



BIRHORS AND THEIR DANCES

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I. A BRIEF ETHNOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE TRIBE

- (A) The Birhor : The Birhor or the jungle folk are a small group of tribe speaking a dialect of the Kolarian language. They chiefly lead a wild nomadic or semi-nomadic life among the jungles and hills of Jharkhand. They travel about, in small groups of three to ten families, earning a precious living by hunting and by making strings. They are very poor. Their huts are made up of leaves and small branches. They wander about from jungle to jungle as the sources of their subsistence become exhausted.
- (B) Origin : According to Chaudhary (1961:139), the Birhors affirm, that they and the Kherwars are of the same race and have descended from the sun. According to a myth, there came seven brothers from Khairagarh (now it is called Kaimur hills); four went to the east, and three brothers remained in the Ramgarh district. One day when the three brothers were going out to fight against the chiefs of the country, the head gear of one of them got entangled in a tree. He deemed it bad omen, and remained behind in the jungle. His two brothers went without him and gained a victory over the chiefs and returning they found their brother employed in cutting the bark of the chop. They named him as 'Birhor' (in Mundari the wood man). He replied that, he would rather remain a Birhor and reign in the jungles, than associate with such proud brothers. Thus, originated the Birhors, dwellers of jungles. The other two brothers became *Rajahs* of the country called Ramgarh.
- (C) Birhor : The Forest Dweller : As their name 'Birhor' suggests, they are the jungle dwellers. The Mundas call them 'Bir Mundas'. The tribe still lives in the jungle wandering about from one jungle to another. They are known for an extremely low grade of culture according to the standards of the modern society. They are known as monkey catchers, sellers and eaters. Monkey flesh is highly prized by them for food. It is believed that they have developed monkey hunting skill with strong power of scent, sight and hearing, and have acquired intimate knowledge of the haunts and habits of

different birds and animals. They are said to have a magical power to catch monkeys. They are also known as rope makers. They make strong rope and strings, used for various purposes. They also make *sika* (carrying net), *jhalkari* (hunting net), rope, etc. They sell baby monkeys, hares, and monkey skin (used for making drums) to the nearest villages and markets or exchange them for edible things.

According to their mode of living they are classed into two main divisions. One group is called *Bhuliyas* or *Uthlus* meaning the wanderers. According to Roy, during the rainy season the *Uthlus* or the *Bhuliyas* move about jungle to jungle in small groups with their families, belongings, and also with their gods and deities represented by stones or wooden pegs, and carried in baskets by one or two young bachelors who walk at the head of the party. The other boys carry fowls meant for occasional sacrifices. Men follow with their hunting nets, tools and weapons. Women carry on their heads palm leaf mats and wooden mortars and pestles. Both, men and women carry bamboo baskets containing their store of dried *mahua* flower and any food grains. The girls carry earthen pots for cooking and carrying water. Except during rainy season, which they are obliged to spend at one place, they ordinarily stop and hunt at one jungle for about a week or two and then move on to another. They similarly camp and hunt there and again move on to still another jungle, and thus wander about in search of food until they come back to their original starting point in about two years' time. They start once more on a similar tour along the same or slightly different route. The *Jaghi* Birhor, on the other hand, are those families that, tired of toilsome wandering have settled down for a comparatively long period generally on some hill top or the outskirts of some jungle; cleared some land in the jungle for the purpose of cultivation. But the majority are landless and live mainly by hunting and by making and selling ropes (Roy, 1925:44-45). There are many attempts made by the Government of India for their settlement in their respective places. But they are not permanent *Jaghis*. Any slightest ill-treatment from the nearby villagers or landlords send them back to their original nomadic life.

(D) Birhor : The Monkey Hunter : The Birhors are very clever at monkey catching. They use nets made of a very strong fibre, spreading them from tree to tree for some distances. They make a long detour, so as to bring the animals between the nets and themselves. As soon as they succeed in doing this, which requires all their caution as the animals by instinct seem to know a Birhor a long way off, they begin to drive them by beating the trees with their sticks, keeping up at the same time a song of chorus in praise of the monkeys. One little girl is stationed at the foot of one of the trees near the nets, most probably to shed off the suspicion of the animals that they were being trapped. She keeps up a song the whole time resembling, a nursery rhyme, "dilly dilly duckling come and be killed." The beaters advance very gradually, taking care to keep all the animals within a certain space, so as to force them into the nets, and as soon as a sufficient number have become entangled, they rush forward and despatch them with their 'lathies' (sticks).

