

Editorial

Indigenous peoples of the world form a category of people who are pushed away even from the margins. Though constituting a big percentage of human population and occupying vast territories, they are far away from power centres. Even the countries which call themselves democracies, have little consideration for these categories of people. They number, at a rough estimate, some 300 million. Indigenous or aboriginal peoples are called so because they were living on their lands before settlers came from elsewhere. According to one definition they are the descendents of those who inhabited a geographical area at a time when people of different countries or ethnic origins arrived. The pathetic part is that the new arrivals later became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other forms of power.

The colonial powers pushed the indigenous people back to the forests and uninhabitable land. Later, the right of the indigenous people over their land, forest produce and other natural resources including water and wild-life was also snatched away. In spite of concerted efforts by the indigenous peoples themselves and their supporters, they are forced to lead a life of seclusion and empathy. Their knowledge resources, natural resources around their habitat and the cultural heritage are being commodified by the market economy. United Nations Organisation (UNO) formed a working group on indigenous people in 1982. Later two times the UN announced decades devoted to indigenous peoples, besides establishing a permanent forum for discussing issues related to them, yet, discrimination against such category of people by the people of other communities, the states and other nations continue to exist.

The colonial attitude harms, more than anything else, the culture of these communities. Due to their lack of political power, their customs,

traditions and languages are considered as primitive and backward. There is a tendency to call them uncivilised, and also attempts at "civilising" them forcefully as seen in the case of 'stolen generation' in Australia and 'stolen sisters' in Canada. In India the tribals, who are indigenous people in Indian contexts, have paid the price of development by way of displacement. From North-East to the Western states of Rajasthan and Gujarat, the tribal population is still striving to survive. This special issue is an humble effort to draw the attention of the scholars of English towards their problems. This issue is a follow up of a one day National Seminar on Indigenous Peoples organised by the Department of English, Janardan Rai Nagar Rajasthan Vidyapeeth, in association with RASE and Aastha Sansthan on Aug. 10, 2008. We are publishing excerpts of Beijing declaration.

It is a matter of pride that three delegates, namely Napi Bai, elected representative of Local Self Govt., Kotda, Ratni Bai, Secretary, Tribal Women Organisation, Jhadol and Pratapi Bai, Indigenous Health Worker participated in Beijing convention. Similarly, Harmi Bai, Kotda and Badki Bai, Jhadol, participated in the Indigenous Peoples Meet in Canada.



We are grateful to all contributors, specially Prof. Ganesh Devy and Hamid Nassaj for their contributions. Ms. Sanchita Choudhury's article on Bāuls relates to a community which is not a part of indigenous population yet it is a very important article for understanding the rich tradition of music in India.

S.N. Joshi
G.K. Sukhwal

Beijing Declaration of Indigenous Women

7 September 1995

NGO Forum, UN Fourth World Conference on Women Huairou, Beijing, Peoples Republic of China

1. The Earth is our mother. From her we get our life, and our ability to live. It is our responsibility to care for our mother and in caring for our mother, we care for ourselves. Women, all females are a manifestation of Mother Earth in human form.
2. We, the daughters of Mother Earth, the indigenous women present at the NGO Forum of the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, have come together to collectively decide what we can do to bring about a world which we would like our children and our children's children to live in. We acknowledge and build upon earlier declarations which evolved from earlier meetings and conferences, like the 1990 Declaration of the Second International Indigenous Women's Conference the Kari-Oca Declaration of 1992, and those of various regional conferences of Indigenous women, and the consultations and conferences done in preparation of this Beijing Conference.
3. This declaration is drafted in recognition of the existence of the UN Declaration of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous people, the Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Indigenous peoples, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, Agenda 21 and the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, the Cairo Declaration, and the Copenhagen Social Summit Declaration. While we agree with most of the provisions of ILO convention 169, we cannot endorse a Convention, which allows national states to remove Indigenous peoples from their lands with military force.
4. We stand in unity behind this "1995 Beijing Declaration of Indigenous Women" which is the fruit of our collective efforts to understand the world and our situation as Indigenous women, critique the Draft Platform for Action, and articulate our demands to the international community, the governments, and the NGO's.
5. We, the women of the original peoples of the world have struggled actively to defend our rights to self-determination and to our territories, which have been invaded and colonized by powerful nations and interests. We have been and are continuing to suffer from multiple oppressions; as Indigenous peoples, as citizens of colonized and neo-colonial countries, as women, and as members of the poorer classes of society. In spite of this, we have been and continue to protect, transmit, and develop our indigenous cosmovision, our science and technologies, our arts

and culture, and our Indigenous socio-political economic systems, which are in harmony with the natural laws of mother earth. We still retain the ethical and esthetic values, the knowledge and philosophy, the spirituality, which conserve and nurtures Mother Earth. We are persisting in our struggles for self-determination and for our rights to our territories. This has been shown in our tenacity and capacity to withstand and survive the colonization happening in our lands in the last 500 years.

6. The "New World Order" which is engineered by those who have abused and raped Mother Earth, colonized, marginalized, and discriminated against us, is being imposed on us viciously. This is recolonization coming under the name of globalization and trade liberalization. The forces behind this are the rich industrialized nation-states, their transnational corporations, financial institutions which they control like the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization (WTO). They will cooperate and compete among themselves to the last frontiers of the world's natural resources located on our lands and waters.
7. The Final Agreement of the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GAT and the establishment of the WTO has created new instruments for the appropriation and privatization of our community intellectual rights through the introduction of the trade-related intellectual property rights (TRIPS). This facilitates and legitimizes the piracy of our biological, cultural and intellectual resources, and heritage by transnational corporations. Our Indigenous values and practice of sharing knowledge among ourselves, and mutual exchange will become things of the past because we are being forced to play by the rules of the market.
8. Bioprospecting, which is nothing but the alienation of our invaluable intellectual and cultural heritage through scientific collection missions and ethnobotanical research, is another feature of recolonization. After colonizing our lands and appropriating our natural resources, they are now appropriating our human genetic resources, through the Human Genome Diversity Project. Their bid for the patenting life forms is the ultimate colonization and commodification of everything we hold sacred. It won't matter anymore that we will disappear because we will be "immortalized" as "isolates of historic interest" by the Human Genome Diversity Project.
9. It is an imperative for us, as Indigenous peoples, to stand in their way, because it means more ethnocide and genocide for us. It will lead to disappearance of the diverse biological and cultural resources in this world, which we have sustained. It will cause the further erosion and destruction of our Indigenous knowledge, spirituality, and culture. It will exacerbate the conflicts occurring on our lands and communities and our displacement from our ancestral territories.

(For details please see- http://www.ipcb.org/resolutions/htmls/dec_beijing.html)

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Tejgadh - A Dream

G N Devy

The following passage is from my diary of 1998. It was the year when my engagement with Tejgadh had deepened, and also the year when Mahasweta Devi and I started working together in the campaign for the rights of denotified communities (DNTs). Mahasweta Devi responded to the spaces in Tejgadh in the most approving manner. Ten years later, when the Adivasi Academy has already come in full existence, and after the work of Bhasha Centre has spread way beyond my initial expectations, I find my diary pages and Mahasweta Devi's response to Tejgadh of some historical interest. It is therefore that the two, previously unpublished notes, are put together.

G. N. Devy

One does not know if Rani Tejal really ruled the territory which surrounds the present-day Tejgadh. I have seen the fortification walls stretching over several miles, now in ruins, and relics of a one time plaza on the outskirts of Tejgadh. The village today has a population of some 5000 inhabitants, about eighty percent of whom are tribals. Rathwa Bhills, Nayakas, Tadwis and some Gamits live in houses spread over the outer reaches of the village. The central streets are reserved for the potters, the vanias and very few patels. Between these two social layers come the small pockets of Muslims and Harijans. None of these care much for the temple built some time during the thirteenth century out of massive and well hewn rock, which stands on the lower slopes of the Kotaj Hill.

The villagers tell me that the number of panthers who live in the gigantic hill is well over thirty. I have never seen a panther there; but on two occasions I was warned by the villagers that a panther was hiding in one or another farm. They cross the village to get to the majestic Orsang

river which lies on the other side of the village, usually during the night. But, the small windows, usually placed very high in the walls, of the tribal houses do speak of the presence of panthers. I have seen a python once. It was the Independence Day of 1997; and as I was about to conclude my address to the villagers after the flag hoisting, the rear rows of my audience suddenly became agitated. When I enquired after the reason of this movement, they pointed to the red-tape giant of a snake which had sprawled itself between the school building and the abandoned hostel built by the Maharaja of Chhota Udepur before Independence. The villagers did not want to kill the python. They took their time to inform the forest guard, who in turn informed the higher ups in the Taluka Headquarters; and after a couple of hours, two young men arrived on a motor bike, got the reptile twined round a wooden pole, lifted it with much aplomb, and deported it to the Baroda Zoo.

Birds, there are plenty in Tejgadh. Usually, birds do not like to spend much time in tribal areas, which are inhospitable to the denizens of the skies. But Tejgadh has such lush green plantation that birds cannot avoid the temptation of nesting there. Besides, there is the village pond which has water throughout the year. The water table in this area had been rich till recent times. Dig in the ground for 15 feet, and you strike water. And, on the other side of the Tejgadh Hill is the vast expanse of the Suki reservoir. But it is not the exterior that makes Tejgadh so special, not the well maintained roads, not the rich vegetable life, not the hospitable haat, nor the little temple of Bhatuji Maharaj. What makes it so special a place is the inside of the tribal houses. In and around the Tejgadh village, there are numerous houses sanctified by the presence of Babo Pithoro, the great painting which is also the tribal god. One has to see this work in order to believe the magnitude and the depth of its beauty. Often covering an expanse of more than 500 square feet, and spread over three walls of the main hall in the tribal house, the Pithora painting brings into focus all that is ancient and valuable in tribal societies. Tejgadh is in short an artists' village. The paintings and the cave art in the Hill, the Timli dances and the enchanting music of flute, drums and the songs, the Harijan singers who excel in rendering Kabir bhajans, the rasa dances and the wedding rhymes. . .and all else that one sees there is stunningly

beautiful. It is impossible for a first time visitor to take his eyes off the immaculate silver jewelry that the women and men wear, the colourful dresses adorning beautiful women and the proud Bhil tribals. What is not there in Tejgadh?

I have tried to draw up a map of Tejgadh, and to fill with statistics about its population from files lined up in Bhasha Centre's Baroda office. But that cold chart has never spoken truth about Tejgadh to me. For instance, it has got two primary schools and one high school, some 80 boys and girls have graduated during the last three years, many of the inhabitants have found employment in middle-level bureaucracy, nine families have migrated to the USA, 560 farm labourers have registered themselves for government loans, three industrial and crafts training classes are conducted by the Tribal sub plan for women and men, a TV cable line has reached over 70 houses, the streets are lit up during nights, water is supplied to all houses for three hours a day through a pipe line, and the Panchayat has won two awards for excellence in social work. These figures do not say much about the warmth and the phenomenal hospitality of the villagers. They have rarely come to me asking for things - except when a tribal boy wants to borrow a copy of the Meghdootam, as Nagin once did. Nagin and Manisha (who has completed her MA) have put together the famous book of songs, Tejgadh na Gito, which the Bhasha Centre published. Manisha also runs the Bhasha Centre library for the primary school children.

The village Panchayat has given the Bhasha Centre a simple but neat building for its office, and painters from the Sursi Village have painted inside it a magnificent Pithora. Kamalesh and Soni, who operate the water system, have planted Badams, Ashokas and Neem trees outside the office. The Panchayat has built a good brick-fencing to protect the trees. The Centre held a number of national and inter-national workshops and seminars in these premises. Every time the villagers remained present in large numbers - over a thousand at least - to watch the performance of tribal artists who come to the Bhasha Centre from different states of India. We have prepared a calendar of moon light, so that we can hold the events when the sky is lit with it. No expenses on electricity for outdoor work!

At present Tejgadh is a peaceful tribal village. This peace is however not going to last for a long time. The tribals have already started showing signs of being ashamed for what they are. The sense of community is under stress. Political fragmentation is rapidly creating an atmosphere of intolerance. The year before the last, the Sarpanch had to carry armed guards to the ground where the Holi-Pooja had to be performed. Fear, suspicion and cynicism are already on the threshold of the village. Unemployment and land alienation are increasing. The role model of the younger generation has changed. Now it is that of a lower rung politician who can buy a jeep and rent it out to the country passenger services.

But Tejgadh has welcomed the Bhasha Centre with open arms. It is waiting for us to start our work on the proposed campus - a lovely twenty acres at the foot of the hill. We have made that pact with the tribals. We will try to ensure that the inevitable transition to the new ways of life does not become painful to tribals. We are learning much from them, and in turn we are trying to urge them to respect their own great civilization. Very few in Baroda really know that just 90 kilometers east of the highly polluted and populated city lies the last outpost of a great ancient civilization, which still has a chance of survival, provided someone cared for it. It is for this reason that the Bhasha Centre came into existence. This year we plan to start recycling the trees planted in Government land under the social Forestry Scheme, remove some of the eucalyptuses and bring back in their place Mahudas, Neems and saags. Let eucalyptus not be Tejgadh's symbol of culture. It must retain its majestic Mahudas so that the Pithora paintings inside the Rathwa houses illuminate their living space. The Bhasha Centre must create such spaces for the articulation of the heritage of the tribal world which forms the foundation of Indian civilization.

Mahasweta Devi

All my life, I have dreamt of a place where the tribals are happy and relaxed. They are not hounded by money lenders, or hungry promoters are not out to grab their land, where they are proud of being a tribe, where they have retained their traditional culture and ways of life, yet

having marched with the times. More I read Verrier Elwin, more desperate I felt, as time has been very harsh to the tribals, and robbed them of their dignity. I did not want to bring the tribal to the mainstream. All I have wanted is that the tribals retain their cultural and social identity, also get the benefit of literacy, a good education, health facilities, electricity, every facility to which, as an Indian citizen one is entitled to. And I did not find what I was searching for. But I did not know that one day I would go to Baroda to give the Verrier Elwin lecture for “Bhasha Research and Publishing Centre” in March, 1998 and the director, G.N.Devy would take me to Tejgadh, the dream place I have been searching and searching for years. G.N.Devy, like me, Gayatri Spivak and a few others go to the tribals to learn from them, not to teach them the basics. He knows, as we do, that the tribal is much more civilized than the mainstream, as his wisdom and civilization is ancient. Did not the king Dasaratha go to learn from Dharma-Byadha of the “Byadha-Purana”? The Tejgadh Bhils, actually the Rathwa Bhils, Nayakas, Tadvits and Gamits made me feel at home the moment I got down from the car. I did not talk Bhili Baha. In fact, I do not talk many tribal languages, but that has never been a detriment. Somehow, instant communication was, as usual, established.

*“Along the Orsang river
Abiding by a moonlight calendar
Live the Tejgadh Bhils. . .”*

When, pointing at the hills G.N.Devy said, “There are ancient caves, with wall paintings by the adivasis.” I was thunderstruck. What was happening to me? In 1992 I had written a short novel, “Pterodactyl, Puran Sahay and Pirtha.” Forgotten wall paintings in the hill caves occupy the stress-point in my story.

A sense of gratitude filled me and I was suddenly at peace with the world. So I did not imagine it. I wrote what was there to be written of. I wished Elwin had seen Tejgadh. But he never came to the west.

And then came another surprise, In February 1998, I was busy translating Elwin’s writing on the Orissa Saora tribal’s wallpaintings, “Ittelana”, which is not a painting, their religion. The Saoras painted Ittelana” on

the wall, and the painting became the protector, the deity. I had made inquiries and came to know that the Christian missionaries, and Hindu reformers penetrated into Saora existence, and forced them to feel ashamed of those paintings during British rules. When a tribe is told by the outsiders that what they do is wrong, the tribe cannot fight back. They surrender. Perhaps the Saoras are still there, or have gone somewhere in search of jobs, or have slowly been evicted from the world they knew. The mainstream India understands the tribals very little, and, with best of pious wishes, do more harm than good.

But Tejgadh soothed my heart. I was taken to the excellent Bhasha Centre in the village, where I saw Pithora painting on the walls. I say ‘Pithora painting’, but the painting is, to the Tejgadh Bhils, ‘Babo Pithoro’, the supreme creator, their religion. The readers must understand this. Neither ‘Ittelana’ of the Saora, nor ‘Babo Pithoro’ are religious paintings, but religion.

The Saoras are proto-austroid, the Bhils are not. But painting is God, to a tribe in the east, and a tribe in the west. It can happen only in India.

Then I was taken to a Rathwa Bhil house. I quote G.N.Devy, “one has to see this work in order to believe the magnitude and the depth of its beauty. Often covering an expanse of more than 500 square feet, and spread over three walls of the main hall, the Pithora painting brings into focus all that is ancient and valuable in the tribal societies.” I would add, to all societies, but that I cannot.

Imagine. Horse riding men and women, hunter with his arrow, women carrying water, children playing, cows and goats, tigers and elephants, and of course the peacock, a very sacred bird to the Saoras, I am sure to the Bhils too. Why is it religion? Because it is saying, rejoice in life. Life is sacred. Live in harmony with nature and flora, fauna, the avians.

Only tribals know life is everything. And since life is precious, it should be lived in total harmony with nature. Thus they pay respect to life and everyday life becomes religion.

I never felt like asking if the legendary Rani Tejal really once ruled the territory or not, if the Bhils came to Gujarat after some rebellion, or famine. The paintings filled me with awe and respect.

I would say the way the Tejgadh Bhils have marched with the time is, the only proof of a rational development. The bare statistics would prove my point.

Tejgadh is ninety kilometres east of Baroda. But Baroda and Tejgadh are two different worlds. Tejgadh has some 5000 inhabitants, and about eighty percent of them are tribals. I come from the east, where tribal land alienation is cruel, everyday reality. In Tejgadh, the tribals cultivate their own lands. Their houses are spacious. The local potter makes beautiful everyday things. The Bhil houses have earthen grain storage utensils, and children look healthy and cheerful. I am sure, the Tejgadh Bhils do not send their children to work for the wealthy ones, they send them to school.

The panchayat is very efficient. There is electricity, regular water supply and a concrete road in the main village with well-stocked shops. There are some harijans and muslims too. But the feel of the atmosphere is one of perfect harmony. There are two primary schools and one high school in the village. Thanks to the adivasi local MLA and the adivasi MP, there are residential schools and colleges nearby. The raja of Chhota Udepur is a generous person. He has donated a nursing institution for the adivasi girls. Some 80 girls and boys have graduated within the last three years. Many are doing government jobs. 560 farm-labourers have applied for government loans.

The Bhasha Centre is Tejgadh's pride. Manisha has completed her M.A., a girl from the potter community, she is the librarian of the Bhasha Centre. Nagin, an educated tribal youth, wants to study Sanskrit well, so that he can read *Meghdootam*. Manisha and Nagin have jointly collected the book of Bhili songs, *Tejgadh na Gito*, published by Bhasha Centre.

“Along the Orsang river. . .”

Here the past and the present coexist in perfect harmony. A temple built in the thirteenth century, and the fortification walls stretching over many miles are silent witnesses of an ancient civilisation. According to the villagers, there are about thirty or more leopards in the hills. They

cross the village to reach the mighty Orsang river. The jungles around the hills must be well-stocked with wild life, as the leopards never raid the villages. Bhasha Centre will, some day, build an ideal tribal artists' village where tribal painters, musicians, poets and dancers will come, stay and interact with each other. An ideal village for tribals from different parts of India: I know that the Bhasha Centre will translate this dream into reality.

The entire area is full of trees, and the Bhasha Centre is out to grow a forest of indigenous trees. The local 'Holi' festival is very well known. The tribals have their 'Timli' dances and flutes. The harijan singers have their Kabir bhajans, and 'rasa' dances. The Bhil women and men use strikingly colourful clothes. The silver jewelry is beautiful and the adivasis are so goodlooking! But I have seldom seen an ugly adivasi anywhere.

The Bhasha Centre has prepared a calendar of moonlight, so that there can be sammelanas, singings and discussions in Moonlight. Not a calendar of lunar years, just moonlight nights when a thousand people gather and listen to talks, songs and music.

Here, the tribal development has achieved a well balanced success. But the credit goes to the adivasis. Had they not realized the necessity of such development programmes, and come forward too, this would not work, prove that once entrusted with duties in a respectful manner they can do everything. I am confident the Tejgadh Bhils will face the challenges of the coming century with confidence and pride. They have learnt that not bows and arrows alone, literacy and education, training in skills are more potent weapons today. They will enter the next century, tinkling their anklets, displaying their splendid silver ornaments, colourful clothes and all.

Who knows, that one day Tejgadh may well become a model of tribal development in India?

I will go back one day, and bathe in the Orsang, climb the hills, listen to the birds. Babo Pithoro will see that I do. A wise and kind creator he is.

Deconstructing Myths about Tribals and their Languages

Prashant Mishra

Postmodernism employs the methodology of deconstruction and rejects modernist tendency of empowering central, universal, transcendental and imperialistic forces. Deconstruction challenges all the endeavours to monopolize knowledge by creating meta-narratives and grand myths. Deconstruction which is anti-foundational and anti-absolutism prefers pluralities, marginalities and localism as means to approach knowledge and the world. It is now being well realized that the development of a country will remain partial and incomplete without bringing the local, the rural, the tribal, the marginal ones at par with the main and the affluent sections of the society. Till now, we have applied global perspectives to approach marginal issues, problems and occupations. The same perspective cannot be applied to explain different local issues which are marked by multiplicity due to their regional, ethnic, linguistic, industrial, occupational and various other diversities. It will be a fallacy to apply global perspectives to approach problems of different localities and regions. The monolithic myths and stereotyped paradigms cannot be applied to the micro-level, local and marginal subjects which are very different in nature. The local and the regional elements are not regarded today in any way inferior and useless as prejudiced by the dominant, colonial, imperialistic, universal and metaphysical groups and theories. Postmodernism judges the native, the regional, the marginal, the indigenous people, their culture and languages impartially and endeavours to theorize these groups and situations free from any preconceived notions about them. The present paper attempts to deconstruct and dismantle the biased myths and beliefs concocted about the tribal languages by the privileged and dominant classes of the society to continue their hegemonic designs.

A large part of Indian population that dwells in the hills and the forest regions is generally known as Tribals or Adivasies. There are more than 500 communities which are grouped under the umbrella of Schedule Tribes. Though tribals constitute 8.2 percent of Indian population but they are the most neglected lots in our society. This is evident from various studies and surveys done on tribes in India. In his study on 'Demographic Perspectives on India's Tribes' Arup Maharatna (2005) refers to the backwardness of the tribes and regards their plight and condition even lower than that of the Scheduled Caste people residing in urban areas. According to him more than 49.5 percent tribals live below the poverty line, 62.5 percent of Adivasi children leave schools before matriculation, their literacy rate is 23.8 percent much below the other communities in the country and 28.9 percent have no access to medical facilities. Referring to the above mentioned figures given by Arup Maharatna, Ramchandra Guha says, "What unites the Adivasies is not their cultural or ecological distinctiveness, but their economic and social disadvantage"(Guha 3306). Prof. Hemendra Chandalia regards the backwardness of Tribals a result of their seclusion. He writes, "They have lived as isolated entities for centuries, largely untouched by the society around them. This seclusion has been responsible for the slower growth, dissimilar pattern of their socio-economic status and inability to negotiate and cope with the consequences of their involuntary integration with the main stream society and economy"(Chandalia 147). But in spite of living in far off wooded lands, deprived of all types of modern amenities Tribals are able to survive through their traditional knowledge and systems gained by observation and wisdom over centuries. Professor Chandalia writes, "The intrinsic value of labour and the knowledge contained in tribal knowledge-system is beyond all doubts. It is this "usefulness" of their knowledge and labour that has enabled them to survive for centuries without any support from the outside world"(Chandalia 148). However, Tribals are judged unfairly and maltreated in the society. Their culture, languages and manners are regarded as 'jangalies' by the educated elites who assess them from the colonial perspectives. Many of the tribal languages are vulnerable to extinction if biased against them will be left unanswered and their

use in education, offices, media and other fields of activities will not be boosted. In the following part of the paper the prejudices and the false notions about the Tribal languages have been discussed objectively from the linguistics point of view.

Tribals and other minority groups are generally regarded by the educated elites as uncultured and uncivilized as they do not want to leave their dominant status and hegemonic designs of exploiting them. Always anthropological criterion is used to judge the tribal. Since Tribals live in forests and with their clans, they are regarded as 'jungalies' by the educated elites. Tribals mostly live in forests quite happily away from the metros and towns. They do not have access to good education as they do not have financial means to send their children to good public schools and also they do not have the transport facilities from their dwelling places due to lack of roads because their dwellings are situated deep inside the forest and, above all, they are lacking in awareness too. Even if some of the Tribals send their children to government schools, most of the tribal children are not able to complete their education due to hostile medium of instruction and lack of learning environment in the surroundings of their families. Consequently, Tribals are segregated from the rest of the society which regards itself as cultured, civilized and tribals as primitive, uncivilized or 'jungalies'. Their languages too are judged from the same canons and are similarly regarded as primitive as they do not have vocabulary and lexical items pertaining to the modern technological gadgets and commodities used by the urban. The false notion of treating tribal languages as uncultured and primitive due to lack of global, scientific and technological terms voices bias against them in the minds of the urban people who do not know that tribals live a different life from that of the urban. Since the tribal live in forest and small villages and seldom use technological means and instruments, they do not have lexical items related to them in their languages. The tribal have sufficient vocabulary for their communicative purposes and effectively communicate through their own maternal languages. In some respects, particularly the vocabulary associated with the forest life and their own culture and knowledge system, vocabulary of their languages is richer than the dominant languages. The tribal do not have enough

words related to science and technology in their languages as their humble life, surroundings and culture is not associated with science and technology. When the tribal will advance and start using technology and other modern means, their languages will also advance and they will either coin words related to them or borrow words from other languages.

Sometimes Tribals are regarded as inferior in communicative skills and poor in learning other tongues. This is also a preconceived notion against the tribal and is not based on factual analysis. If tribals do not communicate in English, Hindi and other standard languages, it does not mean that they are lacking in good communicative skills. They are as eloquent in their mother tongues as educated people are in the use of English, Hindi and standard languages. The notion that tribals are poor and slow in learning languages also speaks bias against them. This is true that the tribal children who go to the schools have to face problems in learning English and other standard tongues. This is because of the vocabulary used in these languages is alien to them and their culture. Many tribal communities which are bi-lingual and multi-lingual defy this prejudice against them. The example of Tuckano tribe (Sorensen) refutes the prejudice prevailing against the tribal. The Tuckano is a small multi-lingual tribe in which according to the custom men have to marry outside their language community as marriage of people who have a common mother tongue is regarded as a kind of incest. Due to prohibition of inter-lingual marriages, a Tuckano man has to bring a woman from outside his tribe and consequently has to learn her language in order to communicate with her. Due to marriages with women from different tribes, Tuckanos' learn so many languages. Multilingualism is also prevailing in the Siame of New Guinea (Salisbury). In the case of Tuckano and Siame, multi-lingualism is natural.

Tribal languages do not match all the features of the standard languages. Hence they are regarded as deficient and lacking in communicative potential. Their speakers are also judged as deficient in language skills. Sometimes tribal languages are also branded as chaotic in comparison to standard languages which are regarded as uniform. However,

linguistic study of various Tribal languages refutes this charge levelled against them. Studies reveal that tribal languages have uniform phonological, lexical and grammatical features; otherwise, communication will not be possible through their uses. Since the speakers from these languages understand each other, it is enough to substantiate that they have uniform patterns and features. As most of the tribal languages do not have a writing system and are used mostly in spoken form by the tribal, they seem to the people as disorderly and unsystematic. But these languages are intelligible and comprehensible to the members of the language communities. The intelligibility and comprehensibility is maintained by the uniform phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactical patterns at the deep levels which, however, are not visible in a spoken form. But linguists who recorded the speech of Tribals found uniformity in their speech at all the levels – phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactical. Tribals have different socio-cultural values and their occupations are also different from the occupations of the educated middle-class urban population. Hence Tribal languages are used in a different environment and for different purposes than the standard languages. But Tribal use their languages as efficiently and skillfully in their environments and occupations as are standard languages used in urban environments and occupations. If tribal languages do not match urban socio-cultural values and occupations and are not used as medium of instruction in education in schools and colleges, it does not make them deficient in any respect. Tribals are as efficient in verbal skills as are urbans and educated people. The myth of ‘verbal deprivation’ is created by those who judge tribals and their languages from their own biased notions. Little has been done by them to study Tribals and their languages. This conclusion has been drawn from ignorance and is a judgement given from their own language background. Study of Tribal and their language behaviour dismantle this myth. The attempt to convert tribals and to replace their languages and culture by the standard languages and culture of the dominant class is an imperialistic and colonial design of the dominant class that always looks at the culture and languages of others with fear and tries to convert them to their own manners and ideology to overcome their fear.

To conclude, regarding tribal languages as primitive, substandard and tribals lacking in verbal communicative skills, slow in learning languages reflects the hegemonic and homogenizing tendencies of the dominant class that looks at heterogeneity and plurality with fear and responds to tribals and their languages from their own socio-cultural and linguistic background. The need is to conserve the linguistic diversity of the country. In order to maintain and strengthen tribal languages, development of orthography, addition of new vocabulary to meet out the global demands, preparing dictionaries, publication of literature, extending the domain of their uses to education, government, media, trade, science and technology and other functional purposes bringing the presence of Tribal languages on internet, making movies in them are the various measures which can be adopted. Through transcriptions, publications and displaying tribal literature, knowledge system on internet, tribal languages can be made functional. Through the use of tribal languages in education, public life and social life, tribals can be assimilated in the main stream of society and many misconceptions prevailing about tribals and their languages can be wiped out.

