

Continuity of Folk Arts among Gonds of Chhattisgarh Issues and Challenges

D.V. Prasad¹

How to cite this article:

Prasad, D.V.2024. 'Continuity of Folk Arts among Gonds of Chhattisgarh: Issues and Challenges'.
Sampratyaya, 1(Spl. Issue No.1): pages 70-79. DOI: 10.21276/smprt.202408.1s1.a6

Abstract

Folklore is a gateway to understand the cultural heritage of indigenous and tribal groups. In the same vein, folk arts and crafts, a form of folklore, not only fulfil the socio-economic, cultural, religious, aesthetic, and psychological needs of the people, but also promote collective sense, cooperation, courage, love, and sympathy. Modernisation, urbanisation, migration, and displacement of communities pose significant challenges in the preservation and continuation of cultural expressions of the natives. Though natural and anthropogenic factors pose a threat to continuing these art forms, the majority of the tribal communities continue their artistic traditions in metamorphosed form to procure alternative livelihoods. Keeping in view of this transition, the present study focuses on how the folk arts of the Gond tribe in Chhattisgarh continue to survive and reinforce cultural identity and create alternative livelihood opportunities as well. The study is based on descriptive research design and relied on field data collected applying anthropological methods such as documentary analysis, narratives of the artists, and in-depth interviews and observation.

Keywords: Folk Arts, Dancing for Themselves, Dancing for Others, Gond Tribe, Institutional Perspectives

1.0 Introduction

Folk arts consist of traditional painting/drawing, songs, music, dance, drama, riddles, proverbs, myths, legends, and performances that involve imaginative, creative, or technical skills. They play an important role in enforcing collective solidarity, group cooperation, and value systems, while defining in case of tribal communities, their ethnic identity. They reflect the historical, economic, and aesthetic dimensions of indigenous and tribal communities. Through these arts, social norms, moral laws, traditional knowledge, and wisdom are handed down orally from one

¹ Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Delhi, Delhi 110007.
Corresponding author's email: dvprasada@gmail.com

generation to another (Kaeppler 1978). To continue the tradition of folk arts, people have developed institutional mechanisms such as youth dormitories, sacred centres, and workshops of master craftsmen to sustain these art forms by imparting training to novices. Irrespective of age and sex, the community performs these art forms during the life cycle rituals, agricultural festivals, and annual clan and village-level ceremonies.

However, human-made and natural factors pose challenges to the continuity of folk arts. Natural disasters like tsunamis, earthquakes, cyclones, floods, and landslides cause the loss of lives of many artists and their invaluable knowledge and performances. For example, in 2004 the giant tsunami waves followed by an earthquake rattled the traditional art and crafts of the Nicobarese of Nicobar Islands. Expert craftsmen and knowledgeable performers died in tsunami waves, and the existing material artifacts were washed away. The coast-dwelling Nicobarese were shifted to interior forest lands leading to the endangerment of their age-old canoe-racing and pig fight tradition. Apart from these natural disasters, factors like modernisation, urbanisation, migration, and displacement of communities also wrought significant challenges to the preservation and continuation of cultural expressions for future generations. Despite this, tribal exposure to modernity and urbanity provided new avenues and opportunities for artists to continue their art forms in a changing environment. The new ideas and technologies provided space for artists to adapt to and innovate in their art forms. With encouragement from the government as well as philanthropic individuals and institutions, traditional art forms are being revived at the village level and popularised through modern media. At present, tribal dance has become a major popular form of folk art that engages people in giving a rousing welcome to guests, celebrities, politicians, sportspersons, and registering as an event in the inauguration of political campaigns, national and international sports events, political events, national and state festivals, television shows, *Navratri* performances, to mention a few.

