(A) Urbanisation : Pre-industrial and Industrial

Urbanisation is not a recent or modern phenomenon. It is a very old process of human civilisation. There existed urban centres like Harappa, Mohenjodaro, and Lothal etc. in and beyond the Indus Valley as early as 2500 B.C. In the past there were several kinds of towns according to their main functions such as trade, commerce, manufacturing, administration and military (Rao, 1974:98). There were temple towns namely Puri, Kāshi, Tirupati, Bhubaneswar and Sriraṅgam. Besides, there were sacred cities like Haridwār, Gayā, Nāsik, Ujjain, Pushkar, and Mathurā. There were also urban centres organised around education. These were known as 'Maṭha' or 'Vihāra'. Mention may be made of Nālandā, which flourished during the reign of Harāhavardhan as a premier institution of Buddhist learning and educational activities (Rao, 1974:99-100). Such types of urbanisation existed in the past and may be called as 'Traditional' or 'Pre-industrial' urbanisation. It has to be noted here that functions and activities mentioned above may be found in a single urban centre variously combined and differentiated (Redfield and Singer, 1954; Sjoberg, 1955, 1960; Rao, 1974).

There exist differences between traditional urbanization and modern urbanisation. In terms of western experience, urbanisation refers to a process whereby traditional social
institutions and values are broken down. It means caste system will change into the class system, joint family will become nuclear family and religion will emerge highly secularised. The existence of traditional urbanisation in India is ignored by such hypothesis (Rao, 1974:2-3). In other words tradition was very much a part of traditional/pre-industrial urbanisation in India. So, the scholars have used the terms like 'traditional' and 'modern' or 'pre-industrial' and 'industrial' so as to make a clear differentiation between them.

Considering technology as the key independent variable, Sjoberg (1955:438-45;1960) has made a significant effort to study urban centres. He has provided a two-fold typology of cities: Pre-industrial and Industrial. But, this typology tends to be misleading. First, as Rao (1974:6) has pointed out, industry is only one of the many axes of urbanisation with different levels of industrial organisations. Secondly, as Cox (1964:34) has said, industrialism and feudalism are not parallel concepts and the pre-industrial type includes so many disparate societal systems that its value as an operational instrument seems nullified. Redfield and Singer (1954:53-73) have also distinguished urban centres of two historic periods: (1) Pre-industrial revolution and (2) Post-industrial revolution or 'Post-western expansion'. They have constructed a four-fold typology of city and worked out its organisational and functional aspects.

An important aspect of traditional urbanisation was that folk culture remained very much a part of urban centres or cities. The traditional city was to "carry forward, develop,
elaborate along established local culture or civilisation. These are cities that convert the folkculture into its civilised dimension" (Redfield and Singer, 1954:57). In other words, the little tradition developed into great tradition with its special intellectual class, administrative officers and rulers closely derived from the moral and religious life of the local culture. Advanced economic institutions were also obedient to these local culture centres. On the other hand, the people of post-industrial urban centres are more concerned about the technical and not the moral order of life. They may also be drawn from diverse cultural origins removed from the indigenous seats of their cultures. Here new states of minds following from these characteristics are developed and become prominent. The new states of minds are indifferent to or inconsistent with or supersede or overcome states of mind associated with local cultures and ancient civilisation.

The basic distinction between these two types of urbanisation in terms of culture is that the former carries forward an old and local culture into systematic and reflective dimensions, whereas the latter one creates original modes of thought that have authority beyond or in conflict with old cultures and civilisation. In both types of urbanisation, urban centre is a place where culture change takes place. But the character and nature of change is different in one from that of the other. The former type of change is termed as 'orthogenetic change' whereas the latter type is termed as 'heterogenetic change'. Similarly, we may speak of the 'orthogenetic cultural role of cities' as contrasted with the
'heterogenetic cultural role of cities' (Redfield and Singer, 1954:58). Thus, traditional or pre-industrial urbanisation did not kill folk culture, rather it helped to transform it into orthogenetic civilisation. Redfield and Singer (1954:60-4) also talk of 'Primary urbanisation' and 'Secondary urbanisation' and thereby transformation of folk societies and cultural consequences. However, Redfield (1955:13-21) has analysed the social organisation of tradition in general. Later on Singer (1964:84-119) has adopted the idea of Redfield and applied it to Indian civilisation.

(B). Pre-industrial and Industrial Urbanisation in Sambalpur

Before accounting for the effects of urbanisation on folk culture of Sambalpur, it is worthwhile to give a short account of pre-industrial urbanism and urbanisation in Sambalpur. In the third chapter, we have made an attempt to present the historicity of Sambalpur area. With the support of those historical evidences an attempt has been made here on traditional and modern urbanisation of Sambalpur.

In the pre-industrial period, Sambalpur was an urban centre of various interest. Urbanisation is considered to be an important aspect of the social organisation of any civilisation. An urban centre is looked upon as an arena for the development of different dimensions of 'great tradition' (Redfield and Singer, 1954:53-73; Rao, 1974:97-118). In Sambalpur area, imitation on each other between tribal and Hindu cultures has been a historical phenomenon. In the past urban centres like Vinitāpura (modern Binkā), Suvarnapura
(modern Sonpur), Sambalpur, Pātnāgarh, Baud, Barpāli, Khariār, and Bargarh etc. emerged and flourished under various kingdoms. In this regard, this area represents the socio-cultural organisation of a plurality of cultures in interaction.

Earlier, it has been discussed that Sambalpur is of ancient origin. It has seen the dawn of civilization. Long before the introduction of any regular script in India, ancient men have left at Vikramkhol on the wall of a cave pictograph writing which is still undeciphered (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:1). The Greek geographer Ptolemy (middle of the 2nd century A.D.) in his book Geographika refers to a town Sambalaka (modern Sambalpur town) situated on the bank of river Manada (Mahānadi) (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:2, 53). Moreover, Sambalpur was, until the year 1990, regarded as practically immune from famine so much so that it was described in official reports as a "Garden of Eden" and "Land of Promise" (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:181).

From very early times Sambalpur has been famous for producing fine diamonds, available from the river bed of Mahānadi near the town. People of 'Jhara' community used to collect it from the river bed. In ancient time, most probably they used to sell them in Kaliṅga. Perhaps Rome was also supplied with diamonds from Sambalpur (Mazumdar, 1925:78). Thus Sambalpur was an emporium of trade to which flocked traders from outside to purchase precious and semi-precious stones. Therefore, it was natural for the Chauhans to be known as the rulers of 'Hirākhanda' i.e. the land of diamonds (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:63-4; Ball, 1985:518-30; Dash, 1971).
Sometimes, diamonds were found to be of the value of a lakh of rupees each. In 1616 a diamond, worth RS.50,000/- was collected from Sambalpur and sent to the court of Mughal emperor Jahangir (Ball, 1985:520).

Sambalpur served as a centre for handicraft manufacturing. It was known for its textile and silk goods with a number of skilled workers. Thus, Sambalpur was a urban centre consisting of artisans. It was famous for "tie and dye weaving in cotton and tassar silk bringing most artistic designs from the loom almost like magic with the help of formulae which have been passed down from father to son for generations" (Senapati and Mahanti,1971:1). Sambalpuri textile with traditional design had earned wide renown and reputation. It had been highly popular and commended in markets all over the world. Sambalpuri saree is remarkable for its colourful variety and texture. The importance of Sambalpuri saree is revealed from the list of articles sent to the Paris exhibition sometimes in 1854 (Dash, 1971:6). In the past the merchants were carrying in trade with many countries in the east such as Java, Sumatra and Bali. The cloth designs in these places bear close resemblance, both in figure work and in processing, to that of textiles of Sambalpur (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:22'). Very likely they have adopted Sambalpuri designs in their textile industries. Moreover, silk, and cotton spinning, weaving and dying were and are important industries in Sambalpur. It seems some of its inhabitants were chiefly merchants and artisans, and it was organised around both inland and riverine trade and commerce.
In the past Sambalpur town also fulfilled important political, religious and educational aspirations. It was the seat of chiefs and kings during Chauhan rule in Sambalpur. Chauhan rulers had built several Jagannath temples, Siva temples and temples for mother goddesses like Samaleswari and Patañeswari. Some important Jagannath temples of Sambalpur town are Brahmapura and Rāmji Jagannath temples, built by Chauhan ruler Balabhadra Dev (1561-91). Kuṭhā Jagannath temple was built in the early 17th century by Bansi Gopal. Chhatra Singh Dev (1657-95) built the Jagannath temple at Hotā padā (Dash, 1962:270). Jayant Singh (1782-1800) built the Dadhibāman and Bārihā Jagannath temples (Dash, 1962:283). Subsequently, Madan Mohan and Liākhāi temples were built at Dalāi Padā. Also the Jagannath temples of Hatā padā and Saṃsiā padā were built in Sambalpur town. Another prominent temple at Sambalpur town and only one of its kind in the Chauhan territory is the Ananta Sajyā temple. It is said to have been built by Balrām Dev (1540-56), the first Chauhan ruler of Sambalpur. The image of the Anantasāyi Vishnu, enshrined in this temple was brought from Surgujā by his queen, who was the daughter of the ruler of Surgujā (Dash, 1962:235-6). Since Bansi Gopāl was a Vaishnavite, he established a Maṭha called Gopālji Maṭha, sometimes in the first half of the 17th century in Sambalpur town (Dash, 1962:252). Abhay Singh (1766-78) laid the foundation stone of the temple of Sākhi Gopināth in the town, which was completed by Jayant Singh (Dash, 1962:281).