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Quest for Feminine Identity in the Contemporary Poets of Nagaland

A J Sebastian

Quest for feminine identity emerges from the inequality in the relationships of sexes and championing women and their rights. It also studies sexism, gender privilege, and the critical theories formulated by the male dominated literary field. Thus it aims at establishing a feminine critical tradition. Femininity as a cultural construct inscribes the society's views about women through conventions and inhibit woman's individuality. The statement "one is not born a woman, but one becomes one" (Beauvoir 295) calls attention to the issue under consideration. The term 'feminine' stands for woman herself and everything concerning her womanhood. It is body, passion and nature that define a woman's feminine traits, focussing on her mental and physical nature of mothering and nurturing life. A proper understanding of the issue presented by feminists is essential for a better debate as ". . . They argue that feminism should work to liberate women from a system of male-centred values and beliefs, and should empower them to discover their own uniquely female identity" (Tolan 323).

This article endeavours to present the quest for feminine identity as reflected in the selected poems of the women poets of Nagaland. They voice their feminine concerns in a society that has defined them roles as per societal norms.

Monalisa Changkija with her pithy verse has been very emphatic in her first book of verse entitled *Weapons of Words on Pages of Pain*. She refers to battered and abused women, victims of domestic violence (Changkija i).

If God made man
In His own Image,
Where shall the
Battered seek Justice? (Ibidem 1).

She terms oppression of women as a sign of weakness on the part of men as it reveals male "inadequacies and insecurities." "Female bonding" (Furman 182) through language of violence continues unabated in her male dominated society.

Masculine hands
Raining blows
On bodies
Soft and feminine
To me
are battles lost
but not
wars won (Changkija 2).

Ironically the poet refers to bride burning of "Dowry-less brides / Penniless Wives. . ./Son-less Mothers" (Ibidem 3). Feminine strength continues to daunt man with the "unbroken spirits" of women who continue to nurture life as "Mother" and "Wives" despite being "battered, bruised and bent" (Ibidem 5). Social evils such as dowry deaths, female feticide, infanticide, rape, wife beating and desertion need eradication.

Monalisa draws attention to the patriarchal society where man conceals his inferiority in "masculinity" (Ibidem 8). She challenges man to come to his senses and to let her be "what I am" (Ibidem 11). The poet becomes very articulate as she recounts the untold stories of grieving women as "weapons of words/ on . . .Pages of Pain" (Ibidem 19).

Ayangla Longkumer's "I am woman" affirms her strength of character exemplified through the power of endurance. She is unafraid of physical and mental torture as she has to live with it by her very nature. She defines her role as creator of life, giving birth "through pain." As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak opines, ". . .in the womb, a tangible place of

production, there is the possibility that pain exists *within* the concepts of normality and productivity .” (Spivak 480). Seasoned thus in the furnace of experience, she has a wisdom innate in her very nature as mother.

My silence is not weakness

 My cries do not stem from weakness

 My eyes
 Reflect the light of wisdom
 Gained through experience. (PFN 33)

Patient endurance is her proven strength through submission and sacrifice. A woman’s creative power makes her survive despite all obstacles of life.

That in my core
 I have the power to create
 My instinct is to nurture

 I will endure
 I will survive. (Ibidem 33-4)

Ayangla’s thoughts are similar to Kamala Das who in her *Introduction* defines herself despite the various roles she has to play as a woman.

. . . it is I who lie dying
 With a rattle in my throat. I am sinner,
 I am saint. I am the beloved and the
 Betrayed. . . I too call myself I. (Gokak 273)

Rosemary Dziävichü in “Womanhood” focuses on gender inequality in her society. The poet is very pointed in her queries with its didactic purpose. Her social criticism through a series of questions put into the mouth of a young girl are thought provoking. The poem aims to bring about a change in the mind-set of people.

Why
 my brothers don’t carry water
 from the distant pond

 Why
 men sit and drink
 from morn till dusk
 as their women sweat
 silently

 Why
 women only cry. (PFN 111-12)

The child is puzzled by her mother’s stoic and enduring spirit that makes her suppress her sorrow. With a final question the little girl wants to enter into the mystery of her mother’s hidden grief. The intricate answer the child gets from her mother is that it is part of “motherhood.” Rosemary vividly brings gender politics in her society that lives in a make-believe world of gender equality.

Why
 mother I have never
 seen you cry

 Where
 did you hide
 all your hurt
 and your pain

 and yet you tell me
 this is Womanhood. (Ibidem 112)

From a young girl’s queries on gender politics in the previous poem in “Tell Me Mother” Easterine Iralu probes into questions of being a woman. Having her mother as a role-model “. . .a girl’s core gender identity is positive and built upon sameness, continuity, and identification

with the mother” (Showalter 320). The girl as she matures to adolescence and adulthood, is embarrassed by her sudden physical growth. She finds herself very different from the boys of her age p making her afraid and ashamed of her womanhood.

Tell me mother,
 What is like to be a woman?
 Unafraid
 Unashamed

 Awkward with my limbs
 Ashamed of my menstruation
 Afraid of my womanhood? (Kire 32).

Anungla Imdong Phong’s “Here I am” is a poem affirming her feminine identity in a world that ignores her inner self and its brokenness. She compares herself to time’s “broken vase” which in its beauteous form was admired by searching eyes. Now as she withers with age she is turned like ‘a dry flower arrangement.’ The poet ruminates on the brevity of life and beauty like Shakespeare in “Time and Love”: ‘When I have seen by Time’s fell hand defaced/. . .But weep to have that which it fears to lose.” Anungla speaks of her protagonist’s lonely existence with her unfulfilled dreams.

It is often found that though the experience of motherhood is a unique experience of woman, yet the “institution of motherhood is controlled by man and this physical quality conditions her entire life” (Rich 35).

Here I stand
 as mute witness
 widowed, alone and lonely

 Here I run
 along with time
 running and looking back –

and my unfulfilled spectrum
 forever. (PFN 18)

The agony of a beleaguered old mother is the focal point of Anungla Longchari’s “An Old Mother’s Lament.” She has lived her life for her child’s sake and has reached the end of her sojourn on earth. She groans in pain:

I trudge along the last steps of my life,
 Weary and tired of being alive;
 No one to make joyous my last days on earth –
 Not even you to whom I gave birth. (Ibidem 20)

She slaved, toiled and bled to get her child to reach the height of glory. Now the old lady is left in the lurch and has become a burden to her daughter. Recollecting nostalgic memories of the bygone days, the mother laments her pathetic situation and forewarns the daughter of similar abandonment in old age.

Tell me, is it too big a crime
 To ask of you, my child, for me some time?

 Now when I ask you for a shoulder
 To rest my weary head,

 Or soon, as am I,
 You will be in the very same state
 When you, like me, become
 As old and mellow! (Ibidem 20).

Josephine Changkija’s “Eve” is a fusion of myth and reality articulating her feminine voice. Reflecting on man’s original sin, she recalls the Biblical account of the first fall: “So when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was a delight to the eyes. . . she took of its fruit and ate; and she also gave some to her husband, and he ate. Then the eyes of both were opened” (Genesis 3:6-7). The poet plays

on words rendering the poem a modern metaphor of betrayals. Is the woman alone to be blamed for her beauty left at the feet of the man she loved? But at the end it is the woman who stands accused of the proto sin.

With her beauty
 Standing out among
 The unbelievable orchard

 Where the only man she loved
 Left her at Eden one day
 And let her lust roam
 Till it found
 The slithering evil
 And
 Salivated
 The curse. (PFN 56)

In “Man and Whore,” Nini Lungalang examines the basic distorted gender positions in a male-female dialogue. The title itself reflects the woman in the darker side as the whore. He on the contrary remains the unsullied man. Is he not a whore too? For a dialogue to be successful, both the parties have to be on an equal pedestal. But the case in hand is of the man who begins with a male dominated position of looking down upon his female counterpart as a whore. He is excellent in his dissembling and looks down upon her only as a plaything of his lust.

He: Woman,

 What you offer, is more
 Coarse relief
 Cheaper than the garland
 Of pink pearls
 Slung around your neck
 By a past lover. (Nini 40)

The poem projects the woman as a subaltern in her victim position. Her utterances are very mellowed. She addresses him as “brother” with great respect, though he is the villain who exploits her femininity. Her speech is one of subordination as she is nothing more than a whore to him. She becomes a mere cog in the machine of his lust.

She: Brother, I’ll meet you there
 Anonymous and furtive
 The hot dark passage
 Our common ground;

 Brother, I’ll leave you there,
 And leave behind
 A spark of my essence
 With yours. (Ibidem 40)

In “Mirror” Nini sees herself identical to her mother. She longs to determine her personal identity without any mirror image of the other. She presents her ‘Matrophobia’ which is the fear of becoming one’s mother. Though she hates to be her mother’s replica there is an underlying mysterious pull towards the mother (Rich 62).

They say I look a lot like mother:

 She’s put much of herself into my making.
 After my birth, as well as before;

 Sometimes I’d see that phantom child
 And it would anger me to unreasoning hatred,
 I’d see it in the things she’d say

 And I would weep in wild frustration,

 Yes, I look a lot like my mother
 And my daughter looks
 A lot like me. (PFN 86-7)

In “The Tale of a Woman” Thejangü-ü Zümvü projects the agony of a girl as she passes through the various stages of growth to womanhood and to motherhood. She makes her resolve to break with an androcentric society. The story begins with the father longing to have a male issue to head his clan.

And. . .
 When my mother bore me,
 His poor heart fell,
 His head dropped heavy in disappointment

 I grew up then,
 Envyng my brothers
 who grudgingly trotted off to school
 While I laboured with mother

 Till a man proposed
 to tie a nuptial knot. (Ibidem 149-50)

Marriage being the destiny traditionally offered to women by society, she is married to a stranger at the tender age of fifteen. From then on her sufferings begin as she recounts:

.....
 He battered me,
 Destroying my young body and health.
 I knew no love
 From my husband,
 who savagely ravished me every night
 In drunken frenzy. (Ibidem 152)

Trotting back on memory lane, she recollects how her own mother suffered in silence in the hands of her father. And as she now beholds her first born daughter in her arms she is resolved to protect her from gender abuse. Disregarding all barriers and threats she is determined to educate her daughter to be free from the shackles of gender oppression.

And I heard my own voice
 Calling out, to rise up;
 To break free
 From the laws of man,
 From the shackles of tradition. (Ibidem 153)

As a fitting conclusion to the analysis of feminine concerns in this discourse, let me probe into Temsula Ao’s fable “Bat Cloud” with allegorical significance.

Once upon a time
 There lived two bats
 A mother and her
 Albino daughter.
 Even among the outcasts
 They were a class apart
 Living in a dark cave. . . . (Ao 8)

Their peaceful life in the cave was disturbed by some creatures with gun on their shoulders. The little daughter ‘crouched and shivered’ while the bat-mother comforted her. As the mother prayed for protection from cave-goddess she was told:

But only one of you
 And are you willing to pay the price?
 The bat-mother responded
 Any price mother, any price,
 Please save my daughter. (Ibidem 9)

As the bat-mother consented to the sacrifice, a gun shot was heard that hit the mother and opened the cave-roof. As she lay dying the mother prompted her daughter to take her flight to freedom.

Fly my little girl, fly
 Fly to the sky

The little one then began to fly
 With her mother's whisper
 Ringing in her ear. (Ibidem 10-11)

The women poets from Nagaland have very thought provokingly presented their feminine voices articulating their personal experiences in a society that ignores their right to be themselves. It is relevant to reflect on the statement of Luce Irigaray: "It is also necessary for us to discover and assert that we are always mothers once we are women. We bring something other than children into the world, we engender. . . love, desire, language, art, the social, the political, the religious. . . and we must re-appropriate the maternal dimension that belongs to us as women" (Irigaray 420-1).

Women suffer betrayals and are often victims of patriarchy in manifold ways. However they do not "constitute a muted group, the boundaries of whose culture and reality overlap, but are not wholly contained by, the dominant (male) group" (Showalter 322) since they have come forward asserting their identity, seeking equal opportunities.

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Folk Religion and Trance Culture in Oral Literature (With Special Reference to *Gavri* and *Bhaarat* of Bhil Tribe of Southern Rajasthan)

H M Kothari and R Ranawat

The Southern part of Rajasthan has a rich oral tradition. The majority of the people residing in this area are the Bhil tribe. They have their own dialect and oral literature consisting of stories, drama and poetry. *Gavri* and *Bhaarat* are the most prominent among them. Both of them reflect folk religion and trance culture.

The paper here is divided into two major parts. The first part of the paper deals with the theoretical concept of folk religion, shamanism, animism, trance culture and oral literature on the basis of empirical observation. The second part of the paper discusses all the above concepts in the context of *Bhaarat* and *Gavri* of Bhil tribe of Southern Rajasthan.

Part - I

Conceptual Frame Work

The major concepts in the paper are as follows.

Folk Religion

According to sociologists and anthropologists folk religion consists of beliefs, superstitions and rituals transmitted from generation to generation of a specific culture. It is also said that it could be contrasted with the “organized religion” or “historical religion” in which founders, creed, theology and ecclesiastical organizations are present. Ethnic religion similarly refers to the religious practices particular to a certain ethnicity. In Indian society there are so many ethnic and tribal groups where we find the elements of folk religion.

Shamanism and Shaman

Shamanism refers to a range of traditional beliefs and practices concerned with communication with the spirit world. There are many variations of shamanism throughout the world, though there are some beliefs that are shared by all forms of shamanism:

- The spirits can play important roles in human lives.
- The shaman can control and/or cooperate with the spirits for the community's benefit.
- The spirits can be either good or bad.
- Shamans engage various processes and techniques to incite trance; such as: singing, dancing, taking intoxicants, meditating and drumming.
- Animals play an important role, acting as omens and message-bearers, as well as representations of animal spirit guides.
- The shaman's spirit leaves the body and enters into the supernatural world during certain tasks.
- The shamans can treat illness or sickness.
- Shamans are healers, gurus and magicians.

Shamans have the ability to diagnose and cure human suffering and, in some societies, the ability to cause suffering. This is believed to be accomplished by traversing the axis mundi and forming a special relationship with, or gaining control over, spirits. Shamans have been credited with the ability to control the weather, divination, the interpretation of dreams, astral projection, and traveling to upper and lower worlds. Shamanistic traditions have existed throughout the world since prehistoric times.

Some anthropologists and religious scholars define a shaman as an intermediary between the natural and spiritual world, who travels between worlds in a state of trance. Once in the spirit world, the shaman would commune with the spirits for assistance in healing, hunting or weather management. Ripinsky-Naxon describes shamans as, “People who have a strong interest in their surrounding environment and the society of which they are a part.”

In the context of this paper the Bhil Bhopa holds the position of shaman. The local man of the community is identified Bhopa as Godala. He comes to possess the spirit of gods, goddesses or ancestors.

Animism

Animism (from Latin *anima*, “soul”) is the belief that souls inhabit all or most objects. Animism attributes personalized souls to animals, vegetables, and minerals wherein the material object is to some degree governed by the qualities which compose its particular soul. Animistic religions generally do not accept a sharp distinction between spirit and matter, and they generally assume that this unification of matter and spirit plays a role in daily life.

Animism may also be understood as the belief that “the world is a sacred place and humans belong in such a world”. From this point of view, animism may be considered diametrically opposed to the viewpoint of most major religions. All of the long standing, “major” historical civilized religions describe the earth as either a place of inevitable suffering (Buddhist) or sin (Christian), and as something to escape or transcend from. This is over simplified, of course, but takes note of how different this is from the view that the world is sacred and humans belong here. More generally, animism is simply the belief in souls. In this general sense, animism is present in nearly all religions.

According to the Indian tradition all matter, animals, trees, rivers, hills are considered to be manifestation of gods and goddesses. Given in the local context, there are local gods and goddesses like Joyadha Bawaji, that take care of animals, Shitala Mataji taking care of children, Khestrapal taking care of fields and boundary of village.

Trance Culture

The term ‘trance’ is employed to denote a variety of processes, techniques, modalities and states of mind, awareness and consciousness. Trance states may be consciously and intentionally induced, or they may occur involuntarily and unbidden. The term “trance” may be conflated with others such as meditation, play, magic, flow and prayer.

It may also be conflated with the earlier generic term, altered states of consciousness, which, due to the value judgment that is embedded within the adjective “altered”, is no longer used in “Consciousness Studies” discourse.

Oral Literature

Oral literature consists of the spoken (oral) word and forms a fundamental component of culture. Pre-literate societies, by definition, have no written literature, but may possess rich and varied oral traditions such as folk epics, folklore and folksong that effectively constitute an oral literature.

Oral poetry is a form of poetry that is transmitted orally and memorized or improvised rather than written down. It exists primarily within oral cultures, though some forms of it can survive after a culture has made the transition to literacy.

Oral poetry differs from oral literature in general, which can include shorter and more variable pieces and can coexist much more with written literature, by certain consistencies within its form, which were brought to the attention of scholars by Albert B. Lord. Foremost among these consistencies is the use of formulaic language: repeated phrases that help poets and singers structure and remember their poems. Drawing on the work of his teacher Milman Parry, who first theorized that such repetitions in Homeric epics indicated that they came from a tradition of oral poetry, Lord extended the theory to modern epic traditions, in particular those of Bosnia (in what was then called Yugoslavia). Lord and other scholars also connected this theory to various medieval epics, including *Beowulf* and the *Chanson de Roland*.

Parry’s and Lord’s work transformed the field of Homeric studies, introducing a new vocabulary for discussing elements of Homer’s work that had previously been studied only in vague terms. Work on the precise nature of the two epics and on the process by which they came to be written down has advanced enormously since then, but the basic structure of oral poetry Parry and Lord argued for remains a current subject for research and debate.

Part - II

Folk Religion and Trance Culture in *Gavri* and *Bhaarat*

Out of the vast oral literature *Gavri* and *Bhaarat* have been selected as the co authors have the empirical knowledge of them. Both of them comprise of oral Bhil poetry. Before coming to folk religion and trance culture, it is necessary to have a brief introduction to *Gavri* and *Bhaarat*.

Gavri

Gavri is a religious dance drama in verse of the Bhils of the Mewar region of Rajasthan. It enacts the stories of Shiv and Parvati in the form of group song every year around Raksha Bandhan. According to Hindu calendar, it starts on the first of the krishna paksha of Bhadra. This is the time when the villagers have some free time after sowing and weeding of Kharif crop. It is played for forty days, that is one and a quarter of a month. It starts in the devra of a village. The decision to play *Gavri* is taken through *ankha panti* in the devra. The deities of the village decide whether the team in the village can play *Gavri* or not. For the first two days it is played in the village where it starts. From the third day onwards the team moves on to the villages where the daughters of the village are married. It is played from morning to evening. The party puts up for the night in the village visited. At the end the team returns to the same village where *Gavri* had started and perform the *visarjan* of the image. The *Bhopa* dresses up the actors with his own hands. It is played in the open. The roles of the female actors are played by men. It is played in a circle. A *Trishul* is put up in the middle. The singers stand around the *trishul*. *Dhol*, *Mandal* and *Thali* are the main musical instruments.

The main characters consist of gods, men, demons, animals, Shiv, Parvati, *Kutkutia*, peacock and *Bhopa*. One person does the work of an anchor and narrates the story in between. It includes the incident of *Bhasmasur* and Shiv. *Budia* who symbolizes Shiv is the main character.

There are two *Rais*. One is Parvati and the other one is *Gorade*. The dance starts with prayer to *Ganpathi*. This dance is based on religious

and social incidents. Mask is also used in the play. Shiv wears the mask and the expression is that of great anger.

Bhaarat

Bhaarat consists of ballads sung by bhils during Navratra. *Dhak* and *thali* are the main instruments used for generating trance. The popular *Bhaarat* sung at the time are *Lala Phula*, *Chauth Mata*, *Chamunda Mata*, *Rebari*, *Bheruji* and *Matataji*. All these gods and goddesses are invoked. The person possessed by these gods and goddesses does the work of problem solving, healing, mending human relationships and bringing desired effect in a person's behaviour. *Bhaarat* is sung during night.

Major Deities in *Gavri* and *Bhaarat*

Shiv and Parvati are the main characters but other gods are also invoked. Beginning with the invocation of *Saraswati* and *Ganpati*, different gods like *Hanuman*, *Unthala Rani*, *Joyadha Bawji*, *Kalka Mata*, *Lila Phula*, *Chauth Mata*, *Rewari*, *Chamunda Mata*, *Aavra Mata*, *Jhatla Mata*, *Takaji*, *Gatodji*, *Kalaji* and *Goraji* are invoked.

Trance Generating Environment

Religious environment is required for trance generation. Incense sticks and *Deepak* are lit. Fire is ignited. *Dhoop* of *Guggal* is given. The onlookers have deep faith in heart. They beat the drum in a particular rhythm. Poetry is sung in *Veer Rasa* by the group. Doing so, the whole group comes to rhythm. Even the person invoking the god starts shaking abnormally. *Opium*, *keshar*, *liquor*, *milk* is served as per their requirement of different gods. In the case of *Mataji*, *Mehndi*, *Kunku* are offered.

Trance Activity

The body of the person in trance shakes abnormally. The person possessed with a deity is known as *Godla*. There is a *Hajuria* attending upon the *Godla* and pleading the cases of people. Depending upon the part of the body shaking, people come to recognize the deity. It is also accompanied by the *Bhopa* beating himself with chain, stick, iron rods.

Some times the Bhopa will hold fire bowls in his hands. For Kalka Mata, the tongue sticks out and the eyes open wide. The Nagnechya Mataji makes the hissing sound.

Group Trance

During the performance of Gavri and Bharat, all the Bhopas present there come to trance either one by one or all at a time. Even some people from the audience come into trance and come to be respected as Godlas from that time onwards.

Conclusion

'Gavari' and 'Bhaarat' represent the rich oral tradition of the Bhil Tribe of the Southern part of Rajasthan. The performance of the two is accompanied by the ritual rites of the community. The elevated and vigorous tone of Gavri and Bhaarat help to induce trance among the players and the audience for the welfare of the community.

At present Gavri is being used to popularize the government schemes such as generating awareness among voters and total literacy programmes among the people. It can also be used as text material in literature. Gavari, Bhaarat, and other forms of oral literature need to be codified, documented and analyzed as a source of understanding the cultural heritage of this country. The elements of poetry, melody and community feeling can be utilized for creating contemporary scholarship.

We would like to conclude the paper with the important statement of Ruth Finnegan (1977)-

There is much to learn from concentration on the oral side of poetry. In particular, the element of performance, or oral presentation, is of such obvious and leading significance in oral poetry that, paradoxically, it raises the question whether this element is not also of more real importance in the literature we classify as 'written' than we often realise. . . To ignore the existence of this huge wealth of oral poetry throughout the world in the present as well as the past, is to miss one of the great sources and products of man's imaginative and reflecting and dramatic faculties – of those things which mark him out as a human and a social animal.

Mahasweta Devi's "The Hunt": An Echo of a Rebellious Soul

Vinita Shukla

Dalit/Tribal literature represents a powerful emerging trend in the Indian literary scene. In an age where the awareness of Human Rights is a major issue, the literary depiction of the marginalized groups of people becomes very significant. Mahasweta Devi, the noted, Bengali writer and activist, the winner of the coveted Jaanpeeth and the Magasaysay awards, claims a pen- Indian status for her fiction, voicing a demand for the insertion of the tribals and other outcastes into the mainstream, from which they have been hitherto excluded

A writer with a strong social conscience and deep commitment to the cause of the wretched of the earth, takes up her pen to project a protest against the hegemony of the dominant classes. She uses her art as a weapon to fight against the socio- economic injustice meted out to the marginalized in the post- colonial democratic India. Her art is born out of impatience and rage. In her introduction to her novel Agnigarbha (The Womb of Fire) she writes:

After thirty -one years of independence, I find my people still groaning under hunger, landlessness, indebtedness and bonded labour. An anger, luminous, burning and directed against a system that has failed to liberate my people from these horrible constraints, is the only source of inspiration for all my writing (Bandopadhyay, Introduction xi).

In majority of her work, the focal point has been mainly the socially marginalized- the tribals, the outcastes and their struggles. If one were to sum up in a word the recurring theme of Mahasweta's works and the motive force of her life, it invariably would be: Fight Against Exploitation. Tribal exploitation, non-tribal exploitation and women's exploitation are the different layers of the running theme in her work. With

her intimate knowledge of what happens at the ground level, she depicts their life with brutal accuracy, savagely exposing the mechanics of exploitation and oppression by dominant sections of the society, who have the direct support of the state system, the politicians, the police and the administration. Her fiction is driven not only by a strong sense of identification with the oppressed and the excluded but by a faith in their capacity for self- emancipation. Ameliorative in intent and social in content, Mahasweta's stories are therefore, a social discourse, 'forensic' by nature and meant to diagnose and eradicate social maladies.

Mahasweta's fiction has also been instrumental in articulating the inhuman subjugation of women and their struggle.

The subjugation of women, particularly tribal and low- caste women and subsequent revolt, a prominent feature of her work, gives a feminist dimension to her work, though she rejects the idea of being labeled as a woman writer. In an interview given to Gabrielle Collu she admits, "I never consider myself as a woman writer, I write of such people who live much below the poverty lines. They are men, women, children. I don't isolate the women. . . They come to my stories naturally, not just to uphold the women" (Collu, Interview 146).

A lot has been written on the status and condition of women but the tribal women has not been accorded an appropriate space in both pre and post- independent Indian literature. In most mainstream literature on tribals, tribal women are depicted as beauties while patriarchal, colonial and semi- feudal mindset portray them as witches practicing witchcraft. Kumkum Yadav in her studies on tribal women in Indian narratives writes, "Obliged to face the double jeopardy of being women and also tribal, the tribal women have to contend themselves with images one of which presents them as 'bright and comely' but hopelessly immoral" (Yadav 157). The stereotype of the seductive but shy, brave but submissive, hard working but sleek wild women appears and re-appears in literary and non- literary accounts.

In contrast to the exotic and sensationalised presentation of tribal women, Mahasweta's fiction on women like " Draupadi", "Stanadyani", "The Hunt", "Shanichari", and Rudali make a horrifying and bitter critique

of the dominant cultural perceptions. These are the tales of women's exploitation, that restrict women to their socially prescribed roles while denying them the right to articulate their individual needs and desires. At the same time, they also show the strategies evolved by women to survive and circumvent the repression inflicted on them by social norms. Her vision of the condition of tribal women who internalize the message of their own victimization is unsparingly truthful, even brutal when the occasion demands.

Her fiction presents women who are quite vulnerable to injustice but are not mere wooden and spineless creatures, they endure and resist the brunt of social and economical oppression and violence with indomitable will and courage. They even try to deconstruct the age old structures of racial and gender discrimination. According to Harvinder Mann Mahasweta's stories focus upon "the fragmented resistance mounted by low -caste women" (Mann 32). Though, at the outset her women protagonist seem to confirm to the existing values, they march ahead with an indomitable will of the rebel and endure martyrdom in the pursuit of their identity which forms the core of her entire creation.

Resistance is embedded in the representational technologies of her stories. She uses certain textual strategies such as irony, satire, a combination of realism and myth, an interplay of history and fiction to highlight the ethical force of her writing. Her work abounds in lots of oral histories, folk tales, myths, legends and ballads. She often fuses indigenous history, myths, legends with contemporary socio- political events to uncover the bitter and often bloody relationship between tribal communities and India's dominant classes and systems. Mahasweta devi rejects the traditional use of myths to glorify, rather, she either deconstruct or re construct the existing myths for the purposes of social commentary.

Mahasweta's short story "The Hunt" is a perfect example of "Gendered subaltern autonomy and resistance" (Wenzel 243) says Wenzel. The story describes the life of Mary Oraon, the illegitimate daughter of an Australian white man and a tribal women. Mary's parentage represents the collusion of colonialism and patriarchy in the construction of hybrid

subjectivity. Her “mixed blood” separates her from rest of the tribal community but it also affords her a certain freedom from the constraints of custom and convention. She is fierce, proud, strong and charming.

She has financial autonomy and unimpeded mobility. She travels freely and regularly to the nearby market town of Tohri to sell the estate's produce as well as her own, fiercely defended reserve forest produce. Sexually too, Mary is her own woman. She chooses to marry Jalim, a muslim trader in Tohri, who once protected her from a fight, only when he has saved one hundred rupees. Everyone, even the Prasads who own the estates is afraid of Mary.

Mary's striking beauty attracts the attention of Tehsildar Singh, a developer whose presence in Tohri also represents the exploitation of tribals as well as forests. People like Tehsildar collude with unscrupulous landowners and disrupt the traditional habitat and lifestyle of tribals. The remaining part of the narrative focuses upon Mary's retaliation. Mahasweta merges the ritual of the tribal women's hunt festival with Mary's murder of her suitor, suggesting that indigenous practices still provide a fertile ground for myths and legends that can be deployed to expose contemporary oppression and exploitation.

On the occasion of Jani Parab, a tribal women's hunt festival Mary decides to stop this obnoxious man from harassing her. In Bihar the tribals celebrate the annual Hunt Festival. It is also as Mahasweta says, “the Festival of Justice. After the hunt elders would bring offenders to justice” (I.M. xi). Every twelfth year this annual hunt festival is celebrated as Jani Parab. During the hunt festival of Jani Parab, women turn hunters and they dance and sing like men. On the night of Jani Parab, Mary first provokes Tehsildar and when he approaches her in the hope of sexual union, she displays a fierce, indomitable spirit and hacks him to death and throws his body into the ravine. Tehsildar is equivalent to beast in Mary's mind, a beast to be hunted down and killed. And by killing Tehsildar she has killed “the biggest beast” (Hunt 17). In a dramatic reversal the hunter becomes the prey.

Thus, the narrative presents Mary's brutal murder as an act of justice, a contemporary version of an ancient tribal custom. She has resurrected the real meaning of the annual hunt festival as after hunting the elders

would bring offenders to justice. In killing Tehsildar Mary has sought personal revenge as well as dealt out justice to the offender for a crime committed against the entire tribal society. In tribal society harassing the women sexually is considered to be a serious offence. Mahasweta points out in the preface to *Imaginary Maps*, “among the tribals, insulting or raping a woman is the greatest crime. . . women have a place of honour in tribal society” (*Imaginary Maps* xi). Seen in this terms Mary's act of murder links her to the traditional tribal custom.

To conclude, the traditional tribal ritual of hunt festival which is inextricably woven into the narrative of story highlights the exploitation and power of retaliation of a tribal woman and also adds to the aesthetic beauty of the story. Through the story Mahasweta emphatically tries to put forward her view that women should voice their protest loudly as and when the situation demands and struggle hard for their emancipation. They should be aware of the fact that their own existence is meaningful; their suffering is imposed and should have firm conviction in their own potential to reshape their lives.

