



**FACE TS OF
INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY,
HISTORY AND CULTURE**

A FELICITATION VOLUME IN
HONOUR OF PROFESSOR HARIHAR PANDA

Chief Editor
Suryakant Nath

Essays of Indian Archaeology, History and Culture

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SOCIAL LIFE OF THE KUTIA KANDHAS OF ODISHA IN EASTERN INDIA: A RECENT STUDY

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Introduction

The Kutia Kandhas form a crude segment of the incomparable Kandha tribe of Ordisa in Eastern India. There are numerous tribal communities living and dispersed all through the length and broadness of the country. Among them there are a few gatherings who are more confined, old, helpless, and needy and in reverse. They are battered and wounded in each circle of life. At first they have been distinguished and assigned since the fifth Five Year Plan as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) and as of late redesignated as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) by Government of India to get exceptional consideration for their overall turn of events. Presently Government of India has embraced the term Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group by supplanting its prior its terminology Primitive Tribal Groups while keeping the shortened form the equivalent i.e., PTG with the end goal of arrangement and distinguishing proof of a clan or a segment of it based on the principle rules, similar to (i) Diminishing populace, (ii) Despondent education, (iii) Low degree of techno-economy i.e., resource level of economy related with pre agricultural phase of chasing, food sources assembling and moving development (iv) actual disconnection. In India there are upwards of 75 PTGs who are circulated in 14 unified States and 1 (one) Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands as given beneath. According to the gauge of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment they number about 1.36 million, which represent 2% of the all out S.T. populace of India in 1991. Odisha has the differentiation of having the biggest number of PTGs among every one of the States and Union Territories as obvious from the above Statement. In Odisha there are 13 PTGs in particular, Bonda, Birhor, Chuktia Bhunjia, Didayi, Dongria Kondh, Hill Kharia, Juang, Kutia Kondh, Lanjia Saora, Lodha, Mankirdia, Paudi Bhuyan and Sora. 17 Micro Projects are working in various pieces of the State to deal with their issues of improvement. The present paper attempts to focus on the social life of the Kutia Kandhas of Odisha in Eastern India.

Kutia Kandha—A Primitive Tribal Group

The Kutia Kandha constitutes a primitive section of the great Kandha tribe of Orissa. They are found in a contiguous pocket comprising the Belghar area or Baliguda sub-division in Kandhamal district and Lanjigarh area of Kalahandi district. They lead an isolated life of poverty and indigence. The Kutia Kondh lives in remote pockets of a district characterised by densely forested hills, obtaining their food, much of their medicine and shelter from their natural surroundings. Their traditional social and cultural activities are the result of this close relationship with the forest environment. Due to the association of the Kutia Kondh with the forest, plant and animal world, they are considered as people living within a particular eco-system by non-tribal communities of

youthful child, the most youthful child turns into the top of the family. The Kutia Kandha family is man centric. The top of the family practices authority over all individuals from the family yet additionally conforms to the individual rights and needs of every individual part. The top of the family takes socio-social choices in interview with other grown-up individuals from the family. Yet, if there should be an occurrence of financial issue, the top of the family much of the time talks with his significant other prior to taking a ultimate choice.

Housing Pattern and Settlement

The settlement pattern and house types of Kutia Kandha deserve special attention for its mode of selection of site, manner of construction, architectural design and placement of functional areas. Moreover significant landmarks in and around the settlement and structural look of the hutments are reflection of the socio-cultural identity, skill and technology applied for construction and functional use of space inside the house.

Traditionally all Kutia Kandha villages were unclean but gradually most of the villages are found to be inhabited by people of many clans and other ethno-cultural groups. In spite of that they have strong feeling togetherness, mutual help, community cooperation, social solidarity and values of group life. The Kutia Kandha lives in small settlements and the Kutia Kandha village stands on the outskirts of forest and surrounded by the mountains. Houses are built close to each other in two separate rows having a distance of 15 to 20 ft. The village street is usually in East West direction and each village comprises of five to fifty households. The ground plan of the house of Kutia Kandha is rectangular and usually the houses are very low in height.

The clan organisation plays an important role in the Kutia Kandha life and it determines the character of the village. It was a practice that one specific faction bunch get comfortable a specific village. However, during the examination it was seen that individuals having a place with two or three different clans have settled in one village. There are some pure Kutia Kandha villages, whereas two ethnic groups, like Kuti Kandha and Pano (SC) have settled together in one village. But the Pano built their separate dwellings at the out-skirt or the backside of the village. It may be construed that in the recent past, some villages were uniethnic as well as uniclan, but currently we come across multiethnic and multi-clan villages

In each village, a tiny house with grass covered conical roof, supported on wooden pillars is erected at the out-skirt. This structure is dedicated to the Goddess Deopenu. About 10 to 15 years back, in each village there were two separate houses, one as girl's dormitory (kude) and other as boy's dormitory (kude), where the unmarried boys and girls of the village sleep and spend their night.

