CULTURAL HISTORY OF DALIT & THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH NATURAL RESOURCES

Dr. Basudev Sunani

Dalit-Adivasis are the Mulnivasi or aboriginal people of this land. They have been inheritors of rich culture and tradition since time immemorial. Mostly they are known in contemporary society for their culture and tradition which can be well identified through their day to day life style and activities performed. If someone goes through the cultural history of the Dalit and adivasi, they will see the richness and sense of primitiveness in it.

The culture and tradition of Dalit possess many elements of the history and historical facts. On the other hand some of the historical facts have also converted into their culture in due course of time, which can be well marked, if it can be viewed in historical perception.

This discussion will not explore the historical evidence imbibed in culture but will be confined to the cultural history of Dalit and their relationship with natural resources. However as the Dalit history has not yet been written, rather not thought of as a subject to be written by the historians, culture as an element of history and historical facts present in the culture can never be arbitrarily avoided.

Dalit Culture as a history

The culture of the Dalit-adivasi has got long history in it. If we quote the definition of history it is known as ‘an account of an event, a systematic account of the origin and progress of the world, the knowledge of past events’ (1).

Birtias are a category of people, who are culturally known as the elder brother of Dalit community like Domb/Gana. They are the living and mobile history of this community. They have got enough knowledge about the past events of Dalit community and the pattern of
worship of their family deity. They usually narrate these events in the social gathering like marriage, death etc. The idea of narration is to transfer the knowledge about ancestor and their origin from generation to generation.

In the similar way *Parghaniaa* are also a category of people who are culturally known as the elder brother of *Gond* (Tribe). They also narrate the ancestral history and deity of tribe in social gathering of *Gond* community.

*Ghogiaa* are a relatively nearer caste of Gauda as per caste hierarchy, who also has got similar identity and action in their society. They are otherwise known as the elder brother of *Gauda* (OBC) community having vast knowledge about the past events of *gauda* or *yadav*\(^{(2)}\). Though these knowledge and information available with these people satisfy the definition of history to some extent, still their knowledge does not find space in the history because, their knowledge has not been written or printed anywhere. Is it a fact that the Sudras were denied of education in the Vedic period as a result the *Birtia, Ghogih* and *Parghania* were not able to document their events and choose a simple option of transferring this knowledge in social gathering through narration? However, there is historical evidence in the culture of Dalit which are yet to be determined and recognized by the historian. In this connection it can be quoted that most of the Indian Ancient history is based on Vedas and *Purans*. ‘William Jones, the leading Indologist of the late eighteenth century, suspected that some texts, even if including the myths and legends of the Hindus, probably contained the core of a history’\(^{(3)}\).

So, why not the information that is available with the *Birtiaa, Parghania* and the *Ghogia*, who are the cultural story teller of the *Dom/Gana (Dalit), Gond* (Tribe) and *Gouda* (OBCs) community respectively, be utilize as a clue for the documentation of the history of these category people.

**History of non-Dalit as a culture of Dalit**
There is certain historical evidence which has become the integral part of the culture of Dalit in due course of time. This historical evidence can be seen in different festival while worshiping different deity. One popular deity Budharaja, the old king, is worshiped in western part of Odisha in almost all the villages. There is a saying that there was a battle between two groups. While fighting with enemy when the king become defeated, he took shelter in the mountain & hid himself. He did not come out from the cave of mountain out of shame and at last he died in the mountain and became the deity. As a symbol of Budharaja, the old king, a sword is worshiped by mass, particularly by Dalit-Adivasi (4).

It has been proved by many scholars that around 185 BC Manu Smrutee has been written (5). From that period the caste system in the society has been codified. This is historical evidence but the so called upper caste people convert this historical evidence into their culture and since then the caste system got strengthened in the society where untouchability has become a central force in it. Now untouchability is a culture of the upper caste society as a result even though animals are allowed to their house but human beings are not allowed. This situation leads to create an unprivileged group. As Romila Thapar says the burden of society fell most heavily on the shoulders of the sudras & the untouchables who could claim hardly any privileges or right. (6)