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Indigenous People and Democracy

H S Chandalia

Indigenous people and democracy have a very intimate relationship. The communities included in this category have a democratic lifestyle in which collective voice of the people is always more important than the discretion of an individual. However, their present status in the democratic countries is a matter of concern. They are forced to lead a life of popular indifference with political leaders approaching them only to buy their votes.

There are several expressions to denote Indigenous Peoples namely Aborigines, Aboriginal Peoples, Native Peoples, First Peoples and Autochthonous Peoples. The word "Autochthonous" has Greek origin meaning thereby the people who have "Sprung from the earth". All the above terms do relate to the Indigenous Peoples but suffer from one or the other deficiency. The expression which is accepted universally, by those communities which are defined thus, is Indigenous Peoples. In a very broad sense it refers to any ethnic group of people who inhabit a geographic region with which they have the earliest historical connection, alongside migrants which have populated the region and which are greater in number. The issue of the definition of Indigenous Peoples was debated for a long time. Following parameters were decided:

- a) They are the descendents of groups which were in the territory at the time when other groups of different cultures or ethnic origin arrived there.
- b) Precisely because of their isolation from other segments of the country's population they have also preserved intact the customs and traditions of their ancestors which are similar to those characterized as indigenous.

- c) They are even if formally, placed under a state structure which incorporates national, social and cultural characteristics alien to their own.

However, the draft Universal Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous Peoples prepared by the working Group does not include a definition of indigenous peoples or populations. This omission has been justified by the Chairperson-Rapporteur of the UN Working Group of the UN Ms. Erica Erene Daes on the ground that "historically, indigenous peoples have suffered, from definitions imposed by others" and as a result, in certain countries many indigenous people have been declassified.

Indigenous Peoples world wide number between 300-350 million Spread across the world from the Arctic to the South Pacific. They include Indians of the Americas, Mayas of Guatemala, Ajmaras of Bolivia, the Inuit and Aleutians of the circumpolar region, the Saami of Northern Europe, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders of Australia, Maoris of New Zealand and the tribes of India. These people embody and nurture eighty percent of the World's Cultural and biological diversity and occupy twenty percent of the World's land surface. They live in nearly all countries on all the continents of the world and form a spectrum of humanity, ranging from traditional hunter-gatherers and subsistence farmers to members of Parliament. In some countries Indigenous Peoples form the majority of the population e.g. the Polynesians in Samoa while in other countries they are small minorities. In India the population of Indigenous Peoples is 84.3 million as per 2001 census and accounts for 8.2% of the total population of the country. They have traditionally lived in 15% of the country's geographical areas, mainly forests, hills, undulating inaccessible terrain in plateau areas, rich in natural resources.

The indigenous people all over the world have huge diversities but they share one thing in common viz. They all share a history of injustice. They have been killed, enslaved and tortured by those people who came to occupy their territories through sheer force and state power. Conquest and Colonization have attempted to steal their dignity and identity as indigenous peoples, as well as the fundamental right of self determination.

Although the countries in which Indigenous Peoples live have democratic governments, they were not given the right of citizenship in the true sense. The concerns of indigenous peoples were not addressed as a concern of the international community until the 1970s. In 1982, the UN established a Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP). Since then several efforts have been made by the United Nations for safeguarding the interests of the Indigenous Peoples. Following a recommendation by the Second World Conference on Human Rights (June, 1993), where states were called to “take concerted positive steps to ensure respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples, on the basis of equality and non discrimination and recognize the value and diversity of their distinct identities, cultures and social organization, “the General Assembly on 21 Dec., 1993 proclaimed 1995-2004 the “International Decade of the world’s Indigenous Peoples” (Resolution 48/163). The United Nations General Assembly on 23 December 1994 designated 9 August to be observed as the “International Day of the World’s Indigenous Peoples” every year. The date marks the day of the first meeting in 1982 of the Working Group of Indigenous Populations of the Sub commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the commission on Human Rights.

The second decade of World’s Indigenous Peoples was announced after the first one which ended in 2004. This itself indicates that there is as much need of reforms in the attitude of the states and the powerful communities whom they largely represent. The world today is governed by democratic states. About one hundred and twenty three countries of the world are democracies, yet the Indigenous Peoples have remained at the margins. The attitude of the ruling communities towards these people has largely been that of callous indifference. Just to refer to one of the parameters of well being, namely health, it is shocking to learn that the state of health of the indigenous peoples does not figure in World statistics. The biggest concern of the Lancet researchers (a journal of medicine) led by Dr. Carolyn Stephen from London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine is that the health of Indigenous Peoples not register on world Statistics at all. The report says, “The Millennium Development Goals could be achieved even if Indigenous Peoples disappear from the world”.

How Indigenous Peoples become a disadvantaged Group ?

The indigenous peoples are among the most disadvantaged groups on the surface on the earth. They are subjected to slavery and forced labour. They face discrimination, poverty, poor health, unemployment and high rates of imprisonment. In the democratic process either they do not figure at all as is seen in the case of Australia, “the member of Aborigines enrolled to vote is unknown.” Or in countries like India the votes of Indigenous Peoples for many decades continued to be converted into “vote banks” to be used by one or the other political party.

Colonization

The biggest onslaught on the Indigenous Peoples came with colonization. During the period of European colonial expansion beginning with the fifteenth century, many indigenous people were wiped out and their land was taken away by force. What seems even more appalling for contemporary minds is that the subjugation of the native peoples of the New World was legally sanctioned. Laws of “discovery”, “conquest” and “*Terra Nullius*” made up the “doctrines of dispossession,” according to Erica Irene Daes, Chairperson/reporter of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations.

Specifically, in the fifteenth century, two Papal Bulls set the stage for European domination of the New World and Africa. *Romanus pontifex* issued by Pope Nicholas V to king Alfonso V of Portugal in 1452, declared war against all non-Christians through out the world, and specifically sanctioned and promoted the conquest, colonization and exploitation of non-Christian nations and their Territories. *Inter Caetera*, issued by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 to the king and queen of Spain following the voyage of Christopher Columbus to the island he called Hispaniola, officially established Christian dominion over the new world. These Pope Bulls have never been revoked, although indigenous representatives have asked the Vatican to do so. Indigenous leaders today contend that it is essentially discriminatory that native title does not confer the same privileges as ordinary title.

In India, however, the forcible occupation of the indigenous peoples listed as scheduled Tribes in the constitution of India began even before colonisation. The caste Hindu rulers and Brahminical preachers did the same with the Indigenous Peoples coercing them to accept subjugation and to follow Hindu cultural practices which M. Srinivas describes as Sanskritisation.

Ecocide/Development

Development, as perceived and practised by Capitalist democracies, has resulted in large scale destruction of the natural habitat of the indigenous peoples resulting in their forced migration. The National Tribal Policy document, Government of India published in 2006 admits, “The process of legally extinguishing traditional rights of the ST communities over the natural resources base began during the colonial period and continued unabated in independent India because of steady exploitation of natural resources from tribal areas for the purpose of nation building. Resource rich areas of the country, located largely in the traditional habitats of the STS, containing most of the non-Himalayan forests, wildlife, water, minerals were always looked upon as the resources of the entire country and were exploited, unfortunates by extinguishing the rights, of the local inhabitants, mainly the Scheduled Tribes”. The document further admits, “The project affected person (PAF) do not, in the present policy regime, reap the benefits of the development that takes place including the increase in real estate even though much of that development is undertaken through the investment of Public Funds. The present National Policy on Resettlement and Rehabilitation for Project Affected Families compensate, only assets, not livelihoods” (National Tribal Policy 7). Eighty percent of the people displaced for construction of dams, industries, defense cantonments, sanctuaries and other so called development projects, are tribes, says Arundhati Roy. Under the name of development, their land and resources are expropriated or spolied by activities such as deforestation, mining, law and irrigation projects, road construction, toxic waste dumping and nuclear testing.

The concept of *Terra Nullius* (land of no one) has been used to justify the acquisition of the land and other natural resources of the indigenous peoples. Now, the democratic governments are asking the tribal to produce papers of the title of their lands. From where shall they produce such papers? The land occupied by them had been there for centuries. Suddenly the state comes in to inhabitants becomes *Terra Nullius* and is allotted to such rich mines owner or wood contractor. The legal fiction that Australia was *Terra Nullius* (land of no one) justified the territorial acquisition of the continent and expropriation of Australia’s indigenous peoples, denied their personhood, culture and governance systems, and legitimized their exclusion from most benefits of modernization. The violence of this exclusion has been masked by law and ideologically managed by official and institutional denial.

Cultural Extinction / Ethnocide

The placelessness imposed on the indigenous peoples results in their displacement. Out of their habitat, they lose contact with each other, fail to continue with their cultural practices and drift as rootless beings. Even in their own surroundings, the attempts to educate and modernize them, force them to adopt new practices of life, learn new languages and adopt a value system which is not their own. Sometimes, this is done with good intentions but the result is disastrous since this is done not through the process of natural assimilation but yoking together things which are naturally different.

In Australia, Canada and the United States, one practice which has only been recognized as discriminatory and damaging in the second half of the 20th century is the forced removal of Native / Aboriginal Children from their homes. In Australia, the practice focused on mixed race Aboriginal children, who were forcibly taken from their parents and given to adoptive white families. These children usually grew up without the knowledge that they were in fact partly Aboriginal. Today they have been named as the “Stolen Generation”.

In United States and Canada Native children were sent to the notorious residential schools, which persisted well into the latter part of the 20th

century. Language, religion and cultural beliefs were often the objects of ridicule. Speaking native words was forbidden and often earned physical punishment to force a stubborn Indian child to learn to speak good English. Contact with parents and family was often discouraged, or even disallowed. In the worst examples, to discourage run-away, children were told their parents had died, that there was no home to return to; or vice-versa, to discourage visits of the parents; families were informed that their children had died. To justify such practices, it was said that they were doing so in the “best interests” of the Indian / Aboriginal child, to improve her chances in the modern world.

The same practices are being continued in almost all countries with indigenous population. The first casualty is the language; Prohibition of mother tongue is the first step towards forced assimilation of the indigenous people with the so called mainstream society. Even if it happens the indigenous people are not treated with equality. They remain servants to carry out the tasks given to them by the colonizers. In India religion has played a major role in the cultural transformation of the indigenous peoples. The Brahminical Hindu practices are impressed on the aboriginals. Fundamental Hindu organization under the patronage of rightwing political party have been trying to dissuade the indigenous people from their pagan faith and practices.

The cultural practices, art, dance, song and music of the indigenous peoples have been used for show casing to attract commercial interests of the elite. The state as well as the private NGOs use the cultural practices of the indigenous people to fulfill their interests. They commodify the cultural forms and knowledge of the indigenous people and use them to their own advantage. In many other parts of the world several indigenous people suffered similar forced assimilation through prohibition of their language, religion and cultural ways of expression, and the denial of the existence of whole peoples in public life of a state. This process normally happens gradually and unnoticed by the public. The democratic governments have tried to form laws and policies to protect and conserve the culture of the indigenous people but the bureaucratic channels and implementing agencies lack the sensitivity required to execute them seriously.

Non-Dominance

Indigenous people are not in power in modern national states. Though these nations have democratic form of government, the ruling classes are reluctant to give requires space to the indigenous people. For example in The United States of America two Indian Tribes have seats in the state legislature but without voting rights. (US Parliamentary Library, Research Note 51). In Australia the number of aborigines enrolled to vote is unknown. In India though separate seats for indigenous people have been reserved in proportion to their population in different states, but the elections take place on party lines. The representatives of indigenous people are members of political parties. For them the policy of the party, the decisions of its leadership and the priorities laid down by it are more important. There is no pan-Indian party or organization of the indigenous peoples to represent their interests. In the main stream political parties, the leaders of the indigenous peoples have the position of junior partners. Whatever little protest or struggle is carried on, it is by organizations which are not the wings of political parties. This has resulted in imbalances in the regional development as well as suppression of the movements of indigenous peoples by the state power.

International Indifference

Indigenous peoples the world over have been given the nomenclature of the “Fourth World”. It is a world that is scattered among all the nations of the first, second and the third world. The indigenous peoples have been victims of invasions, conquests and genocide. They are striving for their rights. Their problems were not addressed as a concern of the international community until 1970s. In 1982, the UN established a Working Group on Indigenous Populations (WGIP). Although the United Nations has announced two decades 1995-2004 and 2005-2014 as the International decades of the World’s Indigenous Peoples, yet it is difficult to say that the issues have been properly addressed. In the year 2008 the United Nations made a ritual celebration of International Day of the World’s Indigenous peoples on 8th of August since 9th was Saturday which is a holiday. No programme was organized by the UN agency in

India it was not observed by the Government of India or any of the state Governments. This shows the callous indifference of the ruling classes at the national international levels towards the indigenous peoples.

Democracy and Indigenous Peoples

Having discussed the state of Indigenous Peoples of the world today residing in a number of countries which call themselves democracies, India being the biggest among them, it becomes pertinent to take up some theoretical issues about democracy.

Democracy is defined as a form of government in which power is held by people under a free electoral system. It is derived from Greek *Dimokratia* which means "Popular Government". It is coined from *Demos* meaning "People" and *Kratos* meaning rule, strength. There are two principles that any Principle of democracy includes. The first principles as that all members of the society have equal access to power and the second that all members enjoy universally recognized freedoms and liberties.

A lot of debate has taken place about the varying meanings of democracy over the last two centuries. Benjamin Barber goes on to say, "Democracy is the debate about what democracy is" (Barber 355).

Historically the development of democracy has been closely associated with market economy. They exist in an antagonistic symbiosis since the close association between democracy and market capitalism conceals a paradox; a market capitalist economy inevitably generates inequality in the political resources to which different citizen should have the same access. Thus a market capitalist economy seriously impairs political equality, citizens who are economically unequal, are unlikely to be politically equal. In a country with market capitalist economy, it appears, full political equality is impossible to achieve.

A non market economy can exist where the resources are scarce and economic decisions are far and obvious. But in a more complex society, to avoid economic chaos and to provide at least a moderate standard of living, a sustainable for coordination and control provided by market is necessary.

In the case of Indigenous Peoples if the responsibility of the coordination and control is left with the market, they would be totally robbed of their resources. This has been observed in mining sector, forest-related industry and game-sanctuaries. Without government intervention a market capitalist economy inevitably inflicts serious danger on a good section of people. Economic actors motivated by self interest have little interest or incentive for bringing public welfare into account. On the contrary, they may have powerful incentives for ignoring the good of others if by doing so they themselves stand to gain. Conscience is easily quieted by the seductive justification for inflicting damages on others. The capitalist democracy is proved to such action by the elite who dominate the decision making processes.

The Indigenous Peoples across the world are hunter-gatherers, marginal farmers and landless labourers. They are a part of the Proletariat, defined in Manifesto of the Communist party as, "By Proletariat is meant the class of modern wage labours who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live" (Marx and Engels 35).

The indigenous peoples today strive for their identity as a class of people across national boundaries. This is what is said in the Manifesto, "The working men have no country. . . the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation. . .".

Thus the political philosophy that assures scope of solidarity of the Indigenous Peoples as a class is the philosophy enshrined in socialist democracy. With central control over the economic system, this philosophy promises polyarchal democracy where in lies the scope of greater autonomy for the indigenous peoples. Though, the threats of bureaucracy itself becoming a burden have been experience at the party and governmental levels in socialist democracies yet with certain checks through empowerment of people, the indigenous people may attain justice.

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Color and Design Similarities in Tribal Wearing

(With Special Reference to North East and Central India)

Priya Kothari

In Indian history, Tribals have a palace and an identity of tribal is different from all other groups. A tribal is a social group of humans connected by a shared system of values and organized for mutual care, defense, and survival beyond that which could be attained by a lone individual or family. They have been segregated from the main current of civilization. The tribes characteristically are isolates. They have been living in forests and hills. Their habitation areas are found in pockets. The frontier tribes, such as those residing in Mizoram, Nagaland, Arunachal and parts of Assam have problems which are largely political and diplomatic. Their problems have sensitized the whole country. The tribal groups living in the heart land of the country have problems of illiteracy, backwardness and poverty. Their exploitation is colossal.¹ This separation has denied them the facilities of civilized society and by and large, tribals have remained unaffected by globalization. It has really been noticed that tribal's colors and design have had a great impact on modern fashion. Tribal cloth tradition has long heritage. Tribal made clothes have their importance or place since ancient period. There are number of similarities which can be found in the tribal's of Indian tribal's attire as for example: the color analysis of clothes and the natural method to produce them prevailed in all tribal groups. Mostly they use natural sources like kaladora, shaibagar, dabu print, harda, kasula, harsigar, tarmaric, etc. in dyeing. Even in printing also natural method are used like Lal titri, patashi blue print etc. It is interesting to note that despite the differences in tribal's clothes, these are also irate similarity

Tribal art as from the name itself you understand that this type of design is handed down from generation to generation. Its inspiration is the Flora and Fauna of Nature and its characteristics are flowing and rhythmic lines, intricate and decorative shapes. Traditional designs (inclosing of Tribal design) of India can be further classified into Paisley, Ogee, Grapevine, Centre Line, Butis, Jaal, and Borders. Even the colors used are the Earth Based Color, which are also called Ethnic colors like Yellow ochre, BurntSienna, Black, Sap green, Vandyke Brown, Brick Red, Raw Sienna and so on. Due to the influence of modern day trends you might sometimes find contemporary colors like Fuschia, Cerulean Blue especially in textiles. These traditional forms of design always give a Rich, Harmonious and soothing feeling.²

Tribal's Wearing in North East

The North-East happens to be one of the most diverse and culturally vibrant regions of India. It comprises the seven beautiful states more popularly called the “Seven Sisters”, inhabited by as many as 166 different tribes pursuing their unique lifestyles.

Arunachal Pradesh: Men in Arunachal Pradesh believe in simple dressing styles. Their wardrobe mainly consists of lungis woven in red and black yarn, a jacket and a turban. Arunachali women wear a piece of cloth that covers the body from the shoulders till the knees. They complement the wrap with a full-sleeved coat and an attractive sash, locally called muhkak, tied around their waist.

Meghalaya: The Khasi and Garo tribes of Meghalaya are the most prominent tribes of the state. A Khasi man can be identified by his unstitched lower garment or a dhoti, jacket and a turban. Khasi women wear a two-piece cloth pinned on each shoulder and a shawl, which are called jainsem and tapmoh respectively. Garo women on the other hand wear a blouse and tie a long unstitched piece of cloth called dakmanda around their waist. It is hand-woven, having a 6-10 inch border with floral motifs. A Jaintia woman dresses up in a similar manner in a blouse and a striped sarong called thoh khyrwang.

Mizoram: Traditional costumes in Mizoram are exclusively hand-made by the women of the household. Mizo men wear a piece of cloth, almost 7 feet long, which is wrapped around the body. In winter, men wear a long white coat that is fastened at the throat and reaches up to the thighs. These coats have beautiful patterns near the sleeves with bands of red and white. Men also don a special kind of headgear – wrapping a piece of cloth around the head so that the ends fall over each ear. Mizo women wear a single piece of cloth wrapped around the waist and reaching up to the knees. A short white jacket with hand-woven patterns on top completes the look of the costume.

Manipur: Manipuri women traditionally wear a blouse and a three-piece hand-woven phanek, which very closely resembles a wrap-around skirt. Men usually wear a single piece of cloth almost like a lungi. A turban is a must for the Manipuri man.

Nagaland: The Nagas are classified into sixteen tribes speaking different dialects, customs and traditional costumes. Among the men, the costume mainly consists of a short wrap-around skirt and a feathered headdress. Naga women have different styles of wearing a skirt, called mekhla, which vary with the respective tribes. For example, the women of the tribe wear a piece of cloth wrapped around their waists like a skirt with a hand-woven top or blouse. In some cases, just a single piece of cloth is used to wrap the body starting from the bosom and reaching up to the knees. The pattern mainly consists of red and black stripes with small yellow motifs on the black stripes.

Tripura: The tribals of Tripura make their own clothes at home. Men wear a narrow piece of cloth as a lower garment without a shirt. The headgear comprises a turban - just a long cloth tied around the head. Women wear two separate pieces of cloth that are draped around the body as an upper and lower garment respectively. The most striking feature of the entire garment is the upper half, which is embroidered with beautiful designs.

Tribal's of Center India

The Santhals of West Bengal, Bihar and parts of Orissa are basically cultivators by occupation. Santhal outfits are again minimal where men wear a lungi whereas women wear a short sari without a blouse, but worn to fit their bodies snugly, without getting undone even in the most trying of circumstances.

Men's Wearing in Tribal Culture

In India, men's everyday clothing is by and large restricted to western wear such as trousers, shirts and formal suits. But when it comes to festivities, it is the ethnic pajama kurta or dhoti kurta which hold sway. Some traditional costumes of Indian men are: Dhoti: This remains the most traditional garment of the Indian male. It is a 6 yard-long rectangular piece of unstitched white cloth, which is wrapped around the waist and between the legs. The dhoti is ideal for the torrid summer of India. Its usage can be traced back to ancient times. Though western outfits have replaced the dhoti over the years, yet it remains the chosen one for Indian festivals and weddings. It may be found in cream or off white shades, both in cotton and silk fabrics. But today one can find designer dhotis in different colours and designs. A dhoti can be worn in a variety of ways and have different names according to the style. For example, it is called a dhuti in Bengali, veshti in Tamil and pancha in Telugu. A dhoti is usually complemented with a kurta on top but in southern parts of India, it is worn mostly with a shirt. An angavastram or an unstitched piece of cloth is placed over the left shoulder in this case. A South Indian dhoti is worn like a lungi and often has a broad zari border. A common sight in South India is that of men folding the dhoti up to the knees for the purpose of comfort, during work.

In Bengal, a dhuti is worn pleated, almost touching the ankles and tucked at the centre back. The style is such that the other end is well folded and can be held in the right hand. The garment is quite synonymous with the babus of Calcutta who worked as government servants during the British Raj. Those days the dhoti was worn with a long shirt. It also became the symbol of the Bengali gentleman and the elite who wore a

plain dhoti kurta and discussed politics and literature over endless cups of tea at cafes and restaurants! Even today, Bengali men flaunt their exclusive designer dhutis with brilliant kantha stitched kurtas, during festivals and other occasions. Kurtas with batik prints and Lucknawi embroidery are becoming popular too. In some parts of Maharashtra, men still wear the traditional dhoti, which is worn shorter than the way Bengalis wear it. A white kurta and a Nehru cap completes the look of the typical Maharashtrian man.

Lungi: This is a piece of cloth sewn in a circle and worn around the waist like a sarong. Besides India, lungis are popular in several communities across Asia, such as Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The most common patterns of lungis are plain, checks or stripes. It is considered to be a very comfortable garment among males in regions where conditions make it impossible and uncomfortable for the men to wear trousers all the time. In Punjab, a lungi is also called a tehmat, which is made of extravagant silks in an endless variety of hues and shades. It is draped in a manner where the pleats fall in the front. Punjabi men wear this with a long kurta and an embroidered jacket and of course, colourful pagdi (turban). The main tribes of Rajasthan are the Bhils and the meenas that were the original inhabitants of the area now called Rajasthan. The tribes share common traits, which seem to link their past together but it is the differences in their costumes and jewellery, fair and festivals that set them apart from one another.

Women's Wearing in Tribal's

Ghaghra / Lehenga Choli: A *ghagra* or a *lehenga* is a long gathered gypsy skirt with dazzling embroidery or mirror work and comes in vibrant colours. It is worn with a *choli*, which is a short closely fitted woman's blouse that shows off the midriff, or a *kurti* (shorter version of a *kurta*). Some *cholis* can be fastened at the back by means of narrow strips of cloth or chords. An *odhni* or a *dupatta* (scarf) with intricate designs complements the outfit. Women in Rajasthan and Gujarat don this beautiful and highly sensuous outfit. Dressier versions are teamed with chunky silver jewellery during festivals and other important occasions.³

Bhils Dress Patterns

Bhils are considered the third largest and most widely distributed tribal group in India. They are divided into central or 'pure' Bhils, and the eastern or part—Rajput Bhils. The eastern Bhils reside in the mountains of central western India particularly in northern Gujarat, southern Rajasthan, and northern Maharashtra. The Bhils were great warriors and find mention in the legends like Mahabharata and Ramayana. 'Bhil' is derived from 'billee,' which means bow. The bow is a weapon of the tribe, and the men usually carry their bows and arrows with them. The Bhils believe in a number of superstitions and are largely 'outside the Hindu social system'. They mainly work as peasant farmers, field laborers, and village watchmen. Their language is Bhili, an Indo-Aryan language. Marriage is done within their own classes. Each village has a headman and he deals with disputes. The tribes also engage in dance, drama, festivals, and music. The Baneshwar fair is the main festival celebrated by the Bhils. During the festival, Bhils gather in groups for dancing and singing. They also celebrate the Holi Festival. Earlier aboriginals used grass for garments, now replaced with mill cloth in certain colours, symbols or patterns rooted in past traditions. Orthodox Dangi tradition is to wear as little as possible. Some believe that Bhagwan ordained that they should wear only a 'Langota', their traditional dress. The Langot has hanging ends in front and back adding a touch of grace to this simple garment. Earlier males wore Fentas or 'Pagris' but now they wear white 'Khadi' caps, and Langot or loincloth is replaced by dhoti and 'Dagalo' or half shirt with Kurta. Sometimes a jacket with pockets is worn but the coat is considered expensive.

When going out they wear a cap or Pagri, jacket, white sheet of cloth called 'Shel' on the body. The Sari girdle worn by women appears to be a remnant of the bark fibre girdle of ancient times. Women wear a 'Luguda' or small Sari (also spelt as saree) which is a large sheet covering the lower portion of the body from waist up to the knee, but it doesn't form a skirt.

The Bhils residing in southwestern Rajasthan are one of the oldest tribes in India. The dry and arid weather of the region have very much

influenced the clothing habits of this region. Men are usually comfortable in a loincloth and embroidered waistcoats coupled with turbans and traditional Rajasthani shoes, curled up at the toes. Bhil women wear a single stretch of cloth that is tucked around the waist while the rest is used to cover the head. Wearing a blouse among bhils is a status symbol and only married women are expected to wear one. A variety of jewellery ranging from beaded chokers, colourful bangles, nose-rings and an ornament suspended from the hair to the forehead, is an essential part of a Bhil women's dress. The main tribes of Rajasthan are the Bhils and the Minas that were the original inhabitants of the area now called Rajasthan. But they were forced into the Aravalli Range by the Aryan invasion. Smaller tribes include the Sahariyas, Garasias and the Gaduliya lohars. The tribes share common traits, which seem to link their past together but it is the differences in their costumes and jewellery, fair and festivals that set them apart from one another.

The Most Common Designs Used among Tribals

Tribal's is a rustic form of design rural sector. The style is very innocent, straight, simple, and spontaneous and mostly in line works in a single color. They generally practice this for decorating their homes and it is a style of creative work coming on from their forefathers.⁴ Even in the three dimensional work like small sculptures figures etc. the same characteristics can be found. It may also be called "Tribal" art. Bastar, Bankura, Mithila, Madhubani, Worli, etc. have now become famous worldwide for this style of art. Design in itself has many appearances through which it is recognized, and which helps in creating an ambience or mood. This appearance can be characterized as "Tribal" or "Traditional", Geometrical, Abstract, Naturalistic or Photographic and Folk, depending on the requirement and the ambience that "Tribal's Design "has to create. It takes on the particular characteristic. These characteristics can be found in the design of anything and everything- Textile, Jewellery, Building, Shoes, Apparels, Mounments, and EST. To further add to the ambience or mood, the element of "color" is added to complete the effect.

The most Commend Colours Used in Tribal

The colors for the tribal's prints are prepared from natural dyes. The prints are essentially in two colors - Red and Black. The base color of natural prints is off- white. Initially, natural dyes like madder, indigo; pomegranate rind, turmeric etc. were being used as coloring agents.

For the past seventy years, Alizarin has been introduced in place of madder (manzeet). Natural indigo has been replaced by Synthetic indigo. The main natural colors are prepared in the following ways by the printers themselves:

1. BLACK (Natural)

Worn-out iron horse-shoes or camel-shoes are soaked in water (fermented) (example 10 litres of water for 10 kg of horseshoe) to which molasses (gud) is added [1kg for 10 litres of water]. This mixture is kept aside for 15 days. The process is carried on in a matka or a separate cement tank specially made for this purpose. After fifteen days the water is decanted and is used as the black pigment.

2. RED (Natural)

First, a gum paste solution in water is kept overnight and then sieved through a cotton cloth. Hundred grams of phitakari (boiled in water) is then mixed in the gum solution. When this color is applied on the fabric with the help of blocks it appears brown in color, but after it is put in the (bhatti) furnace the color changes to red.

3. MAROON (Natural)

In order to get this color, red and black colors are mixed in the ratio of 3:1 respectively i.e. 75% red and 25% black. The source materials for natural dyes are not only plentiful but also harmless and non-pollutant. The water from these dye baths is usually recycled to irrigate vegetable garden of peas, wheat, and other green vegetables and grains.

Conclusion

Tribal Textiles collection includes an exciting selection of traditional and contemporary designs including geometric, floral, and organic influenced

ranges. Tribal Textiles designs will transform any interior and outdoor living. Tribal Art is a selection of unique and individually designed art pieces. Every Tribal Art item is a "one off", with color ways specifically chosen for the piece. An exclusive range named 'Tribal Art' - bringing the heart & soul of tribal textiles artwork together - to create breathtaking art pieces for any environment. There seems to be a journey from modern to tribal in a more meaningful and new way.

We have found in our study that there are great similarities in the color patterns and designs among tribal's ranging from central India to north east India, Also observable is the fact that natural colors are mostly used in their productions and their dresses display natural world in all its all its vibrancy and variety. Hence, it would be safe to conclude that in the midst of great diversity found in tribal's dresses, color and design seem to be unifying factors.