Construction of a New Settlement

The divinations pertaining to the settlement of a new village and selection of site for construction of new house are almost the same. For the settlement of a new village the Kutaka (sorcerer) plays an important role. The Kutaka with some elderly persons goes to the nearest Dharani Penu (earth goddess) of the site selected for the settlement of the new village and near the Dharani Penu the Kutaka places 14 pairs of rice on a Siali or Sal leaf and covers the rice by another Siali on Sal leaf and places a small stone over it and returns back. In the next day morning again Kutaka with some elderly persons goes to the spot. If the Kutaka observes that the 7 pairs of rice are intact, then and there the Kutaka declares the site as suitable for the establishment of new village. But if the Kutaka declares the site is suitable for establishment of new village. But if the Kutaka notices that there is shortage of a grain of rice then again he places the 7 pairs near that Dharani Penu and likewise he tries for three times. If in all the three times the shortages of rice grains are noticed then he rejects the site for the settlement of the new village. But, in any one change if the rice remains intact, then the Kutaka declares the site as suitable for establishment of the new village.

For the selection of site for establishment of a new village, availability of plain land and perennial water sources are taken into consideration. In the beginning of the establishment of the village, Dharani Penu (earth goddess) is installed in the center of the village. Beda Penu is established in the entrance of the village and Deo Penu is established at the outskirt of the village. The construction of the houses starts on any Sunday or in month of Kartika (October-November).

The houses are built close to each other in two rows in east-west direction. The entrance of the village always faces to the east.

House (Ellu) Structure

The ground plan of the house of the Kutia Kandha is rectangular. The houses are emphatically fabricated, yet low in tallness. The top of the house never surpasses more than 8' to 9' and the stature of the passageway being just around 4'. 6' to 5' from the beginning. The goal is to guarantee protection from the brutal tempests and super cold breeze that win during the storm and winter individually. The primary house comprises of a solitary family room with one back varendah. A few houses have both front and back varendah. In certain houses the dividers of the front varendah are raised up to the rooftop level, with the goal that it gives extra convenience. In the back varendah a fenced in area frames a little room, known as Jaka. The primary room fills such needs as living, kitchen and capacity. The parlor gives convenience to the guardians and little offspring of the family. Previously about '10 year back, the grown up boys and girls were sleeping in the village youth dormitories (kude) maintained separately for the boys and girls. Now a day's grown up boys and girls sleep in the front enclosed varendah or a separate room is built for them. Usually maize, other millets and siali leaf cups are kept hung from the roof of the living room for future use. The agricultural and hunting implements are also normally tucked into the roof. At the corner of the main living room, a mud platform is raised which serves as the hearth and there the fire is kept burning throughout the day and night during the rainy and winter seasons to keep the room warm. Just in front of the main entrance a hole is made on the ground with a iron ring inside and it serves the purpose of husking grains. A portion of the rear varendah is enclosed which is called Jaka. The Jaka serves as goat and pig stay. Jaka is also used as living room for the women during the withdrawal time of the monthly cycle and labor. The front divider is extravagantly painted with figures of people, birds, creatures and other alluring symbols. These canvases and symbols are set up by the older female individuals from the family with hued muds. The cow-shed is underlying the back-yard of the house where just cow, bullocks and bison are kept.

Marriage of Kutia Kandhas

Marriage is one of the most important institutions in the Kutia Kandha society. According to them, life is not worth living without marriage. In Kutia Kandha society marriage gives social sanction to a man and women to live as husband and wife and to discharge certain rights and duties. According to their local custom, marriage gives legitimacy to the children born to the couple in the society. This social status of parenthood is granted to all the married couples irrespective of the form or type of marriage. According to the Kutia Kandhas of Belghar area marriage is a sacrament, which is based on certain rules and regulations. They call marriage in their languages ranja tanji or shedi in a meaning to get (ina) a wife (shedi).

Marriage Rules

There are some prescriptions preferences and prohibitions that are folled in the Kutia Kandha society for selection of mates for marriage. During our study in Belghar area we have cover six villages. There are one hundred and twenty-five families in these eight villages. Among these 125 families 23 polygnous and the rest 102 are monogamous. It shows that monogamous marriages are more frequent then polygynous marriages. The Kutia Kandha society permits a man to have more than one wife. There are two basic reasons for polygynous type of marriage. Firstly, if the first wife is barren the husband may bring a second wife if he has the means to support her. Secondly, a person having sound economic condition brings as second wife to help him in agricultural activities that is for his economic prosperity.

As regards the selection of mates for marriage the Kutia Kandha have several ways of acquiring mates. Besides negotiation marriage they also practise marriage by service, marriage by elopement and marriage by capture. Besides this Kutia Kandha also practice levirate and sororate types of marriage.

There are certain unions which the customary rules of Kutia Kandha prohibit. In the past the Kutia Kandha practised village exogamy as traditionally Kutia Kandhas single clan village. But now a day's village exogamy is not practised because in big villages' people of different clans are

found to inhabit. But clan exogamy is strictly practised and marriage within the same clan is regarded as incestuous. The Kutia Kandha calls the clan or Gochis but surprising there is no totemic cult taboos and rituals associated with the clan.

Now-a-days there are some server deviation found in our study village. (1) marriage inside the village is held between members of different clans as the village is no longer uniclans and members of different clans have also settled in those village and finally ending to premarital pregnancy and finally ending in the marriage of the concerned boys and girls. However such deviations are very few and not encouraged by any means. They are discouraged by strong punishment.