Getting privilege of caste superiority the upper caste people had access to the administration in different point of time and they could able to influence the administration accordingly. They had clear cut perception of maintaining caste superiority and hence they were also capable enough to influence the people who were really involved in codifying historical documents. The officers of the East India Company derived their data on law and religion from their Brahman informants. So the centrality of the texts important to Vedic Brahmanism had priority. These were the “dharma Sastras” and later the Vedas, and to a lesser extent, Puranas(7)
One Pardesen devi (outsider devi) is worshiped by Dalit-Adivasi community. This devi is from the Bastar State which is presently located at Chhattisgarh state. The myth about the origin of this devi precisely says that when there was battle between the king of Patna state and Bastar state, the kind of Patna state ultimately won the battle. In this situation the Bastaren Devi or the presiding deity of Bastar State was desperate enough and she asked the kind of Patna state to be worshiped by the people of his kingdom. The king of Patna state agrees to the proposal of the devi and from there onwards the Bastaren, who came to Patna from long distance and become foreigner called Pardeshen. This incidence is a pure history, even one can see in the record/history book also but presently that is a popular culture of Dalit-avdivasi. There are many example and instances of history which has in due course of time has become the culture of these communities like Patk handheld devi of Jarasingha of Bolangir, Raktambary devi of Khariar, Nuapada of western part of Odisha.

‘A people without history were a people without knowledge’. It is seen that no formal history of the Dalit-avdivashi community so far has been documented. Whatever information is available from their culture and tradition; those are being treated as folk and not as elements of the history.

Dalit & Adivashi are from same origin

There is age old tradition story regarding the separation of Dalit and adivashi. The story speaks as follows “In the valley of Mahanadi river there lived a king called Gagarba Saasan Lakhan Bhandi Nag Banshi Chaturbhuj Raja Dungi Chuhan. He had eleven sons and one among them was ‘Kolbhoj’. Kolbhoj king had four sons called Gang, Gaagrang, Jadu and Kadam. Presently these four brothers are knows as Tribe, Caste, OBC and Tribe respectively. In the process of multiplication of family members, subsequently there was property distribution among the brothers. The caste people got the deity as their share and others got
landed property. Since then they have been separated from each other but as their ancestor being one and same, the culture and tradition are similar in nature. The deity whatever being worshiped in the Pidar of Dalit family is mostly worshiped in the family of tribe and OBCs. It is needless to say that SC/ST/OBC was earlier known as Sudras. Being a share holder of deity the Dalit become Bajania or drum beater. Music is an integral part to worship deity because Dalit deities are very much fond of music. It is a common understanding of all that Bajania can understand the language of the deity, who can directly interact with the deity as per the tradition. In a similar way tribes or OBCs who acts as a village priest in many places, distributes paddy in Nuakhai, a great festivals, as a symbol of share holder of the land. Even, if we look to the contemporary situation, there were numbers of tribal kings all over, who is the landlord or land owner. This proves the reality of myth, the division of property may be in the prehistoric period. The cultural similarity of all these caste, tribe and OBC speaks about their ancestral origin from one point. The origin of Dalit-adivashi from same ancestor has been observed by many. ‘It can only be shown in a few instances that the existing impure devotional castes were directly derived from the indigenous tribe’

Before Aryan invasion it is presumed that there was no division in the name of caste among aboriginals. Their main religion and belief was to worship nature. In the process of sanskritization though they become separated socially from each other there original culture and tradition is remaining without change.

Since the aboriginals are son of soil, their culture and tradition is very rich. The living style, the livelihood earning through weaving, entertainment through various songs and dance, their festivals and rituals are unique and more scientific except some few which are based on blind faith.

This separation is well established in the name of caste and tribe since 1911, when the enumeration of census process started to provide some facility to this community by British
Their social and individual life can’t be separated from natural resources since they are interlinked and inter dependent with environment.

Some of the instances of their tradition and culture in relation to the environment and natural resources can be reflected as below to have minimum understanding of Dalit culture

**Matigudi (Earth Temple):**

Traditionally Dalit communities have been performing many festivals in different point of time in a year. They worship their deity both inside the house, the sacred place called Pidar along with outside of the village called ‘Gudi’. These people worship earth as one of the foremost Goddess. In each and every social activity Maati devi (Earth Goddess) plays vital role for fulfillment of cultural desire. Even prior to celebrating any festivals they use to worship earth Goddess to witness the activity. In the outskirt or end point of the village this Goddess is placed. In some villages it is also located centrally where around 10 sq.ft places is cleaned and this earth God is placed. Usually a stone is placed as a symbol of Goddess in such a position that the front side of the worshiper will be always in eastern direction heading towards the symbolic Goddess.