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Mystic Minstrels of Bengal- The Bāuls Looking for Spiritual Grooming in Globalized Village

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Society comprises various kinds of people—people in group, clan, community, country etc. It means network of inter-human complex relationships. As such inevitable diversion leads to assortment in every aspect— language, religion, beliefs, climate, colour, thinking process, societal norms and many more. Human life in polylogic and pluralistic culture, as such, develops complex thinking capacity in its periphery. In the same society due to different circumstantial factors and incongruity already ingrained on the social structures, diversification is a common phenomenon. As such pervading “otherness” on the layers of social strata based on some of the existing hegemony of strictures, leads to the origin of parallel schools of thoughts in the society—“Other” of “others”. Often outbursts of these rebellious streams of realization lead to either complete metamorphosis of the ongoing systems of idealism, hybrid of thoughts or birth of a completely new school of thought. Bāuls, in the medieval Bengal, came into being primarily because of the vehement cultural wars and intellectual repression of certain disdained sects, although highly influenced by the existing off-beat schools of beliefs like Sahajiyā, Tāntric Buddhism, Vaishnavism, and Sufi-ism. However rapid conversion to this newly born –ism builds fecund internal field to ply and ponder for this internally triggered mass. Bāuls are a vagabond, mendicant, but iconoclastic folk sect of Bengal. They are spread over different districts of greater Bengal (West Bengal and Bānglādesh) —Birbhum, Mālda, Bānkura, Midnāpur in West Bengal and Kushtiā, Meherpur, Chaudāgnā, Pābnā, Jessore, Faridpur, Jhenoidah in Bānglādesh. A clan of mystic minstrels, Bāuls is the

homeless madcap, a sampradāy (group) who ideally live on alms and lead a mobile life. They live a distinct way of life committed to an esoteric religious cult in the social and cultural context of Bengal (Ray 1994). Bāuls are known to the common people through their enigmatic, lively and bewitching songs that are the index of their yearning heart in constant search for *moner manush* (Dearest person of the heart). Their thoughtful songs framed in simple lyrics emanate authentic essence of mysticism, philanthropic philosophy and many a times symbolic expressions that reflect their esoteric practices. *Ādi kavi* Chandidās encapsulates the essence of his feelings when he sings, “*Ghar kainu bāhir/ Bāhir kainu ghar/ Par kainu āpon/ Āpon kainu par*” (I have made the world my niche/ And my home the world,/ I have made ‘others’ my own people,/ And my own people as ‘others’). Raj Krishna Khyāpā, an eminent Bāul singer, mocks the world divided in castes and sects. He says, “*Yābat uchcha nich bichār/ Kara tābat bhrānti tomār/ Tattva jnāne sab ekākār. . .*” (So long as you judge people in terms of high and low, you are deluded; all are the same to one who knows reality).

There is a stipulated philosophy defined by the Bāuls to reach the ultimate destination- a union with the ‘*moner mānush*’— the inner ‘self’ (*ātman*). Their pursuit is much beyond the generic perception of attaining *moksha* or eternal emancipation; much ahead of reason and reasoning; right or wrong; carnal and platonic realm of eternity. Bāul philosophy is invariably designed for self introspection- a pursuit for higher understanding of the “self”; the quest of “self” exploration. This thought process leads them to defy any existing established document of beliefs, not to spare even the powerful text like Vedas. The veteran Bāul Guru (preceptor/master) of 18th and 19th century Lālon Shāhi conspicuously projects this idea when he sings: “*Kār bā āmi, ke bā āmār, / Prāpta-bastu thik nāhi tār/ Baidik meghe ghor andhakār/Uday hoy nā dinamoni.*” (Whose am I, who is my own, / there’s no way to defined goal/ Vedic cloud is impenetrably dark/ Lover of the destitute can’t rise here). Bāul *sāadhanā* (worship or religious practices) is epitomized for the relentless search for *moner mānush*, where *moner mānush* is not any specified individual or human figure, rather a state

of realization. Upendranāth Bhattāchārya in *Bānglār Bāul o Bāul Gān* has elaborately explained the significance of the word ‘*mānush*’. He says that the justification of stating ‘*mānush*’ as ‘*ātman*’ or ‘*ātman*’ as the synonym of ‘*mānush*’ lies in the ingrained belief that ‘*mānush*’ is the manifestation ‘*ātman*’ that is felt only when one transcends to the highest state of *sādhanā* (340). As such ‘*ātman*’ is the personification of human ‘self’ according to the Bāuls. ‘*Sahaja mānush*’, ‘*Ālekh mānush*’, ‘*Rasher mānush*’ are some of the adjectives used by some of the Bāul lyricists while talking about ‘*moner mānush*’ (Chakrabarti 25). The relationship between the *paramātmān* (Supreme) and the Bāul is in actuality the manifestation of *prema* (love) and union between its human state and the “divine” residing in the physical “self” (Dāsgupta 175-76, 185-86).

The path of mysticism leads to *mukti* or liberation— liberation of consciousness from all worldly affairs. However, the ultimate destination of the Bāuls—the mystics, is not blind renunciation, but the terrain of *moner mānush* since it is *moner mānush* that leads them ultimately to eternal union with the Supreme. The very word *mānush* calls for in-depth semantic interpretations for clear understanding since the usage and connotations of ‘*mānush*’ in the 17th and 18th century Bengali literature has raised obvious inquisitiveness among the researchers. However, meaning of the word ‘*mānush*’ has not been bereft of the hint of religious influence in the earlier texts of the then Bengali literature. As such ‘*mānush*’ contains the spirit of secular humanism developed in the religious mould during those days, and till date carries similar interpretation in Bāul texts. ‘*Mānush*’ or ‘*moner mānush*’ is the epitome of transcendental thought process of Bāul-ism—the highest state of realization. Chandidās valorizes ‘*mānush*’ or state of ‘*moner mānush*’ and sings, “*Mānush mānush shobāi boloye/ mānush kemon jon. / Mānush roton mānush jeebon/ Mānush porān dhon. . / Mānush jārā jiyonte morāl/ Shei she mānush shār* ” (You all talk about *mānush*/ But who is he/ *Mānush* is a gem, *mānush* is life/ *Mānush* is treasure of the heart./ Those who are *mānush*, live being dead/ This is the true essence of *mānush*.) (Bose, Jaydev-Vidyāpati- Chandidās

Padābali Samagra 658). Longing for *moner mānush* actually develops from *manqué* or “lack” in Jacques Lacan’s words. The initial incompleteness due to social castration drives a Bāul desperately towards fulfillment, that is, realization of *moner mānush*.

Both from the textual and contextual evidences it appears that the Bāuls are very much unconventional in their social and religious behaviour, and prefer to live independently. Their philosophy defies structured religions or canons, and questions the fundamental pillars of orthodox religious aspects of Islam and Hinduism mainly. Human beings differentiated on the basis of caste and beliefs, torment a Bāul. Lālon Shāhi or Lālon Shāi sings, “*Lālon bole jāter ki roop, dekhlanā ei nojore*” (Lālon says I failed to see how caste looks like). Rabindranath Tagore in *Religion of Man* discovers the gamut of Bāul philosophy- its musical cultures and life style that embraces universal aspect of human religion. He vividly delineates the aesthetic expression of the people through music and poetry too, “. . .What struck me in this simple song was a religious expression that was neither grossly concrete, full of crude details, nor metaphysical in its rarefied transcendentalism. . . It spoke of an intense yearning of the heart for the Divine which is in Man and not in the temple, or scriptures, in images and symbols” (110). Jahan (one Bāul), when asked about their apathy towards caste and religion by Sudhir Chakrabarti, bursts out his words of protests through a song- “*Bāmun bole bhinno jāti/ Srishti ki koren prakriti? / Tobe keno jātir bojjāti koro ekhon bhāi. . .Bedānte āche kothāy āmarā dekhi nāi.*” (Brahmins claim themselves to be different caste/ Are they not created by *prakriti* (women/nature)? / Then O brother, why are you doing mischief in the name of caste? / . . .we have never evinced these in Vedānta). According to them human beings can not be differentiated based on castes or confined to a particular human-made social boundaries. Bāuls are like free flowing stream that carry in its gust of emotions and realizations attained by the self, and not governed by any external enforcement. Chandidās sings as such, “*Shobār upore mānush satya, tāhār upore nāi*” (Human is the ultimate truth, and nothing else above them).

Etymologically the word 'Bāul' resonates with the Sanskrit word 'Vāyu', 'or 'Bāyu' in Bāngla that means air. (Tagore 2005). The word 'Bāul', some say, is a synonym of the word 'Byakula' or over anxious, and 'Ākul', which denotes one who is over anxione. However Dāsgupta feels that the word 'Bāul' can be derived in three ways. It can be derived from the Sanskrit word *Vātula* which means 'infected with wind disease', or from Sanskrit *Vyākula* which means irresistible or over anxious, or it can be a term derived from Arabic word *Auliya* which means friend or devotee (83-84). The Bāuls being associated with Islam in some ways, etymologically there is no reason to ignore this possibility. Sanskrit 'V' becomes 'B' in eastern part of Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa, and thus the Sanskrit intervocalic constant is often dissolved.

Side by side with the commonly known theological speculations and religious practices there emerged a parallel stream of philosophy that defied structured strictures and religions. There has been flowing torrent of important undercurrents of mystic symbolism in India which not only searched truth for its own sake but also yearned to live it in their social behaviours as can be seen in Sahajiyā movements. Kshitimohan Sen tries to portray that the roots of this cult lie in the Vedas and Upanishads (Sen 6). The fact is that this form of rural expressions is a process of reconstruction of one's own legends, irrespective of caste, creed and colour or of whether one is a Hindu or a Muslim, *Ādivāsi* or an animist. As Rabindranath Tagore, a great lover of Bāuls and their songs, says, this is the common heritage of the Hindus and the Muslims alike. Here one does not hurt another. The outer frame of the language may be rude and rustic, but it touches the inner springs of the human heart. Here meets minds irrespective of caste and creed. He says, "It is possible that their own contempt for temples had its own origin in the denial of admittance therein to their low class brethren."(190)

Bāul as an independent cult has been influenced by great many faiths and series of cults like Buddhist Tantricism, Brahmanic Tanticism, Vaishnava- Sahajiyā and Sufi-ism. Researchers and great scholars like Bhattāchārya (1364 B. S), Dāsgupta (1962), Dimock (1966), Mahāpātra (1972) and Chakrabortee (1980) have illustrated and exhaustively

elaborated in the form of textual analysis in their respective books. Dimock comments, ". . .the Bāuls are fitting hybrids, the Vaishnava, Sahajiyā, and Sufi strains yield beauty, sympathy, and strength. From the Vaishnavas, and from the Sufis, come the Bāul vision of the warmth and humanness and love of God. From the Sahajiyās come their convection of His compelling immediacy" (Dimock 189). In *Obscure Religious Cults*, Shashibhushan Bhattācharya while describing their religious philosophy, depicts one of the important features of Bāuls that those who have come from Hindu background were highly influenced by Vaishnavism and those of Islam brought with them many Sufi characteristics, although their ultimate goal remains the same- "mystic conception of divine love". By defying established faiths and religions; society and social strictures; this sect defines their own identity. This is why he says that in general they are identified as ". . . somewhat strange people, peculiar in their customs, habits and practices."(160-63)

Social and circumstantial factors are one of the biggest reasons for the emergence of Bāul philosophy and cult that developed simultaneously along with the mainstream religions and faiths in Bengal. Large number of lower caste Hindus and Muslims got fragmented and torn apart from the main stream of faith due to heinous persecution, social torture, insecurity, humiliation and made-up discrepancies in the name of caste. As such outbreak of inevitable uprising movement gave birth to Bāul-ism which embraced humanity, thus expanding its periphery. Initiation to Bāul-ism becomes a popular phenomenon in the Medieval Bengal. Advent of such humanistic school of thought becomes non-conformist sect, much disliked by the mainstream followers of both Islam and Hinduism. They have been vehemently criticized and denounced for their esoteric practices which were considered nasty and perverted by the then *Shariyati* Muslims and upper caste Hindus. However, Upendranath Bhattācharya in *Bānglār Bāul o Bāul Gān* nullifies this allegation against them. Instead he criticizes researchers those who either misconstrue depth of their philosophy or simply come to an apparently logical conclusion without much of field work. For this, he does not even spare veteran scholar like Kshitimohan Sen. (53, 59, 82,

and 84). Mounting social pressure and irresistible powerful feelings develop in them an urge for absolute emancipation. This directly determines their basic personality type and practices that eventually lead them to build a safer cocoon built by esoteric practices.

From the historical point of view, this particular form of *Sādhanā* (practice) and the growth of folk literature associated with it may be traced to the Buddhist-Tantrik age of the 10th and 11th centuries particularly in the *Natha* and *Sahajiyā* cults, and then it emerges into the pre-Chaitanya and post-Chaitanya Vaishnava *Sādhanā* (Wilson 1841). One of the Bāuls says, “Our religion has been established on the regular Human-truth. As such, *Bāuliyā* is as old as human existence”. However, the sect makes its appearance in literary records, by the fifteenth century, as is evident from the use of the term in Shah Muhammad Sagir’s *Yusuf Zulekha*, Mālādhār Basu’s *Sri Krishnavijaya*, Bahram Khan’s *Laila-Majnu*, and Krishnadas Kaviraj’s *Srichaitanyacharitamrita*. In his monumental works on Bāuls, Upendranath Battacharya in *Bānglar Bāul o Bāul Gān* states that the trace of this very word ‘Bāul’ is evinced many a time in Bāngla literature especially during the Middle Age in Krishnadas’s *Chaitanyacharitam*. He confirms further that we get the first reference to this word in Mālādhār Basu’s *Sri Krishnavijaya* (Triumph of Lord Krishna) - *Mukul māt̄hār chul nyanta jeno Bāul*, (1). Later there has been a mixture with Sufi thought. Regarding the origins of the sect, one recent theory suggests that Bāuls are the descendants of a branch of Sufism called *ba’al*. The influence of the great poets and mystics Rumi and Rabia on Pirs and Fakirs of Islamic origin on Bāul philosophy is well-known. The cult of the Bāuls and their ‘*Prakriti Sādhanā*’ has been congenial to all as wandering poets. Sri Chaitanya is called *Mahabāul* in *Sri Krishnavijaya*. According to the early official sources Bāuls have been classified as one of the sub-sets of *Vaishnavism*. However this further develops certain degree of confusion due to the contradiction of claims between one another (Openshaw 20).

It is interesting to note that Bāuls were not the sole sect or *upadharma* (sub-religion) in the then Bengal. There were similar and parallel

movements that eventually developed into independent sects like Nerā, Darbesh, Shāi, Āul, Sahajiyā, Radhashyami, Sādhvinipanthi, Rāmshadhaniyā, Dadupanthi, Senpanthi, Kartābhajā, Rāmballabhi, Gobrāi, Pāgolnāthi, Bindudhāri, Nāgā, Bairāgi, Khojā, Fakirdāshi, Churādhāri, Kabirpanthi, Mukuldāshi, Yogi and many more. But according to Upendranāth Bhattachāryā these sects could never attain the state of ‘*Sampradāy*’ except Bāul. Akshay Kumar Datta however categorizes these as *sampradāy* in his book *Bhārat Barshiya Upāshak Sampradāy* published in the nineteenth century.

The Bāuls believe, “*Jā āche brahmānde tā āche dehabhānde*”, i.e., one that is present in the universe, is also present in the human body (Ray 1994). The Bāuls contemplate on their own body and explore to realize their ultimate goal of life, union with the *moner manush*. Human body is the principal medium of their esoteric *Sādhanā* (religious practices). Their body is the place of worship where they perform all the sacred and secret ritualistic acts like *sexo-yogic* practice or *domer kāj*, *bindu sādhanā* or *Char Chandrer Sādhanā* etc. These rites are much similar to the practices performed as rites by the Buddhist Sahajiyās. Shashibushan Dāsgupta writes, “. . . The Buddhist Sahajiyās conceived *Sahaaja* (natural) as *Mahā-Sukha* (great pleasure) which is the unity of the duality represented by man and woman as *Upāya* and *Prajnā*.” (Dāsgupta 189). This attainment of *Mahā-Sukha* is essentially through *sexo-yogic* practices much like the way Bāuls pursue for *Moner Mānush*. According to them, it is the body that confines in itself the entire universe and it is a futile effort to look for the *Moner Mānush* all around like a vagabond. They are immersed in the ocean of love for the *Moner Mānush*. Chidam Das Bāul of Kotasur says when in love, “. . . Bāul forgets all the formal paraphernalia of social life. And that is why he appears to be mad-adverse to the worldly affairs. When the love for *Moner Manush* becomes intense the feelings of all worldly affairs are lost and the body reaches the state the *Jiyante Morā/Jyante Morā* (virtual death while the body is still alive).” *Jyante Morā* is the transcendental state of *Sādhanā*, much like *Fila Fana* concept of Sufism, i.e., union with the Divine. Purna Dās Bāul says, “. . . The Bāuls are

those who use the method of inhaling and exhaling air, *i.e.*, breath control in the course of their *Sāadhanā*.” Again Mahapātra in his book *The Folk Cults of Bengal*, said, “. . .the believers of the Bāul cult, who practice the rites to realize the Divine Being within the human body, are called Bāul (27). The Bāuls frame songs based on the *bhāva* (gust of emotions) generated from esoteric practices primarily performed with the body, like *sexo-yogic sadhanā*.

In *Religion of Man* Tagore resonates with the philosophically enriched words of mystic poet Kabir, who says, “In this body is the garden of paradise; herein are comprised the seven seas and the myriad stars; here is the Creator manifest.” (101). Bāuls echo many of these philosophical tenets of the prominent leaders of the Bhakti movement that swayed almost all over India in the Medieval Age who shared similar thought on *Deha-tattva*. They have considered human body as the epitome of divine platform, “. . .the temple of God- the microcosm in which the cosmic abode of the all-pervading Supreme Being is represented.” (Tagore 190). Islam has greatly influenced Bāul philosophy like Hinduism (mostly Vaishnavism) and Sahajiyā or Tantrik Buddhism. This is one of the reasons why Bāuls, consciously or unconsciously, frame lyrics of their songs rich in these philosophies although simple in terms of expression. According to the Sufi order human body plays a pivotal role in attaining the state of perfection- *Insānu'l Kamil* or the Perfect Man “as a microcosm of a higher order reflects not only the powers of nature but also the divine powers as in a mirror” (Bhattachārya 339). In an interview with the Bāuls in Paush Mela in Shantiniketan on 23 December 2006, Hosen Shah, a Fakir, conveys through his song that human body in itself is an amazing factory-“*Ei mānob dehe āche ājob kārkhānā*”. Other than *deha-tattva*, *pāra-tattva* (pertaining to the Supreme Being), *Guru-tattva* (pertaining to the significance of the spiritual mentor-*Guru*) and *bhāva-tattva* (pertaining to the sublime sentiments of the spiritual experience) are the quintessential subject-matters of their philosophical discourse and music subsequently (Purna Dās Bāul 465).

Incessant pursuit for *moner mānush* in the realm of *bhāva*-steered plane of psyche does not really help them realize their dream to the fullest possible extent unless guided by a preceptor. In fact, the religions or schools of thought that pertain to *karma* (action) instead of solemnizing philosophy or *tattva* solely, depend to a great extent on the direct and indirect guidance of the preceptor. Here the preceptor is known as *Guru*, *Murshid*, *Pir* or *Kartā*. Bāuls have high regards for their *Guru* because he is the only person who is authorized to help them after their formal initiation; realize their ultimate goal-- attainment of *siddhi* (awakened soul) to reach the *moner mānush*. A *Guru* is not only a mentor but also an incarnation of divinity. Bhattachārya writes that they have two distinct ways of perception regarding the concept of *Guru*—*Mānav* or human *Guru* and *Paramātmā* or spiritual *Guru*. Their music reflects these two forms quite distinctly. Unless there lies genuine regards and respect for human *Guru* divine love remains unattainable. Nonetheless human *Guru* is the representative of God or spiritual *Guru*. (303-4). The status of *Guru* is, as such, considered to be the highest among the Bāuls. According to the Bāuls ‘*Gu*’ means darkness and ‘*ru*’ means light. So a *Guru* is the person who leads his pupil from darkness of ignorance to the land of light—knowledge. Utterly surprised Bhattachārya states that the degree of *Guru* reverence, as exhibited by the Bāuls, is indeed difficult to observe in any other sect or clan, at least in Bengal. To elaborate this further Michel Foucault’s *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction, Volume-1* may be referred. He points out here that the truth about sexuality pervading in the cultures of East, that is, Rome, China, Japan, India and Arabic-Muslim world, does emphasize sex as an object of knowledge like that of West, and no doubt it is an art of performance. He says *ars erotica* (“erotic art”) of the East is much different from *scientia sexualis* (science of sexuality) of the West. The knowledge passed on by the *ars erotica* is knowledge of sensual pleasure and the truth it contains is the truth about pleasure itself: how pleasure can be experienced, intensified or maximized. A mystique and secrecy evolves around this knowledge, and it can only be passed from an experienced master to an initiated novice. There is

no question of what pleasures are permitted and what are forbidden: it is only a question of the pleasures themselves. The secrecy of *ars erotica* is closely tied to its sacredness, its esteemed value. The secrets of *scientia sexualis* however are not because they are valuable but because they are shameful. *Ars erotica* in Bāuls, definitely highlights the degree of importance one carries as a *Guru* who transfers his knowledge of sexuality to his *shishya*-s (initiated disciple) with utmost secrecy that emanates the true essence of their value system and here in lies one of the strongest reasons of *Guru* dependence in Bāul culture.

During my conversation with Kārtik Dās Bāul, he passionately admits that a *Guru* is a mentor in true sense and the spiritual guiding force in the life of his *shishya* or pupil through out his life. *Guru* helps his *Sādhaka* awaken the *Kundalini*-s retained in the five *Chakra*-s (according to the Bāuls) in human body. . . *Sahasrara*, *Ājnā*, *Manipura*, *Vishuddha* and *Mulādhāra*. Much like the ‘*kāya*’-*tattva* of Tantrik Buddhism or ‘*Chakra*’-*tattva* of Hinduism, Sufi-ism also stresses upon certain stages that are *Makām* (plane or situations) and *Hāl* (states or conditions) (Bhattachārya 339). A *Guru* successfully undergoes all the stages of the prescribed *Sāadhanā* – *Sthula*, *Prabartak*, *Sādhaka* and *Siddhi*, very competently. Hence realizing their *moner mānush* through these precarious and grueling sessions of *Sāadhanā*, ultimately transforms one to an able *Guru*. The entire process of *Sāadhanā* remains incomplete without the equal participation of a Bāul’s *Sādhan Sangini* or female consort. *Sādhan Sangini* must take part in the sexo-yogic activities or *Rati Sāadhanā* without being flown away by the gust of carnal passion. A *Guru* guides one the minute details of the art of performing such activity- how to retain the *Guru bastu*, which is preceptor’s property or semen at a stretch for *Āthāro danda nishā* (7 hours 12 minutes). Mānas Rāy in *Bāuls of Birbhum*, writes, “The whole *Sāadhanā* is supposed to be complete by applying four techniques, namely, *Darshana* or *Nehār* (inner observation), *Sparshana* (touching), *Mardana* (rubbing) and *Sthambhana* (retention). (22) It is the *Guru* who ultimately determines his *Sādhaka*’s competency and declares his success or failure in the entire process of his *Sāadhanā*. However the ultimate *Guru* is no one

other than the *Nirākār Bramha*, the eternal Supreme. However, regarding the details of these practices Upendranāth Bhattachārya comes out with certain variations in terms of ritualistic details and the names used in different stages of *Rati Sāadhanā* (415).

Bāuls have *ghars* (literally, house/lineage) or guru-traditions. These *ghars* are named after the principal Bāul gurus, Lālon Shāhi, Panju Shāhi, Delbar Shāhi and Panchu Shāhi. A special section of the Bāuls is known as *Kartābhaja*. They follow Vaisnava traditions and are known as *sati māyer ghar*. These *ghars* or *gurudhāras* have some slight differences in devotional rites and music. In the Lālon Shāhi tradition, for example, there is a predominance of Sufistic and tantric beliefs and Sahajiyā rituals, while in the Panju Shāhi tradition, tantric beliefs and Sahajiyā practices are absent.

Chārichandra Sāadhanā or ‘Four Moon’ practices/ ritual is one of the most important esoteric practices of *Deha Sāadhanā*. ‘Four’, in many contexts, connotes completeness or fullness according to the spiritual interpretation. I would like to state here the code of terms used by the Bāuls in the *Chārichandra Sāadhanā* —*ras* (urine), *māti* (faeces), *rûp* (menstrual fluids), *rati* (*sexual fluid*). However there are many variations in name than in substance. The four moons are supposed to be the excretal wastes in common interpretation, but the practices of the moon involve re-assimilating these substances. That is, the *Sādhakās* consume these *Chārichandra* under the vigilance of the *Gurus* in the initial days that eventually become a regular practice of a true Bāul. They believe that human body is the epitome of sanctity. As such this is a process manifested in “violation of conventional concerns, and is not simply attributable to the commonly heard *bartamān-panthi* idea that there is nothing impure in the universe (*prithibite nāpāk kichu nāi*)” (Openshaw 225). *Kshiti* (earth), *Apa* (water), *Tejah*(fire), *Marut*(air) and *Vyoma*(ether) are the five principal elements or *Panchabhuta* according to Hinduism. Bāuls consider faeces as *kshiti* or *māti*, urine as *apa* or *ras*, menstrual fluid as *tejah* or *rûp* and sexual fluid as *marut* or *rati*. Lālon Shāhi and Panju Shāhi call these terms as *Rāmāt*, *Nimāt*, *Anumāt* and *Nija* respectively (Bhattachārya 424).

It is difficult to classify Bāuls. Scholars like Wilson, Dutta, Bāsu, Dāsgupta or Sen have classified them in general as Hindu and Muslim Bāul group based on either Vaishnava or Sufi faith respectively. However, Mānas Rāy discovers from his field ‘investigation’ that Bāuls are basically categorized as *Kodeā* or *Māluidhāri* and *Kistidhāri*. The nature of the sacred pots they carry determines the names of the group. The section of Bāuls who carry *mālui* (hollow coconut-shell which is oval in shape) are called *māluidhāri* Bāuls and while the *Kistidhāri* Bāuls carry a *Kisti* (hollow coconut-shell which is elongated in shape). Life style of both the groups is almost similar except certain rituals and rites. Bāuls are mostly illiterates and come from the lower castes of society. According to some other viewpoint, there are two classes of Bāuls: ascetic Bāuls or *Sanyāsi* Bāuls who reject family life and live a life of renunciation; and Bāuls who live with their families or those who are *Grhi* Bāuls. Ascetic Bāuls renounce family life and society and survive on alms. They have no fixed dwelling place, but move from one *Ākhadā* to another. Bāuls always cover themselves from head to toe and believe in growing hair. They carry a *jhola* or shoulder bag for alms. Those who choose family life live with their wives, children and relations usually in a secluded part of a village not mixing with other members of the community. Unlike ascetic Bāuls, their rituals are less strict. Those who fail to attain *Siddhi* in the process of their *Sādhanā* prefer to leave their *Guru’s ashram* and eventually settle their life with their respective partners or *Sādhan Sangini*. Rāy points out “So the failure requires an ‘accessible platform’ for their economic and social security. As they find it virtually impossible to gain recognition from their natal society, they present themselves as *Grhi* Bāuls (household Bāuls).”(27).

Bāuls are known for their bewitching music that surpasses the boundary of physical territory or any defined social or lingual zone. Bāul songs have captivated thousand souls across the border and have meaningfully established a niche that is being explored and experimented further by the present day musicians and musicologists. Decades back Bob Dylan, a renowned rock star of the 60s, not only appreciated Bāul Samrāt Purna Dās Bāul but also worked with him developing unforgettable Bāul fusion music eventually. These days the numbers of researchers

and experimenters are many more in terms of exploring Bāul music beyond the horizon of cultural territory. Other than Purna Dās Bāul, initiated Bāuls like Paban Dās Bāul, Kārtik Dās Bāul, Pārvathy Bāul etc are relentlessly putting in creative efforts to revive the dying heritage of folk music, no wonder they are working along with the professional bands of experimenters on folk or Bāul music especially.

Humanist in belief and act, Bāuls, vent their agony, protest, sorrow and yearning for the ultimate truth- union with the *moner mānush*, through the simple and vivid lyrics and tunes of their *Mātir Gān* (song of the soil). Bāul songs are elegiac in tone, reflecting the pain of deprivation or longing. They are inspired by the idea that the human body is the seat of all truths and by the search for a guru or *moner mānush*. Every song may be interpreted in terms of both human divine love, as the lower stream and the upper stream respectively.

Bāul songs form an important genre of folk song and are believed to date back the fifteenth century. These songs simple in theme and words often emanate an enigmatic flavour through sporadic philosophical metaphors and metonymies. Baul songs are usually of two kinds: *dainya* and *prabarta*. These are also known as *rāga dainya* and *rāga prabarta*. These *rāgas* are not *rāgas* of classical music but of *bhajans* (devotional songs). Bāul songs are inspired by Vaishnavism, with the songs expressing love or longing for the divine. This sentiment is especially noticeable in *rāga dainya*. Famous Bāul singers and poets include Lalon Shah, Nityanath, Panju Shah, Siraj Shah and Duddu Shah as stated earlier. They were not only the proponents of Bāul philosophy, but also the initiators of philosophically enriched music of their clan-Bāul music.

Bāul songs may be sung at *akhadās* or in the open air. Bāul songs at open-air functions are sung at a high pitch, to the accompaniment of instruments such as the *ektārā*, *dugdugi*, *khamak*, *dholak*, *sarinda*, and *dotārā*. Baul songs are mostly based in *Rāga Bhairavi*. The common beats or *Tāl* are *dādra*, *keherva*, *jhumur*, *ektāl* or *jhānpāl*. The singers dance as they sing with the *ektārā*, *dotārā* or other musical instruments.

Bul songs sung in the *akhda* are not accompanied by dancing. Bāuls may present songs singly or in groups. Sometimes there is only one main presenter; others join the performer for a chorus or *dhuya*. At *akhadās*, songs are sung in the style of *hamd* (song in praise of God), *ghazal* or *nāt* (song in praise of the Prophet Muhammad), in a mellow voice and to a gentle beat.

