field. Till date, *Mausimi*

Rag by Fr. John Lakra is perhaps the only published collection of songs of the Oraons.

The Oraons have a separate dancing place called akhra. It is here the dances are held on the accompaniment of songs and music. Dance is a vital appendage to music and one without the other hardly holds importance for the Oraon tribals. It is, then, needless to say that dance is an inseparable element of Oraon culture. Dancing and singing are conceived as the necessities of life. They are not mere acts of leisure. They hold significant positions in tribal life and societies. If music is considered to contain life essence, dance is the essential machinery to carry it out. In a frenetic excitement of singing and dancing, the tribal soul is emancipated from the trivialities of life and the tribal mind experiences magical relaxation that cures it of all ailments of the body and the mind. They hold further significance as they defeat the natural and the supernatural foes. They are also a means of appeasing deities, natural and supernatural by performing the arts with frenetic fervour and zeal. The tribals believe that these forms of appeasement are highly conducive to individual and community life. They help in the collective expression of tribal sentiments for the welfare of the community. Dancing and singing are perceived as expressions of equality, of mutual sharing and co-operation. This is the only cultural element which brings the tribals into socializing with the other tribals. This is also perceived as the humanizing aspect of the tribal socio-cultural system as it has converged all the tribals in the past and is still the most active element of convergence and coherence in the traditional socio-cultural system of the tribals.

The folk songs of the Oraon tribals reflect their essential philosophy of life. Their outlook of life is very simple and lacks the profound elements that govern the general nature of philosophy. The tribal beliefs converge on a common invariant core of living life in a pragmatic and simple way. The desire to acquire concord, solidarity and unity with all living beings regulates their life. At the same time requisiting essential light heartedness in character and a keen desire to have fun while struggling for existence is reflected in their songs.

Generally, the songs are categorized under three main heads, viz, religious, social and romantic.

Tribal religion dominates and regulates all aspects of tribal life. The religious songs of tribals show an invariable sense of veneration to the creator and other deities residing in different elements of Nature. The songs are an encomium of gods and goddesses. The songs are appropriately full of morals and commandments for the emancipation of man from trivialities of life. The songs are also sung with an aim of ensuring a good harvest from Nature goddess as the common tribal belief goes that singing can actually exorcise evil spirits and ensure a good harvest other than increasing farm output.

The social songs regulate the social life of the tribals. These songs centre around birth, marriages and other ceremonial occasions. These songs are very appropriate to the occasions they are sung in. For instance, a marriage ceremony has various stages – from initial rites to bridal send-off. All stages call for a different type of song and music. No social ceremony of the tribals is complete without dance which is an integral part of tribal culture. The social ceremonies generally

have men and women singing in a group while some dancing with their arms interlocked and feet tapping at the beats of the mander(drum).

The romantic songs are finest structures and strains expressing emotions of lovers for their beloved. The songs have enthralling music accompanying it. The Jhumur songs of the Santhals and Oraons fall under this category. The songs are structured in the form of question and answer and men and women sing their respective parts. Either of them can take up the questioning and the other group has to answer the questions by singing it out. These songs are exquisitely built up with metaphors and similies for desired expression of the emotions of the lovers. The songs are intended to stimulate the senses of the listeners and the melody is aimed to capture their hearts.

Some other vague categorizations of songs are historical songs. These songs are aimed at enlivening and enlightening the tribals of their history and struggle for their identity as a particular tribal group. These songs are always accompanied by the stories of their heroes, their heroic deeds, their struggles etc.

There are songs sung for developing the intellectual faculties of the tribal children. These songs comprise games, riddles and proverbs etc. The children are encouraged and their senses stimulated to think, reason with logic through these songs. These kinds of songs are highly enjoyable and stimulative to young and old alike as they provide a suitable platform for the intellectual growth of the children.

The Oraon songs have a very simple structure. The songs are ordinarily constituted of two parts – each part is generally of two lines. The first part is

suitably termed 'Or' or 'dandi-choda' as its function is to lift up the tune or the song. This part provides the lead for the second part of the song, which is called 'Kirtana' or 'dandi-arga'. Its function is to turn the song over or repeat or answer if a question has been asked in the first portion.

The Karam festival songs are generally composed of two parts, but, a little different structure is adopted in the song as dandi-arga generally of two lines is sung first followed by dandi-choda, generally of one line only and then again, a line or two of the first part dandi-arga and then again a line or so of dandi-choda is sung for the desired effect. The Oraons follow a systematic paradigm to rein in the melody and rhythm without bothering too much about the number of syllables in the lines of the song. The uniformity is perceived in the 'Or' and 'Kirtana' and the amplification that renders it harmonious, rhythmic and melodious comes out in refrains of the same. This amplification or refrain renders a distinct unity to the whole song. The repetition makes the Oraons more enthusiastic, exuberant and vibrant and they resort to tapping their feet which is the only panacea to satisfy the vivacity of the Oraons, which has been made more frenetic by the rich fervour of the songs.

The Karam festival falls under the socio-religious domain and cannot be classed under any one category. The Karam festival is the most awaited festival of the Oraons. The festival is symbolic in the sense of its being an agriculture festival and associated with the idea of fecundity. That's why it holds significant position in the lives of the maidens of the village. The Karam festival is celebrated on Bhado Ekadashi, on the eleventh day of the lunar month of Bhado(August). The Karam

tree, scientifically called *Nauclea Parcifolia* is the centre of the proceedings of the festival. The preparations for the Karam festival start days before the festival. Nine days before the festival, the maidens of every individual family sow barley in their houses. They watch over it like mothers over their children, taking care to sprinkle sufficient water over the germinating barley seeds. The whole ritual is replete with singing songs to the germinating seeds and watching over them. During this ritual, the maidens abstain from consuming non-vegeterian food. On the day of the Karam festival, the maidens form a group and go to the forest to collect various items for the Puja. They collect bodi (*vigna catiang*), urid (*phaselous roxburghii*), other food grains and flowers in the Karam basket or Karam dowra, which has been dyed red for the occasion. In the evening, after a ceremonial bath in the village tank, they sit facing east. They keep sakhua leaves, cucumber leaves and their personal tooth cleaner one upon the other at five or seven places. The leaves are separated and kept in a heap of five or seven and the maidens touch each heap with sindur (vermilion) and pray to the Karam Raja for a good brother like Dharma and a good son like pumpkin. After this ritual, the maidens and the young men go to the forest singing and dancing to cut the branches of Karam tree. The village Pahan or Pujar accompanies the young group to the forest with the purpose of anointing the Karam branches with a little oil and sindur. The branches are selected and three are cut. The branches so selected and cut are not allowed to fall to the ground and are caught in mid-air by the maidens. Since this is a festival of the unmarried, but recently engaged girls of the village, they take an active part in the proceedings of the ceremony by carrying the Karam branches to the akhra. Singing and dancing goes on all through the proceedings. The maidens bring the Karam branches to the akhra

where generally an altar is made and after taking seven rounds of the altar, the Pujar takes the Karam branches from them and installs the branches in the altar or centre of the akhra or Puja sthal. In earlier times the maidens used to take five or seven, or ten or sixty rounds of the altar or Puja sthal but later the number of rounds was reduced to seven. The Pujar lights the incense sticks and places it in front of Karam Raja and the Puja begins. The maidens sit around the Karam Raja with their baskets reverently placed before the Karam Raja. The baskets or Karam dowra contains a little arua rice, chiwra, a young cucumber wrapped in a new yellow piece of cloth tied with thread at one or two places, an earthen lamp, barley shoots, flowers leaves, sindur, rice and cocunut. The Pujar begins narrating the Karam katha or the Karam story. The common story narrated with a little variance is of two brothers Karma and Dharma. One of the brothers, Karma had desecrated the Karam tree by uprooting it from the akhra in the middle of the ceremony and by throwing it out with full force. He was punished by the Karam Raja for this act of desecration. He and his family were afflicted with maladies of all sorts, poverty etc. His crops failed, his cattle died and he became a poor, miserable man. He, advised by his brother and friends worshipped Karam Raja and every thing returned to normal as before. After the narration of the Karam legend, the Pujar anoints the Karam Raja with Sindur and the maidens do likewise. They sprinkle arua rice on the Karam Raja. They offer flowers and other items of puja to the Karam Raja. The rest of the flowers, barley shoots and rice are distributed to the people gathered around. The Pujar sprinkles the people with the blessed water. After the ceremonies get over, the people shower flowers, barley shoots and rice on the Karam Raja shouting 'Jai Karam Raja'. The Pujar ties a sacred thread around the wrist of the maidens and

young men present in the Puja. Then starts the singing and dancing. Since the tribal celebrations are always collective, the men and women form groups to dance and sing. The drum beaters dance in the middle while the dancing group moves around the Karam Raja in an anti-clockwise direction. The celebrations go on for the whole night. When morning approaches, the Karam Raja is lifted and carried in a procession to the Pahan's house, then to the village Mahto's house and later to the Pujar's house. After the visit to the eminent personalities of the village, the procession visits each house of the village. The mistress of the house anoints the Karam Raja with oil, sindur and rice. Then comes the time when the Karam Raja has to be bidden farewell. The procession carries the Karam Raja to the village stream dancing and singing all along. The branches are immersed in the stream with a heavy heart and lots of thanks for the grace and blessings.

The refreshments that are served and partaken of after the proceedings, consists of chiwra (puffed and flattened rice), gud, a slice of cucumber, which is called 'babu', a symbolic reference to child.

There is, however, a slight difference in the manner in which the Christian tribals celebrate the Karam festival. The Christian elements dominate the tribal proceedings of the ceremony of the Karam Puja. The religious aspects have been remarkably incorporated and infused with the cultural aspects and it becomes palpable in the Christian tribals' observance and celebration of the Karam festival. The Karam Raja is perceived and sublimated to the level of divinity. The Karam Raja becomes the divine liberator Jesus Christ. The worship of the Karam Raja, however, is done with a slight variance in manner. The Karma Raja is anointed with

sindur and a white thread is tied around the three branches thrice. The number three holds great significance as it symbolically refers to the Holy Trinity. Milk is offered to the Karam Raja. The Karam dowra is placed at the feet of Karam Raja by the maidens who sit reverently around the Karam Raja. The Karam dowra contains white rice, chiwra, milk, water, white thread, sindur, barley shoots, cucumber wrapped in a coloured cloth, flowers, an earthen lamp and rice-beer. The Karam legend is narrated but in lieu of the usual Karma and Dharma story, the sacred legend is resorted to and narrated as it sublimates the Karam Raja to divine status and elevates his significance in the lives of the tribals. The reference is apparently to the ancient days when the Kuruxars habituated the Rohtaskhand. They were expelled by the enemy tribe Chero and had to save their lives in hiding in a cave, which had a huge Karam tree growing at the entrance. It is believed that Jesus Christ had appeared in the form of the Karam tree to save the Kuruxars from extinction. The mention of Sinagi Dai, always surfaces forth with the sacred legend of the Karam festival. Sinagi Dai was the tribal princess who had participated actively in repelling the enemy. Even today she stands an epitome of valour, courage and sacrifice. She is perceived as embodying the finer tribal qualities of undaunted bravery and courage in the face of danger. She is perceived as a great heroine by men and women alike. She is perceived as a symbol of strength, encouragement and inspiration during the vicissitudes of life that so bog down a person. The maidens venerate Sinagi Dai and lovingly address her as 'Dai' or Didi. The Karam Raja is perceived as the Lord Jesus Christ and all the prayers are addressed to him. Through the prayers they invoke his blessings for good life partners and progeny. The girls who are already engaged are gifted clothes and

ornaments by their future parents-in-law. The festival is also significant as it is perceived as a fecundity festival, the term fecundity being applicable to the maidens as well as the crops. The festival is thus symptomatic of the ripening of the crops, as well as its protection from the negative elements is also aimed at. By offering the barley shoots and cucumber to the young men of the village, the maidens hope to achieve their attentions and the very act of 'offering' the barley shoots and cucumber to the young men may also imply the stimulation of the senses of the young men, by extension the 'fecundity' of the young people. The 'offering' may also be perceived as to help stimulate the good growth of the standing crops and to ensure the protection of the crops against any form of infertility.

The Karam festival is significant in the lives of the maidens of the village. The other items offered for worship in the puja are equally significant as they separately signify something. The Karam tree which forms the main item of worship in the puja is symptomatic of the 'liberator', which in true sense of the term alludes to the sacred legend and to the biblical times of Moses when God had liberated the Israelites from slavery. Moreover, a tree is symptomatic of life, of growth, of sustenance, as an eternal supplier. The 'tree' is also associated with the idea of divine creativity. It also stands for the life of the cosmos. It regulates and determines the life giving processes. It is a direct symbol of generative and regenerative processes. It is also perceived as a symbol of inexhaustible life, thus, it is also connected with the idea of immortality, in addition to the idea of progress and prosperity. The Karam tree is perceived in the same light by the Oraons as it fulfills those very functions, a tree stands for and symbolically, historically and metaphorically the Karam tree has fulfilled all those functions. By addressing the

Karam branches as Karam Raja, the Oraons accord royalty and divinity to the Karam tree. The Karam Raja is also perceived as the most suitable and cherished bridegroom the maidens fantasize about and would like to have.

The sacred Karam legend is narrated to emphasize and keep alive the memory of the wars and the saviour of the Oraons. The legend also serves to glorify the tribal princess Sinagi Dai who stands an epitome of bravery and courage for men and women alike. She is a symbol of honour for the tribals. For all tribal girls, she stands as a symbol of 'honour' that has to be protected against any form of force. The story of Karma and Dharma is narrated to emphasize the importance of God in the lives of men and without whose blessing and beneficent eye, man cannot prosper, progress or survive.

The Karam dowra contains various items that are offered to and with which the Karam Raja is worshipped. The items are white rice, chiwra, milk, water, barley shoots, cucumber, an earthen lamp, flowers and rice beer among other items. All these objects are symbols of life, of sustenance, of fruitfulness, in addition to their obvious reference to fecundity and progeny. The very act of placing the Karam dowra at the feet of Karam Raja is symptomatic of invoking Karam Raja to bless the maidens with fecundity, good life partners and good progeny. The act is also interpreted as an act of humility, a quality so characteristic of tribal people.