Due to their significance, tribal dances are well documented as a part of the ritual process during festivals in almost all the ethnographic works in the discipline of anthropology from time to time. The studies on group dance by Andaman Islanders (Radcliffe-Brown 1922)¹, small *Siva*² dance by Samoan children (Mead 1928), Azande's *beer* dance³ (Pritchard 1928), *Maidu*⁴ dance of Kwakiutl (Benedict 1934), spirit dance⁵ among Kalahari inhabitants (Rosit 1963) have dealt with multiple issues like collectiveness, preparing children for success or failure, expression of rivalry, eroticism, competition for leadership, attracting girls for marriage, displaying emotions, management of tensions, attainment of goal, adaptation and integration with society and several others. A paradigm shift took place in the 1970s regarding the study of folk dance in contemporary societies. Scholarly works of Snyder (1974), Royce (1977), and Kaeppler (1978) studied folk dances holistically rather than just a part of indigenous communities. Studies in the 1980s focussed on the performance analysis and refinement of approach in localised analysis. Peek (1981), Blackburn (1981), Herzfeld (1981), and Briggs (1985 & 1985a) dealt with rich descriptions of history and socio-cultural context along with a thick description of speech events through empirical studies. Scholarly works of Feld (1990), Lock (1993), Lewis (1995), Desmond (1997), Cohen (1998) and several others in the 1990s focused on the politics of dance, and the relation between culture, body, and movement.

Later, studies focusing on symbolic constructions, the transformation of signs and ideas, transvestism, reversal of hierarchies across gender, caste, and social positions (Rao 1997), gender perspectives (Borghain 2011), increasing use of tribal dances in the neo-rural and neo-liberal

era (Ryzhakova 2021), etc., enriched academic understanding about the complexity of art forms in a modern context.

To understand the present state of folk arts, Mohan Khokar (1987) used dichotomies of dance forms through *dancing for themselves* (Performance without a separation of the audience where dance is an all-embracing and encompassing tool) and *dancing for others* (pre-choreographed, staged, and professional performances) for livelihood as well as cultural identity purpose. Svetlana (2021) proposed *Santali* group dance (dance for themselves) and *Kalbeliya* dance (dance for others) to explain the change in actual practice in the ways of development, evolution, invention, and commercial usage of tribal dance. For example, the Santali dance of Borotalpada village of West Bengal has been used in the sense of dancing for others. In contemporary times, the condensed versions of Santali dance enthrall visitors from Kolkata who come to spend a night in the open-air in the Santal village⁶. It is a paid event for the guests. But the show executed by urban people, including foreigners, tended to lose its exotic character, turning into a disco party with the main social aim of being together. But in communal ceremonies of Santal, people opt to dance for themselves throughout the night with their fellow villagers. Besides its functional utility, tribal communities are using it as a tool to resurrect their traditional identity by practising in community gatherings.

1.2 Objective

Using Khokar's dichotomies, the present study aims to understand the metamorphosis of Gond tribal dance to protect its identity as well as a source of alternative livelihood. Gond of Chhattisgarh formed cultural associations at village, tehsil, and district levels and got registered with Culture Departments to disseminate their knowledge of folk dance to a wider audience. They practise *dance for themselves* on ritual and festive occasions, and the whole community immerses their body and soul in it. They also *dance for others* to entertain the audience who provide incentives in the form of cash, awards, and prizes. When they performed for others, Gonds pre-choreographed the dance based on the time and amount of money received from the audience. Taking these two processes into consideration, the present study focuses on the case study of *Jai Mahamaya Dal* (hereafter JMD) to explain the continuity of folk arts in the present context.