Bāul songs generally have two tunes, one for the first part of the song and another for the second. Towards the end, part of the second stave is rendered again at a quick tempo. The first and middle staves are very important. The first stave is often called *dhuya*, *mukh* or *mahāda*. In songs with a fast tempo, the first stave is repeated after every second stave. Some songs have ascending and descending rhythms, while others are accompanied by dancing, believed to have originated from the rural *Pānchāli*.

Some Bāul songs have been influenced by the *Kirtan*, reflecting the *Vaishnava* influence, as well as by Sufism. Bāul songs are common to Bānglādesh and West Bengal, but differ somewhat in tune and theme. There is a strong influence of Sahajiya Vaisnavism in Baul songs from West Bengal, whereas in Bangladesh the influence of Sufi *ghazals* is stronger.

There are five *gharānās* of Bāul songs, devolving from the well-known exponents of this genre: Lālon Shāhi, Panju Shāhi, Delbar Shāhi, Ujal Shāhi and Panchu Shāhi. Although Bāul songs come mainly from the region of Kushtiā, singers of other regions bring in different influences particularly in tunes and style and lyrics. At times even the words vary.

Initially there were no fixed tunes for Bāul songs until Lālon's disciple, Maniruddin Fakir, and his disciple, Khoda Baksh, attempted to put these songs into a particular frame. Khoda Baksh's disciple, Amulya Shāh, was a reputed musicologist who set Bāul songs, especially Lālon songs, to music. These songs were developed by his disciples: Behāl Shāh, Shukchānd, Dāsi Fakirāni, Chandar Gauhar, Nimāi Shāh, Mahendra, Kanai Kshyapa and Moti Fakirāni. These were further developed in later years by Mahim Shāh, Khoda Baksh Shāh, Jhadu Shāh, Karim,

Bellā, Fakirchānd, Jomelā, Khorshed Fakir, Lāily and Yasin Shāh. Bāul and Lālon songs were modernised by the radio and television artiste, Moksed Ali Khān, whose disciple, Faridā Parveen, is now their foremost exponent in Bānglādesh. In West Bengal, Purna Dās Bāul, Prahallād Brahamachāri, Gosthagopāl Dās are some of the renowned Bāuls.

At times, Bāul songs reflect the influence of *Bhātiyāli* tunes. *Mājhi* (boatmen) also sing these songs while plying their boats in the rivers. Bāul songs are not confined to Bāuls, as non-Bāuls too have adopted them because of their profound universal themes.

Bāuls, mystic madcap, have been a source of magic inspiration for many since ages due to their unique life-style and the universal message of religious humanism. The practice of *gyante morā* (living dead in flesh and blood), is an enunciation of virulent energy and soul tinged in a unique shade in their songs. Though denounced by many for their vagabond life-style, especially for their sexual promiscuity, they are the role models of many non-Bāul singers. Debendranāth Tagore and Rabindranāth Tagore were highly moved by the tenets of the Bāul cult. Rabindranāth Tagore has been labeled "the Greatest of the Bāuls of Bengal." His songs and poetry are deeply influenced and indebted to *Bāuliya* and Bāul songs.

In a Bāul song, for example, the struggle between the Bāul's quest for self realization and the stumbling blocks posed by worldly desires is expressed through the analogy of the river- the river of life and spiritual success:

Bānka nadir pichhal ghātey
O pār hobi ki korey
Sethāy kām kumbhīr royechhey sadāi
(Bāp re bāp) sadāi hān korey

(How dare you cross this meandering river with your feet on its slippery bank, while the crocodile of desires looks forward eagerly to devour you?)

Their self introspection is in itself a profound philosophy preached through their songs “*Āponāre āpni chinine*” (I am yet to know myself) or “*Guru bole kāre pranām korbi mon?* (The master says whom to revere my soul).

Khānchar bhitor achin pākhi kemne āshe jāy
Āmi dhorte pārle mono bedi ditām pākhir pāye.

(How does the unknown caged bird comes and goes compels me to think. If I could trap the bird would have put it in the chain of soul). Here he talks about the ultimate truth- the inevitable phenomenon, Death and the unexplored self caught in the mesh of mundane activities.

Through their songs they seem to question themselves as well as the listeners on various issues:

Āmār moner mānush je re
Āmi kothāy pābo tāre?

(Where do I find my soul mate?)

Lālon has no memory of his birth or his ‘origin’ and remained absolutely silent about his past, fearing that he would be cast into class, caste or communal identities by a fragmented and hierarchical society. Despite the silence on his origins, the communal appropriation of this great politico-philosophical figure has created a controversy regarding whether he is ‘Muslim’ or a ‘Hindu’ — a ‘Sufi’ or a follower of ‘*bhakti*’ tradition — a ‘*bāul*’ or a ‘*fakir*’, etc. He is none, as his active efforts strove to go beyond all politics of identities. Lālon Fakir, searching for his identity, sings sarcastically,

Shob loke koy Lālon ki jāt shonshāre
Lālon bole jāter ki roop dekhāmna e nojore.

(Everybody in this world is curious to know my caste. But my vision fails to see the real picture of caste.)

He questions all caste conscious people, the doyens of society and culture,

“... *jāoā kimbā āshār belāy jāter chinha roy kāre?*” (When we leave this world do we really carry the traces of our caste?) Or

Sunnat nile hoy Musalmān
Nārir tobe ki hoy bidhān
Bāmon chini payte pramān
Bāmni chini ki prokāre

(If *sunnat* confirms one’s identity as Muslim, then what is in store for his female counterpart! If a *Brahmin* is known by his sacred thread, then how do I identify a *Brāhmani*?).

Even at seventy four, Purna Dās Bāul lives the life of a wanderer. In an interview to Pallavi Bhattāchārya, he said,

Gāri cholche ājob kole
Ei deho diye māti poripāti
Āgun jol ār hāwār kole.

(Our body is like a vehicle fuelled by water and wind. From dust we have come and after our travels are over we will return to dust)

However, Bāul practitioners (mostly non-Bāuls) in the present milieu tend to fuse and incorporate Bāul musical patterns in popular intercultural music, influenced by Western and Caribbean music. These days it is difficult to find any individual, sect or community, completely dedicated to the strict terms of Bāul music or Bāul tenets. Even the direct descendents of the Bāuls encourage intertextualisation and improvisation in the name of fusion music. Paban Dās Baul, Krishnendu Das *alias* Babukishan, the son of the living legend Purna Das Baul find fusion experiments ‘quite exciting’. Musical bands like *Bhoomi*, *Krosswindz*, *Nogor Bāul*, *Dohār*, *Oikyotān*, and *Kolkātā Bāul Band* experiment with different *gharānās* of Bengali folk-music, especially Bāul and Bhātiali. *Oikyotān* is a bāul-fusion band based in Chennai. *Bhoomi*, *Kolkātā Bāul Band*, *Dohār* and *Krosswindz* are based in Kolkata. *Nagar Bāul* and *Bānglā* are the famous Bāul bands of Bānglādesh. Bāngla bands use a wide variety of styles such as rock,

pop, hard rock, heavy metal, grunge, folk and fusion. Their music is influenced both by popular American and Caribbean music as well as traditional Bengali folk and devotional music such as *shyamāsangeet*, *kirtan*, *bhāṭiyāli* and *bāul*. *Mohiner Ghorāguli* is said to be the first popular musical band in Bengal (West Bengal and Bānglādes̄h). Like popular music in other regions, Bānglā bands are also very popular among Bengali young people. Some of the folk songs have been very popular among the Bengali youths of both Bānglādes̄h and West Bengal. “*Sundari Kamala*” by *Krosswindz*, “*Sohāg chānd badani dhani*” by Bhoomi, “*Āllah megh de pāni de*” by *Dohār*, “*Padmā nadi*” and “*Khānchār bhitor achin pākhi*” by *Kolkata Bāul band*, “*Lāl pāhārir deshe jā*”, *Shohāg chānd badani dhoni nacho to dekhi*”, “*Gāner tale hridoy dole*”, “*Moynā*” and many more in the list have indeed said to have revived Bengali folk music.

Stalwarts in folk music like Amar Paul, Dinendranāth Choudhury, Bishnupada Dās, Swapan Bāsu and others sing Bāul songs conforming to Bāul conventions, and sing without improvisation and random experiments like their counterparts of new musical bands. They, unlike the band singers, do not replace original lyrics or tunes. The performers of the band or troupes often compose songs with contemporary issues and day to day life as their dominant theme, but framed in the Bāul musical pattern. Sometimes they sing a Bāul song in its original form, accompanied by traditional instruments like *ektārā*, *dugdugi*, *khamak*, *dholak*, *sarindā*, and *dotārā* but record in a popular pop or rock music track with the use of Western instrument like string guitar, bass guitar, drum, octopad, synthesizer, and bongo also. ‘*Bhāl koirā bājān re dotorā*’ sung by Chandrāni Banerjee of *Krosswindz* is one of the popular examples of this kind.

These musical fusions—a product of tradition blended with contemporary music is gradually giving birth to a new *gharānā* or genre. The *gāyaki* of fusion music is much different from the original music in terms of the singing style, rhythm, beats, *laya* (tempo), accompanying instruments, stage presentation etc. These musical bands, known for experimenting

folk-music, have been strongly criticized for diluting and destroying the ‘folk’ flavour in the name of experimentation. Too much improvisation has been held responsible for destroying the song for some playful and irresponsible experiments. It is felt that they lack in the original *Bhava*, an essential quality for every musician that leads to the complete deformation of the musical text. The signification of fusion or intercultural music is thus much different from the traditional one. For example, while singing “*Bhāl koirā bājān re dotorā shundori kamalā nāche*” Chandrāni seems to be engrossed, like her other contemporary counterparts, in merely ‘singing’ the song, thereby failing to project the total experience of theme, context, and folk *gāyaki*. Her voice, at times, seems overshadowed by the ‘noise’ of the musical accompaniments. She completely fails to convey the original meaning and passion failing to create the environment for enjoying the folk experience. In the song words like ‘*Bhāl*’, ‘*bājān*’, ‘*shundori*’, ‘*kamalā*’, ‘*nāche*’ have been anglicized thereby baffling the new generation audience. But Vikramjeet Banerjee *alias* Tuki, the lead guitarist of *Krosswindz* admits while answering me some of the questions (during an interview), that although their improvisation is criticized by many, he thinks that “it has to be taken with a pinch of salt”.

Improvisation of this kind, believe the veterans, is leading towards an inevitable cultural decay. The total folk experience dies a premature death in the hands of these budding experimenters. Fusion music, rather Fusion-folk-Music is emerging as a new genre of Indian folk music. However it is too early to infer the actual status of this fusion music—Pop-folk-fusion or Fusion-pop-folk (?). Whatever the case might be the fact that this music carries in abundance varied elements borrowed from different cultures. Abundant use of musical elements—beats, tempo, tune, modulation etc from reggae, blues, country, jazz, Sufi, qawālī, folk-*sānthāl*, Bāul, Bhāngrā etc blending at random with each other has indeed posed a serious issue in defining the meaning of tradition. However this prolific change or modification of traditional music has raised the eye brows of connoisseurs and veteran musicians. They are against dilution, decontextualization and degradation of traditional music

with respect to every aspect of musicology in the name of postmodern fusion music. It is believed that folk music takes birth and develops best and gets transmitted by word of mouth in rural and sub-urban societies are untouched by commercialization, intercultural fusion and mass communication. Experiments by people who have no link with folk communities pose threat to the identity of traditional folk-music, for they fail to bring in its exact *bhāva* or emotion in their presentation. Mere imitation or shallow improvisation cannot enunciate the original *bhāva*.

Genre in music is a category that shares a certain style or basic musical language. In order to comprehend musical reality, identifying and examining genres become necessary. Ashok Rānāde says that against this background there might be five genres of Indian music- primitive, folk, devotional, art and popular as developed from the classical models of both India (Bhārata's *Nātyashāstra*) and West (Aristotelian, Neo-classical, Romantic-Symbolist models etc.). However this need not hold true concurrently and in equal proportions in all the societies and cultures. The ontology of folk-music depends on boundaries and regions, repertoires and canons created by the concept of genre which helps construct the identity of individual pieces. But it may also be categorized by non-musical criteria such as geographical origin, though a single geographical category will normally include a wide variety of sub-genres. Broadly, a music genre (or subgenre) could be defined by the techniques, the styles, the context and the themes (content, spirit) like art music, folk music and popular music. Although there are many sub-genres in music, it is possible to group them together into a number of overlapping major groupings like different types of *Bhātiāli* (one of the prominent genres of Bengali folk music) - *bichchedi* (elegiac), *nadikāthā* (narrative) etc. Classical, gospel, jazz, Latin American, blues, funk, rock, pop, reggae, hip hop, country music, melodic music, electronic music and many more are some of the prominent genres of world music under the broad category of art, folk and popular music.

Bāul as a clan as well as an independent musical identity is challenged by the needs of the present day world that is fragmented into narrow

and baffled –isms. It has become gradually difficult for the Bāul conformists to come into terms with the spiritual yearning of their heart as well as the lucrative offers that guarantee “identity” and “money” at the cost of so-called global experimentation. According to the strict conformists or veterans, these kinds of ventures are no doubt futile efforts- much like running after mirage in search of momentary pleasure. They are reluctant to consider music as a mere product in the cultural industry. Gour Khyapā, a veteran Bāul of Bolpur, discards this kind of fusion music as “chaos” and “cheating businesses”. There is as such a visible rift between the two poles of beliefs or practitioners, and ultimately it is time to declare the winner of the cultural duel in the global or globalized village. Globalized village in its ever changing garb conditions everything including ethnic music and philosophy. Bāul music or fearless Bāul philosophy is thus to take the test of time and confirm its place in the world of dynamism as it has been doing since centuries. Bhabā Pāglā in one of his songs challenges the concept of “existence”, “fear” and “uncertainty”. He confirms the ultimate “security” at the lotus feet of a *Guru*-

*O wandering heart
Take refuge at the feet of the Guru
Why do you fear
The vast and boundless ocean?*

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Challenge of Democracy for Subcultures

Hamid Nassaj

Introduction

Initial sentences of most philosophical and theoretical papers have got a monotonous and boring form: impossibility of defining the concepts of the humanities, so we obligingly begin our paper in same way. Concepts of the humanities are always controversial because of their essential dependency to human interpretations and reads. One of these controversial concepts is the term "democracy". This term, in spite of its use for thousands years, has not still comprehensively defined (Nansi & Harsij 12).

In this paper we consider word root of democracy as the basic accepted part of democracy defining. Basically democracy is a Greek term made by combining "demos" (people) and "krate" (governance), so democracy means governance by people (Ghaderi 49).

Tyranny of Majority

From the beginning of emergence of democracy as a concept, there was a real worry. For example, in spite of some different views, "Touquville" and "John Stewart Mill" believed that democracy results tyranny of majority because democracy which has the objective of equality seeking may lead to put people in the same level as a risk which could lead to totalitarianism in long terms. Touquville believes that democracy and totalitarianism are two different forms of tyranny and both reject the freedom in spite of their major differences. (Bobbio 66)

Touquville discusses about tyranny of majority in chapter 7 of the first part of "Democracy in America". In the same way John Stewart Mill discusses about tyranny of majority in the first pages of his book "On Liberty":

“In time, however, a democratic republic came to occupy a large portion of the earth’s surface, and made itself felt as one of the most powerful members of the community of nations;. . . It was now perceived that such phrases as ‘self-government’, and ‘the power of the people over themselves’, do not express the true state of the case. The ‘people’ who exercise the power are not always the same people with those over whom it is exercise; and the ‘self-government’ spoken of is not the government of each by himself, but of each by all the rest. The will of the people, moreover, practically means the will of the most numerous or the most active part of the people; the majority, or those who succeed in making themselves accepted as the majority” (Mill 7-8).

Up to here Mill points to a public issue and concern which we can say it is still remains. But his concern is the issue of individual liberty which is also the subject of his book. So he reduces democracy as a public issue to individual liberty: “The limitation, therefore, of the power of government over individuals loses none of importance when the holders of power are regularly accountable to the community, that is, to the strongest party therein” (Mill 8).

And here tyranny of majority against individual rights appears from this: “. . .and in political speculation ‘the tyranny of the majority’ is now generally included among the evils against which society requires to be on its guard.”

Mill then compares personal tyranny with social tyranny: “Society can and does execute its own mandates: and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kind of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself.”

All of his sentences can show his concern about individual liberty. Consider this phrase for instance: “There is a limit to legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence: and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is indispensable to

a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism” (Mill 8).

The heritage and attempts of John Stewart Mill and other liberalists, led to construct the liberal-democracy model. Nowadays this model is still the common form of democracy. In the late of the last century, the extent and the speed of democratic transition, reached to the point that Fukuyama announced” the end of history”. He called this kind of democracy the final point of human evaluation. While it seems that liberal democracy is in a long continuous rout and has encountered by a lot of criticism from communitarians, republicans, feminists, and elitists (Carter and Stokes 17).

Almost in most of new studies, democracy is based two major bases: first the “governance of majority” and second: “preservation of individual liberty”. While respecting majority interests, all of democracy theories are defenders of basic human rights and the rights of minority groups. Among basic rights which should be preserved by a democratic government, we can notify expression, religion and belief liberties, and the right of owning equal legal support and the perfect participation in social life (Yousefi 24).

The governance of majority is a device for organizing the state and decision making on public issues, and not a means of oppression and injustice. Even in a democracy, no majority group could ignore the basic rights and liberties of a person or a minor group.

Minor groups, whether they are ethnic, religious, economic or geographical minorities, or losers of election campaigns, have some basic guaranteed rights and no person or group in majority could ignore them. Minorities should be assured that the government preserves their rights and identity. When they reach to this point, they can participate in democratic association of their countries and can be effective in them. We knew that free societies, only can reach to settlement between governance of majority on one hand and the rights of minorities on the other hand, through democratic process of tolerance and dialogue (Yousefi 27).

Resolving the tyranny and dominance has always been one of the major challenges of human kind. (Nansi and Harsij 12) So it is natural that the issue of liberty is the major concern of many scholars. When consider the defects of democracy, in fact they look from this view. The major concern of discussing about tyranny of majority is preservation of liberty. But in this paper our question is not about liberty but is protecting cultural diversity. Here the question is that: can liberal democracy lead to cultural pluralism as it claims?

Liberal Democracy

It's clear that the suggested solutions about the relation of liberty and democracy can't solve our problem. Maybe it supposes that for presentation of cultural diversity we should have a liberal democracy, but it seems that liberal democracy sometimes can destroy the cultural diversity.

It's a major task for liberal democratic societies to preserve minority's rights in maintaining cultural identity, social customs, individual internal feelings and religious activities. Maybe it seems that we just need freedom in society for doing so. Some people have this assumption that people have a choice as to whether to identify with or assimilate into the dominant culture or not (Ferguson 83).

If we want talk more accurate and accordant with facts, we should say people have the right to abstaining from dominant identity and have the right to preserve their culture. In this way we can reach to our favorite "cultural pluralism" in society. But maybe people don't select this right at all. We can imagine three cases:

1. It is possible that a believer of a special subculture or language accepts another one to be preferable and tends toward it. In fact he/she ignores its right consciously and make its choice freely.
2. Second case is when he/she doesn't accept another culture as the preferable one but tends toward it for some other reasons like access to better financial or job situations. In fact he/she ignore its right consciously but doesn't make its choice freely and somehow were obliged to do so.

3. Third manner is when he/she is alienated by dominance of powerful culture and melts away with it without thinking enough. In fact he/she doesn't use its rights and there is not any choice here at all.

All tree cases had happened in liberal democracy societies. In this paper we emphasize on the second and third ones.

When we talk about preserving of minorities rights in democracy, immediately remember traditional arguments of tyranny of majority and preserving of minorities rights by governments. But this is not the theme of this paper.

Stewart mill was worry about violation of minority's rights by majorities but now we must worry about ignoring rights of minorities by themselves.

I believe that democracy can enforce the second and third cases. In fact emphasizing on majority verdict -even without tyranny of majority-, would destroy cultural plurality. This could be happening by two interdependent ways:

1) Functional Effect of Democracy

Let's suppose that we live in an undemocratic or a totalitarian democratic society and we are belonging to a minority group in that society.

Naturally when the dominant power wants to omit the culture or the role of minority group, this group will resist. Minority groups always insist hard on their culture and customs and try to make alive their ancient traditions. On the other hand, when in a democratic society, the rights of minorities be respectful, a sense of trust and social security will prevail in society and among minority groups. In these circumstances, most of minorities activities for maintaining their belonging cultures and customs will be reduces by number and by the effectiveness.

In fact, because of not be dominated by majority and because of relative political/economical equality among majority and minority groups, there will be no impulse for minorities to preserve their belonging culture. This is what happening in Kurdish region in Iraq. During the Saddam

governance, Kurds lived in north of Iraq were so bias to their own language and culture but we hear that through years after overthrowing Saddam, the trend of Kurds to preserve their culture is reduced. Now in their colleges, there are courses of English language and speaking English as an international and dominant language gets more important.

2) Effects of Internal Logic of Democracy

Democratic style of governance has a central core and an internal logic which is political equality of humans. In fact the maxim of democracy is: "Every one owns one vote." all of elites, uneducated people or intellectuals have a vote for expressing their beliefs, opinions and doing participation in political events. This process homogenizes events and naturally relies on majority for conducting the society.

On the other hand, human beings naturally tend to power and like to see themselves among dominant group. This natural desire, pull them toward the dominant culture, in fact in a society in which the criterion is the view of majority, minorities gradually would prefer the majority culture over the minority one. In addition it is clear that matching with the majority could leads to numerous financial and economical advantages. Rational choice implicate that you prefer these economical, political and social advantages to your own subculture. This group of people tend to the second case and will ignore their right consciously. My own observations in Iran showed both effects. Most of cities in Iran and even some villages have their own accents and customs which are not now teaching by some mothers to their children. These women have a very simple reason for this and say that they don't want the accent of their children be an obstacle in way of their progress. There is no legal obstacle for speaking accents of Persian language which is the official language of the country. Furthermore the Iran's national media is promoting them and some of official research institutes have recorded these accents and have published some special dictionaries involved them. But in spite of all these official supports, these accents have a major fault: they are minorities' accents. So it is natural that they must be omitted in a society based on majority's verdict.

Multiculturalism

The second half of 20th century coincided by a major crisis in western democracy which was result of increasing demands in order to respect to cultural differences. As a result, so many principles which were traditionally used as the base of political decision makings were questioned seriously. One part of these arguments had been result of increasing suspicion toward western values and their world wide uses. Multiculturalists believed that liberal theory has not a suitable understanding of discussed subject. They believe that their demands for being recognized is based on this fact that cultural identities are related to apparent values in their lifestyles and should not be ignored by the dominant culture which is often the western liberal culture (Beheshti 21). As "Sebastian Poulter" points out : "nowadays characteristics of minorities are not depend on the black skins of their members but depend on their religious customs and value systems which are so much different from majority of whites" (Poulters 3).

Currently, by influence of multiculturalists, some attempts have begun in order to review the cultural approach to ethics and minorities. It seems that these attempts are being done under influence of "Pierre Bourdieu", the French sociologist, who in his advanced theories has used some aspects of classical conception of culture in anthropology.

How we can establish governance without tyranny in order to solve the issue of cultural differences? Paying serious attention to basic visions of anthropology which believe that all human behaviors are social-based and members of a society – which are defined as a special cultural group- define themselves by learning the culture (means accepting all the behavior paradigms) and this leads to mention the concept of "cultural citizenship". "Aldair McIntyre", "Charles Taylor", "Michael Walzer" and "Michael Sandel" who are among multiculturalists and communitarians, and some of liberal thinkers like "John Rawls", "Joseph Raz" and "Will Kymlicka" has attempted to relate liberalism and multiculturalism (Beheshti 36).

Fortunately, discussions of communitarians have not been useless and we now see that democracies paying more attention to demands of ethnic groups and subcultures. But this paper looks for a more delicate point. Here we discuss about the effect of democracy on removing ethnic minorities' cultures by themselves; a topic to which communitarianism seldom has paid attention. This group mainly has considered ignorance of multicultural demands by liberals.

Multiethnic Democracies

In the new era after failure of models like the boiling pot which were about migrants and ethnic minorities, the multiculturalism issues developed. Some countries have attempted to use ethnic democracy models. Maybe it says that this kind of democracy can resolve concerns about removing of subcultures but I don't believe it. First of all let's take a look at this model of democracy. Multiethnic democracy is a political system in which several ethnic-religious-cultural groups have contributed in power and participate in decision making. Four main features of this kind of democracy are:

1. participation of main ethnic groups in decision making process
2. Owning internal autonomy by groups
3. Power distribution according to weight of each group
4. Veto power for minority groups

Participation of representative of ethnic groups in governance and especially in political decision making can take different forms. One of the most common ways of establishing a government is coalition making which had some examples in parliament democracies like Belgium and Switzerland which also include membership of representative of ethnic groups. In governance system of Lebanon, the top political positions are distributed among ethnic groups. President is one of the Maronite Catholic, prime minister is one of Sunni Muslims and the chief of parliaments is one of Shi'ite Muslims.

In some countries, if ethnic groups are inhabited in special geographical areas, the central government takes them internal authority for internal

decision makings. For example, majority of French spoken people who are gathered in the state of Quebec have authority in the frame of a federal system and this is also true for Kurds in north of Iraq after Saddam.

In some countries which have a Proportional representation system, ethnic groups reach to power automatically and relatively. In some other countries which have minority representation system, a special number of parliament chairs are devoted to minorities. For instance in Iran, a number of parliament chairs is devoted to ethnic minorities (Bashiriye 432-3).

Although these democracies, preserve minority rights better than other models but are not enough yet:

1. Our major concern in this paper was about subcultures and probable omission of them. In this model, the major emphasis is on the power and sharing it while our issue is a cultural one. Getting weak is a common possibility for cultures of subcultures which later would lead closing more and more to the culture of majority; while these subcultures could have an apparent role in the society.
2. Each minority group has its own sub sectors. Typically these sub sectors melt away with more comprehensive ones and the mentioned problem is happened by minorities themselves. In other words minor subcultures are melting with major subcultures.
3. As we observed, liberty maybe lead to destroy the culture of a subculture and sharing in power can intensify this process because of insensitivity of subcultures towards their own belonging cultures.
4. After reducing cultural sensitivities, because of political motives, minorities sometimes begin to attract new members from the majority group which can undermine cultural issues more than before because it needs ignoring some of believes or traditions.
5. The most important point in this model is using culture as a means of reaching power. Politicalization and becoming a means are the most important element which could make a culture empty inside.

After several generations, there would be no originality remained in that special culture except some signs and symbols which would be important for attracting the votes and would be used without considering their meanings.

In fact this model has solved the problem of participating in power of major ethnics but it has done nothing about subcultures and maintaining the cultural pluralism.

Democracy and Cultural Diversity

“Isaiah Berlin” differentiates between positive and negative freedom. Negative freedom, in his belief, was a kind of freedom from those obstacles which constrained every people but the positive freedom was a kind of freedom for accessing objectives and goals. For defining the negative freedom Berlin wrote: “typically it is said that human is free until others don’t interfere in his activities. In this sense, political freedom includes an area in which the person can do whatever he/she likes and other couldn’t stop his/her actions. But the second concept of freedom is answer of this question: “why/who is the origin of controlling or supervising which can obliges people to do in this or that way? In many societies your freedom wouldn’t be restricted at the surface but in reality you have not a suitable ground for reaching your goals”(Berlin 237).

Considering this major difference it seems that we have two kinds of preserving minorities right: sometimes rights of these minorities are respected as negative freedoms. All the reforms in democracy consider this meaning of freedom and try to free ethnic minorities from tyranny of majority and participate them in politics. But it seems there is no suitable ground for preserving subculture and democracy is one of the factors affecting in ignoring minorities rights.

In all forms of democracy, the emphasis is more and less on the majority verdict and in this context there is no choice except undermining ethnic minorities’ cultures (Davidheld).

Intellectuals Democracy

Putting emphasis on intellectual and cultural democracy is the only solution which remained. This is a kind of democracy in which every person of society insists on preserving cultural customs of subcultures. Our attempts, in this type of democracy, should be related to induct self-esteem sense. You should persuade minorities/ subcultures to honor their customs and teach them to their children. This valuable heritage would die without teaching it to new generations. We should convey this heritage to our children by honor.

On the other hand the intellectuals in each society must induce their Country’s leaders to believe that cultural hegemony is mortal and wouldn’t lead to a desired result. It’s necessary for each society to have cultural pluralism. There are some reasons:

Each culture, even tiny subcultures, is the result of human being’s thinking and a group of people have produced it by hard attempts so it is worth preserving.

We can never say that the majority is the only criterion of correctness and it is possible that some of contemptible subcultures could show fantastic solutions for contemporary and future humanity problems.

On the other hand, the difference between the dominated majority culture and minority culture is not just because of usefulness of the first one. During one thousand years of medieval ages, the Greek heritage of democracy was put away but it was the origin of considerable changes in modern era. Also eastern faiths like Islam, Confucius, and Buddha were considered, underdeveloped, useless or imaginative in last decades/centuries.

But nowadays we are seeing them in progress in western world.

It’s possible that these subcultures which we contempt then now, would be guides to human progress in future.

Pascal Zachary in his book “the global me” suggests a novel idea about the importance of cultural diversity. He believes that cultural diversity would be the sign of well-being of nations in the new century. There

are more than 5000 ethnic groups and more than 600 live languages around the world. We typically suppose that monocultural societies are preferable because having fewer challenges. Although it's true that monoculture societies have fewer challenges but lead to a society without enough energy or dynamisms. But if there is a public social cooperation, multicultural societies would have a considerable national power. Ethnical and cultural pluralism and diversity could lead to invention and homogeneity could lead to depression and static manners. Variety could resolve isolation and could promote innovations. It could feed the souls of humans and could lead to economic growth and increase national power.

Before this, some of critics of democracy especially Marxists have looked at this issue by a special point of view. For example "Herbert Marcuse" had criticized the drowning of cultural traditions of low level classes and ethnic/regional minorities in a "packaged" culture which is produced by mass media. But the concern of these thinkers focuses of western capitalism (David Held 7). Marcuse in "one dimensional man" criticize over consuming and constraining the aspects of human existence to only one aspect.