The white thread that is tied around the three branches by taking it around it three times holds significance as through this gesture, the tribals give new clothes to the Karam Raja but what is of paramount significance is the dedication that is wrapped in the three rounds of the thread around the Karma Raja. The first round is

tied for God, whose name is invoked and blessings sought at the beginning of all auspicious occasions. The second round is dedicated to the Panch, who are entrusted with the welfare of the community. In the final round the blessings of the ancestors is invoked by thanking them for imparting knowledge and wisdom through this traditional practice.

The white rice thrown on the Karam Raja as part of puja is a symbol of life. The colour 'white' is symptomatic of purity and goodness that's attached to life and as it should be lived.

Sindur forms an important item of all religious functions. Anointing with sindur is an age old practice. Sindur as a symbol is connected with the idea of 'auspiciousness'. By anointing with sindur, the tribals establish a relation with Karam Raja and God.

The Jawa or barley shoots are symbols of new life. They are also reminders of the great escape and the blessing of Karam Raja. The tribals at that time had worshipped the Karam Raja with barley shoots as fear of enemy had prevented their venturing far away from the cave in search of flowers. The tender barley shoots are also distributed by the maidens to their elder brothers and through it, they seek their love, care and protection from all harm and evil. The men wear it behind their ears while the maidens adorn it as an ornament or flowers in their hair. The barley shoots are also interpreted as symbols of new life, obvious reference to children, hence abundance is stressed upon.

The cucumber wrapped in a coloured cloth is a direct reference to a child. The cucumber is called 'babu' another term for child in Kurux vocabulary. The cucumber is cut into pieces and distributed among the people. Earlier the pieces used to be given to only the grandparents. The cucumber holds a place of guest of honour amidst other food items. The child is a special guest in Kurux society. The birth of a child is awaited with anticipation as it also accords the family an honorary status. Other than that it lends continuity to the family and adds to the perpetuity of the tribe.

The earthen lamp or diya is a traditional symbol of honour, veneration and devotion. Diya is included as an important item in pujas. A diya at the entrance of the house is a sign of welcome, as it has always been in the ancient history of India.

Milk, water and rice beer are used to welcome the Karam Raja. It accords great honour and veneration to the person who is being welcomed. The Karam branches are washed with milk, water and rice-beer. It suggests washing of the feet of Karam Raja. It is also interpreted as an act of humility. Jesus Christ had washed the feet of his disciples. In the *Ramayana*, Nishadaraj welcomed Lord Rama by washing his feet.

Dancing and singing have always been vital elements of celebration in tribal life and especially in the celebration of Karam festival, the Karam Raja himself had ordained the proceedings to be regulated by dancing and singing and merry making.

It is believed by the Oraons that by dancing, singing, and merry making, they fulfill not only the decree of the Karam Raja but also bring happiness and prosperity

to their community. The forces of Nature are stimulated into dispensing their bounty more generously in the tribal land. The 'collective' celebration encourages and promotes the tribal unity by bringing the people together in one place. It also establishes a close empathy within the community by strengthening the tribal consciousness through group consciousness and group solidarity.

The Karam dances require the boys and girls to dance in separate lines while the songs are sung in unison. The dances are adjusted to the requirements of the music and songs. The 'Or' regulates the forward movement of the dancers while 'Kirtana' generally witness the backward movement of the dancers, though some Karam dance movements vary a little. The common feature of all the dances is the interlocking of arms with the other dancers. The most important feature that underscores all other aspects of dances is that all the dances are done very enthusiastically, energetically, vibrantly and with the spirit that is characteristic of all the tribal dances.

The Karam festival witnesses an abundance of songs during its observance and celebration. The dialect generally adopted in singing Karam songs is Sadani or Sadri, which is a mixture of the dialect of Hindi and local tribals. Kurux has also been used in composing Karam songs but Sadri remains popular and favourite with the tribals particularly for composing songs.

The Karam songs are found in plenitude in the Kurux Oral heritage but very few have been collected and still few have been translated. Due to the paucity of litterateurs in Kurux society, the pristine society has remained in the grip of Oral tradition, which has worked negatively for the society as very few of the works in Oral heritage have been collected and published in original and translation.

The Karam festival is a big and important festival in the lives of the Oraons. The festival is celebrated in a grand manner. The grandeur is all the more heightened by the systematic division of the festival into parts with each part having elaborate rituals in its fold. The preparations for the festival start days before the grand event. The barley seeds and seeds of other crops are sown and watched over in anticipation by the maidens of the village. They sing songs to the germinating seeds and rear them up with love. Every ritual has a song dedicated to it. The first part is the call given to cut the Karam branches. The young people form a group and proceed to the forest singing enthusiastic songs. The next part is the cutting of the Karam branches. En route to the forest the young men and maidens sing songs. The actual cutting of the three Karam branches has another song dedicated to it. While bringing the three Karam branches to the akhra, the party sings songs with music as vital concomitant factor. When the branches are brought to the akhra, the Pujar takes the branches from the maidens and installs them firmly in the centre of the akhra, the village dancing ground. All through the installation the group of young men and maidens enthrall the listeners with melodious songs.

After the installation, the Pujar begins the Puja and at intervals gives advices to the maidens on how to receive the Karam Raja in their midst and to seek his blessings. The whole ritual witnesses melodious entertainment. Later after the Puja the Karam branches are carried in a procession to all the houses amidst singing and dancing. The concluding ritual of immersion of the Karam branches is replete with farewell songs. Songs are also dedicated to the 'dressing up' of men and women for this grand festival.

TRANSLATION OF KARAM SONGS

CHAPTER 3

KARAM: PREPARATORY-WELCOME (P. 91-95)

Why, O Singer unknown,
Do you give a singing call in the streets.
You know us not, we know you not,
Why do you sing in the streets.

In the maize pot, maize did not germinate
Look, O girl, wheat has germinated in the maize pot.

Dress up girl, get ready to welcome,
Wear your anklet.
I have only one sweet brother
Wear your anklet and get ready.

Come Come middle-one to install the Karam branches,
Karam has arrived in your midst.
Come and anoint with sindur, O middle-one,
You are dressed up nice and good,
Anoint him with love and respect.
Take and install the Karam branches, O middle-one,
Karam will be installed by your hands only.

There are small mountains on which
A little peacock cries, O girls,
A little peacock cries.
A single arrow has hit him, O girls,
He cries tehon-tehon, O girls
He cries tehon-tehon.

Who will cut, who will cut new Karam branches?
A young man will cut new Karam branches.
Who will catch, who will catch new Karam branches?
A young woman, will catch new Karam branches.
Who will install, who will install new Karam branches?
A young man will install new Karam branches.

Our Karam is coming today,
Come girls, let's go,
To welcome the Karam branches.

What does this Karam ask for?
A little Hadia, bread in the basket,
That's what he asks for, Karam asks for,
Given with love, He will take even sour as sweet
A little Hadia...

It came yesterday, today its going away,
Come girls, let's go
Our Karam is leaving us.

Karam was in a grove only a few days back
Now Karam has been brought is our midst.

Come, come out, O middle-one to install Karam
Karam has arrived in your midst.

Come brother, take out your drum,
Come let's go towards Karam.
At dusk brother take out your drum,
Come let's go towards Karam.

O Karam has come, O Karam has come,
To enthrall the girls and boys.

You say Karam Karam, O girl,
Karam is in your sky only.
It came down from the sky, sat in the akhra,
It enthralled the girls and boys.

O Karam has gone, O Karam has gone,
It left the girls and boys orphaned.
It came only yesterday, today it is going away,
Go, go away Karam to the shore of Ganga.

Lujhki Karam (138-146)

Plaster, plaster mother the whole house,
Plaster mother the courtyard, too.
Plaster with Soroli cow's dung,
The river is full and flowing,
The river is clean and clear.

I went to celebrate Dasai mother,
Will you give me food.
Sit on a stool daughter,
Sit on a stool,
Hot rice with arhar pulses,
Stale rice with red pulses.

Where have you gone, O mistress?
Fetch me water in a lota.
Mistress has gone to roam around in the village,
Fetch me water in a lota.

When mother was living, father was living,
It was all dance and play, mother,
It was all fun, mother.
Mother has died, father has died,
It is all misery and sorrow now, mother,
It is all pain.

Run afar, O Cock,
Run and save your progeny.
The young men now-a-days are wont to play with your comb,
Run and save your progeny.

The time is passing away,
The next opportunity will come or not.
The passing away of life is no worry, O mother
It is the passage of time that disturbs.
Life has to end soon enough,
But time really drags.

The barley flowered after a long year,
Take these, O brother, will you take or not.
If I feel love I will take,
If I do not, I will not.

Are you going to plough the fields,
Are you going to plough Mani Chaura.
But you leave the centre and plough in the corners,
You are going to plough Mani Chaura.

Plough the fields, O brother,
Runia has started crying.
Do not cry Runia, do not cry,
The calf of brown one is terrified.

You go to school holding books and notes,
Do you study or not.
Will you pass B.A., sit on a chair,
Otherwise the plough waits.

Did you eat the sweet fruit, O Eve,
Now Eve what will you eat.
Miseries and sorrows you will have to bear Eve,
Time and again you will have to cry.

Every household resonates with Mander beats,
But silence greets my home.
My Husband has gone abroad,
Hence silence greets my home.

Whose brother all dressed up and ready,
Goes to Dasai fair.
It is the brother singer all dressed up and ready,
Going to Dasai fair.

(P-141)

A lovable creature goli cow
Calls out to the young woman.
A handful of chiwra, a little milk
Milked from the brown cow.

With a long bamboo moth eaten stick
Let's go to ganga yamuna to catch some fish.
One whole fish with gourd curry
We relished the taste.

I planted beans on a small mountain
A naughty monkey eyes the beans.
Wait you rascal, I will kill you and
Your skin will embellish my Mander.

In Vrindavan a pole of korkoto
Adorns the marwa.
The mother-in-law weeps inside the marwa
The daughter sobs uncontrollably outside.

The frog in well, the small fishes in pool
What do they know of the bliss of springs,
What do they know of the pond.
O parrot, how will you know in an iron cage
What beautiful world lies outside,
What lovely world lies outside.
How enthralling is the music of flute, of tiriyon
Of dufli when you beat it,
How lovely are the beats.

(P-143)

The new son-in-law went to his in-laws
They killed a cock in his honour but not a drop of the gravy he got.
The parents-in-law slept blissfully while he begged for gravy
Of the cock killed in his honour, he got not a drop of the gravy.

In the maize-field, a thief tries to hide
A thief he is not, but a dandy lover.
Bring a lamp, bring a light to the house
A thief he is not but a dandy lover he is.

A cock feeds in a ploughed field
Let him feed brother, let him.
Are you blind brother to shoot at him
Let him feed brother, let him.

The flowers have bloomed with seven colours on the little Rangani
The little Rangani stands blossomed in the shore.
Sister-in-law make Rangani thorn-less
The little Rangani stands blossomed in the shore.

A tree stands firm in the river shore
Who will befriend him.
He moves neither here nor there
Who will befriend him.

Whose palki has been decorated so?
Whose palki is this, so embellished?
Whose palki is this?
It is the king's Palki that has been decorated so?
It is the Queen's Palki that has been so embellished
It is the Queen's Palki.

Why, O brother are you sad, O why are you feeling low,
Why are you feeling low, O why?
I will buy you Mander, I will give you,
Sambalpur Mander I will buy for you.

Whose beautiful red gamcha is getting wet?
Whose beautiful thin hair is getting wet,
Whose thin damp hair is that?
It is the King's beautiful red gamcha that is getting wet?
It is the Queen's beautiful thin hair that is getting wet,
It is the Queen's damp thin hair.

O! Oho! Maina, in another's village,
What kind of love is this! Maina, in another's village!
They ate and drank in that house,
They slept there in that house,
In another village, what kind of love is this, Maina!

(P.145-146)

O Piyo, Piyo, sitting on a branch,
Do not leave the branch, Piyo.
This branch is like gold, Piyo, the leaves are lovely,
Piyo, do not leave the branch, do not run away.

When does the bird Piyo of small mountain speak?
When will the revelers come.
At midnight the bird Piyo of small mountain speaks,
The revelers will come at dawn.

At the foot of the high-low mountain flows a stream,
In which Mainas, all Mainas dip their heads to bath.
Maina bathes a little, splashes more,
Maina keeps an eye on the passers-by.

I placed my broken fishing vessel in a line,
Alas! Who took my fishes away.
I fell asleep in the night, I forgot in the morning,
Alas! If I had known, I would have given him a good beating.

When will we grind mother, when will we sieve?
When will we go to akhra.
At midnight we will grind mother, at dawn we will sieve,
In the morning we will leave for akhra, mother.

Whose daughter roams around in the colony, mother?
I saw her and fell in love.
Go mother, go and make inquiries,
If it works out, we will be relatives.

A decent house, a clean platform,
I desire that house, mother.
You give me mother, that house only, I choose to go,
That kind of house, I desire, mother.

From where do you rise, O Moon ? Where do you set?
O Moon, the world looks beautiful with you.
The Moon rises from the east, sets in the west,
O Moon, the world looks beautiful with you.

Chali Karam(Pata), (P-100-107)

The seven mistresses install the seven Karam branches,
The seven mistresses serve him well.
Carrying basket of bread and sindur, a diya in hand,
They serve him well.

A little distance away, the akhra has been cleaned,
And Karam installed in the centre.
Around the Karam, a basket of flowers,
Of diyas,
The diyas are unlit.

O mother, you say Karam, Karam,
When will Karam come.
Sawan bhado have passed away,
The Karam will be celebrated in October.

Whose daughter has observed Karam fast?
She is crying with hunger.
Mahto's daughter has observed Karam fast,
She is crying with hunger.

Karam dress arrived from the in-laws,
I will not wear it brother, please tell them.
They brought it in the evening, gave in the morning,
I will not wear it brother, please refuse them.

I am too young brother,
Do not get me married off.
Coloured basket, painted wooden container,
I will play in the mud with them.

You saw a beautiful wife, brother,
Now you tell your sister to get out.
I will go away, brother,
I will not call this village, my village,
I will not call this house, my house.

The smart girl with colourful flowers in her bun,
It is she who will become my brother's wife.
Do not choose that tall girl, brother,
The smart girl would make a good wife.
The tall girl freaks out in the colony,
The smart girl works.

A bud of kadam tree,
Falls to the ground.
O little brother, go and bring it,
It will be liked by all.

A Bagula sits on the riverside,
Like a king it lords over.
It sits with greed for fishes,
Like a king it lords over.