1.3 Methodology and Study Area

Empirical data for the present study were generated from the fieldwork conducted among the Gonds of Khajuri Gram Panchayat, Sankari Tehsil of Thakatpur block, Bilaspur district in Chhattisgarh in 2022. Anthropological tools like in-depth interviews, observation, narratives, and documents were used. The researcher conducted structured and semi-structured interviews with folk artists, village chiefs, members of the cultural committee, and knowledgeable persons to get views of the people on the perpetuation of native dance from historical times to the present. Furthermore, audio-video recordings and photographs were also made to support the qualitative data with the technique of visual ethnography and further interpretation. Observations made during ceremonial occasions, life-cycle rituals, fairs and festivals, and training programmes

facilitated the researcher to collect data on the continuity and change of traditional dance forms. Transact walk in the study village assisted in the identification of the houses of artists, centres of learning, and experienced artists in different homesteads and their involvement in the practice of dance. Informal talks with the headman and clan elders immensely contributed to understanding the current dynamics involved in modernising their dance form and their continuation with the support from various institutions and individuals to conserve them from the endangerment of art forms.

Khajuri has a total population of 1,627, out of which the male population is 796 and the female population is 831. The average sex ratio is 1044, which is higher than the Chhattisgarh state average of 991. Though it is a heterogeneous village, the Gond population is predominant, consisting of 74.98% of the total population. The village records a 59 % literacy rate, out of which, 61.93% for males and 36.10% for females (2011 Census). The village is located at a distance of 28kilometres from the district headquarters and has road connectivity to Bilaspur. The villagers shuttle very often to Bilaspur for wage labour, employment, business, and recreation. To promote tribal culture and arts, the Culture Department of Chhattisgarh state has enrolled expert dancers from this village, and they invite artists for training and performances from time to time. Hence, the present study village was purposively selected as artists of this village always participate and perform their traditional dance on important occasions in the district as well as in the State.

1.4 Present Status of Folk Arts in Gond Society

At present, aspiring individuals who have an interest in dance gather in the evenings at a common place or near the headman's house to practise and perform after daily toils. The elderly or expert artists impart dance techniques and skills to the aspirants. During the initial stage of JMD formation, adolescent participation was less due to the stigma (discussed in following paragraphs) associated with it by school and college-going students. However, the stigma of stage performances was overcome with the wider publicity on social media, awards, and recognition from the government. Even working individuals participate in the dance as a part-time activity rather than a full-time job. At present, the JMD troop is active in Khajuri with the active participation of school-going children who perform folk dance during fairs, Hindu festivals, state events, Sangeet Natak Academy events, political meetings, rallies, etc. The troupe consists of 32 members, representing 10 women and 22 men. Interestingly, the majority of the artists (>16) are adolescents who are pursuing high school education.

Traditionally, Gonds of Khajuri village used to *dance for themselves* on important occasions such as the village festival, agricultural festivals, and other life cycle and annual rituals. *Gedi*, *Saila* or *Dandi*, *Karma*, and *Hareli* dance are the existing dance forms performed while singing in groups. *Gedi* is performed with the help of two split bamboo instruments having footrests. An artist stands on the erected bamboo split footrest held in hands which is again supported on the rests tied to the main body of the stilts. When artists move, it strikes on the ground and produces rhythmic sounds. Whereas *Saila* or *Dandi* dance is a group dance where dancers beat two sticks⁷ in their hands rhythmically and sing enchanting tunes of folksongs with the accompaniment of *Dolak* (drum) beats. *Karma* dance is performed in the month of *Bhado*

(Aug-Sept) during the worship of the *Karam* tree. Seven kinds of grain are sown by men in earthen pots and then women dance around the pot for three nights. Now-a-days, it is as popular as *Jawara*⁸ where grains of paddy or wheat are sown in pots and the pots holding seedlings are disposed of in nearby streams. Before the monsoon, farmers collectively perform the *Hareli* or *Haryali* festival wishing for good rains and bumper crops. On this occasion, all the villagers perform group dances while singing folk songs. This festival is closely associated with agriculture and is observed for harvesting bumper yields in the season. The Gond people show reverence towards cultivating land, cattle, and implements and worships them on this auspicious occasion. Likewise, in other festivals like *Bidri*, *Harthalik*, and *Navakhai*, people assemble at the sacred spot and worship the village deities followed by merry-making in the form of folk dance, songs, and narratives (Tripathy & Prasad 2019). The *Sian*⁹ or land owing families provides refreshments for the participating artists. Sometimes, villagers contribute voluntarily to the proposed festivals and enjoy the delicious food.