(E) The Daily Routine of the Birhors: The settlement of 'Jaghi' groups as well as the temporary dwelling place of 'Uthlus' groups are both called *tanda* where half a dozen huts are erected in a triangular shape. Each hut is meant for one family. Men rise early

in the morning and begin their work of *winding chops*? and preparing them for various purposes. Women also help men in making ropes and then go to attend to household works. After having meals in the morning men go to the jungle either to hunt or to collect chop. Women, too, after their household work either go to the jungle to collect *mahua* in the *mahua* season, edible leaves, yam and tubers, or go to the neighbouring market, or villages to sell ropes, baby monkeys, hares, etc., and buy vegetable, oil and salt, and so on.

(F) Social Organisation of the Birhors: The Birhors have a twofold organisation (1) an organisation for purposes of food quest and (2) for purposes of marriage and kinship. The tribe is divided into scattered community each of which consists of three to four or about nine to ten families.

1. **Tanda Organisation and Inter-Tanda Relations:** It is not only the Tanda organisation that based on necessity for association for purposes of fulfilling the need once a year there is a conference of all the able bodied men belonging to different tandas? They come together for annual hunting expedition known as *Disum sendra* (regional hunt). The *Nayas* and other elders of various group act as umpires in any dispute regarding game between the hunters of different tandas. They consult one another in matters connected with the expedition.
2. **Totemism and Kinship System:** The Birhor tribe is divided into various exogamous clans called *gotras*. These gotras are named after some animal, plant, fruit, flower or other material object such as *Andi* (wild cat), *Chauli* (rice), *Gidhi* (vulture), *Induar* (eel), *Nag* (cobra), etc. Totemism , exogamy and father-right are at present the three main factors of Birhor kinship organisation. Descent is reckoned in the main line and marriage or sexual intercourse between person of the same totemic clan is forbidden.
3. **Marriage Customs:** The Birhors recognise ten different ways of acquiring bride. Some of them are *Nam- napam bapla* (marriage by love), *Udra-udri bapla* (love by elopement), *Bolo Bapla* (marriage by intrusion), *Sipundur Bapla* (marriage by force), *Sangha Bapla* (second marriage), *Kiring-jawae Bapla* (Bought son-in-law marriage), *Golhat Bapla* (marriage by exchange of betel nuts), etc. Their marriage ceremony is interesting and peculiar. As soon as a young couple have decided to marry, the elders of both the families join in collecting all their available resources for a feast. Roasted pig, stewed monkey, herbs cooked in fat, roots of all sorts, make up the bill of fare. Plenty of *handi* (rice beer) is prepared for the occasion. If that is not obtainable, they prepare the intoxicant liquors made from the two plants called *koolho* and *ikhoossoon*a as a substitute. As soon things are ready guests assemble, and the members of the two families sit down in a line opposite one another. After certain inquiries, as to whether the feast is prepared, and receiving satisfactory replies, the father of the boy thus addresses the father of the bride, "my son calls his bride; his looks are eager; his feet are swift", or some

such words as these. The girl's father then turning to the maiden says, "fly my daughter, and show him who would be her husband how nimble is her foot". Upon this the girl gets up and suddenly darts at full speed into the forest. A minute later, and off starts the boy to catch his bride. When the chase is going on, a kind of chant is sung, one side replying to the other, and singing the praises of the bride and bridegroom in some such word as these, "The girl is like the deer, her foot is swift, when flies like the west wind". To which the boy's family would reply, "Boy is like the arrow that strike the deer; he is swift and sure; girl has fear, boy has love".

This song goes on till the shout of the boy, as he succeeds in catching the girl, is heard. Then silence follows. The chase seldom lasts longer than a few minutes; and if they are not already out of sight of the spectators, the youthful couple at once retire into the forest, and the marriage ceremony is continued. They return presently to their friends. The women proceed to adorn her in the bridal dress, presented to the girl by the bridegroom. Flowers are placed in her hair and blushing she is led forth and presented to the company, after which the feast commences in earnest. All get uproariously drunk, and the celebrations high jinks are carried on till morning. Sometimes the feasting and drinking continue for two or three days, but not always.