Where do you venture out, O passers by
Camping on the riverside.
It is the elite who venture out
Camping on the riverside.

A young woman of jashpur germinated barley,
For the Karam.
She planted barley in the morning,
For the Karam.

When mother was living, father was living,
It was a cool shade.
When mother passed away, father died
The cool shade turned into hot sun.

The city of Paikot, mother,
Gets water in abundance.
The boat cuts through the water
The swan king comes laughing,
The duck king comes smiling.

Make a house, brother,
Make one like a bungalow.
You would sit on a cot, I on a chair,
How would not the day be spent.

Make a door, brother,
Our door is stuck on hinges.
Mother is not here, father is not here,
Who will guide us brother.

Mother is so lovable
Marries the daughter beyond the mountains.
The Odanka troubles in summer
The rivers flood in sawan-bhado.

Come, sister, let's dance,
Our parents would come to see.
Who will see if we dance in the night?
Our parents will see if we dance in the morning.

When I was little, brother,
You loved me so much,
You called me sweet sister.
Now, when you have brought a beautiful wife,
You tell me to go away.

When you were little, brother, you bought a Mander,
You will marry a girl, when grown up.
You will marry and adorn her more,
You will throw the mander away.

My mother is so loving, and my father too,
They married me off when I was little.
My brother loves me, his wife is bad,
She shuts the door on seeing me.

This year in the Dasai ground
The new bride grinds new rice.
She grinds a little and enjoys much
Looking at the singer.

My brother and his wife installed Karam,
But they did not invite me to it.
How hateful am I to them,
That they did not invite me to it.

My mother, you scold me
The whole day and night.
Now you will scold me, now you will rebuke me,
Where will I go, mother.
Let January come, mother,
I will board the train to Bhotang and go away.

My love, you always scold me,
Be it day or night.
I will go away,
I will not call this village my own,
I will not call this place my own.
If I live, I will not correspondence,
But when I will die and I will send him dreams.

You always curse me, mother,
Do not scold me in akhra.
My male colleagues are beating the Mander,
Do not scold me in akhra.

As we play together
I will stay with him, they say.
Do not scold me, mother, do not scold me father,
People accuse with jealousy.

In this year's drought
They do not let us collect nuts.
They let us pick but,
Demand equal portions.

This time is passing away, my love
Will the next opportunity come or not.
Wealth can return, property can return
But the youth will never return.

The mustard field has worms
A worm climbs the fence.
Let it climb, brother, let it climb,
It wants to see the world,
It wants to see the world.

O mother, you say Karam, Karam,
When will Karam come.
O Karam, you came today, you will go tomorrow,
Go Karam to the sea shore.

You say you are hungry, mother,
How long will these conditions persist,
How long will the country go hungry.
Give me the wooden container of nuts, mother,
How long will these conditions persist,
How long will the country go hungry.

Gandhi baba, Gandhi baba,
Freed the Country.
The soldiers fight with guns,
Gandhi baba fought with the law.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS

METAPHORICAL SIGNIFICANCE:

The songs have metaphorical significance in addition to their ethnological significance. The metaphorical significance of the songs comes from the other connotative meanings attributed to the songs in the ritualistic aspects of the songs; the aspects they signify; in the manner they are sung; for whom they are sung and by whom they are sung; for the reasons they are sung and at the time they are sung. While the ethnological aspects are related to the ritualistic aspects, the activities with which they are related, the metaphorical meaning and significance of the songs highlights the remarkable aspects of the songs.

We will take the songs one by one for analysing the songs from the viewpoint of metaphorical significance. The songs have a beauty of their own. The songs are not ordinary poems. They are songs – ‘geet’ so they have to be treated like songs and from the same perspective the musicality, the rhythm present in the songs should be maintained at all costs. There is no metre in the songs of the tribals. But there are musical elements in abundance. In some places, a word has been repeated to maintain and conform to the melody and musicality of the songs. The folk rendition that is so characteristic of the tribal songs has been extremely difficult to catch in. The tune that forms the practical aspects of the songs is very hard to capture in translation. The other connotations apart from the literal meaning of the songs are very interesting and give insightful knowledge of the Oraon tribals’ socio

– cultural system. The songs are a brief analysis of life in general. For instance in the first part of **Lujhki Karam** p.138-141, stanza 4, there is an oblique reference to life without parents. Life without parents is suggested with the symbolism of dance and play. It is clearly suggested in the lines that life is beautiful, carefree when parents are living. A casual attitude to life is suggested when one is free of responsibilities, cares and worries. When the umbrella of the parents' love is taken away, life becomes hell. It is all misery, sorrow, and unhappiness. It is all pain. The next stanza (stanza 5, p.139) of the cock and its progeny has symbolic references to the honour of young girls. The 'addressing' of the cock is a warning to the parents of young girls to keep an eye on their daughters who are becoming a source of passion, and manliness among the young men. They are hell bent on taking a bold, impudent stance to win the hearts of the young girls. In a way, the 'honour' of the girls is under constant threat. So timely warning is issued to those parents who are blissfully cool about the whole issue. The next stanza (stanza 6, p.139) is a profound statement on life and the passing away of life, which is equated with the passage of time. The girl addressing her mother is extremely worried about the passage to time, which passes so slowly that it drags. The girl tells her mother that she is not disturbed by the passing away of life, as life has to end one day. That which has a beginning has an end too. But what disturbs her most is the 'awareness' that life is short and time drags this awareness making it all the more difficult for her. On top of that is the constant worry about things left unfulfilled, incomplete in life. All these problems are a source of constant tension for her. The eleventh stanza (p.140) is a biblical reference to Eve, the first woman of the earth. The allusion is to the temptation of Eve who had to bear painful consequences. Eve was thrown out of the Garden of

Eden with Adam. In this stanza, the life in the Garden of Eden is contrasted with the life outside the Garden of Eden. This can be compared to the life with parents and life outside the umbrella of parents' love. Life outside is a life of responsibility, of misery, of sorrow and pain. It is the unpleasant aspect of life that has been hinted at.

In the second part of **Lujhki Karam** (p.141-142), the fifth stanza talks about the frog and fishes, who have a limited perspective of the world. There is a narrow vision as it lacks the exposure to world vision. As a result they do not know the outer world which is as beautiful and challenging as their life inside is static and limited. This stanza is a reference to the young children who live in a small world, which comprises of themselves and their parents. The outer world is beautiful, challenging and inviting. The pleasures are many, the beauty beckons, the love of life that has no restrictions, no restraints is hinted at. But the tone of the song issues a hidden warning that is too obvious to be ignored.

In the third part of **Lujhki Karam** (p.143-145), the fifth stanza is an interpretation of human relationships. Here the abstract human value like friendship is hinted at. For such human values like friendship a good ground is needed for the tree of friendship to grow, to survive in human life. As love generates love, friendship generates friendship, but it needs compromise at both ends to stand firm. The other stanzas are references to love and life in general. The domestic life is presented in graphic detail in the first stanza (p.143), where the husband's expectations are larger than the feast he gets as welcome dinner. The second stanza (p.143) deals with beautiful romance budding in young hearts that prompts a young lover to go hiding to meet his sweetheart. The seventh stanza (p.144) is pure human

sentiments of a young man who desires something and feels low in the absence of it. And the guardian promises tribal pleasures in the form of mander. The tribal man finds pleasure and happiness in the simple forms of entertainment like dancing, playing and singing. A tribal man feels exuberant when he is offered mander as gift. The beats of mander fill his body, mind and spirit with frenetic energy that finds expression in physical exertion, in dancing vigorously, energetically matching steps with his brethren. The last stanza (stanza 8, p.144-145) of this part reflects the tribal nature of welcoming guests in a grand manner. It is a characteristic feature of all tribal societies to welcome guest with traditional drink, food and shelter for the night. A tribal feels bad and insulted when he is counted out by the guest or when the visitor visits some other house and does not come to his place. These kind of behavioral changes are questioned and analyzed in the light of love and friendship.

The last part of **Lujhki Karam** (p. 145-146) is symbolic in the sense of its being a direct reference to the values that govern and regulate human life. In the first stanza (p.145), through the symbol of a bird Piyo, a young girl is referred to. An advice and warning is issued to the young girl to remain in the precincts of her home, which is beautiful and secure. In an undertone the bird Piyo is told to stay in its home, as leaving it would invite undesirable elements that are best avoided. The rest of the song is a direct reference to various aspects and activities of life. Even the cosmos forms a part of this life. Through the symbol of moon (stanza 8, p.146), the song finds an expression of beauty in Nature. The phenomenal activities of Nature do not disturb the human mind. The questions regarding the rise and setting of the moon are mere formalities of the larger part and that is the world looks beautiful with the cool, soothing beauty of the moon. Can the world be imagined without the

moon? The domestic sphere finds expression in almost all the songs as the domestic life is of paramount importance to the tribals as the tribe itself is a large unit. A family is a small unit within this large unit. The peace and prosperity of the smaller unit paves the way for the progress and development of the larger unit. So domestic happiness remains on the priority list of the tribals and any violation of this domestic happiness is settled within the smaller unit in an amiable manner. The desire for exuberant lifestyle is a characteristic feature of the tribal system. This desire for dancing, singing and playing finds equal expression in both men and women. In the fifth stanza (p.146), the girl is restless due to the dilemma she is caught in. On the one hand is her filial duty to help her mother with the household chores; on the other hand is her intense desire to rush to the akhra to celebrate the festival. She resolves the dilemma herself by assigning herself some work at midnight and at daybreak so that in the morning she would be free to visit the akhra. The sixth stanza (p.146) explains how relationships are made in heaven and settled by men on earth. The ordinariness of themes is relevant to the simple lifestyle the Oraon tribals lead. The desire of the girl to be given in marriage to a neat and clean household (stanza 7, p.146) is a very simple theme but for the tribals it holds importance as domestic sphere scores over all other aspects of life. The mention of objects of cosmos like moon, animal world, birds, fishes, mander, river, mountain, trees, flowers, are the several themes of all genres of Kurux literature. The domestic sphere and its activities form another theme for the Kurux literature. The desire for exuberant singing, dancing, beating mander underscores all other aspects and themes of Kurux literature. The frenetic fervour in this desire is largely explained in the rigorous and difficult routine that the Oraon tribals lead and singing and dancing become obvious

means of entertainment, and relaxation. But it does not in any way mean that the tribals lack the depth of understanding of profound elements of thought. It is obvious in the first part of **Lujhki Karam** (p.138-141), stanza 4, 6 and 11 that the tribals realise the importance of time and opportunity in one's life. The love and care that only parents can give, nobody else can. And the best instance to prove this case is Eve and her defiance of the God's Word and the consequences later.

The Karam celebrated by Sadans is known as Chali Karam. Chali literally translated means courtyard. The Sadans install the Karam branches in the courtyard and venerate Karam Raja. Karam takes on divine connotations for them. They call Karam 'Devta' and worship him by offering flowers, arua rice, milk, water, vermilion etc. to him.

In the **Chali Karam (Pata)** p.100-107, the domestic issues have been addressed. Karam festival witnesses the 'fixing' of match between the relatives of girl and boy. It is the most auspicious occasion as it brings the blessings of Karam Raja and his benevolent eye on the girl and her progeny. The basic human nature has been dealt with in the other stanzas. In stanza 4, 7, 19, 20, 21 and 23, the mood shifts are widely seen. The girl who is unmarried witnesses the behavioral changes in the older brother (stanza 6 & 7, p.101-102). The brother has undergone a role transformation. He is no longer the loving brother of the girl but has transmogrified into a loving husband after marriage and has neglected the familial duties which the girl minds and points out regretfully. At the same time, she is also aware of her unblemished youth and wants it to remain so. She hesitates to remain in bondage of family responsibilities, domestic responsibilities so she gives all the excuses like she

wants to play in the mud, she is too young and innocent and she wants to be like that for some time. She is aware that she is growing up and that sooner or later she will have to get married but then she would want to visit her home often but conditions are harsh, it is either Odanka who pursue travelers in January-February or Nature creates big obstacles in her way like over flowing river in July-August (stanza 17, p.104). The role of the parents has been stressed time and again in almost all the songs. The parents are the protectors, teachers, and guides of the children. The children are aware of the importance of the parents in their lives. The umbrella of love that the parents hold over their children provides the children with security and guidance. When the parents are living, the children feel a cool comforting soothing shade over themselves, but the death of parents brings the children to harsh reality which is as piercing as the hot sun (stanza 13, p.103). The realization that there is nobody to guide them, to look after them, to take care of them and make them feel secure comes soon enough. So they make futile attempts to build a concrete structure that unfortunately lacks the love, warmth, security and strength of the parents' presence (stanza 16, p.104). The songs are replete with symbols of Nature like worms, birds like bagula, swan, duck and flowers, trees, rivers etc. These symbols project the very image of sons-of-the-soil that Oraon tribals are called and known as. The harsh aspects of Nature are also hinted at in the instances of floods and drought but the tone that suggests the will to survive against all odds is also dominant in the songs (stanza 32, p.107). The profound statements on the passage of time and youth bear resemblance to the earlier statements in the previous songs. The Oraon tribals realise and are conscious of the seriousness and inevitable aspects of life (stanza 28, p.106). They moon and mope over it for some time but their power

of endurance and grit in the face of disaster makes them take everything in their stride and carry on with the business of life and death. The youth is that part of life when the vices and vicissitudes of life hardly matter to the Oraon tribal, and as their philosophy of life goes one should make most out of life especially in youth as the old age is an age of meditation and retrospection. The song is an excellent description and detailing of the ritualistic aspects of the Karam festival. The veneration of the Karam Raja demands certain norms to be followed. The procedure has been dealt in detail. The installation of the Karam branches is followed by the anointing with sindur or vermilion and lighting the diyas to honour the guest of honour (stanza 1, p.100-101). The akhra is chosen and cleared for the installation and worship (stanza 2, p.101). The baskets of flowers are kept around the Karam branches with the fasting maidens sitting around it reverently. The customary gifting of clothes to the chosen bride on the auspicious occasion of Karam finds mention in the song (stanza 5, p.101). The Karam festival also becomes an occasion for the youth, children and aged to exult in the celebrations, to break free from all cares and worries and match steps in dancing, singing and beating mander.

ETHNOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF KARAM:PREPARATORY-WELCOME:

This part of **Karam: Preparatory - welcome** superbly brings out the various ritualistic parts of the Karam festival. The first part is sung when the call is given to cut Karam branches. Here the song describes the efforts of the unknown singer who is calling in the streets. Nobody knows him but he does a service to the village folks by singing in the streets and calling people to assemble for the first ritualistic activity of the Karam festival (stanza 1, p.91). The second step (logically) is the

journey to the forest to cut Karam branches. The journey witnesses the beautiful aspects of Nature dominating the journey. The mountains get mentioned, as they are the shelters of little peacock among other birds. The little peacock at the advent of the party runs away crying *tehon-tehon* because one of the party members shot an arrow at it (stanza 5, p.92). These aspects of Nature are reminders of the essential nature of the tribals' habituation. The journey to the forest is also replete with the suggestion of active participation of the Oraon tribals. The men suggest that they take a mander and go towards Karam branches to perform dances before any ritual of cutting or bringing the Karam branches to the *akhra* (stanza 13, p.94). After reaching the forest, the Pujar who has accompanied the party selects and anoints the tree whose branches are to be cut and hands over the axe to one of the young men to cut the Karam branches. The song follows the question and answer pattern (especially in stanza 6, p.92-93) to resolve the dilemma of who will cut the new Karam branches. One of the young men is chosen to cut the new Karam branches. The song does not specify the name or the young man who will cut the new Karam branches. Though the song refers to somebody particular, it declines to specify the identity of that person thus keeping the name ambiguous and maintaining the 'ambiguity' in the songs, which seems to be the purpose in these lines. So I have put it as 'A young man will cut the new Karam branches'. In the same way the answer to the question who will catch new Karam branches, I have put it as 'a young woman will catch new Karam branches', thus maintaining the ambiguity and extending it to line 5 which asks a question of similar nature. This stanza serves to point out the assigned duties of the party members while maintaining ambiguity about them at the same time. The Karam branches are selected and cut from a tree, from a grove. The

'denseness' of the forest is suggested in this part of the song (stanza 10, p.94). A song is sung when the Karam branches are being brought to the akhra for installation (stanza 7, p.93). The song is an exultation of the Oraon tribals after finding Karam Raja in their midst. So the Oraon tribals sing in exuberance calling everybody that their Karam is coming today, so come to welcome the Karam branches. The Karam Raja as Karam is lovingly and respectfully called, is given a traditional welcome by the Oraon tribals. The maidens holding the Karam branches take at least seven rounds of the centre-point or puja sthal in the akhra while the mander beaters dance in the centre and lead the way to the akhra and to the puja-sthal. There the Pujar comes forward and takes the Karam branches from the maidens and installs them in the centre of the akhra. In the song that I have taken the middle-girl also called majhiyani is being addressed to come out to install the Karam branches (stanza 4, p.92). Karam has entered her courtyard. She is asked to anoint the Karam with sindur as she is already dressed up to do so. She is asked to anoint the Karam with love and respect. The Karam will be installed by her hands only. The tribal norm however suggests the installation of Karam by Pujar only but here the middle-girl is being asked to anoint and install the Karam branches. The idea that she has been asked to perform the duties of the Pujar is little confusing. But since this is a song, the 'majhiyani' could have been used to embellish and adorn the song. The song sung in the akhra is sheer exultation after finding Karam Raja in their midst. So exuberant are the Oraon tribals that they sing – 'O Karam is here, O Karam is here' (stanza 14, p.94). The young men and women are mad with happiness. The senses of a young woman are shaken as she is yet to believe that Karam has got down from the sky to enter the akhra and is now present in her sky, has actually come in her

courtyard (stanza 15, p.94). The young men and women are so overwhelmed that they still find it hard to believe that Karam has really arrived in their midst. After the celebrations the Karam Raja is taken to every household for blessings. This is a sad moment for the Oraon tribals as it means that Karam Raja will depart soon from their midst. So to procrastinate the departure of the Karam Raja, the Kuruxars sing that they will stall the departure by offering Karam Raja love and respect in the humble offerings of bread and rice-beer (stanza 8, p.93). The concluding ritual of immersion of the Karam branches is most sad for the Oraon tribals. The ritual witnesses a large assembly of the Kuruxars bidding farewell to the Karam Raja, thanking him for his blessings and wishing for his early return next year. The moment is so charged with emotions that the Kuruxars lament the departure in a highly choked voice. The moment is compared to the condition of orphaned children. But at the same time, the realization is there that Karam Raja has to depart from their midst, and go to the shore of Ganga (stanza 16, p.95).

The 'dressing up' for the Karam festival is also a ritual in the sense of its being dedicated a song by the Oraon tribals (stanza 3, p.92). The men and women adorn themselves with colourful clothes and various kinds of ornaments in their hair. They also embellish the mander in colourful covering. The idea is that the Karam Raja should find everybody and everything embellished and adorned for his welcome in their midst. In a similar light is viewed the germinating of the barley shoots by the maidens of the village (stanza 2, p.91). The maidens sing songs to the planted barley seeds to help them germinate fast. The barley seeds are planted in an earthen pot and kept in the shade so that the germinated plants retain a yellowish tinge due to the lack of sunlight. The yellowish tinge gives a unique beauty to the

barley plants and they are worn as adornment by the women in their hair and by men behind their ears.

The songs are not only excellent pieces of literature of the Oraon tribe, but have added excellence and significance as poetry. The various Nature symbols and metaphors resorted to for providing freshness and a uniqueness to the Kurux songs give the songs a distinct quality and a unique beauty.

The Karam songs have a ritual appended with social or religious purpose. The Karam festival though falls in the category of agriculture festivals is related more to the social and religious aspects, so it is a normal social and religious function and has the same role to play in the lives of the Kuruxars. It is more clearly delineated in the **Karam: preparatory-welcome songs** (p.91-95) and **Chali Karam (Pata)** p.100-107. The socio-religious aspects of the festival are clearly worked out in the songs. From the preparation of the festival like germinating barley shoots to the immersion of the branches, everything is clearly delineated in the songs. Rice-beer forms an integral part of any event in the Kurux society. So rice-beer finds a significant mention in the songs. Karam Raja is welcomed with rice-beer prepared by the Kuruxars. Since this is an indigenous preparation, the Kuruxars treat it as a symbol of honour, respect, and love accorded to the guest in whose name it is prepared and offered. The community – sharing guides and regulates the lifestyle of the Kuruxars at all events. Any event, be it celebration or mourning accords a get together of the whole community to a tumbler of rice-beer. It is further believed by the Kuruxars that the Karam Raja himself had ordained that the celebration of the Karam festival must be accompanied by singing, dancing, beating mander and

drinking rice-beer. Moreover the tie-up of the Kuruxars with Karam Raja is an emotional tie-up. So the advent of the grand event fills the Kuruxars with a sort of mad frenzy that continues for days after the festival. The jubilation and exultation of the Kuruxars is felt in the expression-

हाय रे करम बरचा, हाय रे करम बरचा

पेलय जाखैय रिझाबाचा (रे)..... (stanza 14, p.94)

The departure brings a feeling of moroseness as is conveyed by the expression-

हाय रे करम केरा, हाय रे करम केरा

पेलय जोखैय टुवर नंजा.....(stanza 16, p.95)

The expression 'टुवर नंजा' literally translated means orphaned. Karam is perceived and treated as the mother of the Oraon tribals. Though the 'Karam Raja' is endowed with masculine connotations, the interpretation, expression and endowment of the Karam with feminine qualities and connotations cannot be ignored. They suggest the role of Karam as that of mother. And बरचा, केरा, can be explained in that light.

The Karam festival is relevant to the social lives of the Kuruxars as it endows a tree with the creative powers to fecundate the crops and the Kuruxars. It assembles and converges the Kuruxars into one unit and thus promotes group consciousness and community solidarity by accelerating the feeling of empathy within the tribe. It highlights the functions, purposes, and responsibilities of the tribe. The Karam Raja is equated with the Nature goddess and Jesus Christ as the

divine liberator as it liberates the Kuruxars from the trivialities of life and channelises their energy into positive expressions like singing and dancing.

The matter of the songs is important while analyzing songs and poetry. However, while analyzing the tribal songs, Kurux songs to be precise, the inner matter should be given importance than the outer structure or form. The absence of rhyme is compensated with the rhythm and melody generated in the musical expressions in the syntax of the songs. The inner matter of the Karam songs has a unique simplicity seen only in Kurux songs. The songs of **Preparatory-Welcome, Lujhki Karam** and **Chali Karam (Pata)** are all endowed with a unique and distinct simplicity. In fact, the simple language of the songs makes it easy for the readers to comprehend the meaning of the songs. The literal meaning is easy to comprehend; it is the metaphorical meaning that needs to be grasped while reading the songs. The symbols and metaphors are taken from Nature so in addition to building up meaning, they present a vivid and exquisite beauty of Natural life. There is an abundance of Natural objects, which find expression as symbols in the songs. Each song is replete with the symbolism of Nature. This is the Oraon's sense of beauty, which finds expression in Nature, and the social and religious activities of man. In fact these things delight the Oraons very much and have found expression in their songs. The Karam songs are not just about Karam but also about the social and religious activities, concerns and considerations of the Oraons. The activities like fishing, hunting, plucking flowers, fruit-gathering, reaping, grinding, harvesting are extremely joyful to the Oraon tribals and have found mention in most of the songs. No event is complete without the sharing and drinking of rice-beer. The delight of the Oraon tribals in consuming rice-beer finds mention in some of the songs. Even

Karam Raja is offered rice-beer by the Kuruxars. This shows the humility of the Kuruxars. Dancing, singing and playing mander are very cherished activities of the Oraon tribals. They long for this activity and any occasion, which merits commemoration provides them with an opportunity to dance, sing and play to their heart's content. This sort of jubilation and exultation finds mention in the songs. The animal world also finds mention in the songs as symbols of animate life, of energy and as a characteristic feature of the world of tribals, the Kuruxars have also endowed the animals and birds with human feelings, will, intelligence etc. Not only the feelings of the animal world but also the mutual feelings of affection, of love, anger, hatred also finds expression in the stanzas relating to domestic affairs. The Kuruxars are admirers of physical strength, mental courage, which finds expression in the songs. In the reference to Mahatma Gandhi who is held in high esteem by the Kuruxars the admiration and respect is palpable in the addressing of Gandhi as 'baba' literally meaning 'father' (**Chali Karam**, stanza 33, p.107). Apart from that, the songs are also replete with expressions of light sarcasm against a lazy man or woman. The Natural disaster also find expression in the songs as they serve to convey the power and strength of Nature, of God and the helplessness of man in the face of such disasters but the idea of physical labour to overcome such disasters is always appended as the final point. The Oraon tribal does not shirk hard labour as is evident from the songs. The jovial nature and buoyancy of spirit that is an essential aspect of the nature of the Oraon tribal is balanced by the profoundness that is exhibited in some of the songs, like the reflections on the serious issues like decay of youth and beauty, death, passage of time etc. It does hurt him to know that he has no control over some things and that no amount of physical exertion can change the

harsh truth of life. He takes it in good spirit and makes merry caring two hoots for the future. It does not in any way mean that he has frivolous attitude to these things, it just means that he does not let any harsh reality dominate his philosophy of life and in implementation of the same. The instance of Eve (**Lujhki Karam**, stanza 11, p.140) is given to strengthen the feeling that life is enjoyment of the fruits of hard labour and God keeps a benevolent eye on every happening. Every event, and occasion, be it serious or trivial as the beautiful red gamcha accords mention in the songs. This shows the life-spirit of the Oraon tribals.

The expressions like 'Ho Hayil Re' in the beginning of the songs or 'Re' at the end of the first two lines reflect the extreme excitement that the Oraon tribals feel in singing and dancing.

LEXICAL ANALYSIS:

The Karam songs have been composed in Kurux and Sadri. Sadri is a dialect of Hindi and local tribals. It is indigenous to the Kuruxars and has become a language of everyday use. In fact, it is considered as market language of the tribals. The songs composed in Sadri fall no way outside the domain of Kurux. The Oraon tribals have always used this language to communicate with their Kurux brethren, as well as non-Kurux brethren as Sadri is the language that is understood and spoken by a large number of tribals in and around Chotanagpur.

The Translation of the Kurux songs into English was a very difficult job. So I first translated the Kurux songs into Hindi, then from Hindi to English. I first tried to give a word-by-word rendering as per the line-scheme of the songs and then I

gave a literal translation of the songs. In Kurux songs, the meaning especially is difficult to grasp as the meaning usually moves beyond the literal connotation. So one has to catch in the expression conveyed in the songs.

In the **Karam: Preparatory Welcome songs** (p.91-95), stanza 1 has a word, बनेया, which literally translated means stranger, an unknown person. In the translation, I have kept the word as 'unknown' to suggest the universal role of the singer. There is no professional singer in Kurux society. Every individual is endowed with the talent of singing. In the translation, the unknown singer is addressed and asked as to why he is giving a singing call in the streets. What is the jubilation all about? The Or in stanza 3 reads-

सिंगारल माई, सपारल माई,

राय मला पैँजन सपारय । (p.92)

The expression सिंगारल सपारल means doing toiletries and getting ready so the expression सिंगारल सपारल has been translated as-

Dress up girl, get ready to welcome

Wear your anklet.

Now राय मला does not mean anything. It has been kept as adornment in the song. The repetition serves to emphasize the adornment and the function of Kirtana. In stanza 4, line 4 has no logical sequence or presence in the stanza but has been kept as adornment with the purpose of adorning the song with rhythmic music. Line 4 is thus interpreted to mean the dressing up of the girl and I have translated it as-

You are dressed up nice and good

Stanza 5 is very interesting, as it requires the translation of the 'crying' of the little peacock. In folk language the rendering is as we have heard it. So the translation has to conform to the original in every possible way. So I have kept it as 'tehon-tehon' because it sounds like that. The refrain in the third line Or and Kirtana is done with the purpose of emphasizing the musicality of the songs. Stanza 6 is a beautiful explanation of the activities during the Karam festival. In the answers to the questions asked, I perceived the ambiguity intended and maintained by the composers. This 'ambiguity' serves to maintain the universal nature of the songs and its composers. The intention of the composers to prevent any kind of appropriation of and in the songs could be another reason for keeping the names unspecific. So with absolute fidelity to the SL text, I have translated it as given in the TL text. Though the line 'नमका रे नमका बाबू' means somebody particular, it declines to provide specificity or specific names, and the translation should be absolutely honest to the SL text. Stanza 10, line2 conveys obliquely the meaning that Karam has been brought in our midst, so the line has been translated keeping in mind the meaning the expression conveyed in whole. In the last stanza 16, line 2 mentions दुवर नंजा.