Consent for Marriage

Consent of the boy and girl is a necessary precondition to finalize the marriage negotiation. The consent marriage cannot take place. A Kutia girl cannot be force to marry against her will. She may go way with someone she likes and this may hamper his or her social status and prestige. Another factor is that if a girl elopes with her lover her parents may not get the bride-price or may get less amount of bride-price. Similarly boys consent is also sought for because sexual relationship with whom he loves. So Kutia boys and girl appreciate full freedom in choosing their mates.

Pride Price (Jula sīnamu or karanga luganga)

In practically all ancestral social orders in Orissa a ladies is considered as a significant resources so additionally in the Kutia Kandha society. The young lady's folks request the lady of the hour cost to leave behind her in marriage. Lady of the hour cost is paid fit as a fiddle of both money and kind by the lucky men's family to the lady's family at the hour of marriage .Because ladies are viewed as a resource after their marriage they need to live with her significant other's family. So the young lady's family requests remuneration fit as a fiddle of lady cost for the deficiency of their resource. Lady of the hour cost is paid in a wide range of marriage besides if there should arise an occurrence of marriage by administration and remarriage of a widow to her expired spouse's more youthful sibling. Anyway the measure of lady of the hour cost shifts from one spot to another and as indicated by the kind of marriage and financial status of the two families. Generally the amount of bride price varies from Rs.100/- Rs1000/- in cash and in kind including 3 to 7 pieces of arrows Kuri (bell-metal bowl) new clothes paddy pig etc as bride price. The rate of bride price in case of divorced or separated women is less. The bride price does not go to the bride but to her parents and maternal uncle .In most cases the bride-price is also paid in instalments. Ways of acquiring mates:

Types of Kutia Kandha Marriage

The Kutia Kandha marriage is an elaborate affair. There are various ways of acquiring mates. The traditional marriages are conducted through arrangement or negotiation. Besides this common types are marriage by service, marriage by capture marriage by elopement. Among these types marriage by negotiation is considered prestigious in the Kutia Kandha society of Belghar area. It is the boy's father not the girl's father who first takes initiative foe arranging marriage. The types of marriage of Kutia Kandhas are described as follows.

Arranged Marriage

At the point when a Kutia Kanpdha youth achieves marrageable age, the kid's dad looks for a reasonable lady of the hour for him. The Plan for the marriage starts when the guardians of the young men find out about the appropriateness of a young lady living in the close by or removed villages. From the start the kid's dad enquires about the young lady. At that point the dad or an older individual of the kid's family alongside couple of family members continue to the young lady's home and takes a couple of jugs of district alcohol with him. In this visit the kid's mom can go with the gathering.

Exactly when they appear at the youngster's home her family members get them. By then the youngster's father close by his relatives and town seniors sit for discussion with the child's people. The main event gathering keeps the compartment of liquor there and thereafter discussion starts. The child's father formally asks the youngster's father for his young lady's hand for his kid. The youngster's father enquires about the money related status of the child from the child's father. By

then the youngster's father affirms the proportion of woman of great importance esteem (Jula). Accepting the youngster's father agrees, he gets the holder of liquor which has been brought by the child's father and everybody present there drinks the liquor. It shows that the youngster's father will recognize the suggestion. In the mean time the young woman's father enquires about the character, money related condition, etc of the youngsters and his family from his known individuals and relatives who live in the child's town or in the nearby towns. The appraisal of the youngster is also searched for preceding finishing up the game plan. By then after 2/3 months the child's people and relatives including 4/5 people pay a second visit to the youngster's home. By then both the social event has another round of discussion. In this visit the young woman's father gives his last consent for marriage and the Jani is called for to fix an ideal day for marriage. In this visit in like manner the child's father conveys liquor with him. Now and again the child's social occasion brings hen, goat, or pig with them during this visit dependent upon their monetary condition. Regardless, show of liquor is compulsory as per their custom. After the finish of the marriage day both the social occasions consume the liquor brought by the spouse to assemble's and a function is planned in the youngster's home wherein all present there take an interest. On the booked day of wedding the relatives of the child and a social event from his town go to bring the young woman. On this visit the child's father and mother go with the social event. The child himself never goes to the young woman's town either to bring the youngster or at the hour of course of action. In a noteworthy case, if the child is a transient and has no relative available to organize the he may go.

During this third visit the child's social affair normally contains ten to twenty people. Once in a while the number goes up to thirty or forty. Right when the child's get-together shows up at the edge of the young woman's town, the youngster's social event gets them and takes them home. Before long there is drinking, eating up and euphoric making in their honour. On this occasion a buffalo is butchered and every one participating in the wedding capacity drink Mahuli liquor. Youngsters and young women dance for the term of the night with the melodic reinforcement of drums. In the next day the youngster joined by her relatives and friends go to the child's town.

On arriving in the child's town the clergyman plays out explicit services safeguard the town from any infirmity or disaster that may be fall. He offers an egg to the heavenly creatures at the standard entry of the town and sprinkles millet over the sanctified stones. The youngsters and young women move and sing right to the child's home. Little young people from the child's town pour turmeric water on the social occasion. By then the woman goes into the child's home. The young woman stays for seven days in the child's home. During her visit she is illicit to see her future companion. Following seven days, a social occasion of her relatives and inhabitants come to take her home. In this visit they are throughout treated by a victory coordinated by the child's family. A goat or pig is executed in this occasion for the affair. The guests are locked in with liquor and thereafter they take the young woman to her parent's home.

