

MARRIAGE SYSTEM OF THE SANTALS OF MAYURBHANJ OF ODISHA IN EASTERN INDIA

¹Singo hembram, ²DR. Ratnakar Mohapatra

ABSTRACT--*This paper attempts to study the marriage system of Santals of Mayurbhanj District of Odisha. Marriage is social institution of Santals. Marriage is considered necessary for a biological and psychological need and to survive in general. Without joyful night by singing, dancing, drumming and playing flutes Santal marriage is not considered. The significance of tradition, culture and value system of Santal are gradually losing their meaning to the young and educated Santal. This paper would highlight the changes in traditional marriage system of the Santals of Mayurbhanj District of Odisha in Eastern India.*

Keywords-- *Santals, Marriage, Rice-beer, Sindurdan, Mayurbhanj, Odisha, India*

I. INTRODUCTION

The Santals are the third largest tribe in India (Ota and Mohanty, 2015, p. 288). Santals are occupied second largest tribal group of Odisha (At a Glance, 2015). Among the Odishan tribes, the Santals are an advance community. They are mainly found in the district of Keonjhar, Balesore, Sundargarh, Dhenkanal and **Mayurbhanj** in Odisha (Ota and Patnaik, 2014; Padhi, 2009, p. 138). Santals also inhabit in the neighbouring states of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam (Murmu and Dash, 2012, p. 86). They speak an independent language known as 'Santali'. Santals belong to Munda group language of the Austro-Asiatic family (Troisi, 2000, p. 26). Out of sixty-two tribes seen in Odisha, fifty-three are found in the district of Mayurbhanj (Karua, 2014, p. 1). The total population of Odisha is 4,19,74, 218. Out of 25,19,738 number people of Mayurbhanj, the number of male populations is 12,56,213 and the number of female populations is 12,63,525 (Census of India 2011, p. 18). The total Santal population of Odisha is 8,94,764 (At a Glance). The Santals from the dominating tribe in Mayurbhanj and out of the total, 6,38,104 number Santals are residing in Mayurbhanj District (Ota and Mohanty, 2015, p. 290). Odisha is situated in the eastern part of the country. Mayurbhanj is located in the North-East corner of Odisha between 21^o 17' and 22^o 34' North latitude and between 85^o 40' and 87^o 10' East longitude (Senapati and Sahu, 1967, p. 2). Marriage (*Bapla*) is the second memorable event in the Santal's life they accept it as a socio-religious institution and it is indispensable for all, Monogamy is the general profile of their society. Only after one's marriage creates a relationship between the husband and the wife as the full-fledged member of the Santal community (Karua, 2014, p. 94).

¹Ph. D. Research Scholar, Department of History, KIIT, Deemed to be University, Bhubaneswar, Odisha, India.

² Assistant Professor, Department of History, KISS, Deemed to be University, Bhubaneswar, Odisha, India.

II. METHODOLOGY

To make a systematic study on the marriage system of the Santals of Mayurbhanj district of Odisha. Both the primary and secondary sources have been used in the writing of the present piece of work. The primary data have been collected from different sources viz. Gazetteers, interviewing with the people, focus group discussion, practical observations on the Santal Community of Mayurbhanj. However, the secondary data have collected from various books, journals and others have been utilised in this article.

III. TYPE OF MARRIAGES OF SANTALS OF MAYURBHANJ

Various types of Santal marriages are prevalent in different areas of Mayurbhanj district, which are described below.