Now in literal translation, the term means orphaned and I have kept it as orphaned as it serves two purposes. The purpose of the original term is served and as the Karam is perceived as mother by the Kuruxars the expression orphaned suggests the going away of the mother leaving the children bereft of love, care and blessings that the children need most from their mother.

LUJHKI KARAM (P.138-146)

The first stanza, line 4-5 talks about the river. The expressions used to convey the fullness and goodness of the river are हिरी जुरी, झकामका. Both are folk or tribal expressions conveying the fullness and goodness of the river so keeping in mind the 'generosity' of the river, I have translated it as 'full and flowing' and 'clean and clear'. The term 'Soroli' in actuality means 'brown'. The reference is to the brown cow but I have kept it as Soroli because the 'brown' or 'brown cow' lacks the expression intended with the original term Soroli, which sounds pleasant to the listeners. We have to keep in mind that the songs are primarily meant to be sung and not read so the words used in the original are intended to be pleasant to the ear and the eye of the listeners. In stanza 8, line 1 carries repetition of a single thought or idea but in the translation the repetition of the thought or idea in the first line itself sounds weird so I have kept it just once in most cases. The meaning is carried on to the next line and the purpose is served. In stanza 9, a bird Runia is mentioned. I have left the name of Runia unchanged in the translation to provide musicality, poeticness to the songs. Moreover tribal terms for birds and animals lend credibility to the songs.

In the second part of **Lujhki Karam** (p.141-142), stanza 1, line 1 reads-

गोली गाय, गोली गाय, बड़ा रे दुलइर रे.....

A word by word rendering would read as 'goli cow, goli cow, very lovable', which sounds weird and ridiculous, so I have translated and kept it as-

A lovable creature goli cow...

In the translation the logicality is inherently expressed and the intended meaning is carried forward. In stanza 5, the Kirtana reads-

... पन्ना ही पिंजिरान्ती उरूखय तो सुगा गो । 2 ।
ऐरोय नीन हरियारा राजी सोना,
ऐरोय नीन पियारा देश ।
मन चाहे मरूलीनिम मन चाहे तिरियोन । 2 ।
मन चाहे डफेलीनिम अस्सोय सोना,
मन चाहे डफेलीनिम अस्सोय । (p.142)

Here the literal translation of the lines would read as-

O parrot, when you get out of an iron cage
You will see beautiful world
You will see sweet country
If your heart wants flute, if your heart wants tiriyon
If your heart wants beat dufli
If your heart wants beat dufli.

In this rendering of the song, the beauty of the original expression is lost, so I have changed the format without changing the meaning and translated it as given in my translation.

In the third part of **Lujhki Karam** (p.143-145), stanza 1 talks about a new son-in-law, for whom a feast is prepared with the cock killed in his honour, but he does not get a proper share in the feast. In the translation, the syntactic structure in

the refrain of the Kirtana has been suitably adapted to convey the correct meaning. Stanza 6 talks about a Palki, which is a very culture specific term for royal carriage carried by men. This term bears certain other connotations. A Palki immediately evokes the ideas and images of a royal ambience so the term has been left unchanged in the translation. In a similar way in stanza 8, the term gamcha has a rural folk connotation that is best left unchanged. In the last stanza 9 of this part, the exclamation हो! होहोरे! has been translated simply as O! Oho!. I feel the exclamations in my translation come closest to the exclamations in original. The rural folk ambience is created and conveyed in the translation of the songs.

The last part of **Lujhki Karam** (145-146), stanza 1 has mention of a bird called Piyo, but to lend credibility to the songs, I have left it as Piyo. To conclude the akhra has been given as akhra in all places in the songs. The 'dancing ground' sounds mediocre and too modern for a tribal song so the word akhra has been retained and explained in previous chapters.

CHALI KARAM (PATA) P.100-107

In the first stanza, the Or mentions a word गोतोनी. Now गोतोनी is a term, which the women of the family use for one another and सात गोतोनी in the song would mean women of the seven brothers. I have translated the word as mistresses, which is a term for the women of the house and also conveys the idea of the wife or wives. Stanza 6, line 3-4 reads-

रिगी-चिंगी डौड़ा बन्ना-चुन्ना केतेर,

अखडन्ता धूलिन ददा केसोन बेचोन (रे) 12।

In the Kirtana of stanza 6, the agreement between the two lines is on the basis of rhythm and musicality and to provide a colorful tinge to the song. In the same stanza, line 2 reads-

एंगन ददा अमके बीसा (रे)

A non-Kurux would be horrified at the literal meaning of this line, which would be- 'Do not sell me off, brother'. But the idea suggested in this line is of 'marriage' and not 'selling off'! In stanza 8, line 2, the expression पाही ननोत is very culture specific. The expression means going to somebody's house to fix a match. So here in line 2, the idea is fixing a match with that girl. दुमुकटुला पेलो is a reference to a smart girl, an active girl, and an energetic girl. In stanza 17, line 3, the word ओंड़ेका is mentioned. I have retained it as Odanka in the translation. There is no equivalent of Odanka in English language. The term Odanka refers to the dacoits who loot, plunder, and murder people to appease the spirits. The Odankas remain in hiding in the forest and attack the people passing through the forest. In stanza 20, line 2 has the expression पेलो खेंदोय. This expression in literal translation would mean buying a girl but the expression is not to be taken literally, as the conveyed meaning is 'marriage' or 'marrying a girl'. In stanza 22, line 2 and 3, the words like झमर-झमर, लुझकय, are used for musicality and to provide rhythm to the songs. A

direct translation of these words is very difficult, so I have tried to translate the lines in such a way as to keep the tone musical and rhythmic. In the last stanza, the reference to Mahatma Gandhi is made very respectfully by referring to him as Gandhi 'baba'. Mahatma Gandhi fought against the imposition of foreign rule and his weapon was ahimsa or non-violence. The soldiers fight with guns in their hands but Gandhi baba fought without these violent weapons.

All through the translation of the songs, I have tried to maintain the characteristics of tribal songs like the tone, the rhythm, the melody; the music latently embodied in the songs. For this I chose literal translation as it brings out the meaning and gives consideration to the other requirements of the tribal songs like rhythm and music. The absence of Rhyme or rhyming words in the original is largely explained through the Kurux vocabulary, which does not permit a match of the intended meaning and the expressions with the rhyme. There is no metre or metrical pattern in the Kurux songs as the songs lack the ostentatiousness that governs the modern poetry. For the Oraon tribals, songs are poetry yet distinct from poetry. Songs for them are expressions of the buoyancy of spirit and altruistic nature of the Kuruxars and hence their translation should be devoid of any aspect that lacks authenticity.

ON TRANSLATION:

Kurux (Karma) songs are heritage of an oral narrative tradition. While translating Kurux (Karma) songs I came across many difficulties. The foremost difficulty was retaining the music and the rhythm in translation. Besides, the songs have a refrain in the Kirtana and sometimes in the Or. I have done literal translation

of the songs and have tried to adapt to the requirements of the songs the music and rhythm. The word 'Re' occurs at the end of the Or and the Kirtana in all songs. The word 'Re' in actuality does not mean anything but has been provided in original to lend rhythm and extend the musicality of the songs. The translation of 'Re' is not possible as the English language, the TL lacks an equivalent of 'Re' and keeping it as 'Re' in the translation would have marred the effect in the translation. The Karam songs have an abundance of onomatopoeic words and expressions. I have tried to maintain this 'melodic' quality wherever applicable in the songs to maintain the 'Tarang' the music and rhythm in the Translation. A characteristic feature of tribal songs is that the meaning is subservient to the melody. It is the music that imparts a magical quality to the syntactic structure of the tribal songs. Similarly, the repetition of ideas in Or and Kirtana is done for the sake of euphony or for making the idea more emphatic. In the translation, I have tried to maintain the euphony without making the translation sound weird or ridiculous. The symbols have been translated in the best possible manner so as to suggest the expression and meaning intended in the original. However, no amount of fidelity can do absolute justice to the original text. The Kurux (Karma) songs are an integral part of Kurux literature. The songs are significantly relevant to the socio-cultural and religious life of the Oraon tribals. The songs are important not only as songs but as the parts they play in imparting meaning and purpose to the life of the Oraon tribals.

CONCLUSION

The study of the Kurux (Karma) songs is a step towards understanding and comprehending the socio-cultural domain of the Kurux society. The songs are an elaboration of the life in the community. They are not just festival songs but songs of all purposes as they incorporate and encompass within their folds the social, cultural and religious lifestyles of the Kurux community. The Karam festival becomes an excuse to organized community sharing and living during trials of all sorts. The festivals also become an occasion for the reunion of relatives and friends from different villages and settings. Apart from that they provide the necessary impetus for the individual seeking of pleasures and satisfaction in the various activities of relaxation, refreshment, renewal of a lethargic spirit, the opportunity for self-expression, the relief from worries and tensions, the suspension of repressed impulses, the analyzing of one's capabilities, the attainment of the confidence that guides individual self-esteem in the strengthening of the ego, pride and the willingness to survive in all moments of trials.

The central theme that guides all tribals into observing the Karam festival with much gaiety and fanfare is the strength and help from the supernatural and Natural for their survival. All this has been made available to the non-tribals through the folklores that are a vital concomitant factor of the Oraon tribal society. Folklores are the life of all the tribal communities. Folklores reconstruct the history and life-ways of a particular tribal community. Through the folklores, the aspects, characteristics and idiosyncrasies of the tribal people are revealed. The ethos of a particular tribe is revealed.

The literature of a tribe is a window through which we look at the history, culture and society of that particular tribe. Literature forms the very backbone of a tribe. The Karam songs are the windows in a similar way making visible to us the history, social, cultural and religious aspects of the Kurux culture and society. These songs have been made available to the wide audience through the essential machinery of translation. Translation has become indispensable in the literary field as it enables the familiarization of an alien culture. Moreover it expands the scopes of studying, examining and analyzing a culture in terms of its history, social and religious aspects. Translation has also enabled me in expanding the horizons of my own culture i.e. Kurux culture. Through translation and analysis, I have attempted to make available the oral cultural heritage of my tribe to a vast audience of a different culture. This work is a humble attempt on my part in propagating Kurux literature and culture to the readers of other cultural domains and I fervently hope that this will trigger off similar attempts in the tribal and non-tribal domains into protecting and preserving this tribal heritage before it falls into an abyss of oblivion and is permanently extinct.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I



मौसिमी राग

मौसिमी राग

आदिवासी संगीत में रुचि रखने वालों के लिए
संगीत पाठ्यक्रम हेतु सहचरी

जोन लकड़ा, ये०सं०

संत अलबर्ट कॉलेज, राँची

1993

- री० - भादो का एकादशी करम करमिया, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
पूजा करलें पारबतिया, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
पूजा करलें पारबतिया।
- १ - कचन थरिया कमया केर बतिया, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
करम का उतार आरतिया, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
करम का उतार आरतिया।
- २ - दिने तो लवके कान का रंगिया, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
राती लवके भगजोगोनी, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
राती लवके भगजोगोनी।
- ३ - दिने तो लवके एँडी परिया, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
राती तो लवके भगजोगोनी, न हीर रंगीनी रे,
राती लवके भगजोगोनी।
- १३
- री० - हरियारपुर से राजा बेटा शादी करे आवै, न हीर बगीचा में,
बगीचा भितारे डेरा डालै, न हीर बगीचा में,
बगीचा भितारे डेरा डालै।
- १ - पुरुबे से आवै राजा बेटा शादी करे आवै, न हीर बगीचा में,
बगीचा भितारे डेरा डालै, न हीर बगीचा में,
बगीचा भितारे डालै।
- २ - कोठरी में बइसे रानी बेटा शादी होवे बइसे, न हीर कोठरी में,
कोठरी भितारे रानी काँदे, न हीर कोठरी में,
कोठरी भितारे रानी काँदे।
- ३ - मइत कांदू रानी पछोरिया पाछू लोर रे, न हीर बेटा ले,
बेटा दुबराज धिरजा धारय, न हीर बेटा ले,
बेटा दुबराज धिरजा धारय।

करम

करम-त्योहार भादो एकादशी को मनाया जाता है करम की डाली काट कर लाने, उसे अखाड़े में गाड़ने और वहाँ उसकी पूजा करने तथा उसके चारों ओर नाच-गान करने, बाद में विसर्जन करने की कई धर्म-विधियाँ सम्पन्न होती हैं, और इन सभी के साथ विभिन्न करम नाच-गान भी होता है।

करम त्योहार पहुँचने के पहले से ही इस त्योहार की तैयारी में तरह-तरह के करम नाच होते हैं। रोपा के बाद करम नाच-गान आरंभ हो जाता है और तुसगो तक चलता है। भादो, कुवार कार्तिक में इसका प्रयोग होता है।

करम : तैयारी-स्वागत

ताल : धींग धतुंग तांक तांक

१ २ ३ ४

(करम काटने के लिए हाँक देना)

१

- ओ० - काहे रे हिरो बनेया,
खोरी खोरी हँकाले।
- कि० - तोहारो बनेया, हमारो बनेया,
खोरी खोरी हँकाले।

(जवा जमाना)

२

जवा खल्ल नू जवा मला कुदिया । २।
इदा जुनू कोय जवा खल्ल नू गेहूँ जुनू कुदिया । २।

(तैयार होना)

ओठ - सिंगारल माई सपारल माई,
रुधे मला पेंजन सपारय ।
किठ एके गोटो भैया रे मोरा ।
राय मला पेंजन सपारय ।

(करम गाड़ना)

निकल निकल मफियानी करमा गाडेक,
करमा तो आई गेलक रे तोरे अंगने ।
दे दे मफियानी टीका सिंदुर,
कीया मा फिलके मलके रे,
माया मा सिंदुरा करम सिंदुर ।
ले ले मफियानी करम गाड़ दे,
तोरे हाथ पोका परी रे मफियानी ।
(करम काटने जाते समय)

ओ० - सनीम सनीम परेता नू
चुबा मिंजुर चींखी दो खदियो,
चुबा मिंजुर चींखी ।
कि० - उनीम कन्ना लगियां दो खदियो,
टेहोर टोकोस बई दो खदियो
टेहोर टोकोस बई ।