After this the child and his relatives go a couple of times to his father in law's home to return his woman to his home. During these visits the youngster's father avoids to send her taking various petitions. For example, he says "I need to buy loops for my daughter; I have not purchased kuni (ringer metal utensil) to give her yet"

Various months or years may kick the bucket before the youngster returns to her significant other's place. Appeared differently in relation to the ground works, the real wedding is a fundamental endeavour. The "Jana" the priest of the young woman's town picks a hopeful day for the marriage custom. The date is suggested to the child's people. On that day the fortunate man's people close a few relatives appear at the young woman's town to eliminate the woman. They convey with them a couple of compartments or a tin of mohuli liquor. The youngster's family in their honor coordinates a meal. The next day they return to their town with the woman of great importance. This is the deferred cooperation of marriage in Kutia Kandha social class. No custom for the marriage is performed. From the day the woman of great importance's initially going to get ready's town till her last relationship with the fortunate man, it needs more than one year. During this period the sexual affiliation of the couple is denied and the lady of the hour is returned to her parental house as often as possible. The internal thought behind this framework is that if the lady

of the hour doesn't concoct the lucky man's folks or assuming she sees something particularly off-base about the lucky man, she can deny the marriage or may flee with another young. For this situation, the previous husband to be's folks get back the whole costs caused by them from the lady's new groom. In the masterminded marriage assuming the commitment is parted from the man of the hour's side, no punishment is forced on him. In any case, during this commitment period if the young lady steals away with or in any case weds another man (the second admitted) at that point the subsequent admirer needs to pay the first admirer twofold the measure of cash and materials that the first admirer had spent during the time spent exchange. It is additionally something very similar in the event of a lady who leaves her better half and weds another man.

Marriage by Elopement

This is a sort of adoration marriage. The Kutia young men and young ladies appreciate opportunity in choosing their mates. On the off chance that a Kutia kid chooses a young lady, creates relationships with her and he can't meet the high costs for instalment of lady of the hour cost and for execution of wedding service as needed for standard exchange sort of relationships or their folks can't help contradicting the association, he in some cases absconds with the young lady whom he needs to wed. In spite of the fact that standard guidelines don't allow this kind of association, presently a-days enormous quantities of elopement cases are happening and it has become an acknowledged method of getting mates. By and large elopement happens where the guardians of the kid or young lady don't give their assent for the association. In the wake of eloping to a removed spot, the kid and the young lady get hitched and live as man and spouse. A few years, particularly after their first youngster is conceived, they may get back to the kid's town and be acknowledged in the general public. For this they are obligated to give a punishment blowout to the locals and family members on both the sides. The kid additionally addresses an ostensible lady of the hour cost to the young lady's folks.

In some different cases, the kid and the young lady flee together to an alternate town and take cover in the place of a nearby relative of the kid. On the following day, the guardians of the two of them are educated by that family member. On getting the data both the kid's and young lady's folks alongside a portion of their townspeople arrive at where the kid and the young lady have been shielded. There both the kid's and the young lady's folks guarantee their child and little girl that they will give their agree to the two of them to wed one another. At that point both the guardians alongside their child and girl get back to the kid's town. There the kid's folks orchestrate a banquet for the young lady's folks and her locals. During this gala the date is fixed regarding when the kid's folks will pay the Karang Luganga (lady of the hour cost) and Dal Mamuli to the young lady's folks and her townspeople. After the banquet the young lady's folks and residents get back to their own town going out. From that day the kid and young lady are viewed as man and spouse. On the named day the kid's folks alongside residents go to the young lady's town to convey the lady value (KarangLuganga) and Dal Mamuli as guaranteed before.

Marriage by Service (Ghar-Join Sachenja)

Such kinds of relationships are common among the Kutia Kandha of Belghar region. In typical orchestrated relationships the expense of lady cost and marriage uses are high. Typically the Kutia Kandhas are poor and it isn't workable for large numbers of them to manage the cost of such substantial costs. So the individuals who can't bear the cost of the costs of a masterminded marriage may go for this kind of marriage where the kid delivers free work to his eventual dad in law by remaining in the last's home a few years in lieu of following through on the lady of the hour cost. The time of administration is typically a few years. After the specified assistance time frame is finished, if the lady's folks are happy with the kid's lead and administrations, the marriage is acted in a straightforward service. In this marriage the husband to be may remain forever in his in law's home or rebound to his own home with his significant other to his own town.

This kind of marriage is considered less lofty when contrasted with the conventional marriage by exchange. In such cases the kid with his folks and town Majhi (mainstream headman) and Jani (sacerdotal head) go to the picked young lady's home and express their failure before her folks to follow through on the lady of the hour cost and Dale Mamuli yet suggest that the kid will remain

in young lady's home as child in-law (Gharjoin Sachenja) in any event for a few years and aid all the family and agrarian works. They guarantee to give the lady cost and Dal Mamuli (people group feast) at the earliest opportunity. Without even a second's pause the marriage is concluded and from that day the kid stays in young lady's home while his folks and residents get back to their own town. Yet, during his visit in the young lady's home the kid isn't permitted to lead his intimate existence with the young lady until his dad gives the mutual gala (Dale Mimli) to the young lady's residents.