Among the temples of mother-worship, Samaleśwari temple is famous throughout this culture area. It was built by Balrām Dev
in the first part of 16th century. Hrudaya Nārāyaṇ Dev (1556-1561), son of Balrām Dev built the Pāṭaṇeśwari temple and enshrined the Pāṭaṇeśwari Devi inside the temple (Dash, 1962:242). There were also shrines of Baṭamangalā, Bhaīrōṅ Bābā, Buḍhi Māa and Mahāmāyī in Sambalpur town.

Apart from the 'Vaishnava' and 'Devi' shrines of Sambalpur town one finds a number of Śaiva shrines in the town. Balabhadra Dev (1561-91) built the Somnāth temple (Sāmiā Deul) for Lord Śiva at Bālibandhā (Dash, 1962:243). Ākbar Rāi, the Chief of the Army of Ajit Singh (1695-1766), built the Bāluṅkeśwar Śiva temple at Nanda paḍā. During this period, Nilaṃadhava Śiva temple was also built on the bank of the river Mahānati (Dash, 1962:281). Manohar Singh, a member of royal family of Khindā, built the Buḍhārāj Śiva temple during the reign of Jayant Singh (1782-1800), in Sambalpur town. The temple is situated on a hill top (Dash, 1962:283; Senapati and Mahanti,1971:50-51). Thus, Sambalpur was a temple town in the past and people visited for religious purpose.

The internal arrangement of Sambalpur town was related to its socio-economic structure. It is clearly evident from the settlement pattern of old Sambalpur town, which grew over the centuries on the bank of the river Mahānati. The nucleus of the town, Sambalpur can be traced in the locality where the Samaleśwari temple is situated. Between 1556 to 1800, the town development was in a bow form. The town was surrounded by a semi-circular water channel which ultimately negotiated river Mahānati towards the South. Since maritime activity was one of the traditional occupation, the fishermen and the Jharā
community also flourished, who probably settled outside this water channel which is presently known as Kunjelpara. In course of time, the rulers of Sambalpur encouraged the Brahmins to come and settle in places which are presently known as Jhādu̲para and Nandapara. Side by side Sahāsi̲para and Ka̲nsāripara also developed parallel to Jhādu̲para and Nandapara. With the coming up of the Railway to Sambalpur in 1893, trade and commerce flourished. The railway helped in organising the market on a sound footing and encouraged outsiders to come and settle in Sambalpur. Areas like Khetrajpur, Modipara, Mārwāripara, Sānsarak etc. developed which mainly housed the business community (SMP: 6-7).

Most streets are mere passage way for people and domestic animals used in transport. Buildings are crowded together. In consequence, the congested conditions have fostered serious sanitation problems. The social separatedness of the various caste and ethnic groups in Sambalpur town conforms to the traditional way of life even today. So it may be suggested that the significant feature of the pre-industrial Sambalpur town was the social segmentation which had led to the formation of 'para' (residential unit). In all probability, 'para' was a recognizable physical boundary of a particular caste. Mention may be made of some important para such as 'Nanda para' (for Uḍiyā or Utkaliya Brahmins), 'Jhādu̲a para' (for Jhādu̲ā or Āranyaka brahmins), 'Dalāi para' (for Keu̲nt or fishermen), 'Pattnāik para' (for Mahānti or Kāraṇa caste people), 'Ka̲nsāri para' (for 'Ka̲nsāri' caste people who are engaged in bell-metal works). The ex-untouchable castes, now
known as the Scheduled Castes, were perhaps restricted to the outskirts of the then main Sambalpur town. They were staying in 'Thelko para' which is now very much in the middle of the modern Sambalpur town. It seems the individual had very limited choice or freedom of action in the pre-industrial Sambalpur town where he had to follow the traditional pattern of living set by primordial group like caste in which he was born and brought up. Moreover, the para reflects the sharp local social divisions. Sjoberg's idea on the nature of the pre-industrial city fits into the instance of Sambalpur. "Social segregation, the limited transportation facilities, the modicum of residential mobility and the ramped living quarters have encouraged the development of well defined neighbourhood which are almost primary groups" (Sjoberg, 1955:493). What is true of the traditional Indian village as regards to segregation is also true of pre-industrial modern urban centre like Sambalpur and modern and industrial cities like Poona (Gadgil, 1952:67-75), Bangalore (Gist, 1958:17-25), Chandigarh (D’Souza, 1968:113-16), and Amritsar (D’Souza, 1977; 1978:219-39), Agra (Lynch, 1967:142-50, See Chapter II). Brush (1962) has made an important study on this issue.

The economy of the pre-industrial Sambalpur town may be defined as that system of production in which inanimate sources of power were used to multiply human effort. Production of goods and services was based upon animate (human as well as animal) sources of energy. Today, after the set-up of Hirakud dam multipurpose project in 1962, people employ electricity to increase the productive
Other facets of the economy of pre-industrial Sambalpur town was associated with its particular system of production. There was little fragmentation or specialisation of works. The handicrafts men like Bhuliā (weaving caste), Bađhei (carpenter), toy-maker, Sunāri (goldsmith), Luhurā (blacksmith), Kaṁsāri (brass and bell metal worker), Saṁsiā (people engaged in stone-carving) participate in nearly every phase of the manufacture of an article, often carrying out the work in his own home or in a small shop nearby. In the past, 'Kaṁsāri para' was occupied almost exclusively by 'Kaṁsāris'. Likewise, 'Bhuliā para' was exclusively occupied by the 'Bhuliās', Saṁsiā para by 'Saṁsiās', and Dalāi para by 'Keunt' (fishermen). Most commercial activities were conducted by individuals without having a highly formalised organisations. The craftsmen were responsible for the marketing of their own products. In a similar context Sjoberg(1955;440) writes: "with a few exceptions the pre-industrial community cannot support a large group of middlemen." Even today, the male members of the fishermen community catch fish while their females take it to the markets for selling. But, in some other cases, a number of middlemen have entered into commercial business such as Sambalpuri handloom. "Earlier, buyers and sellers used to settle their bargain by haggling. Bargaining was conducted in a leisurely manner. Money was not the only desired end," says an old man in the town. Quite often, people bought goods in advance on credit, on the occasion of various socio-religious ceremonies such as marriage, birth,
death, initiation and other ritual festivals. In that case, the customer was able to purchase/get his desired objects well in advance, without paying even a single anā.

Sambalpur was also a market town lying on the river side mainly consisting of artisans like Bhuliā, Tañtī, Kañśāri, Sañśīā, Sunāri, toy-makers and the like. Sambalpur was also notable for trade in forest goods namely Keñdu (Diospyros melanoxylon) leaf, timber and bamboo. As a result, a number of forest-based industries came up during past fifty years in Sambalpur. Moreover, caste specific jobs or occupations was a widespread urban phenomenon in pre-industrial Sambalpur town, which will be dealt subsequently. It is also evident from the Bārā Pāṭuk tax system prevailing in Sambalpur till Britishers took over the administration of Sambalpur in 1849. The Bārā Pāṭuk refers to a typical tax system whereby the head-man of various castes, each representing a particular profession or occupation or trade, collected taxes from their caste-men. They were also known as Sethiāā. They exercised much influence over their caste people in social matters. They had to make an annual remittance of an agreed amount called the Nazrānā to the Rājā or ruler of Sambalpur. Originally there were 21 classes locally called Pāṭuk so taxed, each having its own Sethiā. By the time Britishers came to Sambalpur, there were only 13 such Pāṭukas, who used to pay the tax. These classes were namely fishermen and the boatmen (locally called Keuṃṭ), the weavers (Bhuliās and Koshtā), the sellers of grass, the makers of big drums (Ghāsi, an untouchable caste), oil sellers (Teli), retailers of grains, sellers of betel leaf, flower and vegetable sellers
(Māli), sellers of sweet meat, makers of brass pot (Kaṃsāris), the goldsmiths (Sunāri), the potters (Kumbhār), and the milk-men and cow-herds (Gauḍs) (Mojumdar, 1988:31-40). Also, pre-industrial Sambalpur town was marked by mostly cottage industries.

(i) Silk Weaving: Among the well-known traditional cottage industries of Sambalpur was and is tusser silk weaving. For many years, it was a principal industry of Sambalpur district. In nineteenth century tusser silk was manufactured to a great extent. The fabric was being used locally and was also exported. In 1864, the Deputy Commissioner Major Cumberlege reported that five large villages or towns were occupied in weaving tussar, and in each, at the very lowest computation, 1000 thāns or pieces were produced annually. The culture of the tusser silkworm was carried on in almost every jungle village and at least 7.5 million cocoons were produced. Only one-third of the cloth remained in the district, the rest being exported to Cuttack and Berhampur of modern Orissa and Raipur and Bilaspur of modern Madhya Pradesh. It is clear that the industry was then in a flourishing condition. The rearing of the Koshā (tusser warm) was carried on by Gaṇḍā (a scheduled caste), chiefly on the Sahaj (Terminalia tomentosa) tree. Spinning and weaving were a monopoly of the Kosthās. The centres of industries were Sambalpur, Remunḍā and Barpālī (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:204-5)