(G) Magic and Witchcraft: The Birhors believe in the supernatural power that arouse their religious sense. The Birhors seek to attain good luck and avoid bad luck to the community, the family and the individual. In order to do this they utilise or avoid some magical virtue supposed to be inherent in certain material objects or in certain pantomimic or other practices, in certain words or spells, or through the help of certain impersonal powers or energies which the Birhor magician thinks he can set in motion through appropriate actions to further his own ends or those of his clients or community. They have many magical practices to control the elements, for instance, for stopping rain, for stopping lightening, for stopping storms, for rain making, etc.

II. THE BIRHOR AND CRISIS OF THEIR IDENTITY

The Birhor vision of life conceives the basic texture of existence on MAN-NATURE-SPIRIT continuum. Their cultural values are universal human values. These are equality among men and women, dignity of labour, community worship, means of production for the common good, mutual co-operation, honesty, truthfulness, consensus as means of decision making, and facing life with dance and song. The Birhors' bases of identity are cultural, social, economic, historical, geographical, political. The elements of identity are harmony, equality, collectivism, accommodation, etc.

(A) Birhor Identity and the Forest : Their relationship with the forest is central to their very existence. The Birhors are very close to nature. They feel at home in the forest. They live along with the seasons and rhythms of nature in the forest and adopt their pace of life accordingly. They find beauty in plants, trees, flowers, birds, fruits, leaves and animals. Theirs songs are full of imagery of forest and hunts. Even their love songs are compared with forest beauty. In the forest they know how to survive by

hunting, digging for tubers or survive on leaves, flowers, fruits and berries. When there is plenty, they enjoy life to the full with drinks and celebrations. They take life as it is in the present moment though there may not be any security for the future. They are free and adjust themselves according to the cycle of the nature. They are hard working. They have a great instinct for survival.

They never lose their way and can read the trace of animals where others see nothing. In the face of danger from wild animals like bears and tigers, the Birhors are fearless. Birhor men and women work together. Being free they carry dignity of their own and have sense of worth. They are poor but self dependent. They are not beggars at the mercy of others. The Birhors may not be cultured by the standards of modern society but they have an innate sense of dignity, of courtesy and graciousness towards those whom they trust. They are hospitable, loyal and grateful, but these feelings are not expressed in words or outward behaviour. The values of the Birhors are praiseworthy. After a successful hunt they distribute and consume of their good luck together. They are typical of non exploitative culture.

(B) Social and Cultural Identity : In Roy's opinion, Birhors social organization is almost simple as their economic system. Although the Birhors, in common with the other 'Munda' speaking tribes recognize the larger exogamous patrilineal totemic group of the clan as the controlling factor in the regulation of marriage and kinship, the smaller economic group of the 'tanda' or hunting camp is indeed, in present times the more effective social unit, possessing, as it does a greater degree of solidarity born of constant association in the food quest, participation in common joys and sorrows, joint sacrifices to the same local and departmental spirits and intimate association and emotional rapport on ever recurring ceremonial and festive occasions.

As for the clan organization, it has no longer any economic or political function in Birhor society. There is hardly any differentiation of social function between either the different clans or the different *tandas*. The only socio-religious and magical function which are allotted to particular individuals in a *tanda* are those of the *naeke* but they are not privileged. The Birhor society knows no functional or occupational grouping nor any political or other grouping. Here it would not be out of place to mention that the Birhor who were leading an isolated life, are now exposed to several other factors, i.e., constant close contact with the other non-Birhors mainly due to economic interdependence, development programmes, etc. These factors have brought about a change in their attitudes, aspirations, world view, and other material aspects of their culture.

(C) Religious Identity : Forests have provided the Birhor with food, fuel, shelter, etc. They have always used the forest products for their survival down the ages. They have never been destructive in these forest related activities. They know that the destruction of forest means the end of their life. Birhors are the conservators of forest. Forest is a gift of God. Their religious identity stems from the forest. Forest is in their blood. Any imbalance in nature through deforestation makes the Birhors uneasy as it would mean danger to their very survival. The rituals of traditional Birhor religion

are an indication of this intimate connection. The Birhor, whose whole time is taken up in search of food, and in precaution against consequent danger from natural and supernatural forces, indulge in regular religious practices. The Birhor religion is marked by fear and anxiety. The Birhors believe in various supernatural beings and spirits inhabiting the surroundings including hills, trees, rivers, rocks, etc. Their *Pahan* (priest) who is either from their community or from another, is called to exorcise the evil spirits. They have oral traditions. Before digging the earth for 'yam' and tubers, they strike the ground three times to invoke their '*haser bonga*' (yam spirit). Similarly, before they go hunting, there are rituals and ceremonies to invoke their *bir bonga* (forest spirit), *buru bonga* (hill spirit), *sendra bonga* (hunting spirit). Below is the *bakher* (prayer) of the Birhors which they recite before every new venture they undertake:

Johar to be e maran buru, nok'oe amak' nutumte emam calamkanale, Niage kusite kusalte atanam telayam, sukkok'-rebenkkok'am, okare dogok'a dingijok'a ale do bale badaea-roma, sahaoke lahaokeape. Birre burure lac' haso, bohok' haso alope boloocoa, soroocoea. Perako gutiako nai parom gada parom, bhaginiko natinko jomako haboko enec' jon-sulanjonak'ko, jhinti alo, pathrialo, nas alo, binas alo, neao alo jhogara alo, raskate enec' jon-sulan jonmak'a. Hapramkoko laileda gada dak'ge atuk'a noa lota dak'do dohoakan, doromakape bare ju gosae maranburutale do.

Through this *bakher* the Birhor pray, put forward their petitions and surrender themselves to the Supreme Being and ask for his protection and blessings. The Birhor religion is communitarian. The '*naeke*' (priest) only initiates and presides over the sacrifice. He arranges the things to be offered and when the time for the offering comes he recites the *bakher*.

The Birhors' whole life—economic, domestic, social and political is dominated by his religion, and his religion consists in a haunting sense of sacred presence, a haunting fear of spirits and spiritual energies leading him to continuous endeavours through appropriate rites and sacrifices, charm and spell, to conciliate them when necessary, control, avoid or repel them when possible. Since coming in contact with other groups, they started participating in other religious ceremonies and festivals of tribals and non-tribals. Thus some anthropologists consider them as Hindu since they use *tikki* (like sacred thread used by Birhor). They also claim that the Birhors no more kill monkeys because they consider monkeys as *Mahabir bonga*. But it is not true.

(D) Economic Identity : Birhors are basically hunters and food gatherers. Their economy is still traditional and mainly depends upon the forest. Forest plays a vital role in the life of the Birhors. The very meaning of the word 'Birhors' is the 'people of the forest'. It is very difficult for any Birhor to live without forest because forest not only provides food to them but is also their home, their playground, etc., right from the birth to the death. Hunting is very important source of livelihood for the Birhors. They hunt or trap frequently whichever animals or birds they get in nearby forest. For them hare trapping is most important because its meat is in great demand among the non-Birhors. They sell hare and purchase rice and other edibles. If hunting fails continuously, there is chaos and starvation among them. The Birhors also collect a number of wild roots,

fruit, flowers, leafy vegetable and mushroom all through the year. The collection of these forest products is the main job of the women and adolescent children. Due to depletion of forest on account of road construction and wood industries, the entire traditional economy of the Birhors has been disturbed and they are faced with an acute problem of non-availability of edibles, raw materials and wild animals, leading to economic crisis.

(E) **Historical Identity** : We have only one historical evidence from the book of Roy (1925), 'The Birhor', that they and the 'Kherwars' are of the same race descended from the Sun. Since the Birhors speak a language very similar to Mundari, some guess that they may have originated from Mundas. Those who hold this view opine that a Munda brother had incestuous relationship with his sister, both of them were ex-communicated. They had to wander about jungles subsisting on jungle roots, fruits and wild honey. Thus they became forest dweller the 'Birhor'. No clear evidence is available to us from where they have originated and thus their past is as unknown and uncertain as their future. They associate themselves with Ramgarh *Raja* (king) and Padma *Raja* but no proof is available.