Marriage by Capture

This sort of marriage isn't considered truly respectable by the Kutia Kandha. Yet, it is turned to for two reasons viz-(i) to keep away from instalment of the great measure of lady cost for customary masterminded relationships and (ii) to dispose of parental issue with the wedlock. It is additionally tracked down that in couple of cases that the lady's dad welcomed the man of the hour to catch his girl to keep away from the substantial costs of a wedding feast which is given by the lady's folks to the husband to be's gathering on the marriage day. For this situation an ostensible lady of the hour cost is paid. The lady of the hour costs included just are kuri, three bits of apaka and two bits of new garments adding up to Rs. 100/- as it were. Catch regularly happens against the assent of a young lady. It is seen that by and large the catch of a young lady happens in the week after week market where the young ladies come to buy their extravagant articles or in the woods where the young ladies go to gather kindling, edibles materials and minor woodland produce or in the dongar land while she is working. Some of the time when a kid and a young lady go gaga for one another and want to wed one another or where the lady cost requested for the lady isn't reasonable by the man of the hour or when the guardians of the kid and young lady object to their marriage, the young lady frequently requests that her darling catch her. Afterward, they are acknowledged in the general public in the wake of taking care of the standard punishment feast and an ostensible lady of the hour cost.

The Kutia Kandha youth with the assistance of his companions may catch his picked young lady from the week after week market, wilderness, dongar, way side, and so on and take her to his home. The catch should be possible on anytime. In the event that the young lady is known to the kid before and will be his better half then she lays down with the kid from the day of the catch. On getting the data, the young lady's folks, family members and townspeople go to the kid's town on the following day of the catch and find out the assent of the young lady for the marriage. By and large, the young lady consents to turn into the spouse of the adolescent who has carried her to his home. After that the kid's dad engages the young lady's folks, family members and residents with a gala of rice, bison/pig meat. At that point with the shared assent of both the guardians, a day is fixed for instalment of lady of the hour cost to the young lady's folks and facilitating of Dal Mamuli (feast for both lady and husband to be's locals) by the lucky man's folks. On the named day, the young lady's folks is party gone to the man of the hour's town and the lucky man's dad gives the Karan Luganga to the lady's folks and furthermore an excellent blowout (Dal Mamuli) to the two his own and young lady's locals. At that point the young lady's gathering gets back to their own town. In this kind of marriage, the young lady might be caught by the kid himself with the assistance of his companions, or not by the kid but rather by his companions as it were. In the event that the young lady isn't familiar with the kid beforehand or she isn't willing to wed him, at that point on the caught night the young lady won't lay down with the kid. She rests independently encompassed by more youthful sisters and siblings of the kid. On the following day, when her folks and townspeople go to the kid's town to think about her readiness for the marriage, she shows her hesitance. At that point she is given over to her folks and sent back to her own town.

Clans of Kutia Kondhas

The origin of the Kutia Kondh society is described in their myths, Kui Gaani. It tells about human beings who existed in the underworld of the earth, and their division into different groups. The text says "Atpa bicha lega atpa jaralega" which means "eight seeds like eight seeds" Being a metaphor, atpa means many types and the seeds stand for human beings, different groups of people or clans, not only the Kutia Kondh, but all people on earth as well. Bicha and jara are synonyms.

and both mean "seeds". The literal meaning of the term *atpa* is 'light' but in the above context, it should be translated as "variety" or "types" or "mixture". Thus *atpa bicha lega* implies that the Kutia Kondh people have emerged like different varieties of seeds. Just as different types of crops are grown in a mixed cropping system in shifting cultivation, the different sub-groups of people who once lived in the underground, later on emerged from Sapangada, the cosmic hole. These *atpa bicha* or the sub-groups of society correspond to the clans. Each clan has a name, and is believed to have a set of the following characteristics, a common origin, a common belief, common thoughts, etc. Although the members of all clans have taken up similar practices of earning their livelihood, they differ with regard to their origin.

The Kutia Kondhas believe that 33 main clans have emerged from Sapangada and several others have derived from those. In a sample survey in several villages, the following 27 clans were recorded: Nondruka, Timaka, Saraka, Gunjika, Sukubichaka, Andanga, Mindanga, Urlaka, Bandalaka/Bandanaka, Damanaka, Rodomika, Sukunga/Sukuka, Prepanga, Sunamudanga, Pangranga, Shidanja, Kamralinga, Dulaka, Bidraka, Sakadaka, Garanka, Padanujenga, Bolibuka, Padanaka, Bangruka, Polubaka and Duduka. It is a common belief amongst the Kutia Kondh that the Nondruka and Timaka clans were the first to have emerged from the Sapangada hole and some legends hold that the Timaka followed the Nondruka.