3.1. *Kirinj Bahu or bought bride:*

This is a most popular and prestigious way acquiring mate (Sahu, 1996, p. 57). This type of marriage is also called *osli-baplaor Sindurbaplaor Duar-Iputut-bapla*. It is arranged by the parents and family members of the bride and the bride groom for whom it is known as orthodox marriage. The groom's father has to appoint a mach-maker (*raibarij*) for that purpose. He tries his best to make the relation between the two families and the villages with the help of their *Jogmajhi* and other officials. He plays the vital role under this system. He may be a male or a female. Marriage proposal; acceptance and invitation are acknowledged through him. Brides are chosen in the market place or in the festivals. At the time of matching the bride or the bride-groom they take land, disease and behaviour in to consideration. The most admired qualities in bride are good health, capacity to work, cheerfulness and steady disposition. Very often the consent of the boys and the girls are duly taken. Parents of the both sides consult with their relatives and seniors for this purpose. The selection of the bride is finalized after seeing the house and home (*Orah-duar-jnel*) through the *raibarij* and the *Majhi baba* (Karua, 2014, pp. 95-96).

a) *Selection of bride/groom*

The fast and foremost step followed in this system of marriage is also the most important one, the selection of the bride or mostly the selection of groom. The parents or their senior relatives initiate the process with sharing verbal chats with other members of the community. After getting information about any suitable girl/boy- as per their choice- they notify the matter to the Headman of their community. These talks generally originate from the bridegroom's family side, the bride group does not make the first. If the father of bride wants to make a conversation over the marriage matter, then a discussion of their clans and sub-clans and the other prohibited degrees follow, so that the marriage may not infringe the tribal law. If these are found to be satisfactory enough, the bridegroom's father will be informed when he may see the girl (Mukherjea, 1962, pp. 197-198).

b) *Betrothal (Takachal)*

The preliminaries being agreed upon and finalized, another day is fixed for the 'Betrothal Ceremony' (Mukherjea, 1962, p.199). Hence, in each stage of the business must be done with customary hospitality and with due regards for the feeling of the village on this occasion the bride is presented for the feeling of the village on this

occasion the bride is presented with some ornaments by the groom's mother in the presence of their friends and relatives. According to the custom, a rupee, some sun-dried rice, *dhubi grass (Synodondactylon)* placed on a sal leaf are then held by the middle-man on behalf of the grooms' father which is handed over to the Headman of the bride's village. After which it is inspected by the elder members of the village and the women of the bride's village. Then it is presented to the brides by the headman (Karua, 2014, p. 97). This ceremony is generally termed as *Horoh-Chinha-Takachal* by the Santal community. The bride -sitting on the lap of her would be mother-in-law- is rubbed all over her body with oil and turmeric paste. The bride also is affectionately made to wear the ornaments presented. The Santal community has a practice of 'marriage' and 'bride price' which is finalized by the both parties & middle man. After the finalization of the date of marriage, the intervening number of days between the present day and the days of marriage being shown in knots in a rope (*BaplaGira*). Thereafter, one knot is loosened each night and when no knot is left the day for marriage arrives (Mukherjea, 1996, pp. 200-201).

c) *Rate of bride price (Gonong)*

In *Taka-chal* ceremony, bride-price is rewarded to the bride's party. According to the custom instead of dowry, bride-price are given by groom's party. The first term is from a root meaning to count or calculate and the second *ponis* from a root meaning earnest-money of or pledge. The rate of money payment is differing from place to place (Karua, 2014, p. 98). Further, the Santal ritual follows some binding social norms in case of the ceremonial gift to the bride's party. In case the bride's parents are alive, her father and brother will receive a he-calf each. If her paternal uncle demands a calf as their gift, in return he has to gift his niece some ornaments with some utensils in return (Mukherjea, 1962, pp. 201-202).

Also, among the sample Santal families a curious custom regarding the gifts of cloths by the bridegroom to his bride's family is observed. The presenting of cloth (*itat*) is also made to the bride's house under this system. For instance, paternal grandmother gets a hand-woven cloth (*bonga saree*) of 14- Cubit in length even if she happens to be dead. Bride's mother gets a hand-woven saree of 12-cubit, maternal grandmother if she is dead or alive get a saree of same length. Bride's father's sister gets a hand-woven saree (*Here itat*) of 8-cubit. Bride's eldest sister (unmarried) she gets *TalamGande saree*. Bride's eldest brother gets a hand woven *kacha (baret-itat)* of 6-cubits in length. Besides maternal uncle and other relatives get one *Kacha* each. It is to be noted here that the, *Khanda lugli* (cloths meant for bride's mother, grandmother and brides fathers' sister) must be examined with a *gotambati* (light of a cotton roller smeared with *ghee*) to detect the defectiveness even in a broad day light. Any kind of defectiveness leads to imposition of fines (*dandom*) in order to remind them to be vigilant. With also, in this study areas, it is observed that the Santals of bride groom's party are presented some materials to the bride's father and brothers are as follows.