(करम काटते समय)

के काटे, के काटे नवा करम डाइर ?
बाबू रे नमका बाबू काटे नवा करम डाइर ।

के भोकै, के भोकै नवा करम डाइर ?
बैनी रे नमकी बैनी भोकै नवा करम डाइर ।
के गाड़ै, के गाड़ै नवा करम डाइर ?
बाबू रे नमका बाबू गाड़ै नवा करम डाइर ।

(करम डाली लाते समय)

इन्ना गा नर्रै करम बरआ ली,
गुचे खदियो, बरे खदियो,
करम डाड़ान परिछोओत दे ।

(करम घर-घर घुमाना)

ई करम का का माँगला ?
कोना बटे बुची हाँडी डौड़ा में रोटी,
सेके जुनू माँगला करम माँगला,
एम्बा के नी लागे, तिससा के लागेला
कोना बटे बुची हाँडी, . . . ।

(करम का विसर्जन)

चेरोम गा बरचा इन्नम गा काला लागी,
गुचे खदो बरे खदो
नर्रै करम काला लागी ।

(करम काटना)

ताल : तांग तांग धींग धतुंग तांग ददंग तुंग -
१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८

तहिया तो रे करम भारियो भीपा में राहे । २।
अब तो रे करम बारी न बखरत समरत बखरे दीरे । २।

(करम गाड़ना)

११

ताल : धिंगंत अतंग धींग तांग धिंगंत अतंग धींग -

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८

१२

निकल निकल मफियारिन करमा गाड़े । २।
करमा तो आई गेली रे तोरे अंगने । २।

(करम काटने जाना)

ताल : धतिंग इतंग तांग ददंग तुर -

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६

ओ० - गुचा भइया रे खेल ओधरी,
गुचा बरा रे करम तारा कालोत (रे) । २।
कि० - पुतबारी भइया खेल ओधरी,
गुचा बरा रे करम तारा कालोत (रे) । २।

(करम अखाड़े में)

१४

हरे करम बरेचा, हरे करम बरचा,
पेलय जौखिन रिभाबाचा (रे) । २।

१५

ओ० - करम करम बअदी पेलो कोय,
करम निगहे सरागे नू रई (रे) । २।
कि० - सरागे ती इतिया, अखेड़ा नू उक्किया,
पेलय जौखिन रिभाबाचा (रे) । २।

94

(विसर्जन)

१६

हरे करम केरा, हरे करम केरा,
पेलय जौखिन टुवर नंजा (रे) । २।
कइले तो आले करम, आइजे तो जाथीम,
जा जा करम गंगा किनारे (रे) । २।

कोड़ा करम

संकेत - देखें खड़ी पृ० १

(अधरतिया)

१

ओ० - जुवा खेले गेले राजा
जुवा में हारले बारयो राजा ।
कि० - अधो राती जुवा खेले गेले राजा,
जुवा में हारले बारयो राजा ।

२

ओ० - सुगा हाँका केरकिन कोय,
बघिमा चौड़ा नू भँसियआ लगदी ।
कि० - पइरी बारी सुगा हाँका केरकिन कोय,
बघिमा चौड़ा नू भँसियआ लगदी ।

३

ओ० - निंगन एरा-एरा परदकन,
नव रंगा नंबारो पेलो ।
कि० - करम बेचागे
निंगन एरा-एरा . . . ।

95

- ओ० - कहाँ से आवय रसिका रे भैया,
लाले पगारी बाँधय (रे) । २ ।
कि० - पुरबे से आवय रसिका रे भैया,
लाले पगारी बाँधय (रे) । २ ।

लुभकी करम

संकेत - देखें धुड़िया टुंटा पृ० ४३

ताल : तांक ददंग धितंग तदंग धतुंग -
१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६
(दहंतुंग दंग धितंग तदंग धतुंग -

(हो हाइल रे)

१

- ओ० - लिपु से लिपु अयो घर-दुरा रे,
लिपु अयो अंगेना दुवारा (रे) । २ ।
कि० - सोरोली गाय केरा गोबेरा रे,
हिरी-जुरी नदिया का पानी रे,
भकामका नदिया का पानी ।

२

- ओ० - दसई बेचा केरान यो,
मंडी चिओय का मला (रे) । २ ।
कि० - कंडो नू ओक्कय बेटी,
कंडो नू ओक्कय रे,
कुन्ना मंडी रहड़ी दाली रे,
बासी मंडी मसारी दाली ।

- ओ० - कहाँ गेले हो घर केरा घरनी ?
लानी देबे लोटा का पानी (रे) । २ ।
कि० - खोरी भुले गेले घर केरा घरनी,
लानी देबे लोटा का पानी (रे) । २ ।

४

- ओ० - आयो जियत वारी वावा जियत वारी,
नाचव डेगव गे आयो रे,
खेलव कूदव गे आयो ।
कि० - आयो मोगी गेला वावा मिगाई गेला,
मोने विपइत गे आयो रे,
रूपे खिलपइत गे आयो ।

५

- ओ० - मो रे गया मला कोकरो,
खोला निंगहन बछावअके (रे) । २ ।
कि० - इय्यन्ता जोग्वय फइल विनु वेंचनय,
खोला निंगहन बछावअके (रे) । २ ।

६

- ओ० - ई समय काला लगी रे,
दोसर समय बरओ का मला (रे) । २ ।
कि० - जिया कानन मला भखएन आयो
समय कानन भखआ लगेन (यो) । २ ।
कि० - जिया गा कालो चाँड़े भटपट रे,
समय कालो धीरे-धीरे (रे) । २ ।

- ओ० - साल भइर नू जवा पूँप बरचा,
 ओंदा ददा भोकओय का मला (रे) । २।
 कि० - मया लग्गो भोकओन, मया लग्गो भोकओन,
 मल मया लग्गो मला भोकओन (रे) । २।

- ओ० - उया कादय, उया कादय रे,
 मनी चीड़ा उया कादय (रे) । २।
 कि० - कूटी गा उइदय, मभी अंतर नंदय,
 मनी चीड़ा उया कादय (रे) । २।

- ओ० - गड्डी नालन उया से भइया रे,
 रूनिया भले चीखा लगी (रे) । २।
 कि० - अंबय चीखय रूनिया, अंबय चीखय रूनिया,
 गोला (बछा) अइडो एलेचा लगी (रे) । २।

- ओ० - बही पुयी धरदय इसिकुल कादय,
 पददय लिखदय का मला (रे) । २।
 कि० - बी० ए० पास ननोय, चौकी नू ओक्कोय,
 मला होले लकेठन धरओय (रे) । २।

- ओ० - एंबा एंबा खंजेपन मुक्की का हेवा,
 अक्कू हेवा एदेरन मोखोय (रे) । २।
 कि० - दुख तकलीफ सहेना मनो हेवा,
 बेडे-बेड़ा कलपरना मनो (रे) । २।

- ओ० - सोबकारा घरे भाइक मांदर बाजे,
 मोरा घरे सूना भेला (रे) । २।
 कि० - हमारो सैयाँ गेलें परदेश रे,
 मोरा घरे सूना भेला (रे) । २।

- ओ० - के भैया भला-फुला रे,
 दसई डाँडे चढ़ल जाँला (रे) । २।
 कि० - बबू भैया भला-फुला रे,
 दसई डाँडे चढ़ल जाँला (रे) । २।

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संकेत -

जोड़ना : वामावर्त नृत्य के लिए मंडलाकार कतार, अपना दायों हाथ साथी के दायें कंधे पर।

नाचना : पहली मात्रा में दायों पैर थोड़ा सा-दायें रखना, तीसरी मात्रा में उसे जरा-सा बायें रखना दूसरी और चौथी मात्रा में बायों पैर अपनी लीक में धीरे-धीरे आगे बढ़ाते जाना। आरंभ में सीधा रहना, धीरे-धीरे तीसरी मात्रा के कदम में झुकना, फिर बैठ भी जाना, उसी क्रम में उठना और सीधा हो जाना।

ताल : ददंग धींग ददंग धींग दहंतुंग इतंग इतिंग तांग

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८

- ओ० - गोली गाय, गोली गाय बड़ा रे दुलइर रे । २।
 बइनी मे हँकारते आवे (रे) । २।
 कि० - मुठा-मुठा चिउरा, दोना-दोना दूध रे । २।
 सोगोली गाय केर दुधावा (रे) । २।

ताल : दहंतुं इदंग धितंग तांक दहंतुं इदंग तांक तांक

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८

ओ० - लकालका बनासी चुहे लगल डाइर रे । २।
चला चला हो गंगा जमुना मछाइर मारे (रे) । २।
कि० - गोटे-गोटा मछारी भिंगीया तरकारी रे । २।
खाइए के बड़ा मजा लागे (हो) । २।

ओ० - टोंगोरी को तरे तइर बोदिया मोंय बुनालों,
बन्दरा हो हेरी जोही आवै (रे) । २।
कि० - रहा तो रे बंदेरा जीवा तोरा लेब रे,
चमड़ा छोड़ाए मांदर छारब (रे) । २।

ओ० - बिरिदा बना में कोरकोटा खंभा रे । २।
कोरकोटा खंभा केर मड़ेवा रे । २।
कि० - सास जे काँदे मड़ेवा भितारे रे । २।
कनिया काँदे रसा-रसा रे । २।

ओ० - इदिरान्ता मूखा का बंधान्ता बुदनु । २।
का जाने भरिया का हालन सोना,
का जाने पोखेरा का हालन ।
कि० - पन्ना ही पिंजिरान्ती उरूखय तो सुगा गो । २।
एरोय नीन हरियारा राजी सोना,
एरोय नीन पियारा देशे ।
कि० - मन चाहे मुरूलीनिम मन चाहे तिरियोन । २।
मन चाहे डफेलानिम अस्सोय सोना,
मन चाहे डफेलानिम अस्सोय ।

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संकेत - देखें लहसुवा (जे०) पृ० ५८

ताल : (१) धितंग नधिग तकधि नधिग ततंग इतंग
१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६

(२) धींग धतिंग तकधि नधिग ततंग इतंग

१

ओ० - नवा-नवा दमेदा समुरैर गेल । २।
मुरूगा के मारलैं रे एको टिपा भोर नहीं । २।
कि० - माइम समुर निंदाय गेल दामाद माँगे भोर । २।
मुरूगा के मारलैं रे एको टिपा भोर नहीं । २।

२

ओ० - छोटे मोटे जिन्होर बागी के दुके चोर । २।
चोर न लगे देवरा छैला छोकरा रे ओहे हेके । २।
कि० - दिया लना बती लना घर के इंजोत । २।
चोर न लगे देवरा छैला छोकरा रे ओहे हेके । २।

३

ओ० - जोनाला खेते मला मुर्गा चरे । २।
चरे देवे देवरा मला मुरूगा के चरे देवे । २।
कि० - आँइख तोरा फुटल देवरा धनु तीर छुटल । २।
चरे देवे देवरा मला मुरूगा के चरे देवे । २।

४

ओ० - छोटे-मोटे रंगैनी सात बरन फुले । २।
रंगैनी फवारला डारी वहुरा तरे । २।
कि० - हेगे देवे भवजी रंगैनी को काँटा । २।
रंगैनी फवारला डारी वहुरा तरे । २।

५

- ओ० - नदिया को हिरे-तिरे आसान बुदा । २ ।
कि० - कोन परदेशिया रे भैया दोसोती लगाय । २ ।
कि० - न असन हिले न असन डोले । २ ।
कोन परदेशिया रे भैया दोसोती लगाय । २ ।

६

- ओ० - केकार पालकी फिलमिलिया मे संवारो ?
केकार पालकी हरियार, फिलमिलिया मे संवारो ?
केकार पालकी हरियार ?
कि० - राजा पालकी फिलमिलिया मे संवारो ?
रानी पालकी हरियार, फिलमिलिया मे संवारो,
रानी पालकी हरियार ।

७

- ओ० - कहे बबू दूलमूल कहे बबू मन के गिरावल रे कहे लगिन,
कहे लगिन बबू मन के गिरावल रे कहे लगिन ?
कि० - कीन देबों मदेरा, टाङ्ग देबों टंगेना, कीन देबों,
कीन देबों संभलपुरिया मदेरा टाङ्ग देबों ।

८

- ओ० - केकारो भीजे लाली गमेछा सुंदइर मालीन मे ?
केकारो भीजे नान केंस, सुंदइर मालीन मे,
केकारो भीजे नान केंस ?
कि० - राजा को भीजे लाली गमेछा सुंदइर मालीन मे ?
रानी को भीजे नान केंस, सुंदइर मालीन मे,
रानी को भीजे नान केंस ।

९

- ओ० - हो ! होहोरे ! मैना आन गाँवें,
अन गाँवें कैसन पीरीत रे मैना आन गाँवें ।

- कि० - ओहे घरे खाली-पिली,
ओहे घरे सुइत गेली आन गाँवें,
अन गाँवें कैसन पीरीत रे मैना आन गाँवें !