In the evolution of the clan system, the Timaka clan is regarded as the first-born clan of Kutia society even though the Nondruka clan claims to have originated earlier. However, as the Nondruka clan was driven away from Sapangada, the Timaka clan is regarded as first, and in terms of social stratification, members of the Timaka clan are seen as superior. They are given the responsibility to perform the religious rites for the society. The members of other clans may also hold the position of a village priest, but to worship at Sapangada the priest must be from the *pujara* group. Since the Kutia Kondh originate from Sapangada, a special worship is organised in honour of Sapangada in *Chaita lanju* (March-April) every year. The worship of Sapangada is organised. *Pujara* is responsible for the religious ceremonies offered to Sapangada *Penu* (sing. *Penu*, pl. *Penuni*) and without him the act of worship and sacrifice cannot take place. Other priests may assist only. Due to his association with Sapangada *Penu* the status of the *pujara* is superior to *Jani* and *Majhi*. During field investigations in the Kutia villages around Belghar, only one *Pujara* family was found in the village *Kranja* near Sapangada. For many generations, men from the same family worshipped the Sapangada *Penu* that it became a hereditary right of that family for one of them to act as Sapangada *Pujara*. No other remarkable status is given to the *Pujara* family.

The political headman of a village is called "*Majhi*". The *Majhi* is a position given to a person from the *Majhi* group (the *Majhi* and *Jani* live in two opposing rows of houses in a village). In case of individual disputes, family conflicts, group rivalry, and inter-village rivalry, it is the *Majhi*'s responsibility to solve the problem. Whether it concerns the selection of a new hill for swidden, or the fixing of a day for a community festival, the *Majhi* takes the decision in consultation with the *Jani*, the priest of a village. A person with a *Majhi* surname, but working as a *Jani*, is regarded as a *Jani* in the social hierarchy, yet lives in the *Majhi* row. As far as decision on fixing days to celebrate rituals and festivals are concerned (fixed for every year), the *Jani* takes the decision with or without consulting the *Majhi* (political head). Any person who gets some sort of divine blessing may act as priest.

It has been mentioned that the Nondruka clan descended from three couples. It is probable that the *Majhi* group split off from the Nondruka clan, the latter having been boycotted by other Kutia Kondh clans. The *Kuianka*'s explanation is that the *Majhis* who descended from the Nondruka clan were powerful because of their physical strength, and dominated others. Thus, the *Majhi* held supremacy and exercised power in society that they maintained until today. However, people bearing the *Majhi* of the surname also come from other clans. Example are *Argadi Majhi* of the *Pajibandi* clan (*Paji*=pig, *bandi*=earthenware pot) and *Bandan Majhi* of the *Meragunda* (*mera*=turmeric, *gunda*=power) clan. But *Argadi Majhi* and *Bandan Majhi* do not hold the same status as other *Majhis* because the *Pajibandi* and the *Meragunda* clan are considered to be inferior. The religious activities of *Nerandali*, claims its superiority over all other clans on the grounds that they were blessed with divine power.

Now a days, the Sarak clan dominates and the number of their members is so large that not enough bamboo mats could be offered to them to sit on. The Saraka clan outnumbers other clans by far and so creates the impression that Kutia society is mainly composed of people from the Saraka clan. Its members are considered as the main group within the Kutia Kondh society even though the Damanaka clan claims superiority as former owner of the hills and forests, the main resource of the Kutia Kondh society.

The other central figure in Kutia Kondh religious life is the kutaka, the shaman and medicine man and sometime astrologer, sorcerer and magician. As an astrologer, he predicts future events, performs and interprets oracles. As a medicine man, he recognises the deities and spirits who cause diseases and epidemics and knows how to deal with them. By falling into trance he communicates with them; by using techniques of witchcraft he may cure sick people. He is attributed with magical power and said to be able to transform himself into a tiger. Although the kutaka is believed to be equipped with some highly feared skills, he is supposed to act for the welfare of the village community and its individual members. He co-operates with the Majhi and Jani in that he suggests action be done by them to restore order in the Kutia Kondh world and in most cases, his suggestions are taken seriously. Whereas the Jani is responsible for the "normal" way of the Kutia Kondh world, the kutaka deals with the negative forces that interrupt normality, presenting themselves in the form of unforeseen and inauspicious events, diseases, abnormal deaths, etc. A new kutaka is chosen by deities in dreams and the position is not restricted to any specific clan. Not every village has its own kutaka, but some villages may have more than one. The Majhi, the Jani and the kutaka, besides having their specific duties, are mainly working as peasants on their land.

Food Habit And Drink of Kutia Kandhas

The food habit of the Kutia varies with the seasonal variation in availability of various kinds of crops, fruits, roots and tubers. Rice is not their staple food because of short supply as very small quantity of paddy is produced in few paddy lands. Small quantity of millets and other kinds of cereals produced by shifting cultivation hardly lasts for four-five months. For the remaining part of the year they depend on wild fruits, roots, tubers collected from the jungle. Depending upon the availability, the minor millets constitute their staple food. They eat non-vegetarian items prepared out of pork, beef, mutton and buffalo meat, chicken and fish on festive occasions. They are also fond of salted dry fish, which they buy from the local markets.

Liquor is the most important item essential for drinking and other social religious functions and ceremonies. The four types of liquor are consumed by the Kutia Kandha known as Madanga, Ankingo, Katuli and Pranga Ankinga. These are produced from Salap and mahua flowers while Madanga is the juice of Sago palm tree. Apart from this, the Kutia Kondhs use tobacco and other narcotise. Topari or Pika and Dua or raw tobacco rolled in a Sal leaf or Kendu leaves being smoked by the Kutia Kondhs.