Dalit have been living here from generation to generation in this earth. Here they construct house, cultivate crop and even after the death, this soil gives shelter in the grave yard and therefore they worship this earth Goddess as a pure obligation.

It is a practice that when a Dalit awake from bed in the morning and put his feet on the earth he/she first salutes the earth and then starts walking. Whenever they go outside from the village, they pray earth Goddess for safe return all the time as a tradition. They believe that if the village soil which is otherwise known as Goddess is not favorable to anybody, then his family members suffer a lot and face many problems like disease or death. Moreover they are not being successful to achieve the goal etc in any activity. Due to unhappiness of earth
Goddess anything & everything can happen. Hence, they always try to keep the earth Goddess pleased.

For any kind of festival or social gathering like marriage or even death they first take permission from this Goddess. In marriage ceremony of this community there is a special activity called *Mati anna* (bringing of Soil) to the place of marriage. Here a group of women, at the beginning of the marriage ceremony go to the *Matigudi* (earth temple) to bring sacred soil. The village priest is invited for this special occasion who gives little soil by digging the earth from the *Gudi* premises. This is received by the head woman of the family conducting marriage and there after other women receive soil. While digging soil two Mahua branches are kept as a male and female symbol of bride and groom to witness the situation. For this special occasion they usually go to *Gudi* with new saree to receive sacred soil. This soil is taken to the marriage stage and smeared over the *Bedi* (stage) to make it purify, sacred and favorable for marriage. In this way they show respect to the mother soil.

**Importance of branch of Mahua tree**

There is great importance of *mahua* tree in the culture of Dalit community. The greatness can be seen in the social gathering like marriage or in the festival like *Nuakhai* also. Here an example of the marriage can be given to reflect the importance of the *mahua* tree. At the beginning of the marriage, a group of women goes with great ceremonial attitude to the *Maatigudi* as describe earlier to invite the two branches of mahua tree as a symbol of male and a female idol i.e. bride and groom. They always go with a thrilling to witness the mahua tree in front of the Earth Goddess along with a troop of music which glorifies the activity. First of all the symbolic marriage of this male and female branches of mahua tree is conducted and there after the real marriage process is started. Dalit community considers that marriage is one of the most important activities in the life as it helps in multiplying the generation through producing offspring.
The importance of the collection of soil of the Matigudi in the social function like marriage speaks about the significant role and relationship of soil with Dalit social life. Worship of Mahua branches also speaks about the importance of natural resources and forest product in cultural life of Dalit.

*Nua Khai and Kurei leaf*

*Nua Khai* is one of the most important festivals of the Dalit community of western Odisha. The objective of this festival is to offer the newly produced food material either from jungle or from agriculture to the ancestral deity. They consider that the ancient people, who were their ancestors, have identified these forest produce as a food materials and thereby subsequently they have been able to use these food materials for their survival. Therefore, as an obligation whatever new food materials either from natural source or by cultivation come to edible stage, are first offered to the deity and then it is eaten by the mass. This instance has been observed by the historian as ‘before the mangoes are eaten, the first fruits are offered to the moon at the full moon of the month of Chaitra’\(^{12}\)

*Nua Khai* is meticulously performed in case of first eating of Paddy, Pumpkin, Rice bean, Gurji along with some of the forest produce like Mahua, Mango, Chaanr etc. In the *Nua Khai* festival, the head of the family offer the newly produced food materials to the ancestral deity of *pidar*. This particular activity is peculiarly performed by the woman of the family and then the other family members go one by one to respect the *pidar*. After the process of worship is over, all the family members sit together enmass start eating of new food material to celebrate the festival. Performing worship to the *pidar* initially by woman speaks about the empowerment of women in the Dalit community. When there is a distribution of the newly processed food materials, they don’t use utensils made up of any metal rather culturally it is mandatory to use *kurei* leaf or *bhaalia* leaf. Use of different leaf differs from family to
family. Sometimes, some people use mahua leaf but mostly kurei leaf is more popularly use as per the tradition of the community (13).