(ii) Cotton Weaving: Sambalpur was and is famous throughout India and even abroad for handloom fabrics. Weaving in Sambalpur
is both a craft and an industry, manned mostly by Kostā and Bhuliā castes. According to Mazumdar (1925:94), ancestors of these weaving castes belonged to the districts of Bilaspur and Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. The specificities of Sambalpuri handloom are that they are fine in texture and resplendent in their colour schemes. Floral decorations in the body, and beautiful oriental designs and borders further adds to the gorgeous effect. It is mainly the dhadi (borders) and panat kāni (outer skirt) that distinguish the Sambalpuri varieties from others. From the local source: "The Sambalpuri craftsmen turn common clothes into objects of art." And it is no wonder that examples of their workmanship are in great demand. They have earned worldwide fame and name. This industry was in a flourishing condition in the past. Significantly, some fine exhibits of handloom fabrics at the British exhibition in Wembley in 1924 and 1925 were much appreciated and orders were obtained through the department of Industries and Labour for a supply of the said type of cloth. The weavers exhibited considerable taste in colour and variety of pattern. Even the coarsest cloth was woven with a dainty border. The Bhuliās had nothing to fear from competition with meal cloth as they made good use of their monopoly of inherited skill. Besides, the Gahdās weave a cheaper and coarse cloth mainly for the poor section of the society. These weavers at times three generations working together, produce the cloth in their own cottages. (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:219-20)

The handloom products of this district, assisted by hand printing and dyeing, offer buyers everywhere some of the best
material in taste and quality. Among this wide range of fabrics, the sarees of Sambalpur have a place of their own. The fabrics of Sambalpur are also known for a wide range of colourful designs. Senapati and Mahanti (1971:220) write:

"Sambalpuri sarees found a brisk market not merely in Sambalpur district but also in all the neighbouring districts. Their colour and design and the method of wearing made the women look some of the prettiest women in the world. Even it has been found that, women of this district rarely wear mill-made sarees or handloom sarees produced in other parts of the state."

It was only after India's independence that co-operative societies were formed of the weavers' of the district. Technical aid was also being rendered. During 1966-67 there were 96 weavers' co-operative/societies in the district consisting of 14,426 members. The total working capital was Rs. 30,14,000. There were 12,433 looms for weaving cotton fabrics and 1,365 looms for silk weaving in the district of which 6,447 looms and 180 looms respectively were working during 1966-67 (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:219-20). Further, the government also advances loans to the weavers' co-operative society and markets the products through its emporia and depots. To improve the quality and to bring about standardisation of production, the government exercises strict quality control in regard to the silk and cotton used.

(iii) Toy-making: If Sambalpur was famous for its weaving industry it had yet another claim to fame. It was famous for toy-making, mainly elephant, tiger, horse etc. made of wood. It
has to be mentioned here that Purā Uâns is a festival of small children based on different types of toys, which is held every year on the day of Uâns (Amāvâsyâ) in the month of Bhudo i.e. Bhâdrava (August-September). Therefore, toy-making has both ritualistic as well as utilitarian values. This festival is gradually dying out in Sambalpur town as noted during our field work during 1988-89.

(iv) Stone Carving: Carving on stone was the hereditary function of a caste known as 'Sañsiâ' in Sambalpur. Notably, they largely reside in the 'Sañsiâ padâ' of Sambalpur town. According to the local tradition, Hrudaya Narayan Dev (1556-61) brought a number of skilled craftsmen of Sañsiâ caste from coastal Orissa at the time of construction of Pâtañéswari temple in Sambalpur town. In subsequent years, the craftsmen of this class built some more temples in Sambalpur, which is evident from the similarities in the construction and design of those temples (Mazumdar, 1925:92-3; Sadeo, 1983:28-9). The Sañsiâ caste has two sub-castes: the Bânâriâ and the Khandâit Oriya. The former still practise carving but the latter has given up the craft.

Though more or less similar to the process of wood-carving or toy-making in woods, works on stone requires more skill and fineness. The trained and expert craftsmen can engrave the delightful figures of gods and goddesses from a single piece of stone. The graceful figures of stone are a tribute to the craftsman's sense of observation and artistic skill. The artists take extra care to avoid monotony and
represent the figure ie. god, goddess, male, female etc. in various postures. A single figure may be carved out of a piece of wood or a pair of figures carved out separately and placed on the same base giving a composite character. The stone generally used for carving small images was a black stone resembling marble or a green stone like Jāde. Generally, a fine red sand stone called Dālima was being used for larger figures. As the Dālima stones were rarely found in the district, the craftsmen had to import them from Kalāhāndi. The stone mostly used was quarried at Sason and was well adopted for chiselling (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:207).

(v) Brass and Bell-metal (Kaṁsā) : A large bell-metal industry existed in Sambalpur town during the first decade of the present century, where a number of Kaṁsāris (from Kaṁsā which means bell-metal) worked only in bell-metal. A number of artisans were also found in Kultāṭukrā/Ṭukrā; Remenḏā, Bijepur, Barpāli, Rampelā and Kaṭāpāli. The artisans were Kharuās and Kaṁsāris. A number of such varieties of common articles for daily use like utensils of household use are made and entrusted in these places with floral and ornamental designs which have a sale even outside Sambalpur. The articles were and are produced largely in the craftsmen's homes. The articles most commonly turned out were Khuri (bowl), Ginā (cup), Gaḍu (a small water container or carrier), Thāli (plate), Gariā (a large water container or carrier), bālti, Gilās (glass), etc. and also the curious boat-shaped anklets worn by many women (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:206-7).
Fundamentally, the Sambalpuri crafts like toy-making or brass-metal works or wood carving are of two kinds: 'ritualistic', i.e., used in the service of rites and festivals; and the 'utilitarian', i.e., used for house-hold purposes or provided attractive drawing room objects which made excellent, as found elsewhere in India. Social customs demanded the objects, modes of manufacture and material qualities determine the form in relation to toy-making, stone-carving and brass and bell-metal works in Sambalpur.

Forest-based Industries:

In Sambalpur, there were good prospects for the development of forest-based industries - cottage, small and large-scale. Forest occupied a little more than one-third of the total geographical area of Sambalpur district in 1961. Of the 6,763 square miles area of Sambalpur district, an area of 2,351 square miles was accounted for by forests (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:3, 176). Forests occupied an important place in the economy of Sambalpur. The principal forest produce in Sambalpur district were timber, fire-wood, bamboo and Kendu leaf. Availability of raw materials from forests made it possible for the installation of a number of forest-based industries in modern Sambalpur.

Manufacture of cane and bamboo utility articles is a house-hold activity of Betra caste people in Sambalpur. Traditionally, they live on bamboo works. They were expert cane and bamboo artisans. Apart from house-hold purposes, they also manufactured baskets of various sizes and designs, specially
for marriage and birthday ceremonies. Their requirement of bamboo and cane was considerable for weaving of baskets. At one time it reached a very high level of development with the attainment of great skills in Sambalpur.

As bamboo was available in plenty, there was every possibility of popularising paper industry in this district. The Orient Paper Mills Limited was established in 1939 at Brajaraj Nagar. It was the first forest-based large-scale industry in Orissa. It owed its existence to the forests of Sambalpur from where it got bamboos in abundance. Besides, there were about 38 saw mills in the district, where chiefly Sāl (Shorea robusta) logs were sawn in 1971. These logs were also exported to industrial towns in Bihar, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. A considerable amount of bamboo was also supplied to the Railways. Besides, there were 20 wooden furniture factories, 2 rope works and 1 match factory in Sambalpur before 1971 (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:177, 216).

In Sambalpur, a forest product which had been profitably exploited was the Diospyros melanoxylon, popularly known as 'Kēṇḍu patar'. There had been a good demand for this product both inside as well as outside the country. Moreover, the district was notable for trade in Kēṇḍu leaf. A substantial revenue was earned from this source. About 53 per cent of the total forest revenue yielded by Kēṇḍu leaf alone. A revenue of Rs. 77,75,884 was earned during 1968-69 against Rs 44,77,433 earned during 1967-68 from Kēṇḍu leaves. A major part of the produce was exported to Bombay, Calcutta and other parts of India. Kēṇḍu leaf is a basic raw material for Bidi-making
industry which was a flourishing cottage industry of Sambalpur. There were about thirty Biđi factories in Sambalpur district before 1971. Most of these factories were concentrated in Sambalpur and Jharsuguda towns having eleven such factories each in 1961 (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:176-7, 214, 216, 220).

Significantly, even in the post industrial Sambalpur town, it has been observed that a fairly substantial number of people are engaged still in their caste-based occupation and commercial activities. Besides, there are commercial activities where these types of caste, religion, region and language specific jobs concentration is a wide-spread phenomenon, in post-industrial Sambalpur town. This point needs a little elaboration. In Sambalpur town, there are many unskilled and semi-skilled workers who have come from outside the town, which in normal circumstances should have been monopolized by the local people or people from immediate peripheral regions in Sambalpur town. On the other hand, the local people work either in government offices and institutions or are found unemployed. Low class people derive their livelihood mainly in the informal sector by working as rickshaw-pullers, coolies, construction workers, vegetable vendors and the like. It is also noticed that the people from certain regions and castes have gained a loose monopoly status in certain trades or occupations over the years, because of the enforcement of primordial ties like kinship, caste, religion, region and language and the like. Even the organised trade and commerce as well as the small scale industry sector of the town have
<table>
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<th>Year of Commission</th>
<th>Approx. no. of workers employed (year)</th>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>1500</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Ib Colliery, Brajaraj Nagar</td>
<td></td>
<td>250(1961)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
been dominated by the people hailing from Gujrat, Rajasthan, Haryana, Punjab and West-Bengal and the unorganised trade by Muslims and Biharis. For instance, vegetable vendors are mostly Biharis, fruit-sellers are Muslims. The rickshaw-pullers in the town mostly hail from the low-caste man-power pool of Kalahandii, Bolangir and Sambalpur districts. The cloth (mill) merchants in Sambalpur town are mostly either Sindhis or Punjabis; Bidí-factory owners are mainly Gujrati; rice-mill owners are invariably Marwaris. Furthermore, trade and commerce in general are under the control of Marwaris, which is attested by the students' movement of 1980 in Sambalpur (Ratha, 1984a). What we want to point out here is that the primordial ties specific jobs/occupations concentration still exists in a
modern urban commercial centre like Sambalpur town. On account of use of primordial ties and networks, it is not uncommon to find enclaves of ‘kaṭkiā’ officers in central and state government organizations of Sambalpur.