Education of the Kutia Kandhas

The traditional form of education and the knowledge gained by the Kutia Kandhas need to be emphasized for development of their area and people. The pattern of education which induced has very little relation with schooling. Their fore-fathers, elderly experienced people, social and cultural experts and traditional trainers and senior relations teach them non-formally about the behaviour pattern, social mores, scientific traditional techniques for socio-economic gains, and many others that help in leading a free, independent and happy life. In the learning process they inherit that knowledge and acquire certain capabilities which can be useful for oneself, family, village and tribesmen. They aim to material or spiritual gain while undergoing special training. They laugh and keep laughter in other's lips. They enjoy out of other's enjoyment. In the educational process they are helped by others and always get ready to help others. According to their age, sex, family status, and age-old traditions, each individual is expected to behave in a particular pattern. He learns certain things quite non-formally within the time stipulation and without any payment. The knowledge and specific techniques are inherited from generation to generation and that is an on-going process. Starting from very early childhood up to the adulthood one observes social practices, taught non-formally and learns by virtue of experiences. The striking feature of the Kutia Kandha

people is that they never punish the children. Love, affection and repeated or devour of the parents enable the children to develop desired personality. That does not mean that the children are not warned for their faults but they are never taunted or irritated. One may observe that the children are not very free to the outsides. But with all matters of respect, regard and manners they are very perfect towards their kinsmen, villagers and tribesmen. They learn in all stages of age and activities, at hom and in the field, inside the village and outskirts of the area. The receptivity of the Kutia Kandhas and their balanced thought process enriched their cultural heritage. Major fields or areas where an individual involves him in the learning process are forest, field, inside house, at bathing ghat, youth dormitory, on the way to or inside the market, centre for magico-religious performance, Village Street, communal gathering and many others. Individuals like parents, senior members of the family, village political, magico-religious and other leaders, secular head, village Domb cattle herd and very often senior friends are traditional trainers. Whenever they learn something new they verify and experiment in due course before practical application. Anybody repeats the same mistake is taught, then warned and subsequently reprimanded. At last the act of reconciliation works, without any written document the Kutia Kandhas remember many things about their songs, music, dance, medicine, techniques, process of management and several others. Each individual is found as a good trainee before adulthood but afterwards he behaves and acts like a master.

At the Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences (KISS), Bhubaneswar, the ancestral kids including the offspring of Kutia Kandha tribe are furnished with the offices to seek after their examinations from Kindergarten to Post-Graduation (K.G. to P.G.) level. Because of solid assurance and commitment for instructing the ancestral kids, presently the KISS turned into the biggest private organization of India only for 27,000 tribal children. The KISS has gotten an ideal focal point of learning for the most unfortunate of the helpless areas of the ancestral society having an attention on maintainable job, training and extension for all round improvement (Patnaik, 2010, pp. 104-105). KISS is giving various sorts of training/openings for the social and instructive improvement of ancestral youngsters. This foundation is resolved to give greatest openness to the ancestral kids by offering them chances to dominate in their abilities through schooling, extracurricular preparing and a few professional instructional classes, similar to planning of saline, fitting, fishery, handiworks, and so forth. At present a good number of Kutia Kandha children have taken admission into the different courses at KISS for their study and academic career.

Song, Dance and Music

Kude (youth dormitory) is the place where both the young boys and girls learn the art of singing. The songs were composed from the time immemorial and transmitted from generation to generation. New songs are composed and added from time to time. The songs (gani) are using separately by the boy and girl in their respective kude. When the group of boys and girl of a village go to another village they sing song in their host's house or in their respectively kude of the host village. In the marriage feast the young boy and girls sing and dance. In all the major festivals, like karubiha dakina, puni kalu dakina and Taku kalu dakina the young boys and girls also sing and dance. During the dance girls join their hands at the back of every individual participant and step forward and back ward jointly in a chain the sing song while their male counterpart plays musical instruments. During the festive occasions and marriage ceremony the singing and dancing continue for hours together. During the dance, the participants exchange words among themselves.

Musical Instruments: There are number of traditional musical instruments which are not played at the time of every dance and music. In the marriage occasions, the music and dance is accompanied by lighter musical instruments, like Basi, Gani lauri and mauga luri. But in the major religious festivals, like (1) Karubiha Dakina, (2) Punikalukina and (3) Takukalu Dakina most of the traditional musical instruments are played.

Household Appliances, Tools and Implements

The Kutia Kandha household appliances are made, mostly by themselves. The handle of the tools and implements are made out of wood and bamboo. Though canes are plenty available in the nearby forest, but they do not use cane for making appliances, tools and implements. Few Kutia Kandha make the body of the sleeping cot (khot) by cane string plates. Besides bamboo and wood...

appliances, they also use aluminium, bell metal, brass made utensils, containers and iron implements which they purchase from weekly markets. The list of appliances, tools and implements which are used for different purposes are given below.