1. *Chal-Taka- Rs-3.00*, 2. *Majhi Madla-Rs-2.00*, 3. *Marang Apat-Rs-2.00*, 4. *Huding Apat-Rs-1.00*, 5. *Jhinjiri Sakam-Rs-5.00*, 6. *Hilit Kaudi-Rs-2.00*, 7. *Lumti Kaudi-Rs-1.00*, 8. *Murud Bhitua-Rs-1.00*, 9. *AtuBaher Gate Arauri-Rs-10.00*, 10. *Dada KawahPottom Daka-Rs5.00*, 11. *MulBalaSasangandMulBalaSidur*, 12. *Kaka BalaSasangand Kaka BalaSidur*, 13. *NaikeSasangandNaikeSindur*, 14. *SangeBalaSasangandSangeBalaSindur*, 15. *TalkaHutub*, 16. *Chadi Sindur, Chadi Sasang, Chadi Bulung, Chadi TambakhuandChadi Chaule 12 k.g.*

d) Wedding preparations

As in the other non-tribal societies, the preparation for the wedding ceremony is quite a joyous affair in the Santal community also. Moreover, the entire village buzzes with the preparation activities and all the families cooperate with both the families in this matter. The ceremony begins with the villagers getting six pots of *Handi* (rice-beer) from both the parties; two pots for *Takachal* (Betrothal Ceremony), two for *Giratul* and two for *DharuahRuku* ceremonies which follows immediately after. The ceremonial gifts to be presented to the groom's family include various dues to be paid to the Headman of bride's party, wife of the bride's elder brother, friend of the bride and the vermilion to be applied to the bride's forehead. The gifts also include an uncastrated goat. They also ask for the bride-price (*Gonong*) in this ceremony.

As a next ceremony the bridegroom is bathed thrice in a hole in the ground where a pair of yokes has been placed. In sequence, three such baths follow the similar ablution of a trio of married couples, each succeeding the bridegroom's bath, one after another. Then the procession starts with a great deal of *éclat*. Kettle drums and cymbals beat with merry musical sounds and songs. The procession moves towards the bride's house for marriage.

In between these ceremonies some other rituals are performed –which could be called as taboos- which are specific to some specific situations. If the teeth of the bridegroom/bride had come up in the upper gum first then the actual marriage ceremony is preceded by marriage with a dog. Also, if there exist some instances of inauspicious signs or effect in the childhood of either the bride or the bridegroom the actual marriage precedes a marriage with a *Daihan* (Sahara) tree or with a *Matkom* (Mohua, Bassia, Latifolia) tree (Mukherjea, 1962, pp. 203-204).

After the completion of the marriage ceremony, the members of bridegroom's party return to the house of bride's father. At that time the castrated goat (*Chadimerom*) which was presented by the groom's party is sacrificed for the dead ancestors of the bride. The villagers are invited for the feast. The *raibarij* (mach-maker) who accompanies the couple all through to drop off and the couple returns to their own home to lead their married life (Karua, 2014, p. 105).

3.2. Tunki-Dipil-bapla: Poor men's marriage

Tunki is small bamboo basket. Though it is a regular marriage, yet the bride groom does not come to the house of bride for the marriage *Raibarij* along with village Panchayat go to the bride's house to bring the bride to the house of bride-groom. In this case bridegroom party taken the bride price (*gonong*) to the house of the (Karua, 2014, p. 107; Mukherjea, 1962, p. 211). It is adopted by the poor and on that accounts no extra expenditure is made. *Raibarij* is an ordinary person but has big responsible. The presentation of clothes is made in a single day and it is arranged in the Headman's house in the presence of few. *Sinduradani* made and their party is sent to the groom's house. Rice-beer and feast are served at the end (Karua, 2014, pp. 105-106).