There is no single large scale industry in Sambalpur town. But, fifty kilometers radius of the region centring Sambalpur town is one of the few places of Orissa where a number of large-scale industries are located which have come up during the last fifty years only (Table 1). Besides, there are some small scale industries in Sambalpur town (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:213-18). In view of this, there was, although, industry like INDAL at Hirakud before independence, in real sense of the term industrialization started in Sambalpur only after independence. Thereby, post-independence period has seen remarkable changes in Sambalpur town in cultural spheres.

(C). Folkculture in Pre-industrial Sambalpur town:

In pre industrial Sambalpur town i.e. prior to 1947 folk cults and folk festivals along with its rituals and myths occupied an important position in the lives of the people. Both the verbal and non-verbal folk items got equal attention in the worship of local shrines. Because both items were thought to be essential parts of the ritual repertoire of cult tradition. This has been found materially true when we took up the problems of folk rituals, festivals and deities of Sambalpur town in our previous chapter -V.

The folk cult complex of Sambalpur town had by and large emerged as a body of organised beliefs and rituals centring round some specific gods/goddesses say for Samaleswari,
Pāṭaṇeśwari, Ḍālkhai, Karamsāni, Buḍhi Māa, Mahāmāyi, Saramaṅglā etc. People seek their protection and fear upon these deities. The spread area complex of some of these deities, say for Samaleśwari and Pāṭaṇeśwari, corresponds to that of the culture area of Sambalour. These deities occupy a very important place in the myth-ritual tradition of Sambalpur at large. Therefore, these deities enjoyed the worship of the devotees who by and large follow certain sense of homogeneity with respect to their Sambalpuri language, dress, food habits, material culture and other religious behaviours. These deities were treated as members of the each and every family of Sambalpur town. In time of annual worship of individual deity, other deities are also worshipped. On the other hand, post-industrial Sambalpur town saw the rapid migration of outsiders and thereby physical expansion and growth of Sambalpur town. In course of time these outsiders, having diverse cultural, linguistic, and social background, became devotees of Samaleśwari and Pāṭaṇeśwari. But, now in a changed situation in Sambalpur town, the devotees of Samaleśwari and Pāṭaṇeśwari do not share any sense of homogeneity.

These deities were thought to be responsible for:

1. Curing diseases like smallpox, and cholera;
2. Getting off-springs, protection and well-being of the children from the stage of bearing to rearing;
3. Economic security at the time of draught and famine;
4. In relieving anxiety from tension at the time of death and birth;
5. Restoring hope and confidence at the time of misfortune and social insecurity. The economic activities of the hundreds of forest entrants of Gainpura
village are still thwarted by the unwanted attacks of elephants and bears. So to save their lives, crops and forest goods they observe rituals in honour of Bhim deštā and other deities who can control the affairs of the forest and animals. These deities acted as an important factor for the perpetuation and sustenance of cultural harmony among the Sambalpurias of the various social backgrounds, mainly between caste-Hindus, Scheduled Castes and tribes. According to the tradition, Scheduled Caste people used to beat drums and acted as spirit possessors at the time of annual worship of the deities. Performance of rituals in honour of the deities was strictly obligatory and no one seemed to become an outlaw by withdrawing his faith in the deities.

In the past the devotees maintained their allegiance to the deities with a hope to get some benefits. It means that the rituals observed by the devotees were not an end in itself. Rather, rituals were means to an end. But today the devotees and followers of Satyasāi Bābā, Sivānanda and Srimā-Aurovindo in Sambalpur town, observe rituals which are end in itself. These rituals (not in traditional terms) refer to the service to poor, handicapped, leprosy, pertaining to education and to illiterate. They also organize camps for eye-treatment, blood donation etc. These rituals are not strictly obligatory.

An important aspect of folk-cult tradition is that, in time of annual worship of individual deity, although the specific deity receives special attention, other deities in the assembly are not neglected; they also enjoy their proportionate share. For instance, at the time of annual worship of Bhim of
Gaiṅpurā, Jhāribuḍhi of Dhamā and other deities in the assembly are also offered rituals. On the other hand, during the annual worship of Hindu deities (great tradition) such as Gaṅesh, Saraṅwāti, Viśwakarmā, Laxmi, Hanumān etc., the specific deity only receives attention.

On the basis of our discussion in the chapter-IV, an ideal type of religious ritual may be suggested here. This will help us to examine the rural-urban continuum with regards to the three communities: two villages, namely Gaiṅpurā and Kāṁsir, and the Sambalpur town.

**Ideal type of Deity:**

1. Each is a local divinity, attached to the village and reverenced for that reason.
2. The priests of these divinities are not Brahmins, but men of all castes.
3. The great majority of these divinities are goddesses.
4. They are propitiated rather than adored. Visitation of diseases, famine, earth-quake etc., are held to induce them to remove the scourge. Animals are usually sacrificed to them on these occasions.
5. The shrines of these divinities are of the rudest description, often only a small piece of land marked off by lines of stones often a rude image.
6. Not necessarily have definite knowledge of reckoning time for the annual worship of festivals.
(D) **Urbanization and the Change in Village Economy:**

The largely feudal economy of Sambalpur has undergone changes in terms of urbanization and modernization. At the same time, measures taken by the government is largely responsible for the changing socio-cultural life of the people in general. Today, in the agricultural sector, wage rate of the workers in many places is determined by the demand and productivity conditions. Non-availability of labourers, workers and supervisors during peak operations has become a problem in wet-villages. People generally prefer to go for jobs in factories and other institutions because they feel that this will give them a better social status and a regular flow of income. With the change in cropping pattern, the emphasis being on cash crops and growing agricultural operations, people have less time for participation in cultural activities. At the same time, poverty and economic compulsions, particularly in the lower classes, has resulted in a migration to towns in search of jobs. This has had adverse effects on their participation and celebration in the village level rituals and ceremonies. With this change the cultural life of the people has taken a different shape.

There is a direct relation between the performance of rituals and the expectations of the people or community. For example, Danda nāta, Karmā, Bhim pujā, Sarmaṅglā, Jhāribudhi pujā, Buḍhimāā, Mahāmāyi, and Nuakhāi rituals are held with a view to get an off-spring, for good cropping, for good health and so on. With the changing social setting and cultural life, the needs of the people has also changed resulting in the
reduced (quicker) importance of some festivals/rituals and enhanced importance of others within different social settings. Urbanization which led to the growth in communication and effective and quick transport, facilitated frequent contacts between the rural and urban areas thereby accelerating the pace of cultural assimilation. This has adversely affected the lives of innocent people from distant villages like Gainpura; because new class of exploiters - money lenders and Marwari businessmen in particular - found an easy way to penetrate. Social situations under study reveal the fact the class of agricultural labourers is internally fragmented in many ways, mainly along caste. There is not one culture or sub-culture for them; rather several sub-cultures. The heterogeneous nature of sub-cultural consciousness come to the force where many contrasting if not contradictory ideas and attitudes, values and norms co-exist. Inspite of this heterogeneity, they all share a broader culture in Sambalpur in the form of Sambalpuri language, celebration of some rituals/festivals, like Nuakhai, Puspuni, Bhaijiti, Puojiti etc. and belief and faith on deities like Samaleswari, Paṭaṇeśwari and Sureśwari etc. This working class also shares the common predicament of the exploited. It is this aspect of human life facilitated by various traditional rituals and practices that needs a discussion.

The average villager's (in Gainpur) capacity to enjoy social ceremony, dance, music and their community life is greater than that of the urban dwellers in Sambalpur town. Interestingly, it was found that songs and dances were held
almost everyday excepting when there was death or illness in the village. During the social crisis everybody cannot participate in the communal enjoyment. However, drinking is a very common thing in such occasions. The local made wine such as kusnā (rice beer), Taḍi (Khejuras) and desi (mahulras) are commonly and extensively used by the villagers. The village folk believed that kusnā renewed their strength and physical power in order to collect woods, leaves and fruits from the jungle. But according to the village teacher, Nuākhāi or Puspuni celebrations are nothing but their orgies and bouts of animal sacrifices and drinking.

In some cases, these festivals, sometimes facilitated the creation of bonded labour in a village economy. This observation needs a little elaboration here. Nuākhāi tiḥār is observed during the agricultural lean period, i.e., in the month of Bhudo (August-September) and the Puspuni is observed during the agricultural peak period, i.e., on the full moon day of Pus (December-January). To celebrate Nuākhāi, the lower caste people took loans in advance from their masters in exchange for a commitment to render their service to them as Kuṭhiā, Beṭhiā, Guti and Haliā. This kind of bonded labour was different from the earlier one when it was followed through generations. On the other hand, the binding factor in these relations was in the form of a commitment. They were obliged to work for their masters over a period of time until the loan taken was repaid. Further, they gave and even today give much importance to keep their 'words'. Again, during 'Puspuni' they asked for a loan or financial assistance in advance with a similar commitment so
as they would work for the rest of the season. In this process of bargaining they were always invariably on the losers' end. They were tactically forced to sell their labour cheaply. Thus, exploitation was easier in a situation in which the village folk were helpless and in many cases the labourers became 'bonded workers'. It seems that this 'dependent' class was given the opportunity of retaining its tradition and culture of 'drinking', dancing, feasting and merry-making. This became a culture of poverty, degradation and dependency. So, bonded labourer, inter-locking of lands or labour contract with credit cannot just be taken as mere incidents; it is important to understand the rationale of creation of these situations. In one sense, it can be said that the given exploitative relations of production in a traditional agrarian society partly helped to perpetuate folk rituals and practices. The problem is made worse during drought or other natural calamities. Many tradition bound people do not hesitate to get loan at high interest by keeping their household utensils as Bandhā or to sell even these things to celebrate festivals like Nuākhāi and Puspuni. They bring more misfortune and disgrace to themselves and celebrate their poverty with meat and locally made liquor. Thus, they attain a permanently inferior class status.