(F) **Geographic Identity** : The Birhor is one of the most primitive tribes of Bihar. They are nomadic, semi-nomadic, hunters, food gatherers, rope makers, isolated and a group of half-fed and half-naked people. In Bihar, they are found mostly in Hazaribagh district (Ramgarh, Churchu, Simaria, Katkomsandi, Bisungarh, Koderma), in Palamau district (Kuru, Chandwa, Latehar, Balumath, Manika), in Lohardaga district (Tisiya, Richughutta), in Gumla district (Bisunpur), in Bokaro district (Dania, Dumri, Gomia, Bagoddar, Tulbul, Banaso) and some parts of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. According to 1971 census, their number was around 3464 only. As found in Singh (1994:185), according to 1981 census, their total population in Bihar was 4377. They speak an Austro-Asiatic language. They do not have script of their own. They also speak Sadri and Hindi for inter-group communication and use Devanagri script. In Madhya Pradesh, the Birhors are distributed mostly in Raigarh district. Their population according to the 1981 Census is 561 (266 males and 295 females), returned as Birhul, Birhor. The Birhors are concentrated in the districts of Sundergarh, Kalahandi, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Sambalpur in the state of Orissa. According to 1981 Census they number 142 individuals in Orissa. In West Bengal, the Birhors are no longer nomads and their number there is 658 persons, according to the 1981 census. They have taken to agriculture in West Bengal. But their landholdings being small and infertile, they sell their labour, make and sell ropes, and collect and sell forest produce. The Birhul, Birhor are found in Maharashtra also. And their number there according to 1981 census is 212 only.

III. DEVELOPMENT ATTEMPTS

Birhors are numerically very small and extremely poor. If proper attention is not given to them they will very soon vanish. According to the evidence available, from 1955 onward Government and non-Government agencies are trying to settle them by introducing

some rehabilitation schemes, like providing house accommodation, distributing land, seeds, cattle, etc., but no significant change has taken place in their life.

The house which are provided to them, they do not live in them at all because in their traditional hut they are more comfortable. *Kumba* is more comfortable for them, they are warm and cosy there. New house creates needs of cloth? which they don't have?. In *kumba* they lit fire in the middle and sleep aground. New house is beyond their capacity to repair. Young boys and girls live in separate *kumba* called '*gitiorak*'. After marriage new couple needs separate *kumba*. Secondly, the Birhors are nomads. They do not like to change their way of life and at the same time do not like to live in any restriction. Thus they can not be made to lead sedentary life suddenly.

- (A) Rehabilitation Programme : The Birhors live literally at the edge of society without any means for a decent human life. To add to their woes, they are in constant danger of being treated as monkey cats. They do not have adequate rehabilitation facilities. The Indian Government has been trying to settle and protect them through Tribal Development Projects. The scheme was planned first to put an end to the nomadic life of the Birhors by providing them land and housing colonies, and secondly, to convert their traditional economy to an agricultural one according to Sahu (1995:152) about 20 acres of land was distributed among the Birhors of Hazaribagh, by the forest department (letter no 102/78, dated 1st November, 1978). But it is found that the whole scheme was a failure as it did not achieve its goal. No significant changes in the lives of Birhors have been noticed.
- (B) Employment Opportunity : There were a number of proposals made to employ the Birhors, at least one member from each family, in any of the Government works or private jobs, but it was not successful since their nature of work is different from that of the Government. Moreover, they are free in the forest and do not want time bound work. There is a possibility to train them in their traditional job, i.e., rope making and honey collection. The latest technological aids may enhance their efficiency.
- (C) Alternate Arrangement : It is clear that the development of the Birhors and the development of the forest are two equal goals. Certain basic needs of the Birhors must be provided by the Government as well as local community. The solid foundation for rational utilization of forest resources should be given. The plan for Birhor upliftment must be based on forest resources as therein lies their economic confidence. Planning without participation of the people cannot be expected to be realistic. The Birhors should become co-sharers in the new arrangement. They should be introduced to agriculture and farming. Suitable land should be provided to each family.
- (D) National Policy : The new National Forest Policy was declared by the Government of India in 1952, which emphasized ecological and social aspects of forestry and gave only secondary importance to the needs of forest dwellers. The tribals living near forests were discouraged from using forests and forest produce. The National

Commission on Agriculture in 1976 classified forest lands into (1) Protection forests, (2) Production forests and (3) Social forests. The Commission discussed the needs of the rural population but does not appear to have taken into account the tribals and forest-dwellers' need for minor forest produce. The Commission, it appears, did not give enough stress to the need of the Adivasis for forest materials: for thatching roofs, wood for house construction, fruits, flowers and roots which are used as food, or seeds for extracting edible oil, etc. The National Commission on Agriculture speaks of providing employment to Adivasis in forest work, but it fails to note that the major sources of livelihood for the tribals come not from the direct employment provided by the Forest Department but from the hunting of small animals and gathering of forest produce.