They *dance for others* during the Navdha Ramayan, Bhagavat, immersion of Durga and Ganesh idols, and during *Viswakarma puja*; the artists perform folk dance on a payment basis. They are now invited to perform tribal dance during childbirth, marriage, funeral rites, and annual festivals of surrounding Hindu families. Outdoor programmes like marriage functions, youth festivals, State festivals, sports, or political events, *smritidiwas*¹⁰ and so on; artists are invited to perform on a payment basis. The charges vary based on time, distance, and nature. For example, in *baraat*¹¹ the team charges Rs.15,000/- excluding transportation charges for a 2 to 3-hour programme. In the case of the outstation programme, free boarding and lodging are provided along with transportation facilities. But for *samaj* (society) programmes, they receive Rs.5001/- or whatever the refreshments are provided from the villagers' contribution. Similarly, in the events of dance competitions or training programmes at Bilaspur or Raipur, they are provided with basic accommodation and food. No honorarium is paid for such training programmes. In case they secure any position, a merit certificate along with a cash reward is given. *Jai Mahamaya Dal* is always participating in the events for the sake of exposure and to get publicity of the dance to the outside world. *Adimjati Kala Vikas* (AKV) a voluntary organisation sanctioned an amount of Rs.10,000/- to procure dress, decoration tools, and musical instruments for the troop in 2019 as was reported by JMD. Further, JMD keeps a portion of artists' honorarium to get musical instruments repaired or replaced, and for the purchase of costumes, headgear, and other decorative materials. They are mainly cowries, *kalgi* (headgear), *Bahkar* (silver hand band), Jacket, Dhoti, *Ghungroo* (bead of small bells worn around the ankle by dancers), Whistle, *Jhumka* (pedants), *Jhanjh* (a pair of cymbals), *Manjeera*, (a pair of small hand cymbals) and *Mandhar* (a type of drum) used by JMD folk artists for stage performances.

Cultural performances are not similar to all the programmes that they sign. It depends on the occasion, event, festival, and rites and rituals. For example, in *Haryali*, JMD performs *Gedi*, *Dandi*, and *Haryali* songs; *Dandi* in *Bidri* and *Phaghun*; and *Karma* in *Badho*. Further, folk artists of Khajuri give performances on a commercial basis during ceremonial occasions like

- *Kalash Yatra* (in the village as well as in towns)
- Navdha Ramayan
- Bhagavat
- Lord Ganesh/Durga *Visarjan* (immersion procession)

- Cultural and Youth Festivals of State
- Political rallies
- Life cycle rituals (birth, marriage, and death)
- Annual calendrical festivals
- Agricultural and village festivals

After seeing the prominence of Khajuri, the artists from nearby villages also started practising the dance forms like those in JMD. These frequent performances facilitated the Khajuri villagers to participate in the national tribal dance festival held at different state capitals every year. These competitions provide a platform to exchange the skills and techniques of dance with other cultural troops who participate from different parts of the country and to imbibe modern techniques into their performances. With the techniques learned from the training programmes and workshops held at Bilaspur or Raipur, the artists modernise their dance forms to meet the needs of the present generation. Further, it also gives opportunities for tribesmen to visit many places to get exposure to the outside world and change their worldview.