Dress and Ornaments

The traditional dress of Kutia Kandha men is a loin cloth (Balanda) in the recent past, the upper portion of the body was left bare but in cold season they were covering it with a *chadliya*. The males were using a head gear known as *Kapda (Kappa)*. The male people were also keeping long hair with a knot behind. They were fixing a number of combs (*gremi*) on the head. In the hair knot they were fixing a rod like ornament, known as *Jude kila* made out of aluminium. In the ear decorations they were wearing *kota kichad* which was made out of gold or brass or silver or aluminium. In the neck they were wearing a necklace made out of beads which was called, *Baraha*. Though the finger ring was not a traditional ornament of the Kutia Kandha men, still some were wearing rings made out of brass or aluminium.

Now a days a few older generation males and a very few young of the remote hilly regions of Belghar and Gumma panchayats are adorned with their traditional dress and ornaments and keep long hair. But the majority of male a now days, wear shirt and short or full pant and shirt and cut their hair like the plain area people and wear no head, ear and neck ornaments.

The traditional dress of the Kutia Kandha women is *Retang* and *Uromi*. The *Retang* is a band of cloth worn by the female which covers from the lower portion of the waist to the upper portion of the knee. The front portion of the body is covered by *Uromi* which hangs from the neck up to the abdomen. The lower portion of the *Uromi* is tied by a cotton string worn round the waist. Under the *Retang* the female wear a loin cloth known as *Topa*. Every Kutia Kandha girl and women above the age of 5 to 6 years of age wear *Topa*. The girl or woman wears *Topa* always whether she is in the menstruation period or not. The *Retang* and *Uromi* are indigenously women by them selves. The girls from 5 to 9 years of age wear only *Topa* and the upper portion of the body remains naked. Now a day the *Retang* and *Uromi* are replaced by two towels married women above middle age wear two towels, in a way the older generation women were wearing *Retang* and *Uromi*. The young girls and women are now used to wear saree, sarya and blouse. The girls above 6 to 10 years are wearing frocks purchased from weekly markets. The Kutia Kandha women wear a number of aluminium, iron, silver and gold ornaments. Beads also adorn their neck.

Conclusion

Thus, it is known from the observation that Social life of the Kutia Kandhas of Odisha is associated with forest and all the social activities of Kutia Kandhas are based on their life style straight and secondarily. When the present scholars took research in the respondent area found that most of the Kutia Kandha people are engaged in forest resources collection. In few areas, people were working as daily wages earning laborer or daily agricultural laborers. Due to the association of the Kutia Kondhs with the forest, plant and animal world, they are considered as people living within a particular eco-system by non-tribal communities of the region, in the main, by the tribal farmers of the plains (who are not forest dwellers) as they have only indirect access to its products. The forest has shaped the premise of the Kutia Kondh culture. They see plants and trees as animals similar to creatures and people, the previous contributing fundamentally to the coexistence arrangement of their material and strict culture. Family is the essential social unit of the Kutia Kandha. In the Kutia Kandha society, the family is the fundamental unit, controlling the social conduct of its individuals and controlling the utilization of the developed land in its ownership. The clan organisation plays an important role in the Kutia Kandh life and it determines the character of the village. It was a practice that one specific faction bunch get comfortable a specific village. The Kutia Kondh believes that 33 main clans have emerged from *Sasangada* and several others have derived from those. Marriage is one of the most important institutions in the Kutia Kandha society. According to them, life is not worth living without marriage. In Kutia Kandha society marriage gives social sanction to a man and women to live as husband and wife and to discharge certain rights and duties. According to the Kutia Kandhas of Belghar area marriage is a sacrament, which is based on certain rules and regulations. The food habits of the Kutia Kandhas varies with the seasonal variation in availability of various kinds of crops, fruits, roots and tubers.

Rice is not their staple food, because of short supply as very small quantity of paddy is produced in few paddy lands. The traditional form of education and the knowledge gained by the Kutia Kandhas need to be emphasized for development of their area and people. Their fore-fathers, elderly experienced people, social and cultural experts and traditional trainers and senior relations teach them non-formally about the behavior pattern, social mores, scientific traditional techniques for socio-economic gains, and many others that help in leading a free, independent and happy life. The Kutia Kandha children are provided with the facilities to pursue their studies from Kindergarten to Post Graduation (KG to PG) level at the Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences, Bhubaneswar since 1993. The traditional dress of Kutia Kandha men is a loin cloth (Batanda) in the recent past, the upper portion of the body was left bare but in cold season they were covering it with a *chaddar*. The male were using a head gear known as *Kapda Gaspa*. The traditional dress of the Kutia Kandha women is *Retang* and *Uromi*. The Kutia Kandha females tattoo on their bodies. They do not put stock in any explanation or odd notion for tattooing. They do it just for beautification. The Kutia Kandha women wear a number of aluminium, iron, silver and gold ornaments. Beads also adorn their neck. Now a days a few older generation males and a very few young of the remote hilly region of Belghar and Gumma panchayats are adorned with their traditional dress and ornaments and keep long hair. But the majority of male a now days, wears dhoti and shirt or full pant and shirt and cut their hair like the plain area people and wear no head, ear and neck ornaments. On the whole, the above discussed social life of Kutia Kandhas of Kandhamala district and some other areas of Odisha is an important feature of the tribal culture of one of the primitive tribal groups of Odisha in Eastern India.

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