But here we are not going to criticize global imperialism or capitalism and we are just concern about undermining the subcultures. The important point here is that we have considered some special issues. For instance in societies like Indonesia or Nigeria in which there are a lot of inequities among ethnic groups, they also have accompanied by religious differences which even have led to some bloody fights. In this paper these fights are not our topic. In these environments, the struggle between majorities and minorities is dependent upon the political power and subcultures have some political fights and probably people would

See for example "Models of Democracy" by David Held; in spite of all differences between models of democracy from ancient Greek till now all of them are finally based on majority verdict. Although in some models there are attempts to restrict majority by liberty or laws.

mobilized by the name of minorities and so the minorities will resist. In these cases although the fighting and killing others are not accepted but typically subcultures will maintain their cultures. But if these kinds of societies get to democracy and its rules, cultural sensitivities of minorities would be reduced and the process of undermining subcultures will begin. This is the major concern in this paper.

Finally I want to finish my paper by reminding Anna Ferguson's advice: "I confirm this moral claim that each person weather dependent to dominant culture or being dominated has a duty to combat against racism even if it is his/her favorite (Ferguson 84). Racism and ethnocentrism are heterogeneous by preserving cultural pluralism. Racists and ethnocentrists confirm racial hatred.

Conclusion

This paper only considers situation of ethnics in democratic societies in which there is no tyranny of majority and ethnic and cultural minorities have the right of liberty. In these societies, due to affects of democracy, minorities tend to melting with dominant culture.

Subcultures which stop resisting dominant culture have a certain confidence because of democracy and freedom. We call this effect of democracy as "functional effect". On the other hand, democracy has a homogenizing nature and its governance in each society would lead to dominate majority verdict. In this society, minorities are tending to assimilate themselves by the majority. Nobody wants to place in a small and powerless group. This effect called "internal logic effect" of democracy. The only remained way is emphasizing on intellectual democracy in which the governor and people are informed about the necessity of preserving cultural diversity as a common and great humanity heritage. The future of the world will be for countries which will be plural as much as possible because the pluralism would lead to innovation and knowledge while homogeneity and being monotonous will lead to depression and static manners.

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Paradigms of Biodiversity in Tribal Art: Behavioral changes

Ranjan Upadhyaya

Introduction

In early period the painting was based on the original creativity and mindset of the artisans and the painters. The tribal folk and their ways of standard of living were commonly highlighted. The inner feelings and thoughts were the source of inspiration of creating the new waves in enriching the biodiversity thought their paintings. The echoing facts brought many ethereal environments together to bind them the submergence of the new style of professing the creativity and lure of innovation of arts and its different facets. The chipping of birds, sunrise or peacock dancing depicted in the common features of the tribal arts and their painting in the olden age. The enhancing plethora was amazing by the hands of tribal because they not only saved the basic requirements of the usage of the arts but also kept the environment exceptionally well under their control by humus and the essence of the biodiversity with different types of painting with flora and fauna.

The need of study was the basic behavioral aspects of these tribes related with their ways of understanding of the God-gifted vegetations. In the arts and in paintings it was exceptionally well-decorated and ornamented with nature and available natural colours. The, market was not open according to the customers needs but it was tilled by the tribal mindset and the synergy of grapevine enriched by these old age tribal arts and paintings.

Each old treasure of art and paintings has it's enrich heritage of human feelings mounted on the plethora of biodiversity. The edging of mindset was highly appreciated by different religious because all the natural

divines like Sun, Moon, and Rain was worshiped as God and treated as the precious and respectable secret treasures in day-to-day life. The human being dignity, feelings, ethics, nature, in behavioral science was well balanced in almost in all the paintings of Picasso, great work of tattoos in Tribal art history, Mohan- Jo-daro, Ajanta Ellora, Sanchi etc. The common practice was applied on the basic available materials and available opportunities without any interference or any sort of saturation. The arts and paintings in each society was treated at par and excellencies of different kingdom felt the greatness with uniqueness and exotic style of its presentation and human touch with closeness to the natural beauty in almost all the paintings.

Slowly the saturation started taking its shape form Stone Age to Industrial period. From natural creativity, innovation to down sizing of the product and market gimmicks stopped the creative path of paradigms of the Tribal arts. The most important part of the change was the overall down improving of behavioral management in Tribal arts and behavior aspects.

Problem of the Study

To study the tribal behavior and behavioral management through art and biodiversity.

New Scope

The latent complexities in the modern art opened new doors of the arts and paintings related with Hiroshima. Today we find that the cloning has started. Cloning is the negative aspects of the second facets of the modern paintings. The replica of the tribal art in scientific scenario represents the sense of cloning in two dimensions. It also narrow down of behavioral aspects, which it starts, getting moment in escaping the artisan touch of the modern arts, abandoned the subjectiveness of the biodiversity.

Factors Downsizing the Behavioral Management

These are factors, which are facilitating the downsizing of the behavioral aspects in paradigms of the biodiversity in tribal arts are as follows:

- Opening up of the market.
- Customizations of the market according to the customers needs.
- Perishing of biodiversity
- Urbanization
- Deforestation
- Short run for success by the artesian
- Saturation in Human being, ethics, inner feelings of new generation painters
- Volcano eruption in the natural treasures of God gifted piece of earth.
- Man made destructions etc.

Consequence of Loss of Biodiversity

- i) Social factors
- ii) Economical factors
- iii) Environmental issues
- iv) Pollution
- v) Patent laws etc.

Behavioral Aspects Depicted through Biodiversity

i) See, Perceive and Create with Historical Prospective

The Tribal artists were firstly observing the surrounding environments just like richest flora and faunas. On this they understood through their intuitive sense, which they perceive in the different paintings and in kinds of nature because all the respective nature was related to the scientific enquires in that scenario. Till that dates no scientific proof was not there. The science was developing later on.

Where the Biodiversity was at that Time is a Big Question?

But we get biodiversity (flora and faunas) in Akbar, Jahangir periods because they adored, loved to rich nature and their closeness. They brought different kinds of flora and faunas in our countries from Iran,

Magnolia and Persia. They brought palm-garnets of different kinds in our countries and planted them in Fathepur Sikiri and in Mughal garden in Kashmir.

All above examples it is well shown in the different paintings in Indian art History.

ii) Behavioral Aspects of Biodiversity

In early period the biodiversity was reflected in many styles of paintings just like in, Mohan- Jo-daro, Ajanta, Jain, Rajasthani, Mughal etc. In olden age human feelings touch was the aesthetics in art and in behavior aspects. After the Mughal period, political economical changes, patronage system failed and the saturation started taking up in behavioral aspects of Biodiversity through the painting and in parallel to this Tribal art was affected.

Edging in Tribal Art in Modern Scenario

A good piece of exemplary work is rare at present in Tribal art. The ethos of the good piece of paintings and the look of the required importance of the biodiversity based on structure of the modern concept from the new age painters are lacking the basic skills.

The lure to adore new paintings from the common people and their interest too is killing the present scenario in art.

Best example we find in Tonk & Swai Madhopur (Rajasthan), in context of the behavior changes in Meena Tribal community in their different patterns of paintings on walls and floor in rural and magri areas (Little earthy mountains).

Conclusion

According to the present scenario biodiversity reflects different dimension in understanding the behavioral management of the common ethics of the today's artist. So we conclude that the today the message for the new generation, budding artists and everyone is that the sage of the biodiversity is the real need of present scenario. The common crime is committed by all the people, by all the state and by all the nations is

that without understanding natural aftermath of the biodiversity is the deforestation.

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Tribal Women in Mahashveta Devi's Works – 'A Plight for Identification'

Sarita Jain

Mahashveta Devi a Bengali writer has written over a hundred books which include novels, collection of short stories and journalistic writings. Her stories and novel exhibit multi-faceted themes such as women exploitation, Tribal exploitation, non-tribal other backward castes exploitation pains of decolonization from the perspective of the indigenous tribes who inhabit the lowest level of India's strictly demarcated caste society.

The tribal communities occupy a vital position in Indian society. Tribe is a name given to the aboriginal. These tribes are chiefly confined to the forests and this has kept them out of the mainstream of Indian society. Due to their marginalization they are exposed and subjected to oppression and exploitation.

The most important fact about Mahashveta Devi is that she has not only fought against the forces of darkness and exploitation in the semi-feudal and semi-colonial Indian society with the tools of language, but during her wanderings in the villages, forests and small and big cities alike, she has also spread the consciousness of the necessity of the struggle among the exploited and suppressed poor people for the attainment of their dignity and human rights. Her incessant battle against the perpetrators of exploitation and an insensitive and callously status quoists government machinery as regards the rights of Indian tribal since independence has won her the rank of a living deity.

Since time immemorial women has been exposed to many challenges thrown by society, customs and traditions. Even prior to independence, women were subjected to sexual abuse and assault, but only occasionally and exceptionally. Her predicament gets more complex in a tribal society.

They undergo an unending caste, class and gender exploitation which makes their lives a relentless struggle for survival. They are tortured; gang raped and made to work as bonded labourers. They represent the most inflicted, oppressed and marginalized segments of society.

Mahashveta Devi's stories and popular novels highlight and reflect multi-faceted sufferings, trials and tribulation, injustice and inequality pathetic condition of women and various aspects of dehumanization.

In the name of the Mother volume contains four stories linked by a command thread the idea of the mother.

Ma, from Desk to Dawn is the story of a woman from a nomadic tribe, catapulted by her circumstances into the role of a spiritual mother whose so-called mystical powers depend upon her denial of maternal affection towards her own son during daylight hours.

His mother's gone, there is no one to cook hot rice when it's evening. . . No one to say, "Son, sit near my lap and eat."

Sindhubala describes the anguish of a childless woman forced to play the role of a semi divine healer called upon to save other people's offspring.

Jamunabati's Mother offers a stringent critique of a consumerist society indifferent to those on the margins and *Giribala* presents the plight of a village woman whose daughters are trafficked by their own father, to pay for the house he dreams of building.

The above stories represent a range of responses to the concept of the maternal, exposing how the traditional deification of motherhood in India often conceals a collective exploitation and attempt to restrict women to their socially prescribed roles while denying them the right to articulate their individual needs and desires.

At the same time, they also show the strategies evolved by women to survive and circumvent the repression inflicted on them by social norms. The maternal thus emerges as an ambivalent concept, with both restrictive and emancipatory potential.

Mahashveta Devi's *Daulati* (a compilation of three novellas viz: Daulati, Palamau, Gohuan) Eent Ke oopar Eent, Bheeshan yuddha ke baad concentrates on bondage – the contractors bondage and women's exploitation. Women are subjected to two-tier exploitation – as a labourer and also as an instrument of sexual gratification to the contemporary landlord. An extreme case of this abuse and assault is the transformation of the bonded female into a bonded prostitute. Such forced prostitutes are pushed into a brothel: money coming not their way, but going straight to the owner.

Mahashveta Devi has captured every minutest detail in her portrayal of the dehumanization of the tribal's and other backward communities.

The simple, gullible, poverty-stricken 'untouchable' girl Daulati is led into believing by the shrewd Brahmin Parmanand Mishra that he would tie conjugal ties with her. Everybody is alarmed at this offer because a high caste male could never be expected to enter into marriage alliance with a subaltern. Daulati is misled with the dream of a happy future and she goes away with him unaware of the fact that it is not the marriage-altar but the brothel that is calling her. The process is simple; a new recruit will first be handed over to the contractor as long as he likes to enjoy her and until his eyes fall on some other deserver. Then they are shifted to the brothel run by Parmanand to suffer multiple injuries of this newly-invented bondage.

Bano Nagesia, unlike Daulati's father Ganori Nagesia, is a rebel and is convinced that the bondage system will soon be abolished. He ignores the ground reality that the government officers, landlords and contractors and beneficiaries of this system are accumulating wealth. In such a scenario who will abolish the system? Daulati or jhalo awaits emancipation ignoring the fact that the efforts of Bano Nagesia and other people are inadequate and the organization too weak to achieve the desired result. Daulati ends her life near the flag-post as if mocking the Independence day celebrations.

Baasmati of Palamau is an identical milieu who represents a heightened degree of awareness and unwillingness to take things lying down. She

protests in her own way. This is a complex story where Baasmati's husband himself, a tout, pushes her on the road to prostitution. His new role as a tout fetches him easy money which subdues his conscience so much that he works against his own class and family interests. The biting taunts and sarcasm of his master fail to move him. Not that they are conscientious, but they fail to reconcile themselves to the thought of a wife being pushed into prostitution even while feasting themselves on Baasmati's flesh. Baasmati who dared to assault the landlord's son with her sickle who tried to rape her but finds herself weaker in the changed environment. She resorts to silent protest to the client and this angry non-communicativeness ends only when she is informed that her husband has been thrown out by the mafia masters and she escapes in the night to join Madho who has genuine love and affection for her.

Mahashveta Devi has depicted not only the torture of women like Baasmati but has endeavoured to expose a new correlation of forces; elected members and government officials supporting and patronizing newly emerging mafia groups. The upper castes are playing the role of touts. This relates the advent of criminalization of socio-political climate.

The third novella, Gohuan is again a tale of the pathetic life of the tribals and untouchable woman. Gohuan is bold and resolute and not helpless. This story signals a new awakening and an advanced stage of struggle aspiring for liberation. The landlords and contractors are awestricken by this spark in Gohuan's personality signifying tribal self respect. She attacks the Tehsildar in order to protect herself from molestation and pressurized him into paying her Rs. 25 as compensation.

Gohuan's husband Vishal who died in a land slide at a work-site symbolized hatred for the bondage system and represents voice of protest against exploitation and subjugation. His experience with the outside world turns him bolder and equips him with firsthand knowledge of the people around him and thus achieves liberation from the fear of landlord's potential to molest him. " 'Yes' lord, I'll just not account for the sum of Rs. One hundred. My. . . bondage . . . is over."

Draupadi is probably one of Mahashveta Devi's most famous stories from the collection *Agnigarbha* (womb of fire) published as a collection in 1978, and set against the Naxalite activities of 1967-72. In Mahashveta's story, the main character name, Draupadi, (the tribal version is Dopdi) is also that of the heroine of the Indian epic, the Mahabharata. In the epic, Draupadi is married to the five Pandava brothers. Draupadi is an activist in the Naxalite movement of the seventies. She is arrested, stripped, gangraped and hunted down by the government in their attempt to subjugate these groups. The government uses all forces available to them including kidnapping, murder and rape and any tribal deaths in custody are invariably "accidents". But Dopdi is not easily cowed. Mahashveta portrays her as an object of defiance and very valiantly she refuses to cover her naked body declaring that "her torturers are not males and she is not ashamed of standing naked before them, for a tribal woman believes that a true male never insults a woman". Thus she attains a larger dimension than the Pandava Queen, her namesake, and exposes a violent truth about Indian manhood. After continuous days of rape and abuse, deprived of food and water, the story ends with a magnificent final scene in which she faces her abusers, naked and bloody, but fiercely strong. Draupadi wipes the blood on her palm and says in a voice that is as terrifying, "What's the use of clothes? You can strip me, but how can you clothe me again? Are you a man?"

"There isn't a man here that I should be ashamed. I will not let you put my cloth on me. What more can you do? Come on, counter me – come on counter me?" She pushes the senanayak with her two mangled breasts and for the first time Senanayak is afraid to stand before an unarmed target, terribly afraid.

Devi's *Hajar chaurashie Ma* (Mother of 1084) is the story of an upper middle class woman whose world is forever changed when her son is killed for his Naxalite beliefs. Sujata, the Mother is the central character in the novel. She belongs to an upper-middle class family and is a political person, independent, possessing no awareness of the social forces at work, to the extent that she does not even understand her son, Vrati, the only person she loves and is loved by in the family. But the shock of

Vrati's murder, and the conduct of the rest of her family, gradually transforms her and she in her own quiet way, starts moving out of her shell to know what had prompted her son Vrati to identify himself with the class and cause which had nothing in common with their social placement.

The more she gets to know of Vrati's actions, connexions and assessments, the more alienated she becomes from her family. In her case, it is the sorrow that educates. Sujata symbolizes the 'underdog' in the family, Vrati, an outcast. Vrati had declassified himself; disowning his own class and identifying himself with the suffering and Sujata out of her love for Vrati, moves out, and slowly but steadily gets disillusioned with her class. Bereavement acts as a bridge linking her with Samu's mother and Nandini. She is awakened to the fact that her selfish world is a dirty place, much inferior to the dirty surroundings and stark poverty ridden world of Samu's mother. She is also appalled at the social ostracism the family members of the liquidated Naxals are subjected to.

The novel exposes the hypocrisy and shallowness of the upper-middle class. Gossip, wining and dining fascinate them and to Sujata in her last moments, they appear as corpses, decayed and stinking corpses.

The life stories of Mahashveta Devi's women have one thing in common; the unending class, caste and gender exploitation which makes their lives a relentless struggle for survival. They describe the near helplessness of women and yet even in the most wretched lives, portray hope and grim triumph. They are devoid of maudlin compassion.

The stories expose poverty, societal indifference and governmental apathy. Devi has delineated the social economic oppression with which the women are forced to survive.

Mahashveta Devi's acute and perceptive pen brings them to life with a deep empathy and sensitivity which makes these women step out of the margins of society to live in her own minds, impressive in their quite courage and tenacity, their will to survive.

An Experience of Human Existence in Mudrooroo's Poems : An Indian Perspective

Rashmi Bhatnagar

Mudrooroo, which means paperbark, a native tree of Australia, is now the popular name of Colin Johnson an Australian writer of Aboriginal origin. He changed his name to "Mudrooroo" in 1988 as a special Bicentennial event. The change is not just whimsical but an assertion of his Aboriginal identity.

The Aboriginals, were the earliest inhabitants of Australia. There were basically egalitarians, who worked for necessities and shared their belongings and food with their counterparts. They lived in a close harmony and interaction with their natural environment. They did not exploit the land to their benefit. "The land was their 'spirit country' and they had duties to it- for instance to play a role in ceremonies that they believed kept the world going" (Connor o' Mark 13).

The Aboriginals had no segregated castes, sects and religion. The world to them was a unified whole. Their songs, legend and myths were never written down. They were memorized and then passed down to their posterities through their sacred legend – song cycles or 'Dreamings'.

Mudrooroo, is the most enigmatic literary craftsmen of his age. His poetic works are an assertion of his aboriginal identity wherein he versifies the colonial subjugation, exploitation and also the ways of living of the Aboriginals. Mudrooroo, as learnt had a traumatic childhood. He was put in an orphanage at the age of nine. Most of his writings are a reflection of his earlier days. The sense of no-where, loss, desertion and abandonment find remarkable echoes in his works. To him, the inspiration to write comes from a series of songs, stories myths and legends of his ancestors. "In his usage of the linked song–cycle format, Johnson has consciously reached back for inspiration to

the oral poetic tradition of his forebears" (Shoemaker 23). Most of these poems are a kind of social protest against the injustice. In his collection '*The Song Circle of Jacky, and Selected Poems*', a series of 35 poems he sketches 'Jacky' a prototype of an aboriginal learned man 'Kurdaitchaman' which means a clever aboriginal intellectual. In his verses we also find pictures of early Aboriginal life, where people lived in simplicity and had a strong belief of the world through religion. Apart from their religious beliefs the Aboriginals had their own rituals and ceremonies which reflected their social structure. These ceremonies were performed on special occasions such as marriage or any kind of social gathering. The assemblage of people in large numbers at one place served as an instrument of communication which otherwise was lacking in their lives.

Further, the Aboriginals believed that whatever exists around them has been created by a supernatural power which constantly hovers around them as a protective guide. Mudrooroo has exemplified through his works that all religious belief form one unifying whole and this unified power is the basis of all Aboriginal religion. It may be connoted as a religious – spiritual power that is Omniscience and Omnipresent. The kinship of the Aboriginal self with nature is clearly observed in Mudrooroo's introductory lines of *Song Circle of Jacky and other Poems*. The oneness felt in communion and in close interaction with nature is quite evident here. To quote:

Jacky him been sit listening to the wind;
Jacky him been walk listening to the wind;
Jacky him been set talking to the wind;
Jacky him been walk following the wind. (S.C.J. 1)

Mudrooroo's poems epitomise nuances of physical, emotional and spiritual world. His poems are not only an optimistic depiction of an all pervading expression of spirit that governs all human beings but are also expressive of the colonial exploitation that the Aboriginals had to undergo during the course of their encounters and invasions with Britishers. In song 5, he very poignantly depicts the sad plight of the

brave Aboriginal warrior who died for the protection of his motherland.
To quote :-

Then the British hung him high,
So that his feet danced in the Sky –
And Jacky says they did the sametoo –
yagan, Melvilla, Harry, Broger, Lory Jack,
. . .And many, many, too many Jacy Jackees. (S.C.J.16)

These lines point to the facts that, not one, but many Aboriginals were hanged, killed and massacred by the Britishers to Capture their lands. The angst and hatred that an aboriginal experienced is very sensitively and intricately depicted by Mudrooroo in his Song No. 34 :-

Long ago, his skin itches as men enter his pores
And run their fingers lightly along his walls,
or scratch faintly diagrammatic lines,
From then on they touch Jacky in other ways: (S.C.J.49)

These lines have so much of deep-embedded pain that it brings to picture the atrocities that these aboriginals might have faced in their colonised states. One remarkable thing about Mudrooroo's poems is that he pens his feelings an insider who has undergone these traumatic experiences rather than being a superficial persona.

Land, no doubt was very *revered* to the Aboriginals. Any form of destruction on land through digging, mining etc. had a similar effect as on a physical body being wounded by a bullet or screwed through something sharp. The infliction was mere physical on land but emotional and spiritual on the Aboriginals soul. To quote :-

They give Jacky the right to die,
The right to consent to mining on his land.
They gave Jacky the right to watch
His sacred dreaming place become a hole
His soul dies, his ancestors cry; (S.C.J.19)

Mudrooroo's poems assume great power when seen in the light of the work of the Muirhead Royal commission into Aboriginal Deaths in custody, established in late 1987. It found that between January 1980 and February 1988, Ninety-Six young Aboriginal men died in unusual circumstances while incarcerated: the majority were found hanged, over half while they were in police custody (Maurer 3).

They struggled and fought for their lands with the British because it was the same sanctified land where the spirit of their ancestors lived. To cite an example :

our demands you negotiate; we want our rights.
our traditional land to be ours for ever. (S.C.J. 22)

Johnson's poetry is a fusion of political and social events fabricated in the guise of poetry. It may be marked that, "Aboriginal poets reject the art for art's sake argument and feel that their work has at least some social utility, whether to reinforce aboriginal pride in identity, attack government policies, or criticize social ills within the aboriginal community" (Shoemaker 2).

The protest and satire so discernible in his poems is basically the angst which the Aboriginals suffered in the process of colonization. In Song 2 from the Song Circle of Jacky, Mudrooroo writes :

He takes Youngman, he takes old man,
makes them shiver in bright and fear;. . .
makes them shiver in fright and fear,
makes them suffer from the storm; (S.C.J. 13)

These manifested traumatic experience are two fold - first the struggle for the land and second the discrimination faced by the Aborigines at the hands of the Whites.

Thus, we mark that Mudrooroo's poems are laden with an aboriginals demand for the rights of his land; the protection of his culture and also for an equal opportunity. His poems are a willful effort to interweave

myriad themes like– the aboriginals traumatic experiences, discrimination, exploitation and consciousness of their history.

Through his works he asseverates not only his Aboriginal culture and psyche but also synthesises it with the modern education, philosophy and culture thereby becoming a mouth piece for his people and their rights through his powerful writings.

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Impact of Industrialization on Social Structure of Gonds in Singrauli Region

Sanjay Kumar Singh

Displacement is the major problem of any developing country. India as a developing country is also facing the same problem. In the name of industrialization and development a no. of Singur and Singrauli are in existence. Due to lack of proper planning and honest execution of rehabilitation policies, a large number of families are suffering and struggling for their day-to-day life. This paper deals with victims of displacement in Singrauli region.

One fourth of total tribal population of India lives in Madhya Pradesh. Major Population of Tribals are in Ratlam, Jhabua, Dhar, Khargone, Khandwa, Betul, Chhindwara, Sivni, Balaghat, Mandla, Shahadol, Sidhi, Singrauli, Morena, Shivpuri and Guna.

Singrauli region is a part of eastern Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, where, 9 open coal mines (Asia's largest open coal mine – Nigahi Project), 6 running power plants and a big dam (Govind Ballabh Pant Sagar) is situated and it is so called Energy Capital Of India. Recently two major power plants - Reliance Power and Essar power, are taking place in Singrauli Region.

Discovery of truth is history and Singrauli has its own history. It was a part of Rewa state till 1947. Rewa, which is famous for White Tiger. Singrauli was called "Kalapani" due to its geographical locations, many rivers, dense forest and high mountain range of Vindhya Mountain Range. Dangerous and Notorious culprits of Rewa state were sent to this place in exile, so called OPEN JAIL mentioned in Devakinandan Khatri's Chandrakanta Santati.

Now –a- days this place is hub of industries, Power Plants due to availability of both - Water and Coal, place of displacement and hub of corruption. About whom this paper deals is Gonds, those who are victims of displacement and rehabilitation programmes.

When we talk about Tribes or indigenous people, we really talk about the people of land, Son of the land. Singrauli is new district and Tribal district. So many tribes are living in this region in remote area away from modern society and culture and Gonds are one of them. There are mostly Seven tribes : Gonds, Markam, Marpachchi, Semariha, Pando, Sonmani and Padwars. According to 1991 census total population of tribes in Singrauli (Waidhan) region was 98,873 and 40% of them are Gonds.

Jawahar Lal Nehru said- Self help is the first condition of success for a nation, no less than for an individual. Gonds are the people who believe in this notion. But the notion which they follow is more sacred and *i.e.* “Paani se nahaya hua vyakti swachhcha hota hai lekin pasine se nahaya hua vyakti pavitra hota hai”.

Social Structure of Gonds and Class Discrimination

Gonds are tribes and are living from Mahabhartkal. In the society of Gonds all kind of people like rich and poor are living with various social status. Mostly among them there is feeling of equality and they practiced it also but after some time due to increase in population and development they divided themselves in Four classes like Hindu’s Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. On the basis of work they are :

1. Dev Gonds
2. Raj Gonds
3. Rajvanshi or Dhur Gonds and
4. Nagavanshi Gonds

Dev Gonds called themselves Brahmin and believe in untouchability. They can’t eat or take water from other gonds except Dev Gonds and Raj Gonds. Just for So called superiority they have announced that they are Surya vanshi.

Raj Gonds are Gonds who have more land and they behave Like Jamindars. Their ancestors were army people and they served for rajas during fights. They call themselves Kshatriya and use word SINGH as their Surname.

Rajvanshi Gonds are Vaishya and call themselves Dhur Gonds also. They run small business and have low economic status.

Naga vanshi Gonds are Shudras Gonds and are very poor. They don’t have any marital relationship with above mentioned Gonds.

Gonds have relations with other tribes but that relationship is based on only Division Of labour. They have relationship on occasions according to the need but this is strong.

To worship	: Baiga
For agricultural iron tools	: Gondi Lohar
Animal Husbandry	: Gondi Ahir
Cloth Weaving	: Mahara
Bamboo Utensils / Vessels	: Dhuliya / Basor
Security and service	: Panka
For singing and band	: Dhuliya
Entertainment & dance	: Kol bhuta and Bhimma
For tattoos	: Ojha
Labourer	: Bhariya
For rituals after death	: Pardhan

Impact of Industrialization

It is true that in Gond’s Society, there are classes and people of different status but they have awareness and feelings of equality in class issues. These people are innocent, very honest and hard working but industrialization has shattered everything, their class structure and dreams.

After industrialization they are facing problem of rehabilitation. Plants have taken their lands and Govt has allotted them small size plots. it is

impossible for them to earn money or living through these small plots. They are working as a labourer in industries, in power plants and labour Contractors are exploiting them. Forest were there source of income but Govt. restrictions are imposed and they can't use. In this way they have lost their home, forests and culture and some of them are begging also.

This improper rehabilitation compelled their women in prostitution and in other immoral jobs. Land mafias of Bihar and UP have taken their plots forcefully and continuously trying to do so. They are illiterate and facing all challenges of living.

Really it reminds me Shashi Deshpandey's novel "Nectar in a Sieve". Although there is an NGO –PAHAL- working for them but Govt officials are exploiting and ignoring their needs. Gonds of Singrauli region are victim of modern society and waiting for fundamental rights for life, Human rights are dreams.

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Afro-Americans: Their Struggle for Existence

Sharada V Bhatt and Niyatee Ayyar

The United States of America is a land, which comprises people from every nook and corner of the world, emerging from different caste, color, creed, language, religion and social beliefs. It is for this reason America is mentioned as a "melting pot" of global community. Migrants from different sub-continent have their own role in enriching the soul and spirit of a nation, later to become a most sought after abode. People from Asian and African sub-continent have been vital in shaping up socio-economic conditions of this great country ever since the colonial period (1492-1776). In this period, around 5.5 million Africans were settled down in America. Actually this numerous amount of African people, finding a place in the United States, was due to the trade of the Negroes as slaves. The trade of the black people, indeed gruesome and unfortunate but equally true, it was the trade of such kind that ultimately had its own share in strengthening the economy of a country as is evident in history.

In America the black people are called by the names such as Negro, colored, Pan-American, Afro-American, Black, black-American etc. These blacks in America were the only ethnic people who did not have any link with their old culture for sustenance. The motive behind this is to enslave them for life. According to Bernard W. Bell, the author of *The Roots of the Early Afro-American Novel*, this enslaving process developed since 1640. W. Bell also opines that it developed as "the result of the interplay of the economics of slavery and the psychology of racism." The puritans, the white immigrants, wished to convert the blacks into Christianity as they wanted to make them servile, obedient and loyal slaves.

Until the World War I these blacks lived in the old south and later they started to move to the northern cities like New York and Philadelphia. Right from the developing stage, as the Englishmen settled along the Atlantic coast of America, there were dissimilarities between the Southern and the New England colonies. In the Southern region of America there were plenty of plantation owners who used to exploit the African-Americans through slavery. In spite of the efforts made by the whites to suppress their old traditions, the blacks adhered to the traditions that have been brought orally by some of them from their home country, Africa.