In a normal situation, a lower class people of the sub-urban village like Kāiṅsir does not face much trouble to make ends meet; he moves to nearby Sambalpur town and works there as a construction worker or a labourer or rickshaw-puller and so on. It is easier for the lower classes of the sub-urban villages like Kāiṅsir to rely upon the nearby urban centres like
Sambalpur in order to sustain their lives. Lack of time and their economic conditions deprive them from celebrating the traditional rituals/festivals outside their homes/villages with great pomp. As a result, some rituals are losing charm and consequently out of use for them. On the one hand, in the interior village (i.e. Gaţpură) the cultural behaviour of the people determines their economic behaviour and on the other hand in the sub-urban village (i.e. Kănsir) the economic factor shapes cultural behaviour found between men and women during a festival. But, in Sambalpur town festivals and ceremonies like Nuăkhăi and Puspuni take a different shape to revive Sambalpuri identity. For instance, people gathered at Samaleśwari temple in the evening of the Nuăkhăi day. Sambalpuri songs, dance, music, plays are performed. All these regenerate a sense of 'Sambalpurianess'. Be that as it may, an interesting observation has been made that average women in both rural and urban areas of Sambalpur take interest in the sacredal aspects of functions like fasting, keeping vows, offering rituals etc. while average men take interest in dancing, singing, music, food, feasting and drinking.

There are some factors due to which participation in traditional rituals and functions is gradually decreasing in general. Some people have to go out of their village with a view to have better education, job and to avail other economic opportunities and thereby failing to participate in their age-old seasonal ritual festivals. The new and unfavourable social environment in a new place also discourage them to celebrate their ritual functions. Further, in course of time, as a result
of contact with outsiders, there comes an attitudinal change among them.

The people of Gainpurā have fewer alternative opportunities and sources of entertainment like radio and television and cinema and video. It is not well connected with commercial and urban centre of Sambalpur town. Naturally, they give much emphasis to these tradition bound rituals/festivals. In Sambalpur town and even in the sub-urban village like Kāinsir, average people believe that Nuākhāi and Puspuni are nothing more than occasions to eat, drink, and make merry. The traditional mode of obligatory payments like bebhāra and Bidāki/Bidāgi and custom-bound rewards (bakshis) during various ritual ceremonies are observed in Gainpurā (interior village) and Kāinsir (sub-urban village). But, the people of Kāinsir (sub-urban village) are somewhat found reluctant in giving ‘bebhāras’ or ‘bakshis’ to their friends/relatives and ‘kāmins’ on various occasions. On the other hand, such practices are gradually dying out in Sambalpur town. Earlier, the sweepers of the locality used to move from ‘para’ to ‘para’ and collected a very good amount of ‘bakshis’. Now-a-days, a sweeper hardly gets a few rupees from his area of control. Average people think that these sweepers get regular salaries for their labour, so why should they pay extra? Further, people are in general not content with their (sweepers’) service. According to the sweepers, ‘buildings are crowded together. Even today these are not made in a planned manner. Population is mounting; problems are increasing. Everybody wants his work should be done first. But working hands are limited. People do not demand more sweepers to be employed.
in their areas. Naturally the congested conditions will foster sanitation problems. It may be noted here that there is a 'District Town-Planning Office' in Sambalpur town.

It can be observed from above discussion that the ritual behaviour and traditional practices of the people are embedded in their socio-cultural contexts. In view of this one finds a gradual decrease in ritual values from rural to urban areas in Sambalpur. In a changing situation people are also sensitive to other factors. So we find people attempting to maintain their tradition under the given constraints. Such continuities cannot be described as mere expressions of social obligations only; they may be created out of socio-economic relations in the society. On the part of the lower classes, 'Nuakhai' and 'Puspuni' which can be characterised as components of Sambalpuri culture can also be viewed as different from the rational response to a situation of need for leisure and pleasure. But, for upper classes such occasions may create conditions for the procurement of cheap labour, services on emergency as well as on a regular basis.

Rituals in an Urban Setting:

Urbanization has had its impact on the folk ritual practices and also affects the lives of the people outside the established urban centres where we notice marked effects of transition towards an urban way of life. It has been discussed earlier how Sambalpuri culture has evolved out of a unique synthesis of tribal and Hindu cultures. The people of Sambalpur observe both their traditional as well as Pan-Indian
rituals/ceremonies. In other words it can be said that both the little tradition and great tradition co-exist side by side in Sambalpur. In the Sambalpuri society, the source of its great tradition may be traced back to the Hindu epics and treatises whereas the source of its local/little tradition is its people. Though these two traditions exist independently to a certain extent, we also observe an interaction with each other and maintenance of a certain level of relationship. However, in a rural-urban context, urban values and migration to the town upsets both the villagers/village based rituals and the higher religious practices to some extent. After migration the traditional norms and values of the people may not be successfully transplanted to an urban setting. Attitude of people towards their age-old rituals and practices begins to disintegrate. It has been observed that far more people in Sambalpur town give affirmative answers to questions about their ritual faith, but fail to participate in the ritual practices due to one reason or the other.

In some cases we find the changes towards the clear abandonment of folk-rituals, practices and beliefs. In this context, we will discuss one important aspect of Sambalpuri culture namely 'supernatural posession' and 'spirit dance'. Variations of supernatural posession and spirit dance are practised practically all over the country. In Sambalpur area also it is widely prevalent in one form or other. It is very much a part of Jhāribuḍhi pujā and Bhim pujā observed in Gaihpurā, Buḍhimāa pujā, Sarmaṅglā pujā, Samlei pujā of Sambalpur town and 'Gāṅ pujei' to 'Khāṭāhāriken' of Kāiṅsir (sub-
urban village) and Dālkhāi, Karmā in all the three social settings under consideration. When epidemics like cholera or small-pox break out, illiterate, tradition-bound and lower class people and the average women think that they have neglected to appease these deities. In one sense these supernatural powers are regarded as the deities of these diseases and they can show their wrath if not propitiated at regular intervals. They are also propitiated with a view to get a child or with the hope of good crops or with the intention of the general well being of the people. Thus, these deities combine the destructive as well as creative principles.

There are professional supernatural possessors and dancers mainly drawn from the lower castes to display their skills. Notably, there are some female supernatural powers who descend on the male. If we tabulate the two dimensions - energy types and possessor types - theoretically the following four-fold typology emerges. Of course, in case of Gaiṅpurā (interior village), Kāṁsir (sub-urban village) and Sambalpur town we have noticed the first three types. Notably, male possessors or dancers are found more commonly than the female possessors of supernatural powers. In terms of number also male possessors are considerably larger than the female possessors. Another important aspect of this ritual is that most of the possessors belong to the lower castes of the society. Deities worshipped during these festivities do not have any definite shape and form like that of idols in case of Hindu deities. Various symbols like stone, tree, wood etc. are used which represent different deities. It can be easily characterised
as 'naturism' and 'animism' forms of religious beliefs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Energy (Male/Female)</th>
<th>Medium of energy (Male/Female)</th>
<th>Typical Examples</th>
<th>Cast/Tribe of Possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Kāntāharien</td>
<td>Untouchables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sarmaṅglā</td>
<td>Tribals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jhāribudhi</td>
<td>Tribals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Karamsāni</td>
<td>Tribals/ Untouchables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Buḍhi Māā</td>
<td>Keunten (Fisher woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dālkhāi</td>
<td>Tribal/ Untouchables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Bhim Pujā</td>
<td>Kandha (tribal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
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<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Spirit possession is an important aspect of Jhāribudhi pujā and Bhim pujā observed by the people of Gaṅpurā village (interior village), as discussed in chapter-IV. In Kāṁsir the villagers discouraged this practice some years back, when a child became unconscious looking at the state of spirit possessor at the time of 'gāṅpujei' i.e. the annual pujā of the village deity in front of 'Kāntāharien'. Similarly, newly married and pregnant women are not allowed to pass by the Kāntāharien, the tree which symbolises the village deity, as it is considered a bad omen. Now more specifically we will analyse the Sarmaṅgalā dance (type-I) of Sambalpur town.

During Sarmaṅgalā dance, Sarmaṅgalā Devī is worshipped. It is a 'tongue-piercing' ritual to appease the female goddess. It is performed on every Tuesday in the month of Chait (March-April). As it has been said earlier, the professional performers belong to the lower castes, i.e., untouchables, who
pierce their tongues with iron rods in the name of goddess Sarmanga. 'Maā' or 'Devi' as Sarmanga is addressed, descends to the earth through these professionals who act as the medium. They are known as Barua (spirit-possessor). They propitiate the goddess on behalf of the devotees who themselves cannot perform the arduous rituals.