1.5 Breaking the Stigma Associated with *Dance for Others*

Earlier, there was a stigma about outside stage performances of folk arts. The co-villagers or artists were ridiculed for saying that it was shameful to perform the pious dance for the sake of money. Even unmarried girls and married women go outside the village to dance in front of caste Hindus. Due to this stigma, expert artists or performers are reluctant to perform outdoor as they feel it is inauspicious to perform in front of outsiders. This act of wider performance or commercialisation, as it is believed, may attract the curse of their ancestors, spirits, and deities. Some artists are shy and are not able to cope with modernity due to their exposure to the cosmopolitan culture of towns and cities. The interior location of the village, worldview, and lack of exposure to modernity are the probable reasons given by the villagers. But now, the situation is slowly changing with improved communication, transport, and infrastructure facilities. JMD has broken the ice through mere persuasion by government officials, NGOs, and fellow artists who attended training workshops at Bilaspur and Raipur. After seeing the recognition and monetary benefits, other members have started showing interest in public performances. To attract the younger generation, the artists use colourful costumes, instruments, etc. Even social media platforms like WhatsApp and Facebook are catalytic in enhancing the interest in dance as the awards and rewards are shared with all. At present, majority of the artists are linked to WhatsApp groups and avail opportunities of programmes.

The artists of Khajuri overcome the stigma by continuously dancing as it is one of the ancient traditions transmitted from their forefathers. They firmly believe that unless they perform, these art forms may become extinct soon. Hence, the villagers decided to continue the tradition through the efforts of JMD for future generations and preservation. The felicitations of the artists by VIPs including the Governor, Chief Minister, Minister, and Collector are elevating their social status not only in their inhabiting village but also at the district level. As a result, they are enjoying a dignified status and recognition in the village.

1.6 Institutional Perspective on Problems and Possibilities

Social institutions like village councils, clan or lineage councils, youth dormitories, and family play important roles in reviving the dance form. With the support of *Gram Panchayat* development funds, the villagers of Khajuri have been able to build a *pucca* stage at the center of the village to impart performance training on a regular base. It is popular as *Sanskritik Manch*. Interested adolescent boys and girls assemble at the *Manch* in the evenings and learn the skills under the guidance of experienced artists. The awarded artists have become a source of inspiration for aspiring youth who wish to join the troupe. This is further accentuated by the friendly attitude of officials and trainers who encourage them to participate in cultural events at district, state, and national levels. In national level participation, they get the opportunity to interact with artists from different counties. As a result, awareness levels are slowly increasing among adolescents with the recognition of their dance forms at district, state, and national levels.

The economic problems are overcome with income earned from performances which add to their regular income from wage labour, agriculture, vegetable cultivation, and so on. In case any member is preoccupied with livelihood activities, he or she informs the JMD head well in advance so that alternative arrangements can be made for commercial programmes. For this reason, JMD kept more artists as members. In case some are preoccupied with their work, the rest can attend the programmes without fail.

With the advice of JMD, artists have been able to procure smartphones. They are informed through telephonic calls by the event organisers, co-artists, culture department officials, friends, etc. As such, many of the elder artists learned soft skills of communication, the use of mobile phones, connecting to social network sites, travel management, etc., from the student dancers. The students in JMD benefitted as they used to get pocket money and the opportunity to be exposed to the outer world along with their elders/co-artists. During field study, it was found that gathering on every Sunday or on important days at *Sanskritik Manch* and rehearsing the *Dandi* dance form has become compulsory for JMD members.

To sustain their dance forms in the long run, the Culture Department has been organising a '*Tribal Fest*' on an annual basis to promote tribal folk arts in Chhattisgarh state. As part of this, a three-day National Tribal Dance Festival (NTDF) was organised in 2019 by the Culture Department at the Science College Ground, Raipur. It was attended by tribal groups from 25 states in India and six groups from Eswatini, Nigeria, Uzbekistan, Uganda, Sri Lanka, Mali, Syria, and Palestine. In this, dance performances were held in different categories such as wedding ceremonies and other prominent rituals, traditional festivals and rituals, crop harvesting and agriculture, and other traditional festivals. The practice carried out at *Sanskriti Manch* helps the dancers to participate in such competitions from time to time.