Respecting the crop and forest products and dedicating to those food materials to the deity shows the interdependency and inter relation of the Dalit community with natural resources in a great way. Apart from this many tree leaf, plants and bushes are being used as a medicines by Dalit community both for human being as well as animals.

**Mahuli wine**

Ancestral deity worshiping is one of the important cultural tradition of Dalit community. Mahua has got multifarious use in the Dalit community. They are not only offered to the deity but also it is a common food material in the scarcity period. Mahua is through seasonal they are collected, preserved and prepared in different form and eaten by the community. Sometimes they allow their livestock to eat mahua. The fruits of Mahua are processed and oil is extracted which are being used to prepare cake in different festival. Mahua leaves are used in the *Nuakhai* in many of the family of this community as a great tradition. Extraction of wine from *mahuli* and utilization of same is a scientific process which was perhaps known to the people of this community only. In most of the situation wine extracted from mahua is offered to the deity which is an integral part of worshiping different deity. In the same way like mahua *salap are* also used by the Dalit community.

Just to remain in intoxication Dalit people does not drink this mahua wine rather they take it as prasad or left over offering of the deity. Later on this distillation process might have attracted others to make commercial use of it. However, Dalit people are by nature not drunkard but they offer their deity to this wine which they count as sacred materials and accordingly they make better use of it.
Mountain worship

Nature worship is one of the most important traditions of this community. Dalit people from the primitive period mostly depend on mountain and jungle to collect food materials along with fire wood. Therefore, they think that mountain is the granary & main source of food material. They become obliged to mountain and worship in different occasion. These mountains are Budhaa Dangar, Sikerpaaat etc. Usually mountains are worshiped in mass and not in the family or individually.

Dead body & relation with soil

Dalit community not only depends on earth during living period rather after death also they take complete shelter of soil. Traditionally Dalit community doesn’t burn their dead body in fire. They have a tradition to bury in the earth after digging the soil. Burial of dead body and keeping stone over the grave speaks about the megalithic culture of Odisha. It is well observed by historian that, ‘The corpses of the more prosperous domb are cremated’(14).This speaks about the primitiveness of this community along with focuses the relation with the earth.

Water is always sacred

Human being and animal have been using water as an essential thing for living and that is why water is otherwise known as life. In this regard, Dalit community is not beyond this but in addition to it, this community has taken together water in their culture and tradition which can be observed in the different occasion. As in case of Aryan culture Agni (fire) plays an important role, similarly in Dalit culture water play a vital role.

During marriage, particularly in the second day of the marriage which is known as ‘Bad gansen’, two no. of small pot are brought and filled up with water. Traditionally they designate these pots in two different names. One pot is called Dharam pen and other is known
as *Ameraapen*. These pots are filled up with clean water are kept in the marriage stage just adjacent to the branches of mahua tree which is usually kept in central place of the stage without disturbance. In the 4\textsuperscript{th} day of marriage, the entire near and dear are invited to open this water in front of the bride and groom. When the pot water is pored over the head of bride and grooms all the people witnessing the occasion, receive water individually in their palm and apply over their head. They think that this water is very sacred and everything goes right in life, if somebody applies over the head. This is one of the great activities during the process of marriage of Dalit community\(^{(15)}\).

Apart from this they worship water in the name of one deity called *Saatbaheni Jalkaamini*. This deity is not worshiped traditionally like other deity in a special festival but when ever somebody takes bath in the pond or in a river; he/she uses to salute this *devi*. There is a unique mythical story about the formation of this *Saatbaheni* (seven sisters) *Jalkameni*. This is relating to the poverty of the Dalit family. The story says

A Dalit had seven daughters. He was very poor and not able to provide full belly food to his daughters. He was disgusted for this purpose as they were always asking for food. Many a time, it so happens that, he provides food to his daughters at the coast of his belly. In this process both wife and husband remain without food in many instances. Once the father thought of to get rid of these precarious situations and find out an alternative ways. He took his daughters to a dense forest for feeding the forest produce food materials like *Chaanr*. In the dense forest he identified a *chaanr* tree and allowed his all daughters to eat the *Chaanr*. In the mean time while the daughters are involved in eating *Chaanr* he went to other place to search another place. While searching he went to such a dense part of the forest away from the daughters that he lost himself in the forest. After some time when the daughters satisfy their hunger, they search their father but could not find him. They started crying helplessly in search of their father and ultimately to save their life from the tiger they took shelter in a cave located inside a nearby river. Neither the daughter trace out their father nor the father finds
out his daughter. They become departed from each other for lifelong. When the river, after some days filled up with water the seven sisters dipped in to it and lost their life. Subsequently they become the *duma* and since then the community people worshiped the duma of these seven sisters and called these seven sisters as *Saatbaheni jalkaamini*.