The professionals are accompanied by the drummers whose incessant vibrations maintain the spirit and tempo of this ritual. There is a retired old professional in the group who leads, assists, and supervises the team. He goes about piercing the tongues of the performers with about eight to thirty inch long, sharp trident/rod made of iron. Then he puts some flowers, Sindur and arua chaul (sun-dried rice) over the performer and the 'Devi' is invited to possess the body of the performer. The 'dhol' (drum) is used and a particular rythm is played to set the trance situation. Then the deity is called and the performer starts trembling. He sways his body to the rythm of the drums. The dance continues for more than ten minutes. During this period the performer is supposed to carry the deity/devi in his body. State of possession of human beings by supernatural beings is a phenomenon commonly found in many societies. It is widely considered to be a form of communication between the human beings and the supernatural beings where the latter communicates with the former through the human medium2 (Rao, 1986:1; Kolenda, 1981:161-68).

At the time of Sarmanga dance the Barua is believed to be possessed by the supernatural power of Sarmanga devi. He answers questions put to him by the people/devotees gathered
around. The question-answer session which includes problems relating to personal as well as general social life and which continues as long as the spirit of the deity remains in the body of the Baruā, is an interesting aspect of the social belief. It is the time, when a childless high caste woman sits at the feet of the low caste Baruā with hope to be blessed with a child; a sick old man shows no hesitation to kneel with folded hands before a young Baruā in order to seek relief from his ailments. It is believed that the Baruā is able to diagnose diseases and misfortunes. He brings aids to his clients and thereby divines the future as witnessed elsewhere (Hitchcock, 1976:XIII).

A Baruā is definitely a type of sacred specialist who makes his living on the occasion of Sarmāṅglā ritual in Sambalpur town and in normal time he is supposed to keep himself aloof from the caste-Hindus. Such ritual may relieve them (Tribes and Lower castes) for sometime, from the sense of prejudices and inferiority complex. As Kolenda (1981:165) has noted the worship of mother goddess as a pan-Indian phenomenon. It is also regarded as little traditional and non-sanskritic. Actually it is connected with the great tradition like Tāntrism. However, Sarmāṅglā dance is fast losing its ground in Sambalpur town. Mainly the educated people condemn such traditional practice of self-torture which has adverse effects on the minds of onlookers, particularly children. Average people in Sambalpur town feel and consider it as a sadistic type of religious performance. So whenever Sarmāṅglā dancers, as they are commonly known, come to any locality or paḍā, the elders stop young ones
from watching this loud display of self-torture. Some three decades before, the reigning deity of Sambalpur i.e. Samlei or Samaleswari also used to descend through a man and paid a visit to the town. This practice has been stopped in the town. In this connection an old woman reserves her view: 'People have forgotten how to show respect/regards to their mothers. That is why she is not coming out of her temple.'

In Gainpurā (interior village) animal sacrifice is an integral part of annual ritual offered to Bhim debtā and Jhāribudhi. During this pujā 10 to 12 kūkḍā (fowl/chicken) are offered to Bhim debtā whereas 10 to 12 būkā (he-goats) are offered to Jhāribudhi during Dasrā/Durgā pujā. Jhāribudhi does not accept kūkḍā. On the other hand only one būkā is offered to the village devi on the day of gān-pujie held annually once on the occasion of Dasrā. Then the meat is distributed among the villagers. But, in Sambalpur town one finds a drastic change in the nature of animal sacrifice to Samaleswari. It is said that munus bāli (human sacrifice) was prevalent in the past. It was stopped by the Chauhan king but 'bael' (buffalo sacrifice) was continued till 1950s. Today, only būkās are offered to the devi. Notably, the number of būkās coming for the purpose of ritual sacrifice has been greatly reduced. Only ten years back 25 to 30 būkās were sacrificed on the day of Dasrā. But in 1988 only eight būkās were offered to devi. In view of this it may be suggested that a gradual decrease in the nature of animal sacrifice has been noted from rural to urban area in Sambalpur.

The new trend towards bhakti (religious devotion) in place
of elaborate ritual practices and animal sacrifice, makes non-traditional demands on the members in respect of ritual and moral values, i.e., the unity and integrity of the nation, public services and social solidarity and so on in a broader perspective. It is clear that any social or religious function, which is tied closely to a particular community or area loses support and thereby disappears gradually when many people disperse from their community or area. However, this does not mean the loss of all religious rituals, practices and values. Because, new cults may spring up in the towns and religious needs of human beings can be channelized towards the new faiths/cults. For instance, there are a number of people belonging to Satyasāi, Shivānaṇḍa and Srimā-Auraviṇḍo cults. They hold regular meetings, prayers, bhajans, get-togethers, religious conversions or discourses at regular intervals. They discourage and discard old and complex rituals like homa, vajña and mantra-pātha. Their simple and liberal attitude towards religious beliefs and social life has a peculiar appeal in an urban centre like Sambalpur town. But they are not totally cut off from the established beliefs and superstitions. It seems that in the new urban populations, some people withdraw themselves from any traditional rituals where participation is simply part of belonging to a particular community, group or culture area. Of course, the number of such people are very few.

The practices of elaborate rituals, animal sacrifice, caste system etc. are continually discouraged by the people belonging to above-mentioned new cults. They actively participate to ameliorate such inhuman practices. It becomes apparent that
loyalty to the traditional rituals has declined much more in Sambalpur town, than in the countryside like Gaiñpura (interior village). If Sambalpur town and Gaiñpura will be placed at the opposite ends of each other then Kainsir (sub-urban village) with some loyalty to the traditional rituals may be placed in between them. The organized religious life in the Sambalpur town can hardly be called religious. It is more secular and it functions as social get-together. Today these functions serve to revive cultural consciousness among Sambalpurias. A significant increase in the gathering of Nuakhāi Bhet organised by the 'Samaleswari Temple Committee' and various cultural associations like 'Laxminārāyaṇa Sāñskrutika Parīśad' of Naḍa Paḍā may be analysed from this point of view.

Celebration of Nuakhāi Bhet by various cultural associations in Sambalpur town reflects the craving for new symbols and environment to regenerate Sambalpuri identity. Furthermore, giving a secular touch to Nuakhāi by organizing meetings, talks and get-togethers means people have managed to retain the basic tenets of their tradition without observing any collective religious rituals. So, in an urban situation the festival like Nuakhāi is adopted to one form or the other so as to fulfil the need of the larger section of society. Sambalpur town has not been revolutionised by large-scale industry but has grown by extending its old functions of marketing, trade and commerce, professional and administrative services. It has even grown with the population but its expansion has been a gradual one. So, the traditional rituals are still found but in modified forms. In a sense we may say
that urbanization has induced a kind of traditional culture.

Loss of Traditional Knowledge and Livelihood:

Culture of a society also consists of capability of what a particular group has acquired or learned from its predecessors. For instance, there are musical instruments traditionally known to have been owned by some Scheduled Castes. Hence their use as well as operation is more or less confined to them only. People of Ganja and Ghasi/Ghasia castes have been traditionally working as professional pipers and drummers. They are employed as musicians in marriage, birth, initiation and other religious ceremonies (Senapati and Mahanti, 1971:110). But there was an acute sense of impurity attached to these instruments in the past. Because the musical instruments, made of skins of animals, were played by the untouchables. So, the caste-Hindus and even some tribes kept themselves aloof from these instruments, although the playing of these musical instruments is considered to be auspicious during the socio-religious functions (Prusty, 1984:103). Needless to say, they constitute a class of sacred specialist. There are other sacred specialists like spirit-possessors who make a living by performing on various rituals and religious ceremonies. In an interior village namely, Gainpur, these are still extant.

We must remember that over the centuries these ritual specialists have adapted themselves skillfully to the socio-religious situations in Sambalpur area. But in Sambalpur town, modern band parties and loud speakers are commonly found to be preferred instead of traditional musicians, particularly at the time of marriage and birth ceremonies. It is, however, a
recent development in the town. Before 1950 there was no band party in the Sambalpur town. Then people used to seek the help of traditional musicians during various socio-religious occasions. Today, there is not a single traditional musician group in the town. At the time of Durgā puja, Shitala Shasṭhi, Viśvakarmā puja and on the occasion of marriage and birth people have to contact the nearby villages. In that case they have to pay a little extra in order to book a group. On the other hand there are 10 band groups within the town. In 1953 'Lāloo Singh Band Party' was set up for the first time in the town. After five years 'Samaleśwari Band Party' was established. Then 'Deepak-A' and 'Deepak-B', 'Suraj', 'Mohan', 'Gaṇesh', 'Ramesh', 'Sudarshan' and 'Samaleśwari Daṅkā Party' were established. Significantly, these musicians also belong to Scheduled Castes like 'Gaṇḍā' and 'Gaḥsi'/ 'Gaḥsiā'. On enquiry it was found that they had adopted/shifted to this profession only after the people lost their interest on their traditional music.