3.3. Rajarajibapla: Marriage by mutual consent

This is a form marriage –often practiced in the Santal community, in which both the boy and the girl in love and both consented to marry each other after given their consent to the village Headman of the community. As a formality the beloved is asked about her consent to marry the boy in the presence of the village elders. In case, the reply of the bride is yes, then the day for the marriage is fixed. On that particular day, vermilion is applied on the

forehead of bride by the boy and both get social sanction to start their new life. In this form of marriage both the parties are not obligated to perform all the formalities of the orthodox system of the marriage (Mukherjea, 1962, pp. 212-213).

3.4. *Kondel-jnapambapla: Marriage by exchange of garland*

If a Santal boy and girl run away to the jungle each other and on their return, they remained themselves in a closed room. Thereafter, they are recognized as husband and wife. Generally, the servants adopt such measure in order to design their plan.

3.5. *Jawane-kirinjabpla: Marriage to a pregnant girl*

This is a form of marriage, when a woman or a girl has liaison with boy/ man and becomes pregnant by the person of her sept whom she cannot marry. In order to avoid such dishonour, someone is accepted the post of husband and in contemplation of his service, gets a cow, two bullocks, some amount of paddy from the house of the man by whom the girl was pronounced. The headman of the village calls the villagers and, in their presence, he announces the couple to be husband and wife and commands the girl to live with him and be faithful to the husband.

3.6. *Ipututbapla: Marriage by forcibly applying of vermilion*

To apply vermilion to any girl without the co-operation of the village-community is called *Iputut*. Santals are two kinds of, if a young man and a girl wish it and they have agreed, while the parents of the girls are unwilling, then the young man will forcibly apply vermilion to the girl's forehead. Earlier they have talked together and decided on it. Moreover, if a young man has fallen in love with a girl and he has doubts, whether they will bestow her on him or not or whether the girl will be pleased with him or not, under such circumstances the young man will apply vermilion on her forehead without giving any warning and drags her to home. Such activities of this man are regarded as offence. It becomes a sensible issue for boy and girl of the villages. Then the girl's parents make a search to trace out the kidnapped girl. The village headman with the elders assemble and she is asked, if she has come there of her own will or was carried off by force. Whatever it may be, she has to be married and date is fixed. Here, it is to be noted that the payment of bride-price is compulsory item in such marriage where as in love marriage it is optional. A double - bride price is levied on the kidnapper as a fine called *Jobrane*, which goes to village elders for their drink and feast. If they do not bestow the girl on the young man, she becomes a divorcee and cannot be married.

3.7. *Or-ader-reah-bapla: Marriage by capture*

It is the opposite of *Itutbapla*. Under *Iputut* first vermilion is applied on the forehead of the girl. Then she is brought but in case of *or-ader* first the bride is brought and then vermilion is applied. Such case arises when the boy and girl agree but their family are not agreed. Secondly, when more than two proposals come like *Iputut* under such circumstances scope is given to the fine i.e. *or-ader*. Thirdly, if the financial condition of the bride-groom is not sound then he is encouraged for such marriage. The village headman finalizes their opinions of both through the discussion (*Kulhi-dulub*). If they agree for the fines (*dandom*) it is done in the form of two goats. In addition to that, the boy has to give extra fine in the form of money (Karua, 2014, pp. 106-107).

3.8. *Njir bolo: (Intrusion marriage)*

If marriage by capture is normally resorted to by boys, '*njir bolo*' or intrusion is a common expedient of girl (Archer, 1984, p. 286). Santal woman has the privilege of choosing a husband for herself and there is no scope for boy by paying a forfeit. The girl can forcibly enter in to the house of a boy for her matrimonial alliance. Secondly, if a girl becomes pregnant, she can adopt this measure for her rights. Thirdly, when a man fell in love with a divorced woman, but he fears for the criticism, the woman adopts this measure.