**Forest and forest produce**

There are lot of forest produce which are being used as food materials by this community *Kendu, Chaanr, Mahua, Kantikoli* are some of the common fruits but apart from this there are lot of greens which are used as food materials like, *muti, kena, bhalal, sunsunia, kunjer, keu, paalua, banji from bamboo, kusur kanda, karanj and Neem* oil, *sal* leaf etc. *Jhuna* is an important forest produce without which there can’t be worship of deity.

In Dalit community another important activity is performed i.e. just before burial of the dead body, small branch of *neem* are brought and some body is assigned to repel the flies from the dead body. This is a tradition followed everywhere in this community. *Neem* tree plays another important role, when somebody is affected with small pox or chicken pox. May be out of the blind faith they think that this disease has been caused due to the unhappiness of *Budhima* (old mother) a common deity of the village. Therefore, during the disease period *Jhuna* smoke is given in the evening to make satisfy *Budhima* every day. At the end part of the course of disease, when the patient is about to recover from disease, they prepare a mixture of *neem* leaf and turmeric in a semi solid form (16). This is being smeared all over the body and then the patient is allowed to take bath. By this way they remove the scar and get rid from the disease.

There will be long list if all the utility of forest produce will be described one by one. This shows how, the community is intermingled with the natural resources.

*Daal Khai (Leaf Eating)*
A great festival is celebrated in Dushera called Daalkhai. This festival is particular performed by the young girls addressing to Dalkhai Devi especially for the welfare of their brother. Daalkhai means leaf eating, the name of the devi speaks that this devi very much fond of eating dal (leaf). The process of worshipping this deity that, the girls remain fasting for a whole day and in the evening they worship this devi sacrificing cucumber. In the next day early in the morning the girls go to pond or river, take sacred bath and then worship this devi at the bank of pond/river themselves. After that they come back to home in a group and tie the thread called Jiuntia in the hand of their brother. As the sisters tie thread or Jiuntia to their brother, hence this festival is otherwise known as Bhai Jiuntia. Usually this devi is placed in the outskirt or may be nearby to the forest, where she is worshiped. Whoever and whenever somebody passes on the way, usually offers a small branch of leaf as a matter of respect. Unfortunately this devi has been replaced by Durga devi in many places in the process of sanskritisation. In some remote places it is seen that both the festivals are organized separately.

Worshipping of Dalkhai (leaf eating) devi proofs the primitiveness of the devi and relation between environment and human being. The unique culture of Dalit community can be observed through the window of these festivals.

Weaving is one of the major livelihood earning sources of this community. The weaving machine is prepared from different kind of woods. Dongi is a small important instrument for the purpose where threads are being kept. This dongi is made up of bel tree. Dhap and Dhol are one of the important instruments of the Ganabaaaja. For preparation of Dhol these people use chaanr and mango wood. Similarly in Mahuri, Tala and Bamboo is used for preparation of this instrument. Using Bel, Bamboo, Chaanr and Mango tree for different musical instruments should not be taken into superficial manner but they are culturally essential wood. After their long research, permutation and combination, they might have finally decided from different angle to use these trees for the purpose. Unless somebody...
understands and experiment different trees it is not easy to come to a conclusion. In the process of understanding and experiment it is the Dalit community who has played a sole role.

A Dalit adivasi dominated koraput district is figured in the world history for crop production. It has been recognized by the historian that paddy was for the first time discovered in this district. Paddy being one of the important food materials of the human being discovered in this district where Domb, Kandh, Paroja, Koya, Bonda like primitive tribes / caste have been staying since time immemorial speaks about the cultural richness of the society along with binding of tradition with the environment. That is why may be Nuakhai is more popularly celebrated in this region especially the paddy Nuakhai. There are other Nuakhai like Gurji, Pumpkin & other jungle produce which are celebrated inside the family but not recognized by administration.