Due to urban impact, modern band parties and loud speakers are found to be preferred even in a sub-urban village like Kāṁśir. But the use of band group, which demands higher fees than traditional musicians, is limited. The traditional group charges a sum of Rs. 250/- to Rs. 300/- per day whereas a modern band party demands almost that much amount for two to three hours only. Notably, the band one has become a status symbol. So, the traditional musicians find their age-old knowledge useless in an urban and semi-urban environment. It means the loss of a traditional knowledge owned by a
professional caste which results in the loss of livelihood too. This is not the only area in which destruction of traditional knowledge is noted. It has also been observed that school-age children of Gaṅpurā (interior village) are able to narrate and know the uses of a number of folk-songs, riddles and proverbs in their daily lives. On the contrary, the children of the same age in the urban area of Sambalpur town are found to be relatively ignorant in such matters. However, the children of the sub-urban village of Kāṁsir are relatively well educated in such matters than the children of Sambalpur town, but are not so well versed as that of Gaṅpurā (interior village). This example can be multiplied many times about the knowledge related to ecology, botany, zoology, agronomy, pharmacopeia, subsistence techniques of all kinds such as fishing, hunting, collecting fruits, herbs and shrubs, and of course the myriad symbolic systems encompassing everything from kinship terminology to cosmology as found elsewhere.⁵

It has been observed that old men and women of both rural and urban areas have a good knowledge about the plants and shrubs possessing the properties of preventing many diseases. Knowledge about such plants and medicines is unrecorded and has been orally handed down from generation to generation. This source of knowledge is really in danger of being lost to posterity. This danger is equally applicable to other areas too.⁶ In relation to the loss of any form of traditional knowledge, Arizpe (1988:8) says, "it is hard to exaggerate what this loss will mean in terms of the human future - the loss of the diversity of knowledge and cultural traditions."
In view of the above discussion, it may be said that in a changing situation the traditional musicians of Sambalpur town are forced to give up their traditional occupation and engage in other professions required by the larger societies. Many of them unable to subsist on their traditional occupation of music and dance have switched over to other areas and are engaged in various manual jobs, mainly as sweepers under Sambalpur Municipality. Some of them also work as construction workers, agricultural labourers, rickshaw-pullers and so on. The first Sambalpuri movie "Bhukhā" released in 1989 highlights this aspect of the traditional artists. In some cases, however, they have failed to develop any productive mentality in the economic sense and are unable to find out a suitable livelihood. They have turned thieves, criminals, and beggars. Some of them have still retained their traditional occupation of music as a supplementary occupation during socio-religious festivities. It is so because, as has been said earlier, the tradition of music has been inexplicably bound up with this section of society.

Traditionally, the lower castes used to play music on socio-religious functions in Sambalpur. But this characteristic has gradually diminished with the growing urbanization. Presently, in urban Sambalpur the traditional music is not confined to any particular caste that it used to be; though the practice continues to be there in the rural and sub-urban areas. In Sambalpur town social interaction among people of different castes has become a common phenomenon in public places like cinema halls, markets, hotels, Government institutions and other cultural activities like theatre, music.
and dance programmes etc. This is so due to the changing values and attitudes. Due to the 'Reservation Policy' extended by the both Central as well as State Governments, Scheduled Castes are getting jobs in various private and government offices. Now-a-days, they enjoy better social standing. Caste barriers are also breaking down in urban areas like Sambalpur town. Urbanization coupled with industrialisation has also given rise to a new outlook and a new model of modernization through secularism, rationality, individualism and material comforts. There is also a change in the habits of these people with regard to cultural activities, dresses and food habits. Thus, urbanization has affected the social life and has brought about changes in values, attitudes, outlooks, rituals, beliefs, traditions and cultures of people at large. The knowledge of rich music tradition described above has moved from a traditional caste-based group to urban based cultural associations where anybody having any social background can avail the opportunity of learning and using this knowledge for practical purpose. For instance, Ghāsirām Mishra (Brahmin), Laxmi Pradhan (Khandāyat) etc., are well known dhol players who are caste-Hindus. What we want to point out here is that the folk music of Sambalpur inherits a tradition of its affiliation with Scheduled Castes. But, the traditional knowledge is no more an exclusive property of these people in Sambalpur town.

In an interior village, like Gaiṅpurā there does not exist the concept of private cultural association. In the village, culture is communal instead. Even in the sub-urban village like Kāṁsir, folk music tradition is communal. The entire
village participate during various socio-religious occasions. But they can easily go to Sambalpur town to visit various cultural shows what the people of interior village cannot do. On the other hand, the private cultural associations in Sambalpur are active in preserving the traditional music, songs and dances. Significantly the band parties help to maintain this tradition to some extent. Although they are supposed to play Hindi songs and music, they cannot avoid the popular demand for playing Sambalpuri songs and music. The continuing process of commercialization of this knowledge reveals the fact that some of them have a profit-motive too. It is getting more and more confined to TVs, Radio, audio cassettes, gramophone records and in ticketed cultural shows performed within the four walls of auditoriums. However, the so called 'folk artistes' of Sambalpur town have acknowledged this knowledge of music tradition as the fruit of human creativity without considering the caste aspect in a changing world. This knowledge of music, to some extent, is an essential structure of traditional Sambalpuri culture as it has been discussed earlier. And undermining the social values of this knowledge, which has evolved through thousands of years would destroy the social fabric of traditional settings like Gaṅpurā or Kāṇśir. But, it is incorrect and unwise to consider all traditional knowledge good and beneficiary to the society. For instance, the practice of spirit dance discussed earlier has definitely bad effects on the minds of the people - particularly the small children. So, it may not be desirable to encourage such practices.
Apart from the ritual base of Đālkḥāi, Karmā, Danḍa etc., the secular aspect which has helped in the development of the rich music traditions with similar names has immense value treasure for Sambalpuri culture. In a modern urban society the new technologies and cultural industries cannot be avoided as they are the products of historical change and developments. So, this old tradition has been readapted, reinterpreted, and recreated in new and changing social situations; and this has been the way to preserve the fruits of human labour. This requires a little more elaboration for our purpose.

One of the outstanding features of contemporary urban societies is accumulation or absorption of folk ideas in their way of life. It has been reflected in the dresses, household utensils, decorating materials and above all inclination in taste towards folk songs and dances of various culture areas. This may be called urban sophistication. One of the characteristics of the urbanization of the Sambalpuri folk dance and songs is the 'cultural association' in Sambalpur town. Now-a-days, the spread of the folk culture from one culture area to that of other is effected through various mass-medias, mainly TV, Radio, Cinema and Video. This is also the idea of an integrated national cultural policy. As a result of the flow of cultural values from one culture to another, the path of diffusion of new and modern techniques and styles between various areas and traditions has been widened. Folk artistes have learnt how to use cosmetics, dresses, light arrangement, stage decoration and so on. They have also adopted new themes, new ideas and values along with
the traditional ones. In this process of homogenization one may visualize an emerging Indian folk culture to some extent.

Earlier, the extent of this diffusion of technical knowledge was confined to urban centres only. This was so partly due to the limited stock of materials available for the transfer and when available it was financially not viable. Another reason is that these culture areas desirous of acquiring these extra cultural resources were not well-placed to attract each other or one another. But, what was an even greater obstacle to the spread of new values, ideas and techniques was the fact that many culture areas even when they received techniques, values and ideas from outside, lacked the internal flexibility viz., caste rigidity, cultural rigidity etc. necessary for them to take advantage of this changing technical and valuational opportunities. This was a problem faced by the national cultural policy in trying to be the forerunner in cultural promotion and growth.

During Gadjat period and earlier to that the artistes were broadly divided into two classes: independent performer and commissioned by the state or king. Independent artistes performed for the common people during various socio-religious ceremonies. But in a modern state we find a reduced state patronage and apathetic attitude of general people towards them. In the past they not only performed for the common people but also functioned to meet the specific needs of the higher strata of the society and other important social situations and institutions which have lost their importance today.

It should be noted here that socio-cultural life in
Sambalpur is marked by a dependence on the past. But there is no uniformity of culture and social patterns all over the Sambalpur area in the sense that tribes, various caste-Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others observe rituals exclusive to their communities in Sambalpur. On the other hand, there is enough scope to interact with one another. People irrespective of their social backgrounds have certain elements of culture like Sambalpuri language, Sambalpuri songs and dances, Sambalpuri folk festivals like Nuakhai, Puspuni, etc.

**Commercialization of Folk-culture:**

When one talks of commercialization of folk-culture one makes a distinction between culture and the idea of commodity associated with this culture. In one sense it may be called 'commodification of culture'. Culture is a way of life which is normal and essential and thereby a social fact. But the commercialization of culture creates a way of life which may not be normal. According to Sachidananda (1983) it may be called a 'consumerist culture' too. This point needs a little elaboration. Sachidananda makes a distinction between the legitimate consumption and the cult of consumption associated with culture. Consumption is a basic need of life without which neither life nor all those things which provide happiness to life are possible. Such consumption includes food, clothes, shelter and those natural aids which make men and women attractive to each other. For example, attractive body feature, hair, voice, sound, various colours and odours which have been provided by the nature have become useful of an innate
responsiveness among men and animals to ensure fertility and also gives birth to the sense of beauty. This natural response helps human beings to derive highest pleasure by enlivening with dance, music, painting, sculpture, etc. and through literature and science. These are the natural human consumption. So, the objects of legitimate "consumption are those whose absence creates painful tensions ..." On the other hand "all such objects which are neither a basic necessity for life nor a necessity for man's aesthetic pleasure, but have been rendered a necessity through propaganda to serve a commercial purpose, are the creation of the consumerist culture" (Sinha, 1983:3).

In traditional societies too there was a tendency among the people particularly of upper classes to consume inessential things to impress others of their high social standing(Sinha, 1983:4). In this regard mention may be made of traditional 'Sarmañglā nāāch' and other rituals associated with spirit possession, in Sambalpur, discussed earlier and hold of magic among the superstitious societies for the remedies for diseases and fulfilment of other desires. It has been discussed earlier how some cultural practices had sometimes facilitated the creation of bonded labourer in a village society and reflected the slavery of some men. Earlier, such practices were psychologically so strong among the people that they were madly after such culture. Sinha (1983:6) writes: "... since the very foundation of the consumerist culture is commercialism, consumption itself has been apotheosised as religion, and so the propensity to consume such things grows unhampered."
Now-a-days, commodification of culture has been done through propaganda to serve a commercial purpose. For instance, publicity for various hair tonics, tooth-pastes, lipsticks, etc., creates such illusion that people keep on pouring money over such goods. Another example of this is the garments of a certain industry where the term 'smart' is clearly associated with the mode of dressing and certain mannerisms. Advertisement also helps to sell the goods. In this regard, mention may also be made of 'throw away culture' prevalent in the western world where a large number of consumer goods are made for single use and are thrown thereafter. The artificial environment of a modern city is the source of nourishment of such consumerist culture (Sinha, 1983:4-5).