Indian Forest Bill of 1980 shows pro-rich, pro-urban and anti-rural people bias. It spells out a number of prohibited acts in preserved and protected forests. The Bill prescribes harsh punishment to the transgressors and provides wide powers and safeguards to government officials. The tribals who are so much dependent on forest are the worst affected by this Bill as they are always at the mercy of the forest officials. For the eight per cent population of India represented by the tribals, the forest is the main source of livelihood and the concept of 'social forestry' developed by the National Commission on Agriculture 1976 can not meet the needs of the tribals or the poor rural population for the fuel, fodder and other minor forest produce. It is to be noted that the tribal economy is basically subsistence. Traditionally they produce only for themselves and for their immediate community. It is a general feeling of the Forest Department that the tribal people destroy the forest through their harmful practices like shifting cultivation and reckless felling of trees for firewood, etc.

The National Forest Policy of 1988 marks a significant departure from its predecessors, most notably in its clear recognition that the primary function of our forest is the maintenance of ecological stability. The policy states that the principal aim of forest policy must ensure environmental stability and ecological balance including atmospheric equilibrium which are vital to sustenance of all life forms, human, animals and plants: The explicit objective of the new policy is for protecting the forest wealth of India, encouraging the productivity of the forest, promoting afforestation on barren lands and conserving the genetic resources of Indian forests. The most significant aspect of the National Forest Policy of 1988 is that it calls for the involvement of the forest-dwellers, tribals and the neighbouring communities of the forest in the management of the forests. In the light of the new forest policy, Birhors must be given due respect and steps must be taken for their settlement by providing them land and housing accommodations.

IV. THE BIRHOR DANCES

The Birhor Tribe, like all other tribes, has a very rich cultural heritage. In their otherwise unsettled life, there are different ways of cementing the bond of community life. Celebrations, festivities, social gatherings, etc., are some of the social mechanisms to keep their tribe intact. Dances not only help them to relax and make merry after the day's toil and struggle for survival, but also very concretely express their philosophy of life,

that life is a celebration for them even if there are worries, frustrations, deaths, pains, suffering and evil that they experience every moment of their lives. It should be noted that geographically, majority of the Birhors live in Hazaribagh and Palamau districts. Since there is a predominant presence of different ethnic groups in both the districts, the songs and dances, feasts and festivals, signs and symbols of the Birhor are very much influenced and conditioned by them. Palamau, for instance, has Oraons and Korwa populations, and they influence the Birhor to a large extent as the latter have picked up some of their festivals which they otherwise did not originally celebrate. The same thing has happened in Hazaribagh as well where there is a sizable number of Santal population. The Birhor live in their vicinity and it is quite obvious that their modes of celebrations cannot but be influenced by the Santals. The dances of the Birhor can be studied from different perspectives which will be enumerated below.

(A) Some Common Features of Birhor Dances

- (a) Synchronisation : There is a beautiful synchronisation of song, music and dance in all the Birhor celebrations. In the life of Birhors, music and dance are inseparable. Dance is always accompanied by musical instruments and singing. As soon as a few begin to sing, others respond to it by repeating the second half of its last line, expressing their willingness to participate in the dance. Then follows the beating of the drum by the drummers and singing and dancing by the girls. One cannot but appreciate their rhythm and melody. Usually a dance starts only after the whole stanza has been sung.
- (b) Dance: A Common Celebration : In all festive occasions boys and girls, men and women, young and old go on dancing the whole night. On festive occasions all join, but on the other days, married people and children of the *Tanda* gather round the dancing yard to assist the dance performed by the young boys and girls.
- (c) Anti-clockwise Movement: Practically all the dances at various occasions have forward, anti-clockwise movement though at regular intervals they also move backward, keeping the rhythm and uniformity.
- (d) The Dancing Yard : The Birhors do not have an *akhara* as big and as permanent as that of the other tribes in Chotanagpur. This is quite understandable as the *Uthlu* Birhors are a moving tribe. Wherever they go and stay for a few weeks or months, they put up their huts there. It is there that they have some space for their dances and other social celebrations. But the *Jughi* Birhors are settled and they have a fixed place for dancing and other social functions.
- (e) No Time Restriction : Dances have a communitarian dimension and they are meant for enjoyment, companionship and togetherness. The Birhors have no time constraints in their celebrations. Once they start dancing they can go on and on for two to three days and nights at a stretch with a few intervals.