The whites considered that the blacks had no culture of their own. They treated them as barbarians and savages. In America, due to racism, the blacks were prevented from identifying themselves with the mainstream culture. The blacks were not supposed to read and write, teaching them to read and write was illegal and against the custom. Thus, for nearly four centuries they depended upon their African language to express themselves.

The early literature of America was dominated by the white writers. However with the passage of time, even the African-American writers stepped forth to prove their potential in producing creative writings. The early black writers gave vision and voice to the sufferings and struggles of their fellow people. Long before the Africans made their first appearance in Jamestown, Virginia in 1619, they were believed to be great story tellers. The flair for creativity was obvious as they belonged to the West Africa, a land known for its rich history, art, and folklore. The Africans were conscious about their literature and art for several years, before they made contact with the Western world. Prior to the breaking up of the social structure of the West African states of Ghana, Mali etc. the forefathers of many Africans, eventually became slaves.

African-American writing has its derivation from the historical circumstances of slavery. Most of the major Afro-American writers launched their literary career through the Slave Narrative, which were

anecdotes of their personal experiences of pain and sufferings. The Slave Narratives depicted the constant strife of black Americans for their human and social rights. The whole lot of popular Slave Narratives written in the history of African-American literature was generally focusing upon three mainstreams; tales of religious redemption, tales to depict abolitionist struggles, and tales towards development.

An important body of literature that followed Slave Narratives was the literature of petition, written by the so-called free Black men in the North. Some of these early petitioners for justice were Caribbean-Americans, who saw their plight, identical to the plight of the African-Americans. In this way, the birth of African-American writing was an evidence of the irresistible human urge for liberty of life and expression. With the success of the Civil War (1861-1865), for the rights of the Negroes, the colored folks dreamt of a happy, healthy society. They hoped to experience a new epoch of liberty and opportunity. However it remained a distant dream for the blacks since the United States was foremost dominated by the whites. Hence, struggle of the blacks for equal status and equal rights was a reoccurring theme in the literature of that era. In the words of Dodson:

The central theme of black history in the United State and throughout the Western Hemisphere has been the struggle for freedom. From the period of captivity on the continent through the Middle passage, and to the period of enslavement in the Americas, the freedom quest was the central motivating factor in black social, political, economic, and cultural behavior. (67)

The strife for equal existence in the United States commenced with the book, *The Souls of Black Folk* by William Edward Du Bois. In this provocative and influential book, Du Bois asserted that the “double consciousness” of the blacks could be molded into a force for positive social and cultural change in the United States. In 1909, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in New York City and Du Bois became the first in- charge of its organs. He gave enlightened new directions to the whole generation

of the Black by challenging the misinterpretations of African-American life. He also edited a book, *The Crisis*, wherein he introduced many upcoming black writers.

In 1960s and 1970s, the second wave of women's movement gained momentum in the United States. It was a period when the African-American feminist writers drew attention towards the eradication of race and gender inequality, through their writings.

Among the highly acclaimed writers of the 20th century African-American literature, Alice Walker holds a prominent rank. In her writings, she has addressed issues pertaining to gender, sexism, female identity, woman's role in family, sisterhood, sexual orientation, black heterosexism, domestic violence, community, and culture. Walker's writing is not confined merely to the problems of colored womenfolk, but also ponders upon the suffering and struggle of the entire community of the blacks in the United States.

In the Preface to her book, *The Same River Twice: Honoring the Difficult*, Walker writes that she belongs to "a people so wounded by betrayal, so hurt by misplacing their trust." Thus, through her adroit writing, she gives voice to the constant strife of her people and also exhibits their undying will.

In her epoch making work, *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*, Walker puts forth the view: "America does not support or honor us as a human being" (91). The sense of being treated unequally, due to racial differences, is a mental, emotional, and spiritual hurt for the blacks in the United States. Despite having spent a long span of life in the United States, the African-Americans experience a constant sense of incompleteness and insecurity. Negroes, still have the "silent second class status" (121), which makes their struggle for equal existence, more challenging.

Alice Walker describes the novel *The Temple of My Familiar* as "a romance of the last 500,000 years." Upon its publication the book received mixed reactions. The novel features six characters, three men and three women, who relate their views on life through recounting

memories of ancestors and spirits from the past cultures. In this novel Alice Walker depicts the trauma of slavery. The women characters in this novel, suffer due to oppression of the whites and also due the dominating attitude of the people of their own community. Each woman comes out stronger overcoming the sufferings. According to a reviewer the novel focuses on the themes such as "compassion for the oppressed, the grief of the oppressors, acceptance of the unchangeable and hope for everyone and everything."

The novels of Alice Walker; *The Third Life of Grange Copeland*, *Meridian*, *The Color Purple*, *The Temple of My Familiar*, *Possessing the Secret of Joy*, and *By the Light of My Father's Smile* trace out many coherent themes, connected with the lives of the blacks in the United States. The issues pertaining to the various modes of oppressions on the blacks, and also their strong yearning for a dignified place in the society are prevalent in the novels. The bias and unfair treatment of whites, intensifies the pangs and agonies of the colored ones. In the aforementioned novels, Walker has skillfully portrayed the ongoing endurance of her fellow people, who question, defy and vindicate their rights for equal and esteemed existence.

The novel, *The Third Life of Grange Copeland* spans the years between the Depression and the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement in the early 1960s. The protagonist of the novel, Grange Copeland, is a poor, desperate, colored man. He is a victim of the dictates of the circumstances, formed by the white oppressor Shipley. The oppressed Copeland ventilates his frustration upon his wife Margaret and son Brownfield. Walker pens down Copeland's struggle to get a peaceful place in the society of the whites. But at the same time, the author also takes into consideration, Margaret's strife for a dignified position within the community of the blacks. Thus the dual struggles of the blacks for equal existence in the society of whites, and also within their own community go hand in hand.

To get rid of the routine rebuffing, Copeland escapes to North America, viewing it as "a promising land." His escapism indicates how the blacks

were doomed to suffer in the South due to the slavery system. But even in the North, Copeland finds the presence of colored people, negligible. In fact:

The South had made him miserable, with nerve endings raw from continual surveillance from contemptuous eyes, but they knew he was there. Their very disdain proved it. The North put him in solitary confinement where he had to manufacture his own hostile stares in order to see himself. For why were they pretending he was not there? Each day he had to say his name to himself over and over again to shut out the silence. (192)

The shattered illusions of Copeland make him realize that the white folks hated him and he hated himself until he started having them in turn and loving himself. Throughout the novel, the colored people are shown struggling, in one or the other way, to establish their existence. Mem is yet another strong character in the novel who advocates the basic rights of her people. She is Brownfield's wife and on being compelled by him to work at a white man's house, she resists in stern words, "We might be poor and black, but we ain't dumb. . . At least I ain't" (114).

Thus Mem keeps her struggle for equal existence intact despite the hurdles that come her way. Following her footsteps, her younger daughter Ruth also steps forth as a rational rebel. She asserts her independent identity and existence in every walk of life. For Ruth, life in South is miserable as it is "an enormous cold place full of buildings and people, where birds had no place to move their bowels". Symbolically, South appears to be similar to a prison or a cage, where liberty is penalized.

The novel records not only the transformation of Copeland, but also depicts the hardships, challenges, and pains of colored womenfolk. The drastic effect of poverty and racism on the three generations of Copeland is the core of the novel. In this way Walker successfully highlights the problems of black women in their everyday life. The author also suggests the way through which most of the women characters are led to self-discovery and self-knowledge, and finally to attain regeneration.

Advocating the rights of her fellow people, Walker opines, "We are hungry for a life that turns us on; we yearn for a knowledge of living that will save us from our innocuous lives that resemble death. We look for signs in every strange event; we search for heroes in every unknown face" (122).

In *Meridian*, the protagonist Meridian searches for self-acceptance and self-knowledge in the community of whites. She is a promising activist in the Civil Rights Movement, which gained force in the 1960s. The Movement aimed to overturn the color bar and to lobby for equal rights legislation for the blacks in the United States. In the novel, an episode related to a poor, homeless, orphan, pregnant girl, known as The Wild Child, occurs. Meridian rescues and protects the girl from the unsympathetic approach of the society. The Wild Child is a victim of social injustice. Her expectations for the very basic rights of life remain unheard and unfulfilled. Finally she meets a pathetic end with her unborn baby, in a road accident. The conflict of this miserable colored girl clearly points towards the vicious ways of the society, which deprive the blacks from the very basic needs of life. The Wild Child represents the cruel victimization of a helpless girl. Deprived of education, health, and earnings, she underlines the trauma of the downtrodden. She is a person, who is denied a dignified life by destiny when she is alive. Even after her untimely and unnatural death her soul is hurdled to rest in peace. For the officials of the Saxon College and the priests of the chapel disallow rites for the departed soul. The questions emerging, during the short survival of the Wild Child, continue ever after her death.

In the preface to the book, *Alice Walker: Past and Present*, Henry Louis Gates writes: "The theme of oppression has been one of the great concerns of Black" (ix). Even in *The Color Purple* there are ample evidences of struggle of the blacks in different forms. It deals with human experiences from the perspective of the suffering and the downtrodden, the hurt and the oppressed. In the novel, most of the women characters are victims of racial, sexual, and economic oppression and exist under degrading circumstances. Nevertheless, the colored womenfolk, present in the novel, express their full vigor for co-existence.

They also manage to transcend their desperate and painful circumstances in order to affirm their place in the society.

The prime theme of the novel is black women's strife for identity and independence. It is a story of liberation and redemption and celebrates the courage and resilience of the unconquerable female spirit. Moreover, women empowerment is a linking theme in the novel. In a nutshell *The Color Purple* celebrates the bonding of women in their struggle against oppression. Celie, the leading character, represents the quest for empowerment, sexual freedom, and spiritual growth of the African-American women.

Celie's primary struggle for existence is within her family. A prey of molestation by her Pa, she is a silent sufferer in the house of her husband as well. In the early years of marriage, Celie is submissive and admits, "I don't know how to fight. All I know how to do is stay alive" (18). The arrival of Shug Avery, a flamboyant colored woman, in her life, transforms Celie into a conscious individual. She fights her way not only through racist culture of the whites, but also through the patriarchal culture of the blacks. In the company of Shug, Celie gives up the image of God as a white haired, blue-eyed white man and starts searching Him as an internal force.

The rejection to the image of God, as offered by the whites, marks the inner awakening of the colored folks. It is the initiation to challenge the double standards of the white patriarchs. Celie's resolution: "I'm pore, I'm black, I may be ugly and can't cook, a voice say to everything listening. But I'm here" (214) adds vigor to the strife for survival.

Another strong persona in the novel, Sophia, displays her resilience and unconquerable spirit for a dignified status in the society. In an episode when she is being asked by a white woman to work as a maid in her household, Sophia gives the reply, 'hell, no.' The denial of Sophia to work as a maid reflects her strong sense of self respect and independence. As a consequence to the negative response, she is hit by the white mayor whom she hits back, and finally she is imprisoned.

In the custody, "They crack her skull, they crack her ribs. They tear her nose loose on one side. They blind her in one eye" (91). The severe punishment that Sophia undergoes, points towards the aftermath, when an African-American asserts one's self respect in the patriarchal society of the whites.

Thus, on one hand, some characters in *The Color Purple* are successful enough to create a space for their existence but on the other hand there are a number of characters, whose struggle for equal existence remains unachieved. For instance Celie's mother, a pale and passive lady, could never breathe in the air of freedom. Her inability to sustain her existence within her family ends with her pathetic end, soon as the novel starts. Even the white people burnt down the shop of Celie's biological father and lynched him brutally. To quote Walker, "black people who are poor are lost incompletely in the American political and economic system" (227). However the ending of *The Color Purple* suggests that feelings of kinship and black identity can bring people close to one another.

In *Possessing the Secret of Joy* readers get to know about Tashi, an Olinkan girl. Her name is derived from *The Color Purple*. *Possessing the Secret of Joy* records Tashi's traumatic experiences of the rituals of female genital mutilation. Tashi has been married to an African-American man, Adam. She agrees to have this operation performed on her because she is a woman torn between two cultures; the African and the African-American. In this novel the focus is specifically on how ritualized female circumcision degrades woman's body, mind, and spirit. The cataloguing of circumcision's horrific effects begins with the opening scene in which Tashi as a young girl, crying soundlessly among the adults of her family for her dead sister, the victim of a botched mutilation. In Olinkan culture it is a taboo to cry at such occasions. Therefore no one shows any emotion or offers to comfort the little girl. Later, Tashi herself undergoes the ritual to identify with the Olinka people. She prefers to undergo circumcision to stop the teasing of other women, to become a proper woman herself. It is indeed a sign to honor the traditions of her people and their culture. However, she is unaware of the far-reaching, terrible consequences of the ritual on her health

and wellbeing. Tashi, throughout her life, possesses hatred for M'Lissa and therefore wishes to take revenge. She is accused of the murder of M'Lissa, even though she did not commit the crime. Without committing a crime, Tashi becomes a subject of death sentence. Thus her miserable life ends in a pathetic way.

The novel explores what it means to have one's gender culturally defined and emphasizes that, according to Alice Walker, the author, "Torture is not culture." Insisting upon the value of self-respect, Tashi opines, "we must fight the white oppressors without ceasing. . .we must return to the purity of our own culture and traditions" (109).

Walker in all the afore-discussed novels acknowledges the resilience of her fellow folk in hoping for change. In her work entitled *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*, she asserts, "I believe in change: change personal, and change in society" (252). As a bold African-American writer, she also acknowledges the liability of literature to, "give voice to centuries not only of silent bitterness and hate but also of neighborly kindness and sustaining love" (21).

A close study of Alice Walker's fictional works reveals that she depicts the life situations of her people. They had a marginalized status and lived as slaves. She raises voices against racial and color discriminations. Through her writings she has successfully drawn attention of her readers towards the inhumane treatment meted out to the black female lot. She also points out the lack of education which is the root cause of their superstitions and sufferings. Almost all the fictional works of Alice Walker bespeak her people's struggle for existence. In her works there is an underlying plea to uplift the Afro-American people and to make them part of the mainstream.

To sum up, Alice Walker fosters a climate for artistic explorations of race, gender, and class in her novels. She is a believer of the fact that the African-Americans can attain dignity and prosperity in the United States only by proving themselves valuable, productive members of the society. For achieving triumph in the struggle for existence, the blacks must rely on self-determination and racial solidarity.

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Chakma and English Consonants - A Comparison

Susanta Kumar Bardhan

1. Introduction

The Chakma (pronounced as /ʃaŋma/ by the natives) tribe at present dominates the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) of Bangladesh, the South-West part of Mizoram (a part of which is the Chakma Autonomous District Council (CADC) area) and Northern and Southern districts of Tripura which are actually the adjoining parts of CHT, Tirap, Changlang, Subanuri and Lohit districts of Arunachal Pradesh, Karbi-Anglong district of Assam and the Eastern part of Myanmar. The total population of these parts is around six lakhs,

Bardhan (1999)'s work *A Phonological Study Of Chakma And English* is the first scientific study on Chakma to the best of my knowledge. Before it the books written on the social, political and economic aspects of the tribes of North-Eastern India and CHT of Bangladesh sporadic comments on Chakma along with other Indian tribal languages have been made. It is also found that some traditional language experts (Grierson 1967, 1987; Hutchinson 1978; Chakma 1986; Chakma 1989, 1994; Chakma 1988; Majumdar 1997 etc.) have given a cursory look at this language and have written on some aspects of Chakma grammatical system purely from the perspective of traditional linguistics. In the background of above mentioned works which are not based on thorough scientific observation Bardhan (1999) undertook the preliminary study of the phonological aspect of Chakma. In its basic phonological components in terms of phonemes (both consonants and vowels), the basic syllable structure of Chakma and some phonotactic constraints operating in Chakma have been established.

In the present study we shall try to do a comparative analysis of Chakma consonants with those of English. Such a study, it is hoped, will highlight the areas of ease and difficulty in the learning of English by the speakers of Chakma. It is hoped that such steps would help the students overcome difficulties in the pronunciation of English to a large extent.

2. Consonants of Chakma and English

In Bardhan (1999, 2007) it has been established that Chakma has twenty-five consonants and fourteen vowels. The consonants can be classified according to their manner of articulation as plosives (twelve), affricates (four), fricatives (two), lateral (one), flap (one), nasals (three) and semivowels (two). These are shown in the following table.

Table 1: Consonant Chart of Chakma¹

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Post-Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal		
	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD
Plosive	p	b	t̪	d̪									k	g		
Fricative	ph	bh	t̪h	d̪h									kh	gh		
Affricate										č	ǰ					h
Lateral					l					čh	ǰh					
Flap							r									
Nasal		m			n								ŋ			
Semi-Vowel		w								j			(w)			

VL = Voiceless VD = Voiced

Both English and Chakma have plosives, fricatives, affricates, liquids, nasals and semi-vowels.

3.1 Plosives of Chakma and English

We find that there are three pairs of distinctive plosive sounds /p, b/, /t, d/ and /k, g/ in English whereas in Chakma there are twelve distinctive plosive sounds (as shown in Table 1).

1. We do not find any palato-alveolar sounds in Chakma.

Both Chakma and English have the bilabials /p, b/ and velars /k, g/. As a result, Chakma speakers generally do not have any problem with these sounds in the pronunciation of English words like *pin, bin, napkin, impeach, combat, lobby, map, shop, king, gun, bulky, begging, back, neck*, etc. However, something very interesting happens in Chakma. Chakma speakers do not use /k/ in the initial position of root words (1a). In their unconscious English speech the initial /k/ is always replaced by /h/. This, however, does not happen when they consciously read English prose or poem. Consider, for example, the data given below where /k/ is replaced by /h/.

(1) (a) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. college	/hɒləʃ/
ii. care	/hear/
iii. cup	/hɑ:p/
iv. call (n)	/hɒl/
v. coach	/hoʃ/
vi. carbon	/hɑ:rɒn/
vii. canteen	/hæntɪn/
viii. council	/haʊnɪl/
ix. can	/hæn/
x. company	/hɒmpa:nɪ/

(Other phonological changes taking place in these words shall be discussed later). Notice how /k/ is pronounced in non-initial position as illustrated in (b).

(b) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. marking	/mɑ:rkɪŋ/
ii. sunken	/sʌ:nkɛn/
iii. bulky	/bɑ:lki/
iv. monkey	/mɑ:nki/
v. income	/ɪnkɑ:m/

Unlike English, Chakma has four dental plosives /t̪, t̪h, d̪, and d̪h/. There are no alveolar plosives in Chakma. As a result, the Chakma speakers of English replace the English alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ with the Chakma dental plosives /t̪/ and /d̪/ respectively. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon.

(2) English words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. tin	/t̪ɪn/
ii. top	/t̪ɒp/
iii. seventy	/ʃɛbhent̪ɪ/
iv. mat	/mæt̪/
v. bat	/bæt̪/
vi. dock	/d̪ɒk/
vii. den	/d̪ɛn/
viii. golden	/gɒld̪ɛn/
ix. adding	/æd̪ɪŋ/
x. body	/bɒd̪ɪ/

In Bardhan's (1999) discussion on phonotactic constraints on Chakma, we have stated that in Chakma voiced plosives never occur in the word final and/or syllable final positions. The influence of this constraint is perceived when the Chakma speakers pronounce voiceless counterparts of the voiced plosives occurring in final position. Consider, for example, the following words:

(3) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. bad	/bæt̪/
ii. loud	/laʊt̪/
iii. madness	/mæt̪nɛʃ/
iv. mob	/mɒp̪/
v. rub	/rɑ:p̪/
vi. jobless	/ʃɒplɛʃ/
vii. dog	/d̪ɒk/
viii. bag	/bæk/
ix. egg	/ɛk/
x. chagrin	/ʃæk̪rɪn/

Another phonotactic constraint of Chakma states that the voiceless plosives never occur in the intervocalic position. If they do, they are always geminated. As a result, English words with intervocalic voiceless plosives are mispronounced as stated below:

(4)	English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i.	happy	/hæppɪ/
ii.	lapping	/læppɪŋ/
iii.	batting	/bættɪŋ/
iv.	putting	/puttɪŋ/
v.	city	/ʃɪttɪ/
vi.	looking	/lukkɪŋ/
vii.	mocking	/mɒkkɪŋ/
viii.	lucky	/lɑ:kki/

3.2 Affricates of Chakma and English

In English there are two affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ but in Chakma there are four affricates /č/, /ch/, /ʃ/, and /jh/. However, unlike English, the Chakma /č/ and /ch/ never occur initially. We, therefore, find that in place of the initial /tʃ/ in English. Chakma speakers use the fricative /ʃ/. Consider the following examples:

(5)	English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i.	chilly	/ʃɪli/
ii.	chalk	/ʃɒk/
iii.	chin	/ʃɪn/
iv.	chip	/ʃɪp/
v.	chit	/ʃɪt/
vi.	chap	/ʃæp/
vii.	chain	/ʃeɪn/
viii.	check	/ʃɛk/

The word medial (except intervocalic) and final /tʃ/ is not a problem for the Chakma speakers e.g. *lecture*, *junction*, *matchless*, *batch*, *ditch*, etc. are pronounced as in English. Again due to the influence of the phonotactic constraint stating that in the intervocalic position voiceless affricates never occur and if they do, they will be geminated, the English intervocalic /tʃ/ is pronounced by the Chakma speakers as a geminated /č/. The following data illustrate this phenomenon.

(6)	English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i.	hatching	/hæččɪŋ/
ii.	teaching	/tɛččɪŋ/
iii.	touching	/tʌččɪŋ/
iv.	matching	/mæččɪŋ/
v.	kitchen	/kɪččɛn/

Chakma speakers can pronounce the voiced affricate /dʒ/ in syllable initial position (i.e. word initial and medial positions). Words like *joke*, *danger*, *soldiers judging*, etc. do not pose a problem to them. However, when it comes to the word and/or syllable final position again there is a problem. In such a position Chakma speakers use the voiceless affricate /tʃ/. This is because in Chakma there is a phonotactic constraint (stated earlier in Chapter 4) which disallows that voiced affricates occur in the word and/or syllable final position. We, therefore, find that Chakma speakers use voiceless affricate in the pronunciation of English words having /dʒ/ in coda position. Consider, for example, the data given below:

(7)	English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i.	ridge	/rɪč/
ii.	gauge	/gɛč/
iii.	page	/pɛč/
iv.	judgement	/ʃɑ:čmənt/
v.	management	/mænečmənt/

3.3 Fricatives of Chakma and English

In Chakma there are only one distinctive fricative sound /h/ whereas in English there are nine fricative sounds. It is necessary to mention that another fricative sound /ʃ/ is the allophonic variation of affricate sound /č/. It is, therefore, quite obvious that Chakma speakers of English face great problem in pronouncing all the fricative sounds of English except /ʃ/ and /h/. Let us see how Chakma English is influenced by the English fricatives.

The Chakma speakers of English cannot pronounce the labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/ and therefore replace them with either of the Chakma bilabial plosives /ph/ and /bh/ according to the phonotactic rules of Chakma phonology (discussed earlier in Chapter 4). Consider for example, the data given below:

(8) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. fan	/phæn/
ii. fin	/phɪn/
iii. laughing	/lɑ:phphɪŋ/
iv. office	/ɒphphɪç/
v. deaf	/dɛph/
vi. life	/laɪph/
vii. van	/bhæn/
viii. very	/bherɪ/
ix. heaven	/hebhen/
x. level	/lɛbhɛl/
xi. live	/lɪph/
xii. move	/muph/

In English spoken by the Chakma speakers we find that the English fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are replaced by either of the Chakma dental plosives /tʰ/ and /d̪/ following the phonological principles of Chakma. The following examples illustrate this phenomenon:

(9) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. thin	/tʰɪn/
ii. thatch	/tʰhæç/
iii. nothing	/nɑ:tʰɪŋ/
iv. lethal	/lɛtʰtʰɑ:l/
v. panther	/pæntʰɑ:r/
vi. path	/pɑ:tʰ/
vii. than	/d̪æn/
viii. them	/d̪ɛm/
ix. mother	/mɑ:d̪ɑ:r/
x. fathom	/phæd̪ɒm/
xi. bathe	/bet̪/
xii. wreath	/rɪtʰ/

Again both Chakma and English have the fricative /ʃ/. But in Chakma /ʃ/ occurs word initially and so Chakma speakers do not have any problem with English words like *shop*, *shock*, *she*, etc. But when it occurs word medially or finally in English words, it is pronounced as /ç/. This is illustrated in (10).

(10) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. listen	/lɪçɛn/
ii. fashion	/phæçcæŋ/
iii. push	/puç/
iv. bush	/buç/

We know that the fricative /s/ does not exist in Chakma. Chakma speakers, therefore, cannot distinguish between the English phonemes /s/ and /ʃ/ in the word initial position. The contrast between the following pairs is, therefore, lost.

(11) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
	/s/ /ʃ/
i. sip ship	/ʃɪp/
ii. sun shun	/ʃɑ:n/
iii. see she	/ʃɪ/
iv. sake shake	/ʃɛk/
v. so show	/ʃo/

Similarly, the medial and final /s/ of English is replaced by the affricate /ç/ in Chakma English. Consider the examples given below:

(12) English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i. nasty	/næçtɪ/
ii. missing	/mɪçɪŋ/
iii. ransack	/ræncæk/
iv. English	/ɪŋlɪç/
v. mess	/mɛç/

Chakma speakers of English cannot pronounce the fricatives /z/ and /ʒ/ and, therefore, replace them in the word or syllable initial position by the affricate /ʒ/ and in the syllable coda or word final position by the affricate /ç/.

(13)	English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i.	zoo	/ʃju/
ii.	zeal	/ʃjil/
iii.	bazar	/ba:ʃa:r/
iv.	lazy	/lɛʃi/
v.	fees	/phič/
vi.	seize	/ʃič/
vii.	gigue	/ʃik/
viii.	measure	/mɛʃa:r/
ix.	leisure	/liʃa:r/
x.	barrage	/bægeč/

As Chakma and English both have the fricative sound /h/, Chakma speakers do not have any problems with pronouncing /h/ in the English words like *hen, house, behave*, etc.

3.4 Liquids of Chakma and English

In English there is a post-alveolar frictionless continuant /r/. While the flap [r] as an allophonic variant of English /r/, occurs in the intervocalic position in words like *very, marry*, etc., in general, Chakma speakers of English do not have any problems with English /r/.

In R.P of England /r/ never occurs word finally and before a consonant. Whereas in Chakma /r/ is pronounced in all the positions. In Chakma English, therefore, /r/ occurs in all the positions as illustrated in the following examples:

(14)	English Words	Pronounced by Chakma Speakers
i.	bar	/ba:r/
ii.	for	/phɔr/
iii.	margin	/ma:rʃim/
iv.	shorten	/ʃɔrrɛn/
v.	barking	/ba:rkɪŋ/

As Chakma and English both have the lateral sound /l/, Chakma speakers of English can pronounce /l/ in English words like *lull, let, lack, pull, bull*, etc.

3.5 Nasals of Chakma and English

In both Chakma and English there are three nasal phonemes /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/. Therefore, Chakma speakers of English do not face problem in pronouncing these sounds.

3.6 Semi-vowels of Chakma and English

Both English and Chakma have the semi-vowels /w/ and /j/. Due to this Chakma speakers can pronounce English words like *will, with, dwell, you, young dew*, etc. with ease.

4. Conclusion

So far we have dealt with how Chakma as the L₁ affects the Chakma learners' pronunciation of English words. The present research, though preliminary in its scope as well as nature, will add a new dimension so far as the study of the comparative linguistics is concerned. The areas of difficulties and suggestions illustrated here are not the only ones, but are some out of the huge number of them.

Again, this study can also help the course designers and material producers in focussing on the areas that might be difficult for the Chakma learners. In this way the theory of applied linguistics can be enriched with the help of the insights drawn from such phonological study.

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Folk and Tribal Elements in the Yajurveda

S N Joshi

Folk and tribal elements form an important part of the Vedic lore. The Vedas have a *Mantra* part and a *Brahman* part. The mantra part consists of the *mantras* or the sacred formulas. The *Brahman* part contains an explanatory commentary and theological discussion on the mantras. Some of the eleven major *Upanishads* also form a part of the *Brahmans*. The *Brahmans* were generally composed later than the *mantras*. Yet they are also considered as *Srutis* (revealed text) along with the *mantras*. In the case of the *Yajurveda*, the *Brahmans* are essential to an understanding of the *mantra* text.

The *Yajurveda* has come to us in two versions: the *Krishna* or the Black *Yajurveda*, which contains the *mantras* and also the *Brahman*; and the *Shukla* or the White *Yajurveda* which contains only the *mantras*. The *Brahman* of the *Shukla* version is the *Shat Path Brahman* which is a separate book. The *mantra text* is almost the same in both the Black and the White *Yajurveda*.

In this paper, I have followed the text of the *Shukla Yajurveda*, with *Sanskrit* commentaries of *Uvat* and *Mahidhar*, edited by *Acharya Jagdish Lal Shastri*, published by Motilal Banarasi Dass, New Delhi 1999. For the *Shat Path Brahman*, I have followed *Pandit Ganga Prasad Upadhyaya's* Hindi commentary on the *Sanskrit text* published by the *SarvaDeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha*, New Delhi 1998. The English renderings of both the texts are mine.

The *Yajurveda* contains the *mantras* dealing with various types of *Sacrificial Rites* called the *Yagnyas* as the *Ashvamedha* or the *Horse Sacrifice*. These rites also contain the Folk and the Tribal elements. These elements exist as:

1. The use of the *Montage* technique.
2. The use of Dialogues with a double meaning which often border on the obscene.
3. The Recognition of Tribal customs and tribal rites as valid; and treating the tribal society with respect.

The Montage Technique

The montage technique is the juxtaposition of two still frames representing two significant moments in the narrative. What happened during the interval between the two still frames is to be supplied by the listener or the reader himself. So, the listener or the reader is also involved in the narrative. It also gives terseness and concentration to the narrative. Folk and Tribal narratives employ this technique. The Ballad also employs the montage technique.