* * *

संकेत - देखें लहसुवा (जे०) ५८

ताल : धिंत्त तदंग ददंग तुंग दहतुं इदंग दधिग धितंग इतिंग तांग
१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १०

१

- ओ० - पी पियो पियो, डारी में बैमल पियो,
पियो रे डारी के मति भाँगबे (लभैर) । २ ।
कि० - सोने लागल डाइर पियो, रूपे लागल पात रे,
पियो रे डारी के मति भाँगबे (लभैर) । २ ।

२

- ओ० - कति खने बोले टोंगोरी का पियो चरई ?
संवइर मे कति खने अबैं रिफवार । २ ।
कि० - अधा राती बोले टोंगोरी का पियो चरई,
संवइर मे भिनुसरे अबैं रिफवार । २ ।

३

- ओ० - ऊँच नीच टोंगोरी नीचे जाम भरिया,
मैना रे सांवे मैना डुबोकी नहाय । २ ।
कि० - धारे तो नहाल मैना पूरे छिटकावल रे,
मैना रे जने-धने नजारी चलाय । २ ।

४

- ओ० - छछग कुमानी रोपालों मोंय धइरे धाइर,
की कोन फाइर लेई गेलें । २ ।

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कि० - राती तो निंदय गेलों बिहाने तो भुलाय गेलों,
हैरि जानतों होले डाँग चाइर एकन देतों । २।

५

ओ० - कति खने कुटोब अयो कति खने छँटोब रे ?
आयो कति खने चढ़ब आखरा । २।

कि० - अथा राती कुटोब आयो भिनुसरे छँटोब रे,
आयो बिहाने तो चढ़ब आखरा । २।

६

ओ० - केकारो बेटी आयो खोरी में मलराय ?
आयो देखी जिवा मला रही गेल । २।

कि० - जा तो मे आयो देखी सुनी आबे,
आयो बनी होले समाधी जोराब । २।

७

ओ० - चिकन-चिकन घर अयो, चिकन-चिकन पिंडा रे,
आयो नी देबे मन पसताय । २।

कि० - ओहे घरे देबे आयो, ओहे घर जवों रे,
आयो नी देबे मन पसताय । २।

८

ओ० - कहाँ से उगल चांदो ? कहाँ मा डुबल रे ?
चांद रे चांद बिनु दुनिया सोभै । २।

कि० - पुबे से उगल चांदो, पछिम मा डूबल रे,
चांद रे चांद बिनु दुनिया सोभै । २।

लहमुवा करम

संकेत -

जोड़ाना : देखें देशवाड़ी पृ० ४६

नाचना : सब कुछ लहमुवा जेठवारी के समान, लेकिन पाँचवीं और छटवीं मात्रा को दो बार करना, अर्थात् एक बार के बदले दो बार घुटने को जरा बायें नवाकर बदन को हिलाना। लहमुवा में धीरे से कदम लिया जाता है।

ताल: धिंत तदंग धींग - ताकिट - ताकिट धितंग इतिंग तांग

१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १०

१

ओ० - कोयलो कोयलो हाँक दे, कोयलो कहाँ गेल ?
कोयलो कहाँ गेल ?

कोयलो कोयलो गोई अँवा तरे भेलें भिनुसार । २।

कि० - बारहो महिना कोयलो भूली चली आले,
भूली चली आले।

कोयलो कोयलो गोई अँवा तरे भेलें भिनुसार । २।

२

ओ० - पानी पिये गेले मैना नाला पानी, नाला पानी । २।
कलिंगा तोरे मैना हिलो रे डोलो हिलो-डोलो । २।

कि० - न तोर पाइख दिसे, न तोर टोर दिसे मैना । २।

कलिंगा तोरे मैना हिलो रे डोलो हिला-डोलो । २।

३

ओ० - करीला वाँस केरा ककइया वनाल, किरि ककइया वनाल
कोगी लेऊ बैनी दुलरिया नने नान केंस, हैरि हैरि हाय !
कोगी लेऊ बैनी दुलरिया नने नान केंस।

कि० - कोगी घिरी पाटी फरी भेलें भिनुसार, किरि भेलें भिनुसार।
खोमी लेऊ बैनी दुलरिया एको कंडैर फूल, हैरि हैरि हाय !
खोमी लेऊ बैनी दुलरिया एको कंडैर फूल।

- ओ० - नूसा पावे नू भलू चोचा,
बिंडो भोंकाती पेलो एग लागी।
क्रि० - पड़गी बारी नूसा पावे नू भलू चोचा,
बिंडो भोंका ती पेलो एग लागी।

- ओ० - छनी उपांगे गवने बैसे,
काहे रे राजा गवने के मांगे।
क्रि० - अथो गती छनी उपांगे गवने बैसे,
काहे रे राजा गवने के मांगे।

(बिहनिया)

- ओ० - कोंको बोंको बरय पेलो,
चोंटो अड़डो तिगिखा लागी।
क्रि० - हाय करम पड़गी बारी
कोंको बोंको बरय पेलो,
चोंटो अड़डो तिगिखा लागी।

चाली करम (पटा)

(संकेत - देखें धुड़िया पृ० ३२)

ताल : धतिंग इदंग तांक ददंग तुर -
१ २ ३ ४ ५ ६
(दहतिंग इतंग तांक ददंग तुर -)
(भलंग हें)

- ओ० - मान गोलोनी मातो करम गाड़े,
मानो गोतोनी सेवा कां (रे) । २।

- क्रि० - उलिया में गंटी डलिया में सिट्टर हाथ में ठाया,
ठाया ले ले सेवा कां (रे) । २।

- ओ० - अखड़ा छोलले दूगन देश हो,
करम गाड़ले मफा खोरी (रे) । २।
क्रि० - करमा का तरे तड़र डला भड़र फूल रे,
डला भड़र दिया वारे,
डला भड़र वानी न वारे (रे) । २।

- ओ० - करम करम कहले आयो,
करम का दिन कैसे आवे (रे) । २।
क्रि० - मायने भादो चडले गला रे,
कुवांगे महिना करम गाड़े (रे) । २।

- ओ० - नेक तंगटा करम उपास नजा ?
कोड़ा नी मनीम सोकर मनी (रे) । २।
क्रि० - महनी तंगटा करम उपास नजा,
कोड़ा नी मनीम सोकर मनी (रे) । २।

- ओ० - मयंग नी करम लुगा बरया,
माल कृंगन ददा मला वअके चिअके (रे) । २।
क्रि० - पुनवांगे ओदंग भड़गी बारी चिअर,
माल कृंगन ददा मला वअके चिअके (रे) । २।

- ओ० - छोटे गुना रअदन ददा,
गंगन ददा अमके बीसा (रे) । २।

कि० - रिंगी-चिंगी डीड़ा बन्ना-चुन्ना केतेर,
अखइन्ता धूलिन ददा केसोन बेचोन (रे) । २।

७

ओ० - नासगो सुंदर ईरकय ददा,
काल बहिन उरिखय वअदय (रे) । २।

कि० - उखोन की चइल कालोन ददा,
ई राजीन राजी मला बओन रे,
ई देशेन देशे मला वओन ।

८

ओ० - टुमुकटुला पेलो खोपा मैया रंगीलो,
हुदी पेलोन पाही ननोत (रे) । २।

कि० - लैंबी-लैंबी पेलोन अमके पाही नना ददा,
टुमुकटुला पेलोन पाही ननोत (रे) । २।

कि० - लैंबी-लैंबी पेलो खूड़ी कुहा काली भइया,
टुमुकटुला पेलो नलख ननी (रे) । २।

९

ओ० - कली रे कली कदम,
कली कदम गिरल जाला । २।

कि० - जातो रे छोट मैया बीछ लनावे,
दासो मैया लगिन सोभे रे । २।

१०

ओ० - नदी किनारे बैसल रे बकुली,
राजा लेखे कछरी बैसय (रे) । २।

कि० - मछरी का लोभे बैसल रे बकुली,
राजा लेखे कछरी बैसय (रे) । २।

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११

ओ० - कहां का डगर चलवा
नदी तीरे तीरे बन तरे डेरा कारै (रे) । २।

कि० - बाबू भैया डगर चलवा
नदी तीरे तीरे बन तरे डेरा कारै (रे) । २।

१२

ओ० - जशपुरिया पेलो जवा जमावाचा,
करम मे जवा जमावाचा (रे) । २।

कि० - पइरी बारी जवा जमावाचा,
करम मे जवा जमावाचा (रे) । २।

१३

ओ० - अयो जियत बारी बाबा जियत बारी,
बड़ा एख डबचकी रई (रे) । २।

कि० - अयो चाइल केरा बाबा चाइल केरा
बड़ा एख विड़ना मंजा (रे) । २।

१४

ओ० - पइलकोटे शहरे अयो,
शहरे शहरे पानी चलय (रे) । २।

कि० - डोंगी का पानी हलकाते आवै
हँसा राजा हँसते आवै रे,
गेड़े राजा घिड़कते आवै ।

१५

ओ० - एइपा कमआ भइया, एइपा कमआ भइया,
बंगला बेसे एइपा कमआ (रे) । २।

कि० - नीन ओक्कोय खटिया नू, एन ओक्कोन मचिया नू,
एकासे उल्ला मला कालो (रे) । २।

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१६

- ओ० - बली कम आ भइया, बली कम आ भइया.
बली नहें डलंगो रई (र) । २।
- कि० - अयो हूँ मल्ला, बाबा हूँ मल्ला.
नमन भइया ने मित्रावओ (र) । २।

१७

- ओ० - आयो गे दुलरिया
बेटी बेचे पहागे नरे (र) । २।
- कि० - जेट महीना ओड़का छेकय.
सावन-भादो नदी छेकय (र) । २।

१८

- ओ० - बगती बहिन बेचोत रे,
अयो बवा एगगे बरओर (र) । २।
- कि० - माखा ता बेचनन ने दुरु एगो ?
पइगी ता बेचनन अयो बवा एगोर (र) । २।

१९

- ओ० - छोट गुना रहकन ददा,
बहिन ती पार मला बाचकय रे,
हिया ती पार मला बाचकय ।
- कि० - अक्कूना दादा नामगो मुंढइर ओंदोरकय,
काल बहिन उरिउय वअउय (र) । २।

२०

- ओ० - छोट नू भइया खेल खिंदकय,
पगदोय होले पेलो खेंदोय (र) । २।
- कि० - पेलो खेंदोय भइया पेलोन मिंगरओय,
खेलन भइया हेवेडोय विओय (र) । २।

104

२१

- ओ० - आयो लेखे दुलागे, बाबा लेखे बलागे,
छोटे में जाड़ी जुमें देलें (र) । २।
- कि० - दादा लेखे दुलागे, भोजी लेखे बैमान,
मोके देखे दुग ढांडक देलें (र) । २।

२२

- ओ० - एगो का टमई डौंड़े
नया छोड़ी नया धान कुटे फमर-फमर (र) । २।
- कि० - थोर तो कूटे पूरे तो लुफकय
छेला बटे पूरे नजइर करे (र) । २।

२३

- ओ० - नामगो-ददा करम गइइर,
बगके बहिन मला बाचर (र) । २।
- कि० - नामगो-ददा गे ए कोइहे मुंढइ रहचन,
बगके बहिन मला बाचर (र) । २।

२४

- ओ० - कंबदी अयो, कंबदी रे
दिनो (मनी) मगर आयो कंबदी (र) । २।
- कि० - अक्कून अयो कंबोय, अक्कून अयो कोडोय,
अक्कून अयो एकमन कालान (र) । २।
- कि० - माघे बंदो बरआ ची तो अयो गो,
गाड़ी अगोन भोटंग (अमम) कालान (र) । २।

२५

- ओ० - कंबदय जोड़ी कंबदय रे,
उल्ला-माखा एगन कंबदय (र) । २।

105

- कि० - उखौन की चाइल कालोन जोड़ी.
ई राजीन राजी मला बओन रे,
ई देशेन देशे मला बओन ।
- कि० - उज्जोन-ओक्कोन होले चिट्ठी-पतर मला तइय्योन,
खेओन होले सपेना तइय्योन (र) । २ ।

२६

- ओ० - एइपा नू खिधोर नंदी अयंग,
अखेड़ा नू अमके केबा (र) । २ ।
- कि० - अखेड़ा नू जोड़ी जौखर खेल अम्मा लगनर,
अखेड़ा नू अमके केबा (र) । २ ।

२७

- ओ० - संगे-संगे बेचना गे
आस गुसन रओदिम बअनर (र) । २ ।
- कि० - अमके केबा आयो, अमके केबा बाबा,
आलर हिंसगा (पटगा) ती बअनर (र) । २ ।

२८

- ओ० - इदिनन्ता राजी कीड़ा
नीरन पेसा मला चिअनर (र) । २ ।
- कि० - पेसा गा चिअनर पहें,
बराबरी बखेग होअनर (र) । २ ।

२९

- ओ० - ई समय काला लगी हिरा
दोसर समय किरों का मला (हिरा) । २ ।
- कि० - अना-धना किरों तेल सिंदुर किरों
डिंडा समय किरों का मला (हिरा) । २ ।

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३०

- ओ० - मनी खल्लता मनी पोचगो
घोरेना नू आरेगा लागी (र) । २ ।
- कि० - आरेगा चिआ भइया, आरेगा चिआ रे,
राजी एरा आरेगा लागी रे,
देशे एरा आरेगा लागी ।

३१

- ओ० - करम करम कहले आयो,
करम का दिन कैसे आवे (र) । २ ।
- कि० - आइजे तो आले करम, कइले तो चइल जबे रे,
जबे करम समुदर किनारे (र) । २ ।

३२

- ओ० - कीड़ा कीड़ा बअदी आयो गो,
राजी कीड़ा यों उल्ला रओ रे,
देशे कीड़ा यों उल्ला रओ ।
- कि० - ची तो आयो केतेर ता नीरन,
राजी कीड़ा यों उल्ला रओ रे,
देशे कीड़ा यों उल्ला रओ ।

३३

- ओ० - गांधी रे गांधी बाबा,
दुनिया के आजाद कारे (र) । २ ।
- कि० - बड़े-बड़े सिपाही बन्दुक में लड़े,
गांधी बाबा कानून में लाड़े (र) । २ ।

चाली (भुमरी)

संकेत -

जोड़ाना : दक्षिणावर्त नृत्य, मंडलाकार कतार, एक के पीछे एक खड़ा होना, अपना बायाँ हाथ सामने के साथी के बायें कंधे पर रखना, दायाँ हाथ मुक्त ।

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APPENDIX II

THE KARAM STORY:

In the ancient days, the Oraon tribals were well-settled in Rohtasgarh in Shahabad district of Bihar. They had established themselves well and were flourishing and prospering under a loving and caring ruler. Their kingdom was well fortified and strong against any form of attack from the enemy. But the enemy tribe Chero had become envious of the Oraons' peace, prosperity and progress and was looking for an opportunity to attack and break into the Rohtasgarh fort. They attacked the fort many times but suffered a humiliating defeat each time. So they connived with the milk-maid who was the only person allowed inside the fort to supply them with information regarding the loopholes in the fort. The milk-maid frequented the fort and had knowledge of the rituals, customs and habits of the tribals. She revealed to the Cheros about the Oraons' traditional festival Xaddi on which occasion the Oraon men were wont to drink heavily and revel, forgetting all their cares and worries. So the day was chosen and the plan was laid to strike at the Oraons when they would be most vulnerable. The Oraons in keeping with the traditional norms celebrated Xaddi with much feasting and revelries. At the end of the day, they were heavily drunk and fell into deep slumber. It was at this time, that the enemy attacked the fort. But the brave and resourceful womenfolk perceiving the grave threat immediately dressed up as men and taking up their rakes and pestles countered the enemy and defeated them. At this time the brave Princess Sinagi had led the charge. The Oraon women repelled the enemy thrice with much valour and courage. The enemy unable to stand the bold counter-attack quickly retreated. They upbraided the milk-maid for deceiving them. The milk-maid analyzing everything in a moment started laughing at them scornfully. Laughing at their foolishness, she disclosed to them that the fighters were not men but women disguised as men. The weapons they had used were clearly weapons of the women. The milk-maid also revealed to them that the men normally wash their faces with one hand while the women use both hands to wash their faces. And if the Cheros keep a close watch, they can easily find out the truth. The enemy were incensed by this insult and with renewed aggressiveness attacked the fort and succeeded in dislodging the Oraons from the fort. They entered the fort and started massacring the Oraons. The Oraons unable to counter the attack were forced to escape through the secret underground passage into the forest. They ran until they reached a cave well hidden with the dense growth of trees. There they took shelter and thus saved themselves from their

persecutors. The enemy pursued them and combed the whole area but could not find them. When the enemy had gone, the tribals making sure that there was no more danger came out the cave and started inspecting the surroundings. To their utter amazement, they discovered a huge Karam tree with thickly clustered leaves growing at the cave entrance. The branches of this Karam tree were hanging over the cave opening, thus obscuring the cave fully from the notice of the enemies. There was a thick and dense growth of Karam trees around the cave. They had completely obscured the cave from the Cheros and thus had saved the Oraons. The Oraons bowed to the Karam tree in all reverence according the tree the status of “Raja”. From that day, the Karam tree became for them an unforgettable symbol of God’s love and mercy. The king of the Oraons declared a special day of veneration to the Karam tree. The Oraons inhabited the cave for many years and all this time of confinement in the cave, they fed on forest produce, wild fruits and whatever else they had carried with them while fleeing from the fort. On the day of the veneration of the Karam, they worshipped Karam with “jawa flowers”. These “jawa flowers” were nothing but the tender barley shoots that had sprouted from the seeds fallen inside the cave. Due to the moisture in the soil, the barley seeds had germinated and attained a yellowish tinge due to the unexposure to the sunlight. As the fear of the enemy had prevented the Oraons from venturing far away from the cave in search for flowers and fruits, they used the “jawa flowers” to adorn their hair and offer to the Karam Raja. Later, the same “jawa flowers” was carried away by the Oraons as mementos, along with the Karam branches. Both the symbols were reminders of the great escape and the “saviour” of the tribals.

Many years later there were born seven brothers in a family of the tribals. The eldest brother was called Karma and the youngest brother was called Dharma. They loved each other very much. Their family was one of the affluent families in the village and they had no want. But over the years their economic condition started deteriorating and they decided to move to other villages in search of better prospects. They traveled from one place to another engaged in trading business and gradually earned a lot of money and wealth. After earning so much, they started contemplating returning home. A long time had elapsed and they felt homesick. So they decided to return to their village and home. They set out for home with their bullock-carts and loads of gifts for families, relatives and friends. After travelling for many days they reached the borders of their village. They sat down to rest before resuming further journey and besides their bullocks were very tired. The eldest brother Karma asked his youngest brother Dharma to go ahead and inform the family of the brothers’ return so that necessary preparations may be made to welcome the brothers. It so happened that this very day was the

occasion for the celebration of the Karam festival and the whole village was busy in celebrations and revelry. When Dharma reached the village he discovered the whole village reveling in the festivities of the Karam Raja. All the people including the brothers' family were fully engrossed in singing and dancing around the three Karam branches installed in the centre of the courtyard. Dharma was so taken in by the scene that he forgot all about the assigned duty and joined in the merriment. When Dharma did not return, Karma got worried and sent the second brother to find out about Dharma and to inform the womenfolk of their coming. He too did not come back. Then Karma sent the other brothers one by one to find out about the whereabouts of Dharma and other brothers. When the sixth brother did not come back, Karma got very worried and decided to go and see for himself what was keeping his brothers. He reached the courtyard and witnessed the people including his family and children completely lost in singing and dancing. It infuriated him so much that he became mad with anger and in a fit of madness uprooted the Karam Raja and cut the branches into seven pieces and threw them away with full force. From this moment luck turned away from him. When he went back to get his bullock-carts, he found all his valuables and bullocks stolen. He came back to his house only to find it all crumbled and his family afflicted with numerous maladies. His crops failed and he became a poor, miserable man, while his brothers continued to prosper and progress. At last after a prolonged suffering, he came to his senses and realized the gravity of the insult he had meted out to the Karam Raja. Advised by his brother Dharma, Karma set out in search of Karam Raja to beg forgiveness for his act and to plead for mercy. On the way Karma had to undergo a lot of difficulties. He continued on his quest and met a woman who had thick grass growing on her head. When she learnt about the destination of Karma, she requested him to ask Karam Raja to provide her with a solution to the problem of thick growth of grass on her head. Karma promised her and moved ahead. He met another woman who had a wooden stool stuck to her bottoms and no amount of exertion had dislodged the wooden stool from her bottoms. She also requested Karma to plead to Karam Raja for a solution to her problem. Karma promised that and moved ahead. He met another woman who had a stone grinder hung around her neck. She also requested Karma to ask Karam Raja for the solution to her problem. After travelling a long distance Karma felt very tired and hungry. At a small distance away a cow was feeding her calf. Karma thought he would drink cow's milk and proceed on his journey but as soon as he approached the cow that it came rushing towards him to hit him with its horns. When he attempted to hide behind the cow, it kicked him from its hind legs. He moved on hungry, thirsty and exhausted. He reached a place where he found a wild plant loaded with urid pulses but when he plucked some to eat, he found them infested with maggots.

He reached a river but as soon as he bent down to drink the water, the water turned into blood. He could not quench his thirst. He was completely exhausted by now but he moved on and found a horse grazing around. He approached the horse with the intention of riding it but as soon as he tried to hold it, the horse kicked him with its hind legs and ran away. Karma continued his journey and soon came across a huge sea. There in the middle of the sea, he perceived the Karam Raja resplendent in complete dazzling glory. Karma was so overcome with shame for his wrongdoings that he burst into tears repenting for his misdeeds. Seeing the penitent heart with which Karma had come, the Karam Raja forgave him for his misdeeds and sent a crocodile to fetch him. When Karma reached Karam Raja, he bowed down and venerated him. The Karam Raja felt pleased with his veneration and on his prayers gave him three branches to take home and venerate. The Karam Raja told Karma to return to his house on the eleventh day of Bhado Ekadashi when the Karam festival is celebrated. The Karam Raja also blessed him by returning all his wealth and property. Karma requested the Karam Raja for the answers to the questions the three women had asked him on his torturous journey. The Karam Raja replied that the first woman with the thick growth of hair on her head should cover her hair in front of elders as a mark of respect and if Karma kicks her the grass will fall down from her head. The second woman who had a wooden stool stuck to her bottoms should not sit in front of her elders and in places where her older in-laws sit and if Karma kicks her the wooden stool will dislodge from her bottoms. The third woman should stop being selfish when her neighbours ask her for the stone grinder and if Karma kicks her the stone grinder will fall from around her neck.

After getting solutions to all the problems, Karma left for his village. On the way back, he met all the three women whom he helped get rid of the “problems” stuck on their person and left with a happy heart. On the way he found everything had returned to normal and good for him. He got food to fill his hungry stomach. He got water and milk to quench his thirst. After reaching home, he installed the Karam branches in his courtyard and venerated Karam Raja with his whole family. His family was blessed by the good will of the Karam Raja. His business started flourishing once again and he became prosperous, wealthy and happy.

APPENDIX III

THE FORT OF ROHTAS:

(Ruidas ta Kurux Belas)

In ancient days, there lived a king and a queen. They had only one son and they loved him very much. The king was a bhagat, a very religious minded person. Every morning, he took a ceremonial bath and gave alms to the beggars. He had never sent any beggar empty-handed. He was loved and respected by everybody.

One day Dharmes (God) himself came to his doorstep disguised as a beggar. The king always willing to help the poor and needy came to the doorstep and asked the beggar about his wants. The beggar replied hesitatingly that his wants are so much that he is sure the king will not be able to fulfil them. The king's pride was hurt. He replied that he is a king and has been fulfilling the needs of all the poor and needy people. Won't he be able to fulfil the request of this beggar? Therefore the beggar without any hesitation may ask whatever he wishes for and he, the king will give it to him right away. Then the beggar asked for so much that the king was unable to concede to his demands. But he had given his word and had to respect that. He sold off his palace, his cattle, buffaloes, horses, elephants - every single property and possession and still it was not enough. At last in despair the king sold off his wife. He sold off his only son to a Teli and himself as a servant to a Dom. And then he could fulfil the wishes of the beggar.

A few days later the son of the king fell very ill and died. His body was carried by the Telis to the Doms for cremation. The queen who was accompanying her son's body was wailing all the while out of grief. As she had no money to pay the head of the Doms as fee, her master paid it for her. He aroused his sleeping king servant for the cremation of the body. The king servant took up some fire with him and followed the party to the cremation ground to cremate the body. When he arrived there, he saw the grieving woman. She looked so miserable and wretched that he was unable to recognize her, his own wife. She was crying so much that he felt pity for her and started enquiring about her son. The queen herself was unable to recognize the king as he looked very different and she narrated everything to him, from the days of happy living with her king-husband, her son, to the death of her son. The king recognizing her began to wail and disclosed himself to his wife. And both held on to each other for comfort and consolation.

Now Dharmes who was watching all this from above appeared in front of them in the form of that same beggar. He blessed them for their steadfast hope, love and regard for him. He restored the son to life. He asked them to take their son Ruidas and set up a new fort and with all the blessings to be great rulers, disappeared. The king and queen with their son Ruidas went away and built a new fortress in the name of their son. This family ruled the fort for a long time. This fort was later called Rohtasgarh.

APPENDIX IV

THE EVACUATION OF KURUXS FROM ROHTASGARH:

(Kuruxar gahi ruidas ti Bongna)

A different version of the persecution of the Kuruxars from the Rohtasgarh fort is narrated by some. According to this version the enemy tribe were hell bent on evacuating Oraons from Rohtasgarh and so they waged many wars against them but suffered humiliating defeat everytime. So they connived with the milk-maid who was the only person allowed inside the fort. She had knowledge of the Oraon custom of celebrating Xaddi (Sarhul) one day in a lunar month. This occasion was celebrated with much feasting and merry making. The Oraons brewed rice-beer and consumed it till dead drunk.

Later, on the occasion of Xaddi, the enemies struck. They broke into the fort and began massacring the intoxicated tribals who were unable to restrain the enemies. The tribal women, however, were alert. Under the leadership of their princess Sinagi, they armed themselves with rakes and pestles and countered the enemy and forced them to withdraw. But when the enemy learnt from the milk-maid that they had been defeated by the tribal women, they invaded the fort again and started massacring the Oraons. The Oraons, this time were unable to counter the enemies. In all this violent confusion, one Oraon man escaped from the enemies and ran towards Chotanagpur with the enemies in close pursuit. After running for days, he reached Chotanagpur, which was at that time inhabited by the Mundas. Now the Mundas had killed an ox and had gathered to partake of the feast, when the Oraon ran up to them and requested them for refuge. The Munda agreed to do so on the condition that he throws away his sacred thread and consume beef with them. The Oraon man had no other option but to accept the conditions laid down by the Mundas. The enemies arrived and started looking around for him. They asked the Mundas about the Oraon man. The Mundas replied that how could an Oraon be among them. The Oraons wear a sacred thread and abstain from consuming beef and as nobody there fit the description, the enemies were satisfied and went away. The Oraon man stayed back in Chotanagpur and later his descendants came to inhabit the land of Chotanagpur.

APPENDIX V

THE ORAONS NARRATE THIS VERSION TO EXPLAIN THE LUNAR PHASES:

In the beginning, the sun had many children. The whole world was melting from the heat of the suns. The people went to the moon to apprise her of the situation and request her to save the world. The moon invited the sun to a dinner of sweet potatoes cooked in butter. The sun found the meal very delicious and requested the moon to tell him the recipe. The moon told him that it was a meal of one of her own children, the stars. The sun felt that if her children could taste so good, his children would taste equally better. So he went back and killed all of his children. When he began to eat them, it gave a different taste and smelt differently too. It immediately occurred to him that he had been tricked by the moon. He took a big sword and rushed towards her to kill her. The moon saw him coming and instantaneously concealed herself behind a huge banyan tree and thus escaped death but had her body slashed by the sun. And since that day the moon appears in different phases and has a black spot on its surface, which represents the shadow of the banyan tree. And since then there is only one sun.

APPENDIX VI

THE ORIGIN MYTH:

In the beginning, the whole world was covered with water. Dharmes picked up some earth from under the water and made the beautiful earth. He also made man, animals of different kinds. And according to the different requirements of every animal he provided them with food and fulfilled their every need. His consort went to inspect and found everything beautiful and well provided for. It continued like this for a long time till one day Dharmes looked down to find the world infested with undesirable elements. He was so angry that he decided to destroy the world. He rained fire from the sky, which continued for days and nights. He asked a monkey "Haluman" to go down and inspect and report to him that the world was cleansed by beating his drum or damru. The monkey went down and stationed himself on a Tela tree and began enjoying the ripe Tela fruits. He forgot all about his duty until the fire scorched his bottoms. A long time after the destruction of the world Dharmes felt sad for he did not get the offerings from his men. Now, his consort had managed to hide a pair of humans Bhaiya-Bahin in a crab hole when he was busy destroying the world. When she saw Dharmes feeling sad she decided to give him a surprise. She asked him to go to the Sira – Sita nal for hunting. He, accompanied by his hawk and dogs Lili, Bhuli and Khairi went for hunting. Once there, the dogs scented Bhaiya-Bahin in the crab hole. They started barking. Bhaiya-Bahin ran and hid themselves and said: "Erke ajjo parmo" ("See grandfather, they will bite"). Dharmes answered: "Mala parmo natti" ("No grandchildren. They will not bite"). He brought them home happily. He taught them to plough and cultivate crops. He also guided them about rituals like Dandakatta ceremony to ward off evil and to obtain his favour. Later, Dharmes imparted to them the secret of procreation. Till then Bhaiya and Bahin used to sleep side by side with a log placed in between. Now Dharmes told Bhaiya that if he crosses the log, mankind would multiply. And it was with the knowledge of this secret from Dharmes that mankind multiplied and filled the whole world.