To sustain the interest among dancers, the artists are being given financial support initially to procure the musical instruments, dresses, and other necessary items. Local NGOs provide grants to procure musical instruments, dresses, and decorative ornaments. To make them self-reliant in the long run, NGOs train them to keep a portion of money from each programme for procuring new instruments as well as repairing old ones. By seeing the Khajuri artists, the artists from Kodapuri launched *Mahamaya Sanskritik Evam Khel Vikas Samithi* to promote folk

dance along with traditional sports in their village. Now they are also approaching the Culture Department for financial support to establish a Khajuri type of *Sanskriti Manch* in their village.

In Gond society, family and youth dormitories are catalytic in imparting training to the novices in dance forms. But the penchant towards modern recreation, consumer culture, and urban lifestyle has led to the decline in the significance of youth dormitories. The weakening of dormitories in contemporary times is the biggest challenge in continuing tribal dance. Adolescents are spending their leisure on watching movies on over-the-top (OTT) platforms, online games, and entertainment through smartphones and becoming addicted to them. The practising dancers suggested the revival of youth dormitories with full-time artists as employees who can impart skills and training to the aspirants. To transmit folk arts knowledge to future generations, a separate discipline of folk arts is proposed to be included in the school curriculum, so that students get self-respect for their art forms and practise them with pride. Like sports, folk dance competitions at the school level are the need of the hour to counter the stigma and encourage the traditional skills of dance and singing from childhood. The role of *Sians*, the heads of families, lineage groups, and clans is noteworthy in Khajuri, where the youth show interest in traditional dance through JMD.

1.7 Conclusion

Thus, Gond dance forms such as *Gedi*, *Saila* or *Dandi*, *Karma*, and *Hareli* are continuing in Khajuri village not only on important occasions of the village but through performances as well. The villagers dance for themselves during the life cycle, village, and agricultural festivals in the village, and dance for others in paid events from outside the village. Though folk artists confronted stigma and other socio-cultural barriers, they were able to manage the difficult situation with the support from their *Sians*. As a result of continuous efforts and recognition, Khajuri has become a model village for tribal dance. After seeing the fame and recognition of Khajuri, Kodapuri villagers also got motivated and launched *Mahamaya Sanskritik Evam Khel Vikas Samithi* to promote tribal dance along with traditional sports. To encourage tribal dance and crafts, the administration, through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is creating infrastructure at the village level with the active participation of industries and villagers. It is a fact that now-a-days youth are busy with operating mobile phones and spend most of their productive time in the virtual world. But after seeing the photographs with VIPs like the Governor, Chief Ministers, and Film actors, youth are showing interest in the tribal dance.

The biggest challenge in continuing the folk arts is poverty. Due to a lack of sustainable livelihoods, artists from many villages could not practise these art forms as full-time activity, and hence they practise them only as a part-time activity only. An institutional mechanism supported by the government is the need of the hour to continue these arts permanently. Further, the artists should be given financial support in a self-sufficient mode, not as doles. Taking a clue from the Khajuri case study, there is an urgent need to arrange similar cultural troupes in every tribal village to encourage the youth towards their traditional dance and protect traditional folk arts from endangerment.

Notes

1. Great Andamanese of Andaman Island perform group dance to express their social and collective activity. Pleasurable mental excitement finds its expression in bodily activity.
2. The graceful standing dances presented during public performances by Samoan girls of Central South-Pacific Islands.
3. Beer dance (*gberebuda*) is a kind of male dance of the Azande of Sudan accompanied by music (drums), song, and muscular movements, and drinking and eating thought out the night.
4. The dance is performed by secret societies of southern Kwakiutl believed to be through the inspiration of two cannibal spirits.
5. It is a kind of trance dance performed by San or Bushmen of Kalahari region of Southern Africa. In this dance a state of altered consciousness is achieved through rhythmic dancing and hyper ventilation.
6. It was developed by Jean Fredric Chevallier with the main idea towards the integration of villagers.
7. The length of the stick is about one and half feet long.
8. It is a harvest festival named after jowar (*Sorghum*) to symbolize grain. It is celebrated during Chait Navaratri at Kankalin Mata Mandir by dibbling the seeds of paddy or wheat in an open earthen pot or bamboo basket full of soil. People sprinkle water in the morning and evening and offer worship for nine days. On the eighth day, a day before completion of the ritual, people worship the pot and saplings are taken in a procession on the ninth day and dispose of in a nearby water body.
9. The headman of the clan/lineage groups
10. Commemoration of freedom fighters
11. The marriage procession of bringing bride home is accompanied by merry-making.