In the *Yajurveda*, this occurs in connection with the rites of the *Horse Sacrifice* in Ch. 23. The wives of the king make a sudden appearance. The *mantras* do not announce the approach of the wives. Nor do they mention that they are the wives of the king. They appear completely confused as they address one another in tones of complaint : ‘*Ambe, Ambike, Ambalike*, (the names of the wives) *no one leads me*’ (the reader is expected to supply the words : ‘to the sacrificial horse with whom I desire to sleep.’). Then the wife says: ‘*This horse ‘Ashvak’ is sleeping with Subhadrika of the town of Kampila*’. Again, the reader has to supply that the wives have finally reached the horse; but they have discovered, to their chagrin, that the horse is already sleeping with some other woman. Their anger at this discovery is clearly visible in the disparaging manner in which they call the horse not as the *Ashva* but as the *Ashvak*. The ‘*ka*’ suffix suggests contempt (*Yajur. Ch.23 verse 18*). This is montage.

Dialogues with a Double Meaning

In the same chapter (23), there are dialogues between the wives of the king and the priests. These dialogues (*verse:22-31*) in which the priests and the king’s wives attempt to outwit one another, border on the obscene. First, it is the *Advaryu* priest who accosts the youngest wife *kumari*

patni. He makes some comment while at the same time pointing his finger at her private parts (*Ver.22 Mahidhar’s gloss*). But the young wife is equally frank in her reply. The priest is completely put out. At this, the wife taunts the priest by suggesting a similarity between his mouth which is attempting to speak and his male organ (*Ver. 23 Mahidhar’s gloss*).

In the verses which follow, the other wives , *Mahishi, Vavata, and Parivrikta* in their turn make the other priests look completely crest fallen by their uninhibited replies to the priests’ suggestive questions. These obscene dialogues end after Verse 31. The commentators also say : ‘*here ends the obscene conversation.*’ Such conversation which is a part of the folk tradition in many ceremonial rituals even today, has been there since the Vedic times.

Treating the Tribal Society and its ways with Respect: The RUDRA Worship

Rudra Worship is the best example of honouring the Folk and Tribal elements.

Rudra is mentioned in a couple of *mantras* of the *Rigveda*. But in the *Yajurveda*, *Rudra* has tribal associations. *Rudra* of the *Yajurveda* is an angry god. The gods, in order to placate *Rudra’s* anger, performed a sacrifice ‘*Shat Rudriya hom*’. They also offered two hundred and forty obeisances or *namaskaras* to him. The *mantras* of the *Rudra* sacrifice are contained in the Sixteenth chapter of the *Yajurved*. The *Rudra* of the *Yajurved* is very different from the *Puranik Shiva* with whom we are familiar. The animal associated with *Yajurvedic Rudra* is the ‘rat’. ‘*Akhu, the rat is your animal*’ (*Yaju. 3-57*). His abode is far to the North, beyond the mountain ‘*Moojvat*’ (*Yaju. 3-61*).

According to the ‘*Shat Path Brahmana*’ (Part II, *Brahmana 6, Ch.2, verses 7-17*), *Rudra* keeps walking on and on. So, the *sacrificial offering* or ‘*the Havi*’ which is offered to *Rudra*, is kept in a piece of cloth which is tied to a branch of some tree or some stump at a place where two pathways meet. It may also be scattered on some ant hill.

Rudra is associated with forests; soil types; land structures; and water systems. *Rudra* is also associated with artisans and forest dwellers. All

these are mentioned in the two hundred and forty 'Rudra Namaskaras' in the Sixteenth Chapter of the *Yajurved*. Some examples are:

Forests: 'Namo Vrikshebhya, Shashpinjarai. Obeisance to the Rudra in the trees, the Rudra of the colour of the newly sprouted leaves.' 'Namah Vanyaya, Rudra of the forests'(Yaju. 3-17).

Soils: 'Namah (obeisance to) siktaya (Rudra in the sands); Namah kimshilaya (Rudra as small rocks); Namah Pansavya (Rudra as dust or clay) (Yaju. 3-43).

Land Structures: 'Namah giricharaya (one who moves among the hills); 'Namah girishayaya (one who sleeps in the hills) (3-22; 3-29).

Water Systems: 'Namah pravahyaya (obeisance to Rudra in the flowing water); Namah varshaya (Rudra in the rains); Namah paryaya, avaryaya (Rudra on the far side of the river; Rudra on this side of the river); Namah koopyaya (obeisance to the Rudra in the wells) (Yaju. 3-43; 3-38; 3-42; 3-38).

Artisans and Forest Dwellers: The Rudra Namaskaras also make obeisance to The Rudra in the artisans: 'Namah takshakyebhya (obeisance to Rudra in the artisans); Rathakarebhya (. . .in the charioteers), Kulalebhya, Karmarebhya (. . .in the potters, in the ironsmiths); in the forest dwellers: Namah Nishadebya, (. . .Nishads) Punjishtebhya (. . .in the bird-trapers)' (Yaju. 16-27).

The Five Classes of People: PANCHJANYAH: The term *Panchajanyanyah* occurs in the *Yajurveda* and also in the other Vedas. *Uvat* and *Mahidhar*, the earliest commentators on the *Yajurved*, have explained this grouping as consisting of the *Four Varnas* and also *Nishads* or the tribals as the fifth group as all these five groups are entitled to perform the *Vedic Sacrifice- the Yagnya*. 'Panchjanah: Chatvaro Varnah, Nishad Panchama. Tesham Yagnadhikarat'(Yaju. 26-9).

Kautilaya in his *Artha Shashtra* calls Tribals *Aatavis* which means forest dwellers. The *Yajurveda*, by identifying Rudra with forests, environment, and forest dwellers also pays homage to the Tribals.

The Waning away of the Medicinal Knowledge of the Tribals

Shibani Banerjee and Manobi Bose Tagore

Rajasthan's population includes many tribals, who today constitute 12% of the state population, nearly double the national average. The main tribes of Rajasthan are the Bhils and the Minas that were the original inhabitants of the area now called Rajasthan. But they were forced into the Aravalli Range by the Aryan invasion. Smaller tribes include the Sahariyas, Garasias and the Gaduliya lohars. The tribes share common traits, which seem to link their past together but it is the differences in their costumes and jewellery, fair and festivals that set them apart from one another.

The skills and knowledge base of traditional societies, which encompassed all fields of relevance to their lives, are under threat today. Loss of indigenous knowledge about healing traditions is taking away from local communities their trusted, affordable, holistic health care system. At the same time, an exploding herbal industry, its appeal ranging from pharmaceuticals, nutraceuticals and health foods to cosmetics, toiletries and ethnic products, is exploiting the knowledge base of indigenous and local communities. The question is, what share do these communities get from all the profits that are made from commercialization of their skills. This is true of song and dance, of color and design, of weaving and painting and many other skills. The legendary Michael Jackson owes much of his phenomenal success to the use of African tribal music as does the Indian AR Rehman to the Adivasi music of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. But what returns to the communities?

This paper however will deal essentially with the waning of the indigenous knowledge relating to bio- resources and the natural and herbal treatment given by the tribals.

In India the tradition of using plants for health care goes back several thousand years. Vedic texts going back to 3000 BC deal extensively with the medicinal properties of plants. Ayurveda and Siddha are perhaps the longest, continuous healing traditions in the world. In India, ISM exists at two levels, the classical system encompassing the well documented, codified systems like Ayurveda, Siddha, Unani which have textbooks, are taught in colleges which grant degrees and the practitioners of which are incorporated into the official health care system.

The other is the informal system of folk medicine, the 'Lok Parampara' which exists in communities, is passed orally from generation to generation, for which there are no books and little documentation and which is not part of the official system. These folk traditions are rich and diverse, the knowledge base complex and with their ability to heal a wide range of ailments, these (often tribal) healers or vaidyas are the backbone of health care for 80 % of India.

The All India Coordinated Research Project on Ethno-botany has revealed the richness of folk medicine, held by tribal communities. The project recorded that these communities have knowledge of the use of over 9000 plant species. For healing alone, they use over 7500 species of plants. This does not include the number of animals, insects, lichens, fungus, minerals, soils etc. that they also use for human and veterinary health care.

Adivasi (Tribal) areas are the repositories of knowledge systems that are now seriously threatened because of waning interest in the younger generation. Stripped of its dignity, questioned by the obtuse official machinery and disregarded by a westward looking urban India, folk medicine will be lost and with that will be lost the health and veterinary security of rural India, unless something substantial and urgent is done to protect it and to help it stay alive.

From the analysis of ethnographic data it was found that their medical sphere is highly pluralistic with emphasis on prevention, curative and promotive measures. Local medical traditions have continued to co-exist with biomedicine among tribals of this semi- arid zone, though it

was widely assumed that biomedicine would ultimately replace the traditional medical practices. Biomedicine occupies an important place in the treatment of infirmity among tribals. Beside biomedical and Ayurvedic practitioners there are number of traditional healers who cater to the needs of tribals. These are: -specialists in home remedies; ritual care practitioners (*bhopas*) who also perform *jhara*- the ritual sweeping away of illness; herbalists (*jaangar/jaankar*) who administer '*desi-dvai*'; *nabj or nadu* (pulse) specialists; grain diviner (*devala*) who help in diagnosing disease; bonesetters; abdominal masseurs; priests (*khoont*) who use complain specific *mantras* (sacred verbal formula); and midwives. The concept of *dabna* is also prevalent among tribals. *Dabna* is stamping on the affected part of the body with a hot iron piece. There are various patterns for different ailments. *Dabna* does not necessarily require the services of any specialist in case of human beings. Tribals of Rajasthan categorize different sets of conditions as illnesses of body and mind depending on the respective causes. Most of the illnesses by the symptoms of cold and fever are diseases of cold (*sardi ki bimari*); boils, spots, mouth ulcers, *dath*, heat stroke (*lapat lagna*) etc are diseases of heat (*garmi ki bimari*). Dietary precautions and folk remedies are used for treating wide range of such diseases. Regarding their health conditions the tribals are concerned with the causes of sickness and appropriate treatment. Apart from hot and cold illnesses, it is believed by tribals that sickness is caused by social offences against dead or living or celestial world. Spirits and ghosts cause various kinds of suffering and are agents of illness and fatality.

It was observed from the ethnographic data that tribal use curative materials from plants either in raw form (tying leaves, smearing latex or using the plant as a tooth brush) or extracts made by squeezing or crushing the plant are used on wounds or bleeding parts while crushed plants are used locally as paste or concoctions of different herbs are orally administered. Tribals believe that the therapeutic use of proper diet and available medicinal herbs in the area help in restoring the general health of the community.

I would like to quote an example of an **NGO Anthra** where an effort has been made to preserve the waning veterinary knowledge of the tribals of Andhra Pradesh. When we first hear of the NGO Anthra, we wonder if it is all about music. In a way it is. It has brought happiness and prosperity into the lives of the tribal women who live in the lands around the Godavari river in the hinterlands of Andhra Pradesh.

Anthra was started by Dr. Sagari Ramdas and Dr. Nitya Ghotge in 1992. The NGO was registered in 1995 as a Trust with an all women governing body. Anthra is a resource center, offering training, research and advocacy initiatives in the areas of livestock, biodiversity and people's livelihood. The two are probably the first of their kind at least in India. While they bring a lot of practical knowledge, genuine enthusiasm and interest to their work places, yet they have encountered a lot of opposition mainly because of their gender. There is another reason why they have met with a lot of opposition. They have been working on getting the women involved in animal husbandry and traditional veterinary practices. The women were involved in finding the herbs, flowers and roots for the medicines, making the medicines, growing the rare ones etc. But as far as the true healing was concerned it was a male dominated area for ever so long. That is till Anthra stepped in and through gentle persuasion and dogged determination, they changed the scenario. It took almost a year before the turnaround began. Apparently in rural India, healers have always been men. According to tradition, all knowledge of medicines and herbs would be transferred to a son and not to a daughter. Now, Nitya and Sagari learnt that the same sons were not keen to carry on with this traditional practice and were moving out of the rural areas into the glitzy cities. The vets reminded the men that the women had already been working with the poultry and their ailments and had been doing well. So what was the reason why the other animals could not be entrusted to them also? The men had the usual answers colored by years of prejudice - medicines would lose their potency in the hands of a woman, the animals would not heal because women were not born to be healers etc. Finally after a period of nearly one year, the healers agreed to teach the women who were selected by the two women vets.

Both Nitya and Sagari graduated as veterinary scientists from Haryana Agricultural University in 1986. Sagari went to work in rural Andhra while Nitya went to rural Rajasthan for a stint. Sagari began to look at Homeopathy for alternative medicines. She also began to study indigenous medicines which have been with the tribal folk for centuries. Nitya went on to do her Masters in Veterinary Surgery from Bombay Veterinary College. Sagari went to the University of California to do a Masters in Animal Breeding and Genetics. In 1992 they met up and with the help of a few more vets, they established Anthra. The NGO prides itself on introducing a unique combination of ethno veterinary or folk medicine, Ayurveda and Homeopathy in to the skill base of the para vet. With such medicines being freely available, vet care has become affordable. This translated into better health care of poultry and livestock along with a reduction in the mortality rates.

Commercialization of Indigenous Healing Traditions: The Indian Systems of Medicine (ISM)

Commercialisation of Ayurveda, the most dominant system of ISM, is about 100 years old. The oldest Ayurveda companies, which are the leading companies even today are Dabur in eastern India, Baidyanath in north India, Dodh Pappaswar in the west and the famed Kotakkal (which spread to Sri Lanka) in the south. These groups were all established between 1890 and 1910. Prior to this, commercialisation of Ayurveda was decentralised, practised in a small and sustainable way by the physicians. It really was more service than commerce, the knowledge considered sacred and its practice imbued with spiritualism. When trying to commercialize indigenous health care preparations for the modern market, one faces inherent contradictions. Unlike allopathic medicine, which attempts to treat a symptom or a disease, ISM treats the entire patient. The system is therefore complex and time consuming in its holistic form. This does not lend itself to large-scale production and trade and certainly not to the lifestyles of western style consumers. The early Ayurvedic industry therefore first selected those formulations for large-scale production, which had widely applicable properties rather than very specific ones. The challenges of commercializing for the modern market are primarily

- (i) standardizing dosage and delivery and
- (ii) increasing shelf life.

Ayurveda prescribes formulations not in tablets and syrups but in several forms like teas, decoctions (kadhha), ash residues (bhasma) etc. Ayurvedic preparations are dispensed as fresh as possible to provide maximum efficacy. In the modern system, of inventories and retail, classically prepared Ayurvedic products lose their efficacy because of the long interval between manufacture and ultimate sale from a shop shelf.

That is the reason why there is a great focus on the part of companies to increase the shelf life of herbal products. The global market for herbal products is exploding. It is estimated to touch 5 trillion by 2020. Four out of ten people in the US are using what they call 'alternative medicine', even when all the cost is not covered by medical insurance. Sale of herbal products was in the vicinity of 21 billion US \$. The increase for pharma products in Japan, in recent years has tripled whereas for herbal products the growth in demand is over 15 fold. Similarly in the European Union, sales of herbal products rose from US 1.6 billion to 3.3 billion in 1998. The market is huge and it is growing.

China and India are major sources of medicinal plants. Whereas China's sales of herbal products is in the range of Rs. 180 billion, India holds only 2.5% of the global market, selling roughly Rs.3 billion worth of products. This situation will have to change if herbal products are to become important enough to provide sufficient incentives to ensure the survival of traditional knowledge that supports it.

Cultural knowledge is constantly sought by universities and institutions teaching subjects like anthropology, folklore, history and social sciences. The Sikhs have already set up a Khalsa web site which puts out information on the Sikh history and their religious and cultural practices. Through a web like this, Adivasis can sell their knowledge in fields like textiles, weaving and design, healing practices, vegetable dyes and metallurgy as also art forms and music. Crafts persons in Gujarat have already begun using the net to sell their handicrafts. The 'tie and dye'

tradition of textiles is a particular success story from Gujarat. Practitioners of this traditional dyeing form of silk and cotton fabric have been posting their designs on the net and linking with international buyers. The net could do away with many of the hurdles and bottlenecks that local communities have faced in marketing their produce but there is a need for caution also, at least in the first few year till they master the medium. Intermediate enabling organizations like NGOs or others like in the example above can save the communities from exploitation by unscrupulous elements.

At the end I would suggest that serious efforts in this direction are needed both by us as well as by the Government to preserve this knowledge and to provide the tribals a platform wherein they share their knowledge, gain recognition and contribute to our cultural heritage. It is high time that we should learn to appreciate their efforts and the selfless service that they have been providing for decades to the humankind.

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Gender Consciousness - Empowerment of Tribal Women

Mukta Sharma

Indian society is divided into numerous castes and sub-castes, numbering roughly over four thousand; besides a sizeable number of tribes and other religious communities. In all societies, there are differences in power between persons. There is not a single society where all adults have exactly the same influence over every decision, where every one has the same rights and duties. Besides this division, Indian society is characterized with colonial legacy, developing political institutions that are not very established ones and have fragile political culture. The first social force colonialism was followed by feudalism in the princely states. Both these forces suppressed the masses. Understanding political consciousness in this kind of socio-political set up becomes quite complex and intricate which requires critical examination of all issues around this concept.

Political consciousness implies one's self-image vis-à-vis other individual and social communities, their relationship with socio-political locations and their linkages / connectivity with socio-political and cultural structures of society. Political consciousness characterizes a community's cognitive comprehensibility of its objective conditions as well as its subjective awareness that, in turn, is formed through social experiences, political struggles and cultural traits. Political power is the capacity of an individual or a group of individuals to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in the manner which he desires. Robert Dahl explains power in a very succinct way: 'A' has power over 'B' to the extent he can get 'B' to do something that 'B' would not otherwise do.

The concept of political power embraces the entire gambit of political system, and political power when exercised with legitimacy becomes

constitutional responsibility, while without legitimacy and constitutional property it remains as manifestation of brute force. In this social hierarchy the downtrodden have shaped a new self-image among themselves which resolves a will to act against exploitation, rise from oppression, from death to life from darkness to light and a tireless zeal to continue their movement for social change and for the establishment of an egalitarian society.

In rural India poor people are made victims of several injustices and discriminations. Among these downtrodden there is another group which is more downtrodden, i.e. the woman. The sufferings of women from the beginning are many times greater than the sufferings of men. The women on the one hand were victimized by the colonial and feudal rule and on the other by their men folk sometimes the victimization of women by their men folk is far greater than the feudal state. Today gender has become a common problem all over the world. However, the form and extent of gender problem vary from one society to the other. For instance in India we have two broader societies – the caste society and the tribal society. The gender issues in both these societies are found at different levels. In the caste society the women suffer from rape, dowry, and crime against women, political violence and other such discriminations against them. In the tribal societies the gender problem assumes a different dimension. In this society, women work harder in comparison to men and they are vulnerable to male chauvinism. They are beaten and treated badly and what makes it worse is that they work throughout their life on land and have no right in the share of land. The nature of caste society is hierarchal. It is dominated by considerations of patriarchy and male dominance. The tribal society on the other hand is basically an equalitarian society. In this society there is not much marked division of labour. Whatever division the society has, is characterized by consideration of age. For instance, a Bhil male would fetch water from the stream and the female would bring fuel from the forest. The male would not hesitate to sit on the grinding mill and ask his wife to clean the cattle shed. In the tribal society there is no problem of dowry. Instead, they have a bride price system. A male gets his wife in lieu of the

wealth paid by him to the parents of his wife. This is an exchange marriage in consideration of bride's price. The divorce is also very simple. If a wife wants to marry another man, the other person has only to pay bride price, originally paid by her first husband, and he thus, legitimizes the divorce.

While living in the hilly region the tribals either depended on hunting, or lived on a pastoral food gatherer status. In such a society the status of woman was quite ordinary. All the arduous and risk involving work was done by the men. In this society women were not required to accompany their men for hunting. What was expected of them was to safeguard the house and prepare food for men. At this stage of tribal development, the gender relations were not discriminatory. About hundred years back the tribals of Central India, Bihar and Orissa took to settling with agriculture. This brought the tribals from hills and forest to plains. With the coming of settled agriculture, there emerged women discrimination. In an agricultural society, though the women are required to do lighter jobs, their help; is sought in ploughing, they themselves do not plough. They are required to weed the fields and keep a vigil. Before the coming of the British, tribals owned the land as a community not as an individual property. With the coming of Zamindari system as initiated by the British, land for the first time became private property. Access to land gave rise to larger families. The tribals developed the notions that if, they had more than one wife, they would get more children and this would give them more hands and children to work in the fields. The farm produce would multiply. Such a notion made polygamy a popular form of marriage among the tribals. This reduced the status of women. It created gender discrimination at two levels. First at the level of male and female, and second within the females. Polygamy reduced the status of woman to that of a property. The parents regarded their daughter as a property which could be encashed when she attained marriageable age. Another factor which reduces the status of a tribal woman is a treatment of her as a manual worker. The physical or manual working capacity of the women constitutes the basis of her selection for marriage. She should be able to do the household work, fetch water from well or stream, go

to forest to collect fuel and grind corn. Laxity in sex is also observed in other fields of life. This has landed the women into a kind of brothel life. What is important is that the status of women in the tribal society is ranked very low.

It is disheartening to note that social anthropologists and political scientists on the gender relations of tribals have done nothing substantial. After the First World War, there was a charter for human rights which among other things bestowed equal rights on women at par with men. In India Gandhiji openly pleaded for the rights of women. It was strengthened by the constitution which argued that the states would not discriminate against women on the basis of caste, creed and sex. Women's movement as we find today, is the result of several political, educational and cultural forces. The women's movement makes efforts to reassert the citizen's claims to participate as equals in the political and development process. Since 1975 after the U.N. declaration of women's decade, a number of women's studies have come into force. 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act was concerned with tribal women's empowerment, but as it happens the social anthropologists have altogether neglected the discrimination meted out to tribal women. Despite the high achievement of tribal women, the anthropologists have not left any academic space for this group of women. Their interest has always been to portray tribal women as bearing tattoos and putting on strange ornaments. They are described as a group of people living an exotic life. Political scientists have made certain studies into the domain of tribal life, but they are more concerned with voting behaviour and tribal election analysis than their upliftment and their linking with main stream society. The economic transformation of the tribals has been phenomenal. From food gatherers, hunters they have moved to subsistence economy. Their subsistence economy has transformed into cash economy. The tribals produced surplus commodities in the fields. Their women play a definite role in this economic transformation. These women give their equal contribution in agriculture production, traditional or social forestry, weaving and handicrafts, dairy piggery and poultry, fishing, construction of roads buildings and minor irrigation channels,

mining and quarrying, sericulture, brick kiln and stone-cutting, etc. Hence with the development of the tribal society from savage to civilized, the gender relations have become more complicated. The glaring discrimination is largely in the field of marital relations. It is here that she is considered as a property either owned by parents or by the husband.

As far as tribal women are concerned, their empowerment is not limited to political decisions or the decisions relating to the local government. It has to be multidimensional. For this cause at grassroots level NGO has to be assisted with women's education and health care in tribal areas. Their self-confidence has to be developed any they have to be provided with new skills and opportunities. Men have to be educated regarding women exploitation and necessary provision should be recommended for the establishment of equality between sexes or to empower the women in general. There is a need for tribal women to be recognized as a distinct category among women and accordingly segregated data on them have to be made available in census reports, action taken reports and progress reports, evolve nation and state level perspective plans for mainstreaming tribal women in development programmes, market enterprises, financial allocation, reservation facilities in education, employment and health facilities and mandate the National and State Commissions for Tribal Women, to study, and report specifically their status in their annual report.

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Tribal Folk Songs: A Live Image of Culture

R S Wagela

Culture is precious heritage of a country and folk songs are a mirror to culture. A glimpse of culture can be seen through folk songs. Tribal culture has a prominent place in Indian history but unfortunately writings on tribal culture are nearly negligible. In the present work an attempt has been made to compile the folk songs sung on various occasions in tribal dominated district of Alirajpur situated in South-west of Madhya Pradesh. These songs have been selected by direct observation of their festivals in which these songs are sung collectively and through the interviews with young tribal boys and girls and their families.

Folk songs are being sung in tribal society from generations. Tribal culture can be experience through their folk songs. These songs are quite natural and simple and without any affectation and show off. Three festival which are of utmost importance in the tribal society are marriage, Diwasa and Bhagoriya.

Marriage

Many folk songs sung on various rituals of marriage are prevalent in the tribal society. These songs portray a live and attractive image of culture, Various rituals related to marriage are – engagement, preparations for marriage, bridal make up, custom of turmeric and henna, welcome of wedding procession, departure of the bride, etc. Folk songs sung on these occasions give a beautiful image of culture Engagement ceremony takes place after parents of bride and groom finalize to marry them. In this ceremony relatives of groom collect and go to the house of the bride and gift rice and other things according to the customs to the parents of the bride which implies that the marriage has been fixed. This custom is known as Sav-Bharne. Folk songs sung on this occasion are-

*Khatlo taro base, ghadelo masaniya
Hatu-hatu me ladi jovtele, melu tara lakda*

Songs sung in the house of Bridegroom

*Baydia aade seshlya meni jato
Guwaliya bhaya jaye ne gehni jaye
Meni jato guwaliya
Aarso nakhu, bitri nakhu-juwanye
Sango melu bayed ghisai vo
Baydo bathi rahla lilo-pilo rumaliya
Lilo-pilo rumaliya
Kaliya khetr khedu ni ne doru ni ehan
Radke gharunine doruji*

At the time of wedding a wedding procession comes to the house of bride where ladies sing the following song in a satirical vein

*Bare vakdiya, tahra lakda melu
Kahni mohdi na mohda vechne awlo
Tahra lakda melu
Varu bhundi ladi herte lo, tahra lakda melu
Hiye ni ne biji kehte lo, tahra lakda melu*

Following song in sympathy of bride's brother is sung

*Vochre par bochare aaveli ladi
Tare bhai ne na chod
Beni ne dharma garmi, ghani beni ne pankho lagai de
Vo beni ne pankho lagai de*

In a custom of the marriage bride's brother is placed on the shoulders of the people and then people dance. This custom is known as ghode-nachana

*Bhai bandheli beni aapno nipelo vo
Aapno nipelo beni, keme kzari visaro
Sona no choliyo, beni rupa no paiyeto
Tholiya ghodi dejo, beni bhai jhuni chudo*

Songs on the occasion of bridal make-up

*Amdabad me ek se darji re
Darji sivji re, darji sivjo
Gori ben na kapda re
Soni ghadjo, soni ghadjo
Gori ben ne dori re*

Other Songs-

*Ninli dabi ma, penlo range, gori bani re
Ghare rangaye vo gori beni, ninli sa
Thuliya penal sa, thuliya , gori ben re*

Songs sung by the friends of bride are-

*Madi ne kejo, sasro ne kejo
Sadke layter lagao re, gori ben
Dada ne kejo, bhabhi ne kejo
Sadke layter lagao re, Gori ben
Jiji ne kejo, banevine kejo
Sadke layter lagao re, gori ben*

Songs sung at the time of departure of the bride from her house are;

*Bhai rode, bhujai rode, rode ve nani ben
Sajan sathe hath milave, parke chode jaye
Ninli-pinli chundri udi, shubha naachupaye
Sajan sathe hath milaye, par ke ghor jaye*

Similarly such folk songs, full of pathos, are sung at the time of departure

*Beni ne bhete rato, rato fale vo pyari
Beni ne boyne ave sari reete
Bolo vo pyari beni tu ghuni dare vo
Pyari benuthi*

An adivasi girl earns money by working as labourer, hence at the time of departure of the girl from her parent's house it is assumed that the income of the family will decline. This feeling has been expressed in the following song-

*Chhoti si etdi bo beni, sorevare dubi jaso
Beni taro bhai ekhelo, koreja(karj or loan) podi jaso
Aageno ma suchejo, dalena ma suchejo
Chandpur hat beni fari lejo
Fari lejo vo beni radi lejo
Usseki-usseki beni keme rado
Madi ne kejo beni rupaiya ni le*

On the completion of the ceremony of marriage following songs are sung which give a glimpse of a rare culture.

*Hetri vare ke me lagi, reli li ladi
Bodhi ne aava, rode li ladi
Kalgi ne sqatu khawa raeli li ladi*

Youth imbued with the spirit of modernity sing following song

*Dali-dali se paatiya sajaya bena
Jhula band karo bena, mujhe lag jayega
Dali-dali me paatiya sajaya vo heera
Jhula band kare, veera mujhe lag jayega*

Tribal festival- Diwasa

This festival is celebrated on the coming of rains and to express a wish for a good harvest. Chief of the village selects a day, normally Thursday, which is known as Devan (Day of the God). On the appointed day the preparations for the celebrations of the festival begins. One week before it Mahuwa or country liquor is brewed. Villagers invite their relatives on this occasion. Women of the village decorate their houses by giving a new covering of fresh mud and figures of wheat and gram powder. On the day of the festival Pujara (priest) performs worship of Babadev (Deity of the forest) on which wine, chicken etc is offered. After worship people of the village with their relatives enjoy and celebrate the festival by feasting and sing songs in delight such as :

*Sulaye lo lupeto layo kahan
Rami aayo re, leela la bhaya
Daru kahan ni layo la bhaya*

*Chafaria fudti vo jambu, pale banti vo jambu
Kele dele ni vadi, kele kevlo ghano
Ehani kele khava rado kel kaveli ghano*

Bhagoriya Festival

It is one of the main festival of tribal culture. It starts a week before the festival of holi in the month of Phagun. In it tribal youth of the area visit hats of the nearby areas and meet each other and entertain each other with sweets and snacks like Paan, Ghulfi and Bhajiye. It is considered as the festival of matrimony on which following folk songs is sung with a dance presentation on the music of flute and mandal which is the chief centre of attraction.

*Bhabhi ghare ma ghada-ghudi karti hati
Dado sayero rasel bagaeto hoto*

Five days after holi are celebrated as Ujadaiya day on which tribal youth dance to the tune of mandal in the form of Budliya and Rai.

*Aaju ne dahado gando re, bhai rishevadi (anger) jhunu mane re
Huni mata tara duna rata
Kesvadiyoo rang lageyo re
Gada dahda aveya re bhai
Rrsenvani jhuni mane vo*

On this festival people keep holiday and they celebrate on this day giving the message that today is the day of joy and fun and there is no place of anger in it.

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