Commercialization of culture is an evidence to some extent in case of Sambalpuri folkculture, especially 'performing arts'. One of the main sources of entertainment in Sambalpur town is the Sambalpuri songs. The past few years have witnessed a growing interest and craze for Sambalpuri songs, music and dance in the common people. Besides, TV, Cinema, Video, Radio, Gramophone, Tape-recorder, Cassette, magazines, theatre and cultural shows are part of Sambalpur town. People try to get optimal satisfaction and spend their limited resources in a multi-entertainment situation in the best possible way. Since culture has become a consummable item, culture-consumption is also guided by various market forces in the urban areas. On the other hand, it is widely held that folk forms of entertainment do not require money. On this ground, it is easy to distinguish folk forms of entertainment. But, now-a-days, attempts are being
made to sell these folk forms of entertainment in one way or the other.

Modification, reshaping and recreation of Sambalpuri folk songs, dances and music through TV, Radio, audio and video cassettes, and stage and auditorium of urban areas are very common in Sambalpur town. The implicit idea of this development is the popularisation of Sambalpuri folk songs, dances and music. This may be an attempt towards commodification of folk culture. It is also evident in Sambalpuri handloom particularly in case of Sambalpuri saree which is quite famous throughout India for its texture and colour. Some sarees are so expensive that common people who may be interested in these cannot afford to buy a single piece. Such expensive sarees are made mainly for rich people and for the purpose of export. It may be said that some of these folk works often end up in the drawing rooms or big parties of rich men for whom folk culture is but urban sophistication. In such cases many culture-consumers were found unaware about the place of its origin. So, it would be unwise to make any comment that folk-arts and handicrafts cannot survive in an environment of commercialisation or commodification; though it may not survive in its pristine form. Some people have, however, reported that sarees and clothes for ladies garments are being printed by machines outside Sambalpur area borrowing its styles and texture. It may be said that duplication of a thing may destroy the uniqueness and authenticity of that particular item of culture. Here the businessmen consciously recreate and reshape a thing manipulating the folk elements with the intention to
expand their market. It has been found that most of the sarees which attract people were rarely of a high quality.

Incorporation of folk elements has been widely noticed mainly by the urban based Sambalpuri lyricists, musicians, singers etc., who are engaged in reshaping, recreation and modification of folk songs and music for 'culture-market'. Because of these attempts Sambalpuri folk songs, music and dances are being recognised and popularised by connoisseurs abroad.

Patronage to Culture: In Sambalpur, music, dance, singing and writing have received higher priority than other forms of culture namely, painting, architecture and sculpture etc. Earlier, these were alive with various castes, tribes, village community and in various social festivals. In other words, there was a flourishing traditional culture both participative and of professional nature sustained through voluntary efforts of the community in pre-independent Sambalpur. It is not unlikely that village chiefs had also contributed to keep up some performing folk arts in Sambalpur area. As has been discussed earlier, some cultural institutions of performing folk arts like Ḍālkhāi, Karmā and Đaṇḍa associated with the folk rituals were maintained by people's effort in a co-operative way. People's effort in preserving folk culture is still observed not only in the villages but also in the towns. Increased contacts between rural and urban areas have made people familiar with new ideas; and these new ideas are being applied to their traditional mode of living and culture. In
recent years, it has been observed that sources of sustenance like caste, tribe or community have diminished in urban areas whereas it still continues in the interior village like Gaiṅpurā and sub-urban village like Kāṁsir. A significant contribution has been made by private organisations, government donors together with the community efforts in the promotion, preservation and dissemination of folkculture particularly in Sambalpur town.

NOTES:

1. It is necessary to clarify that for our purpose we are not making any distinction between the terms 'supernatural' and 'spirit'. It should be mentioned here that Rao (1986:1) has pointed out the differences between these two terms. There is a good deal of confusion caused by dichotomous division of different supernatural beings in the Hindu pantheon into god/spirit, god/devil, sanskritic/non-sanskritic. For him there is an implicit assumption in these categories, that the deities worshipped by the upper castes are gods and goddesses. It is further assumed that sanskritic deities are vegetarian and non-alcoholic. Such rigid formulation does not serve our purpose. In case of Durga and Kāli of Hindu pantheon, people offer animal sacrifices. Further, as has been said earlier in chapter-IV, animal sacrifice is prevalent in Samaleśwari, Pāṭaneśwari and in other local shrines of Sambalpur and also during other religious ceremonies namely Dālkha, Karmā, Jhārībuḍhī pujā and Bhim pujā. Notably, caste-Hindus believe and worship them.

2. Rao (1986:1) has identified three main kinds of communications through supernatural possession: First, it is a part of worship of supernatural beings, with or without dance forms. Secondly, the supernatural beings descend or come on certain human beings - males or females. Thirdly, some supernatural beings usually referred to as ghosts and devils possess, afflict, ride, 'catch', 'make a house' in some human beings and cause sickness in them. However, we are dealing with the type of communication which is a part of worship with dance where the supernatural being descends on human being.

3. 'Nuākhāi Bheet' refers to a get together on the occasion of Nuākhāi festival. Significantly, Nuākhāi Bheet is the most important aspect of this festival. It is the time when people forget their enemity and embrace each other and thereby renew their friendship. Thus, it is a mark of social solidarity.
4. The Kendrā has been traditionally monopolised by the 'Nāthas' of Orissa. Dhol (Membranated drum) and muhuri (pipe) are owned by the untouchable castes like 'Hādi' and 'Pāṇa'. Nishān, an unifacial massive conical drum is operated by the untouchable caste like 'Ghāsi'. The operation of these instruments are socially tabooed for Caste-Hindus. Notably, these are played by the caste-Hindus who are appointed as musicians in 'Sambalpur Akasvani' and 'Sambalpur Doordarshan Kendrā' and in various cultural associations.

5. Everywhere we find the widespread destruction of traditional knowledge. A study in a Mexican village of Otomi Indians has proved that non-Indian school-age children were able to identify and know the use of 37 plants against the Otomi Indian children who could do the same for 168 plants (Arizpe, 1988:17-9).

6. Roy Chaudhury (1985:103-19) writes about the plants possessing the character of preventing birth. He holds the opinion that such plants are found in at least a hundred countries in the world. It is essential that such informations and knowledge should not disappear.

7. The story of "Bhukhā" (meaning hungry man) is based on the Harijan folk drummers (known as the 'Bajnās') of Sambalpur. They are customarily an essential part of all life cycle ceremonies. It is this tradition which sustains them and gives meaning to their existence. Despite social and economic odds, this community of drummers remain committed to the profession of their forefathers. The film takes a dramatic turn when a musical band party arrives, in place of the Bajnās, playing loud foot stomping notes for the marriage of the village headman's daughter. This shock has hardly gone down when a catastrophic draught further undermines the survival of the poor musicians. Calamity strikes when Aīṁṭhā, the staunch backbone of the surviving community gets tuberculosis. Kasturi, the sister of Aīṁṭhā sells herself to the headman for medicines. But Aīṁṭhā dies. Kasturi hands over the musical instrument (muhuri) of Aīṁṭhā to his son. Tradition lives on; but for how long? For, hunger too, remains. "Bhukhā" revolves around the tragic fight for survival, with dignity of the 'Bajnās'. The contest, which is in practically a death struggle, is between tradition and the irrepressible onslaught of modernity. 'Bhukhā' moves on two planes - the basic hunger of the physical self and the carving for dignity of the spirit. The strife between the two in the minds of the folk artistes is what the film seeks to project. It is to the credit of the film unit who have taken up the cudgels for dying Indian folk traditions that they have always sent across the messages of hope. In 'Bhukhā', though the protagonist succumbs, (albeit fighting) to the forces of modernity, tradition is shown to be carried on by his son - the continuance of old folk form.
"Bhukhā' is the first film from the state of Orissa to go for the 'Competitive Section' of the International Film festival at Gijon in Spain and created history by getting the prestigious International Jury Award there. It has also bagged the Nilasaila award of Orissa for best direction. (See The Hindustan Times, August 12, 1990, page-8.)

8. Danda dance is an aboriginal folk dance of Sambalpur area. This is also known as Yāni Yātrā, which consists of several acrobatics and artistic performances and is a ritualistic dramatic worship of Lord Śiva by the participants called Bhoktās or Rishiputras who represent a number of castes of the society. It appears to be originated in Sonpur-Baud area, a part of culture area of Sambalpur area under the Somavamsi king. The Somavamsis, who were devout Śaivite (Parama Maheśvara) might have started this form of Śiva worship in order to combat the spread of Buddhism in this area. Even till the end of Gadjat period in this area the kings of Baud and Sonpur invited groups of Danda nāta and celebrated festivals (Nayak, 1986b:1-8; Nepak, 1978a:101-08).

9. Particularly in Delhi I have personally met some TV announcers who were observed using Sambalpuri saree. Although some of them managed to identify it with Orissa others failed to identify the origin of this style and texture.