In order to design the plan, she forcibly sits in the *veranda* along with her dresses and state that "I have come to live with your son for the lifelong". However, the mother of the boy tries her level best to drive her out. After shutting the doors, as-a strategy she throws a handful of red chills in to fire and awaits anxiously. Since it is a broad day light it draws the attention of *Jogmajhi* and others. If the girl endures this odd arrangement deprived of leaving the family, then bride is apprehended to attain by the spouse and members of the husband are compelled to identify bride.

In meeting of village elders, the consent of the girl is taken, then two messengers are deputed to the village headman of her village in order to apprise the fact. The village headmen of her village now send two messengers to the groom's village for the searching of girl (*Panjaseter*). Again, a meeting is held, where thorough discussion is made. When the girl says that she has chosen her home, the marriage is solemnized there. Rice-beer and feast are served to the friends and guests.

This is one of the peculiar forms of the marriage institution which is accepted by Santal tribal law. If a young man, after having had sex relation with a girl and widow in this form of marriage who virtually become unsuccessful in persuading the man she desires forcibly intrude to the man's house. She took a pot of *handia* and starts to live in the man's house, whose family member also gets puzzled in her forcible intrusion. Then to get rid of her, the family members try various means. But the society does not allow any physical force against the widow. Despite all forcible means if the widow does not vacate the house of the man then it is believed that the love of the widow for the man is strong and true enough. Thus, as per the Santali social law the family is deemed to be in duty bound to accept the widow as the bride.

On the next day, the bride and the bride-groom are taken to her village. They are cordially welcomed by all. The younger sister of the bride washes their feet and claims her dues. *Panjaseter* opens the door of relation between the two houses.

3.9. *Apangir-bapla: Marriage by elopement*

Since free love is a characteristic feature in their culture, marriage by love and elopement are not considered as irregular by them, *apangir* means kidnapped. When man and woman compelled to leave their native place to live together in another place is called elopement. A woman who has a husband, whom it is not permissible to marry, under such circumstances they elope with the husband, or fearing to be out caste.

If a man runs away with a married woman, they would formerly track them, until they are found and then cut them down. None would follow this matter up and if related persons elope, they out caste such people. If they do not separate, they will remain out caste for their whole life. No one will eat or drink with them. Nobody marries to their children (Karua, 2014, pp. 108-109).

3.10. Sangha-bapla: Widow marriage

In this study area it has been observed that Santali social costume is the prevalence and acceptance of marriages by the widows which are a traditionally prevalent costume in the community. Though, it is very hard to find out any religions or general society which has given an open sanction to the 'widow marriage' but as per the elderly Santali people this has been permitted in their society since quite a long period which is in continuation now-a-days also. Like the other Munda tribes, the Santal community accepts the marriage of a widow by a widower. Also, in rare cases bachelor's area permitted to marry a widow too. In such a system, it is the responsibility of the prospective bridegroom to secure the consent of the widow of his choice through either by himself or through an intermediary. Also, the bride has to declare her formal consent before the elders of the tribe at least on the eve of the formal marriage ceremony. In such marriages, the bride-price is quite negligible and normally it is half of the price fixed in the *Asli* (orthodox) marriage. The ritual of applying vermilion on the forehead of the bride by the bridegroom is done away with. Rather the sticking of a *Gulachhi* (*Ocimum Basilicum*, var. *Thrysiflorum*, Linn.) flower in the bride's hair by the left hand of the groom, after smearing it with vermilion, is accepted as the formal acceptance (Mukherjea, 1962, pp. 215-216).