References

- Benedict, Ruth. 1934. *Patterns of Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Blackburn, S. H. 1981. 'Oral performance: Narrative and Ritual in a Tamil Tradition'. *Journal of American Folklore*, 94:207-27.
- Borgohain, N.P. 2011. *Female Dance Tradition of Assam*. Guwahati: Purbanchal Prakashan.
- Briggs, C. L. 1985. 'The Pragmatics of Proverb Performances in New Mexican Spanish'. *American Anthropology*, 87:793-810.
- Briggs, C. L. 1985a. 'Treasure Tales and Pedagogical Discourse in Mexican New Mexico'. *Journal of American Folklore*, 98:287-314.
- Census of India*. 2011. Directorate of Census Operations, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India.
- Claudia, Pereira. 2017. 'Religious Dances and Tourism: Perceptions of the 'Tribal' as the Repositories of the Traditional Goa, India'. *Ethnographica*. 21(1):125-152.
- Cohen, S.J. 1998. *International Encyclopedia of Dance*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Desmond, J.C. 1997. *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1928. 'The Dance'. *Journal of International African Institute*, 1(4):446-462.
- Feld, S. 1990. *Sound and Sentiment: Birds, Weeping, Poetics and Song in Kaluli Expression*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press.

- Herzfeld, M. 1981. 'Performative Categories and Symbols of Passage in Rural Greece'. *Journal of American Folklore*, 94:44-57.
- Horton, Rosita. 1963. 'The Kalabari Ekine Society: A Borderland of Religion and Art'. *Africa*,32:197-220.
- Kaeppler, A.L. 1978. 'Dance in Anthropological Perspective'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 7:31-49.
- Khokar, Mohan. 1987. *Dances for Themselves*. New Delhi: Himalayan Books.
- Lewis, J. L. 1995. 'Genre and Embodiment: From Brazilian Capoeira to the Ethnology of Human Movement'. *Cultural Anthropology*, 10(2): 221-43
- Lock, M. 1993. 'Cultivating the Body: Anthropological and Epistemologies of Bodily Practice and Knowledge'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 22:133-55.
- Mead, Margaret. 1928. *Coming of Age in Samoa*. New York: William Marrow
- Peek, P.M. 198. 'The Power of Words in African Verbal Arts'. *Journal of American Folklore*, 94:19-43.
- Radcliff-Brown, A. R. 1922. *The Andaman Islanders*. Glencoc: Free Press
- Rao, Sudhakar N. 1997. 'An Anthropological Approach to Folk Dances'. *Indian Anthropologist*, 27(1):57-75.
- Roycee, A. 1977. *The Anthropology of Dance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Ryzhakova, Svetlana. 2021. 'Tribal Dance in India: A Concept, A Category, and An Ethnographic Reality'. *Journal of Indian Anthropological Society*, 56(2):237-253.
- Snyder, A.F. 1974. 'The Dance Symbol'. In Tamara Comstock, (ed.), *New Dimensions in Dance Research: Anthropology and Dance-The American India. The Proceedings of the Third Conference on Research in Dance, 1972, CORD Research Annual Volume VI*: 213-224. New York: CORD, c/o New York University.
- Tripathy, B. and Prasad, D.V. 2019. *Tribal Religion in Central India: Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: B.R. Publishers.