Origin of Surname

Dalit community have several sub castes like Domb, Pana, Ghasi, Chamar, Ganda, Hadi, Kandara, Dhoba, Bauri, Kuli etc. The sub caste have different surname. These surnames are symbolizing their origins of ancestral identity. These surname otherwise counted as the totems of the community.

We do find some of the surname used by Dalit community like suna (gold), Luha (iron), Chhura/Khuraa (knife), Mahandia (Mahanadi River), Dongari (mountain), Megh (cloud), Surya (sun), Khara (sunshine) etc (*19*). As per the myth of these surnames they are somehow or other related or entangled with metal like gold, iron, and river like Mahanadi river, mountain, cloud and sun etc. There is a significance of these entire names because this name has been given by the ancient people of this community. Accordingly they also worship these metal, river etc in different occasion; on the other hand these names are not at all a modern name which speaks about the relation of natural resources with Dalit community.
Natural Resources as symbols of Dalit folk songs

Dalit culture is rich with tremendous musical instrument and various kind of musical rhythm. The myth of origin of music tells that the different kind of rhythm of the music has been derived from the sound of cloud, singing of birds, the melodious sound of rivers & stream and the sounds of forest trees. This music is used in the day to day activity of this community. Therefore each and every festivals, marriage or death, there are unique & specific rhythm which they have created and acquired from the nature.

It is most significant that Dalit culture has been deep-rooted by their music which they have invented since age-old. William A. Haviard has mentioned that 'It is rare that a culture has been reported to be without any kind of music’. This shows the primitiveness of this society and the richness of their culture and tradition.

There are different kind of songs that are being sung in different festivals & marriage irrespective of all man, woman, girls and boy etc. They use to dance and enjoy. The instant composer of the songs is called Geet Kudia or Gahank, who play vital role in singing the songs. Mostly these songs are based on love and day to day normal happening. One can observe the same in following folk song in English translated version.

Shahaja leaf is witness,
I have brought you
By gifting a colourful saree.
You have to accept me
As your husband

Here the forest leaf is the proof of love which acts as a binding force between two lovers and increases the poetic value of the songs. This also gives the natural and indigenous flavor of the songs.

In other example we can see as below
Water stream is in both sides
But in between there is another stream
Where a carp fish is moving?
One can act as bonded labour
In some one’s house, no matter,
If he (Land lord) is having a young daughter (20)

In other example

Who can check the river?
Who is obeying parents?
It happens only due to adolescent (21)

Here in the folk song how the poets they use stream, river, leaf as a beautiful symbol in their songs. It not only increases the sweetness of the song but the environmental effect and impact in the society has been reflected.

Conclusion

Dalit have been depending upon the nature since centuries. Their culture and tradition can’t be narrated without the natural resource as earlier some of the example has been given in this regards. From morning to the end of the day they have been interacting with the environment, may be in the form of food, songs, dance, deity, festivals and health care etc. Therefore they are always inter dependant and interrelated. Though the history of the adivashi has not been documented by historians however, some scholars in the name of folklore have documented some of the information.

But it is unfortunate that Dalit culture has not mentioned properly. It is a fact that as the Dalit are coming under untouchable category, therefore their culture and tradition, their belief
and understanding are also treated as untouchable by the upper caste scholars which can be otherwise called as intellectual discrimination to the community.

References

1. Chambers 20th Century Dictionary

2. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada


4. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada

5. Thapa, Romila, Ancient Indian Social History: Some Interpretation, 2nd edition,


8. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada


10. Russel, R.V., The tribes and caste of the Central provinces of India. Vol-I, P-76

11. 1911, when the enumeration of census process

12. Nilamani Senapti and Dr. N.K. Sahu, Orissa Dist gazetteer, Koraput, P-105

13. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada
14. Nilamani Senapati & Nabin Kumar Sahu, Orissa District Gazetteer, Koraput, P-115

15. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada

16. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada

17. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada

18. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada

19. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada

20. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada, P-469

21. Sunani, Dr. Basudev, Dalit Sanskrutira Itihasa, Eeshan Ankit Parkashanee, At-Maniguda, Po-Jatagarh, Nuapada, P-481

E-mail- sunanibasudev@gmail.com