3.11. Golaentebapla: Exchange marriage

A man who has a son and a daughter of marriageable age, but she is not in a position to pay the bride-price or the *pon* for a wife, he calls a *raibarijan* and requests him to search a family of his position so that they may exchange the daughter for wives to their son; In such cases sister must be younger than her brother. As there is a fair exchange of one daughter for another, there is no bride-price or compulsory giving of presents by the either party, in other respects the marriage ceremonies are the same as those in a *kirinj-bahu*. It is a matter of arrangement as whose daughter is to be married first. Both the marriages take place with a little interval between them as it is convenient to both the parties.

3.12. Hirom-chetan: Co-wife/second marriage

This is a marriage in which a man takes a second wife during his life time. When his initial wife becomes barren the second is generally taken. Sometimes although the first may have children, it often happens that her husband gives her a co-wife. The first wife manages the house and the house hold. The first is known as *bodki* while the second is known as *chhutki*, often this degenerate into mere concubine. They are popularly termed as *Rakshipriya* or mistress. These wives are allowed all the privileges of wives. The husband applies vermilion on their foreheads before their death in order to legitimize them (Karua, 2014, p. 110).

3.13. Ghardi-jawane: Temporary serving son-in-law or contract marriage

People who have no son or whose sons are small and not fit to do any work, in such case people keep house son-in-law. When they have grown up daughters (Bodding, 2001, p. 78); more over when the father has ugly and only daughter, such case people adopt house son-in-law. Only a poor man or orphan will stay as a house-in-law. Under such case; there is no bride or expenses to pay nor does he have any customary dues to give. All the expenses will be borne by the girl side. The husband is expected to live with the house of his father-in-law for five

years in lieu of the payment. On the expiry of the term, he is at liberty to move freely, on the receipt of the present of a pair of bullocks, some food-stuff and some tools for agriculture.

Father of the girl accompanies with few elders to fetch the bride-groom to his house. Bride is held on a bamboo basket and the bride-groom sits on one's shoulder after that he applies *Sindur* on her forehead.

3.14. *Alah-jawane: House-son-in-law*

This form of marriage is simple and similar to that of *Ghardi-Jawane*; there is no need of presents of cloth, procession and other claimants. The lands of the father-in-law have to be shown first to the youth for the cultivation. Such circumstances arise when a youth married to a girl by exchange of a garland. If he is a servant then the parents of the girl may convert it to the form of *Alah-Jawane*. Secondly, when a youth married to a girl under marriage by intrusion, in that case if the father-in-law has no son, her parents may convert it to the form of *Alah-jawane*. Thirdly, when a widow becomes pregnant under the marriage by capture, if her children are minor, she has the rights to keep under her lifelong but it has to be approved in the village council. In all the cases marriage must be approved in the presence of the village council. He has to apply *Sindur* in order to legitimate her as wife. He can only enjoy his life but cannot inherit the property of the father-in-law like *Ghardi-jawane*.

In their family the husband and the wife look upon the other as helpmate and life partner in every aspect of life. Wife has a hold in every domestic matter as well as other. Generally, the husband consults his wife regarding the problem that arises from time to time. They sit together, eat together and walk together when they go outside. No status of difference exists between the sexes in these activities.

Marriage is not only a union of two persons, but it is a union of two families and two villages. People involve and participate with whole heartedness and support them in the wedding ceremony. Marriage not only makes a man a full-fledged member of the society but also it provides scope for the economic prosperity of the family. Their number of customary rituals and ceremonies which are observed in their marriage system constitute a valuable code of the behaviour (Karua, 2014, pp. 111-112).

IV. CONCLUSION

The marital organization of the Santal society of Mayurbhanj is based on mutual equality and co-existence. Santals have hardly attracted with tradition of Hinduism. Administration and their society easily accepted other culture. But their stereotype is not abated. Inter-caste marriage is not allowed to within their society or a member of his own clan and have to pay penalty. In the marriage ceremony of Santals is not sacrificed to any animals but after completion of the marriage ceremony the son-in-law returns to the bride's house and the sacrificed to a castrated goat (*Chadimerom*) in presence of villagers. There is no dowry system among the Santals but now-a-days rich people, service-holder and educated people are gifted some home accessories. They have 14 types of marriages, no one is bound to avail same marriage. There is no economic burden in their society. In fact, the marriage system of Santals of Mayurbhanj of Odisha is very curious to know and interesting for study of scholars and readers of tribal history of India.

V. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We acknowledge with thanks to Prof. Achyuta Samanta, the Founder KISS and Prof. Rajkisor Meher, the Director of Research, KISS for their valuable suggestions at the time of writing of the article.

REFERENCES

1. Akhila Bihari Ota & Kapana Patnaik. (2014). Photo handbook on Tribes of Odisha, Series 24 "SANTAL" Bhubaneswar: Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute.
2. Akhila Bihari Ota & Sarat Chandra Mohanty. (2015). *Demographic Profile of Scheduled Tribes in Odisha (1961-2011)*, Bhubaneswar: Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute, Government of Odisha.
3. *Census of India, 2011, District Census Handbook, Part XII-B, Series-22, Village and Town Wise Primary Census Abstract (PCA)*, Mayurbhanj, Odisha.
4. Charulal Mukherjee, (1962). *The Santals*, New Delhi: Gyan publication.
5. Chaturbhuj Sahu. (1996). *The Santal Women: A Social Profile*, New Delhi: Sarup & Sons.
6. Saini, Varsha, and Sheela Sangwan. "Awareness on Gender Empowerment and Beti Bachao Beti Padhao Through Intervention." *IMPACT: International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature* 6.1 (2018): 227-234.
7. Joseph Troisi. (2000). *Tribal religion religious Beliefs and Practices Among the Santals*, New Delhi: Manhor Publisher.
8. Nilamani Senapati & Nabin Kumar Sahu. (eds.) (1967). *Orissa District Gazetteer, Mayurbhanj*, Cuttack: Orissa Government Press.
9. Chaudhury, B. (2017). Listening to the Voices of Silence; The Concerns for Widow Remarriage in Colonial Assam. *IMPACT: International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Literature (IMPACT: IJRHAL)*, 5(11).
10. Paul Olaf Bodding. (2001). *Traditions and Institutions of the Santals*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House.
11. Al-Rimawi, R., Alshraideh, J., & Al-Hussami, M. (2018). Historical Development of Health Equity: Literature Review. *International Journal of Applied and Natural Sciences (IJANS)*, 7(1).
12. Sambit Kumar Padhi. (2009). "Primitive Santal Tribes of Orissa: Culture, Life & Language" in Satyendra Patnaik (ed.) *Glimpses of Tribal Issues*, New Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan.
13. Areo, M. O. (2016). Regbe-Regbe: Multidimensional Impact of Cloth and Colour in Ojude-Oba Festival. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5(5), 55-72.
14. Subas Chandra Karua. (2014). *Tribal Culture of Odisha- A Focus on the Santal*, Baripada, Mayurbhanj: Royal Publication.
15. Singh, A. (2016). Quest for Identity and Dilemma of Women in Nayantara Sahgal's Storm in Chandigarh and Anita Nair's Ladies Coupe'. *International Journal of English and Literature (IJEL) ISSN (P)*, 2249-6912.
16. Suresh Chandra Murmu & Jagannath Dash. (June & December 2012). "Nature-based OLCHIKU and Santal Ethno-National" A. B. Ota, (ed.) *ADIVASI*, in Vol.52, No.1 & 2, Cuttack: Odisha Government Press.
17. *Tribes in Odisha*, (2015). *At a Glance, Empowering the Tribals of Odisha*, Bhubaneswar: Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute.

18. Dolkar, T., & AZIM, H. (2017). Socio-Cultural Environment of Changpa Nomads of Changthang Region (Ladakh). *International Journal of Agricultural Science and Research (IJASR)*, 7(4), 491-496.
19. William George Archer, W. G. (1984). *Tribal Law and Justice: A Report on the Santal*, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd.