



TRIBAL WOOD-CARVING IN INDIA

PC
736.49512
CEN

OF INDIA



The art of wood-carving as practised by the tribal people of the country especially of the north-eastern part of India is still a living art, and is basically primitive in nature, form, style and execution. To a casual observer the symbolic representations of supernatural elements made in tribal wood-carving would be very much interesting.

Specimens of intricate and beautiful tribal wood-carving on ritual and utility objects are available in many parts of India where high tribal concentration is found. But most interesting and traditional tribal wood-carvings are found mainly in the north-eastern region. In other parts of the country, there are designs of wood-carving mainly on door frames and a small number of utility goods like combs, tobacco cases, etc., but the wood-carving designs among the tribals of North-East India are basically different in line and form. While in North-East India, these designs take various forms, including geometric form, in other parts of the country these are mainly of geometric form. There are also a number of fantasy designs

CENSUS OF INDIA 1971
SERIES I—INDIA
PAPER 1 OF 1973



TRIBAL WOOD-CARVING IN INDIA

Compilation and Draft

M. K. PAL, M.A.

Consultant

B. K. ROY BURMAN, M.Sc., D. PHIL.

Foreword

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI

Cover Design and Lay-out

S. K. PILLAI

Photography

AMAR SINGH

General Assistance

P. SELVI

SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN UNIVERSITY	
LIBRARY	
NO.	N.R. 2424
DATE	7.4.11.22
ACC. Asstt.	<i>dm</i>

PC
736.495162
CEN

CONTENTS

	PAGES
FOREWORD	v
PREFACE	vii-ix
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xi
ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
TEXT	1-9
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	11-22
PLATES	I-XXVII

FOREWORD

Alongwith other special studies, the Census Organisation has undertaken surveys of certain traditional crafts in the country. In one series of surveys intensive investigations have been carried out not only on the techniques and forms of the crafts, but also of the economy of the crafts and the living and working conditions of the craftsmen. A second series covers the study of craft history, forms, motifs and designs. The present report belongs to the latter category. It has been prepared by Shri M. K. Pal in consultation with Dr. B. K. Roy Burman. This study has added to our knowledge of certain aspects of the cultural traditions of India and I am happy to record my acknowledgements to my colleagues.

*New Delhi-11
February, 1972.*

A. CHANDRA SEKHAR
Registrar General, India

P R E F A C E

Study of tribal wood-carving would require some conceptualisation of tribal craft itself.

In material culture, the category "tribal craft" is identified in two different senses. One is evolutionary and the other is empirical.

In the evolutionary sense tribal craft would mean, craft, characteristic of the primitive stage of development of technology, —irrespective of whether the craftsmen themselves are tribals or non-tribals. Thus for instance, brassware of Bankura district of West Bengal, manufactured through lost-wax process, by the craftsmen belonging to the non-tribal Dhokra community is considered by many to belong to the category of tribal craft.

The snag about this definition is that, many of the traditional crafts of the country, characterised by simplicity of design, technique and skill, are associated with highly developed cultures from times immemorial. Thus for instance, terracotta figurines, made by manipulation of clay with hands, were found in many Harappan culture sites. Among the modern peasant population also, these are by no means rare. Perhaps many will not agree to include them in the category of tribal craft.

In the empirical sense, tribal craft would mean, craft specimens found among the tribal people. Here again one would ask, whether craft objects manufactured by non-tribal craftsmen, but consumed by the tribal communities, should be considered as specimens of tribal craft or whether only objects manufactured by tribal craftsmen and consumed by tribal people should be considered to belong to this category. It is not possible to give a straight answer to this question, as, within the two broad divisions indicated above, there would be a number of sub-divisions.¹

In a general way, it can be stated that characterisation of certain craft objects as belonging to the category of tribal craft, should depend on the purpose of such characterisation. If the

¹Burman, B. K. Roy—"Craft of Tribal Population", Census of India 1961, Vol. XVI, Part VII-A (iii), Appendix III, pp. 191-195.

emphasis is on tribal culture and simplicity of technology, objects manufactured by tribal and non-tribal craftsmen mainly for the consumption of the tribal communities should be considered as specimens of tribal craft. Objects manufactured by the tribals according to their tradition, for non-tribal consumers should also be included under the category of "associated tribal craft" from the cultural point of view.

If the emphasis is on the economic development of tribal population, all objects manufactured by the tribals, whether according to tribal tradition or not, and whether the consumers are mainly tribal or not, should be considered as tribal craft. Objects, manufactured by the non-tribal craftsmen mainly for tribal consumers, should be put under a special category of "associated tribal craft" from the economic point of view.

In the present monograph specimens of wood-carving in different parts of India have been identified to belong to the category of tribal craft, mainly on the basis of simplicity of technology and association with traditional tribal culture.

In India there is almost a continuous belt of high tribal concentration starting from Thana district in Maharashtra to Mayurbhanj in Orissa *via* Surat and Dang districts of Gujarat, Dhulia of Maharashtra, West Nimar, Betul, Chhindwara, Seoni, Mandla, Shahdol and Surguja of Madhya Pradesh, Ranchi and Singhbhum districts of Bihar. Another belt of high tribal concentration is found in north-east of India consisting of N.E.F.A., Nagaland, Meghalaya, Mizo Hills, United Mikir and North Cachar Hills of Assam, and hilly regions of Manipur and Tripura. These belts are also linked up by a chain of pockets of tribal concentration at taluk or sub-divisional level. Another belt of tribal concentration is found in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh, Koraput, Baudh-Khondmals, and Agency Tracts of Orissa, and Andhra Pradesh. This belt is also linked up with the central belt by a chain of small pockets of tribal concentration.

It is interesting to note that out of these three belts of tribal concentration, specimens of intricate wood-carving on ritual and utility objects are found in very large number, mainly in the North-East belt. In the other belts, there are designs of wood-carving, mainly on door frames and a small number of utility goods like combs, tobacco cases, etc. There is also a basic difference in the wood-carving designs among the tribals of North-East India and those living in other parts of the country. While

in North-East India, these designs take various forms including geometric form, in other parts of the country these are mainly of geometric form. There are also a number of fantasy designs in North-East India, which are not so frequently found in other parts of the country.

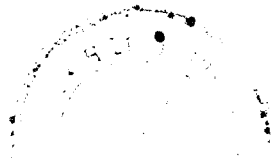
The proliferation of designs, in type and number as well as in number of objects on which they occur, in North-East India and the comparative paucity of the same among the tribals in the rest of the country, requires some explanation. It is to be noted that the tribal communities in North-East India with rich tradition of wood-carving and other traditional crafts live in comparative isolation; but at the same time they have vigorous community life. On the other hand, the tribal communities in the rest of the country are in continuous contact with the peoples of the plains for a long time. They have also gone through the process of cultural erosion for a considerable period. It requires to be examined whether the differences in the prevalence and vitality of tribal wood-carving in these two areas, are symptomatic of differences in the vigour of tribal cultures as a whole. This is a question which, however, requires depth study in a larger canvass, and the same has not been attempted in the present monograph.

It is hoped that the study of Shri Pal in its limited scope will help Cultural Anthropologists to have a closer view of the problems of persistence and change of tribal culture in the country.

I avail of this opportunity to express my thanks to Shri Pal. Also I am grateful to Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, Registrar General, India, for encouraging such studies under the aegis of the Census Organisation.

New Delhi
January 31, 1972.

B. K. ROY BURMAN
Deputy Registrar General
(Social Studies)



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are indebted to the following institutions for the illustrations which have been reproduced in the present report.

(1) *National Museum, New Delhi.*

Pl. I. Figs 1 & 2; Pl. III. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. IV. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. V. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. VI. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. VII. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. VIII. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. IX. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. X. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. XII. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. XIII. Figs. 1, 2 & 3; Pl. XIV. Figs 1 & 2; Pl. XV. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. XVI. Figs. 1, 2 & 3; Pl. XVII. Figs. 1, 2 & 3; Pl. XVIII. Figs. 1, 2 & 3; Pl. XIX. Figs. 1, 2 & 3; Pl. XX. Figs. 1 & 2 and Pl. XXI. Figs. 1 & 2.

(2) *N.E.F.A. Central Museum, Shillong.*

Pl. II. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. XI. Figs. 1 & 2.

(3) *Chhindwara Tribal Research Institute, Chhindwara, Madhya Pradesh.*

Pl. XXIII. Fig. 3; Pl. XXIV. Figs. 1 & 2; Pl. XXVII. Fig. 3.

(4) *Central Museum, Nagpur, Maharashtra.*

Pl. XXV. Fig. 3.

ABBREVIATIONS

1. B.A.J.S.S. — Bharatiya Adim Jati Sewak Sangh.
2. B.T.R.I. — Bihar Tribal Research Institute.
3. C.M.N. — Central Museum, Nagpur.
4. C.T.R.I. — Chhindwara Tribal Research Institute.
5. D.U.M. — Delhi University Museum.
6. N.M. — National Museum.
7. R.U.M. — Ranchi University Museum.

TRIBAL WOOD-CARVING IN INDIA

Wood-carving is definitely a very ancient craft in India, for it is certain that it was practised in this country long before sculpture in stone. The craft finds mention in the Vedas, in the great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, in Buddhist literature, as also in the accounts of foreign visitors who have described the early architectural forms, the prototypes of which one can find in the Buddhist relief of the first cent. B.C. at Bharhut, Bagh, Bhaja and Sanchi and later in the rock-cut cave temples of the Maurya and early Gupta periods. The stone railings and the *torana* on the gateway around the famous Buddhist *stupa* at Sanchi bear testimony to their imitation of the wooden forms which existed in ancient times. Historians have noted that the palaces of the great Maurya Emperor Chandragupta at Pataliputra were all made of wood.¹ In some parts of India, even today, houses and temples are built in wood.

Wood-carving is still widely used in many parts of the country. The art of wood-carving as practised by the tribal people of the country especially of the north-eastern part of India is entirely different in nature, form, style and execution. To a casual visitor the symbolic representations of supernatural elements made in wood would be interesting. The Nagas, *viz.* the Angamis, Konyaks, Changs, Kezamas, Maninagas and the Wanchoos, and the tribal people of Khasi and Lushai hills are engaged in wood work. Some of the N.E.F.A. tribes such as the Monpas, Khamptis, Mishmis and the Apatanis also produce wood-carvings and other common objects of day-to-day life.

The tribal wood-carving of North-East India mainly consists of human figures representing warriors and warriors with their guns, mother and child, standing and sitting figures, heads, hands, standing or dancing couples and human figures on a row, animal figures representing monkey, horse, horse-rider, elephant, dog, rabbit, tiger (sometimes two headed or with tusks or horns), lizard, boar, hornbill, python, *mithun* and deer, masks representing dog's face, human head, yak's head, bird's face and face depicting the growth of goiter, rice-bear pot, musicians, panel representing human figures kept in the bachelor's dormitory of Nagas,² human

1. Indian Architecture, Percy Brown, 1956, p. 6. See also "Wood-Carving of Gujarat," Census of India, 1961, Vol. V, Part VII—A(2), p. 3.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate	Fig.	Description
I	1	A carved wooden human figure used by the Konyak Nagas. The figure is seen in a standing posture with the hands uplifted and with a small figure carved on its abdomen. N.E.F.A.
	2	A carved wooden figure used as a grave effigy by the Nagas. The figure is in a standing posture and decorated with ear and neck ornaments. Nagaland.
II	1	A pair of human figures standing side by side on a pedestal. The figures are reported to be used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
	2	Carved wooden figure made and used by the Nagas. The figure is in a standing pose with the hands placed in juxtaposition. The figure is decorated with beaded necklace and its eyes are painted with white. Nagaland.
III	1	Carved wooden figure of a male in sitting posture wearing ear-rings and tufts of coloured animal hair on the head. N.E.F.A.
	2	Carved wooden figure of a male in sitting posture wearing animal hair on the head. The figure, in its line and form, is similar to the figure described above. Used and produced by the Nagas, Nagaland.
IV	1	Wooden figures of a couple carved out of a single wood block. The figures standing on a pedestal are decorated with ear-ornaments and necklaces. Produced in Tirap Frontier Division, N.E.F.A.

Plate	Fig.	Description
IV— <i>contd.</i>	2	Wooden couple standing on a round pedestal. The couple is in erotic posture, and does not wear any decorative objects such as ear-rings, necklaces, etc., on the body. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
V	1	A carved wooden figure of a woman with a child on her lap. This is carved and used by the Nagas. The figure is very simple in line and form without any decorative ornaments on the body. Nagaland.
	2	A carved wooden human figure representing a grave effigy. The figure is executed in a very crude manner and decorated with dot marks all over the body. This is reported to be used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
VI	1	A carved wooden human figure with right hand raised above the shoulder. The figure is shown in a sitting posture and decorated only with a beaded necklace. Used and produced by the Nagas. Nagaland.
	2	A carved wooden human figure in standing pose with the hands placed in juxtaposition. The figure is decorated with beaded necklace and ear ornaments. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
VII,	1	A carved wooden human figure decorated with necklace and ear-rings. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
	2	Three carved wooden human figures in standing pose with hands placed on the waists. The figures are very simple

Plate	Fig.	Description
VII—contd.		in style and execution. The central figure is shown wearing a round hat, while the other figures standing on either side are round-headed. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
VIII	1	Carved wooden figure of a woman carrying a child on her back. Used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
	2	Four carved wooden human figures in standing posture. The figures bear primitive characteristics in their line and form, style and execution. The frontal figure is shown wearing a round hat, while the other figures are round headed. The second figure is seen holding a human head on the chest. Used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
IX	1	A Pair of carved and painted wooden figures decorated with ear and neck ornaments. Made and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
	2	Two carved end painted wooden figures decorated with ear and neck ornaments. The figures are shown in attention pose with hands uplifted. Made and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
X	1	A carved wooden figure used as a grave effigy by the Nagas. The figure bearing primitive characteristics in its facial expression is decorated with neck and ear ornaments. The figure is also seen wearing a large-size round hat on its head. Produced in Nagaland.
	2	Carved wooden figure wearing hat, human skull trophy necklace and a <i>dao</i> in right hand. Produced in N.E.F.A.

Plate	Fig.	Description
XI	1	Wooden carved human and animal figures and human head made and used by the Nagas for magical purposes. The first figure shows a man carrying a basket by the left hand, while the second one represents a pregnant lady in sitting pose. The third one is a human head bearing primitive characteristics in its line and form, and the fourth figure which represents an animal in sitting pose, has the characteristics of a human being in its overall expression. Produced in Tirap, N.E.F.A.
	2	Wooden carved and painted human figures made and used by the Nagas. The figures are very simple in style and execution. The legs and the hands of the figures are not shown, but the carving has been done in such a manner that the figures can be easily identified as standing ones.
XII	1	Carved wooden human head with feathers held in the ear-lobes to serve as a head-hunter's trophy. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	2	Carved wooden trophy representing a human head with two small heads fixed on the head and tufts of hair hanging from the ear-lobes. Produced in N.E.F.A.
XIII	1	Three carved wooden human skull pendants with tufts hanging from the ear-lobes worn by head-hunter as trophies. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	2	A carved wooden panel representing human figures. This is generally kept in the bachelor's dormitory of the Nagas. The panel is divided into two

Plate	Fig.	Description
XIII—Contd.		parts. The lower part displays a standing figure, while the upper part shows a sitting figure in thoughtful mood. Produced in Nagaland.
	3	A carved wooden panel representing a tiger chasing two human beings. The tiger in its appearance looks like a lizard. Its fast movement is shown by the treatment of the legs. The panel is reported to be used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
XIV	1	Carved and painted wooden figure of a deer with incised lines on the body. The vigour of the animal is shown in its treatment of legs and tail. Produced in Nagaland.
	2	Carved wooden figure of a horse with a rider. The figure of the horse appears to be disproportionate in its form with a long neck and short legs. The rider wearing a hat is seen holding a child who is seated on the back of the horse. This figure is reported to be used by the Nagas. Produced in Nagaland.
XV	1	Carved and painted wooden figure of a horse with a rider. The figure in its line and form is similar to the figure noted above. The only difference is that the facial expression of this figure is more primitive and abstract. This figure used by the Nagas is reported to be produced in Nagaland.
	2	Carved and painted wooden figures representing a tiger and a <i>mithun</i> . The tiger is painted with black dots on white ground, while the <i>mithun</i> is painted with white only. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.

Plate	Fig.	Description
XVI	1	A carved wooden figure of a boar which appears to be very realistic in its form and style. The movement of the figure is indicated by the treatment of its legs and tail. Carved and used by the Aptanis. N.E.F.A.
	2	Carved wooden figure of a lizard in running posture. The figure is executed in a very crude manner with chisel marks on its body. The movement of the figure is shown by the treatment of its legs. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
	3	Carved and painted wooden figure of a tiger eating his prey. The figure looking like a lizard is decorated with painted designs in black. Produced in Nagaland.
XVII	1	A pair of carved and painted wooden stylised figures of tigers. The figures looking like lizards are shown in moving postures with painted designs on the back. Produced and used by the Nagas.
	2	A carved wooden figure of a bird which is carved and used by the Aptanis. The bird appears to be very realistic in its line and form, style and execution. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	3	Two carved wooden hands joined together and shown in opposite direction. Carved and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.
XVIII	1	Two human heads and one hand shown in opposite direction. This is carved out of one wooden log and used by the Nagas. Nagaland.

Plate	Fig.	Description
XVIII— <i>contd.</i>	2	A carved wooden rice beer pot, made and used by the Monpas. The pot is carved in a very beautiful manner with a raised edge in the middle. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	3	A human face mask of carved and painted wood depicting the growth of goitre. The fierceness of the face is shown by the treatment of eyes, nose and mouth and engraved lines on the forehead. Produced in N.E.F.A.
XIX	1	Carved and painted wooden mask representing a dog's face made and used by the Monpas. The mask in its line and form bears grotesque characteristics which are indicated by the treatment of eyes, nose, teeth and ears. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	2	A carved and painted wooden dancing mask, made and used by the Monpas. The mask represents a bird's face which bears grotesque characteristics in its overall expression. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	3	Carved wooden mask representing a human head. The mask is decorated with five small heads on the frontal portion of the head. Its grotesqueness is indicated by open mouth and protruding eyes. Produced in N.E.F.A.
XX	1	A carved wooden mask representing a human head. This is used by the Monpas during dances. The mask is carved in details showing engraved lines in vertical and horizontal rows on the face and mouth open. The fierceness of the face is indicated by sunken eyes and open mouth. Produced in N.E.F.A.

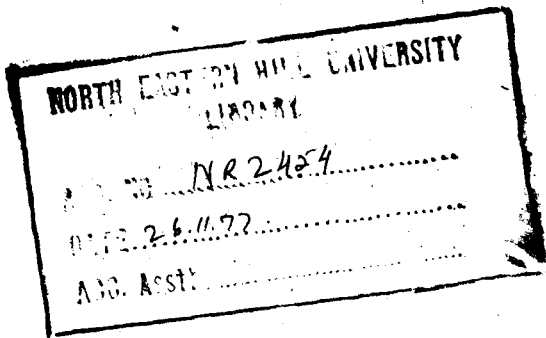
Plate	Fig.	Description
XX—contd.	2	Carved and painted wooden mask representing a dog's face. This is made and used by the Monpas. The grotesque features of the face are indicated by the treatment of ears, eyes, nose and open mouth. Produced in N.E.F.A.
XXI	1	A carved wooden head mask representing a human head. This is made and used by the Monpas during folk dances. The mask is carved in details showing engraved lines on widely greening face exhibiting teeth. Produced in N.E.F.A.
	2	A carved wooden mask representing Yak's head. This is probably made and used by the Khamptis or Monpas. The head with uplifted horns is decorated with hanging floral ornaments. Produced in N.E.F.A.
XXII	1	Comb made of a flat wooden piece. The teeth are thick, but pointed and are in one direction. This is used by the Baiga community of Madhya Pradesh. Mandla, Madhya Pradesh.
	2	Comb (locally known as <i>Kanghi</i>) made of fine strips of bamboo which are attached to a small bamboo piece with cotton threads. The whole thing is then fixed to the base of a triangular-shaped wooden piece which is also decorated with engraved lines. Used by the Oraons of Bihar. Manbhum, Bihar.
XXIII	1	Comb in parabolic shape with sharp teeth. This is used by both males and females of the Munda community of Bihar. Moranguda Bazar, Ranchi, Bihar.

Plate	Fig.	Description
XXIII— <i>contd.</i>	2	Roughly 'U'-shaped wooden comb with zig-zag designs in relief work. The comb has only four teeth which are very strong. Used by the Muria community of Madhya Pradesh. Bastar, Madhya Pradesh.
	3	Rectangular wooden door-frame (locally known as <i>chaukhot</i>) decorated with finely engraved floral designs. Used by Gond and Mawasi communities of Madhya Pradesh. Chhindwara, Madhya Pradesh.
XXIV	1	Two memorial pillars (flat, oblong and roughly oval) carved out of wood in a very fine way. The left-hand pillar is decorated with engraved human figures in several rows, while the right-hand one is decorated with engravings of horse-riders. Used by the Korku and Mawasi communities of Madhya Pradesh. Panchmari, Chhindwara, Madhya Pradesh.
	2	Memorial pillar locally known as <i>Gatha</i> . This is roughly rectangular in shape and decorated with stylistically engraved figures of horse-riders. Used as a ritual object by the Korkus of Madhya Pradesh. Panchmari, Hosangabad, Madhya Pradesh.
XXV	1	Tobacco-case (locally known as <i>chunouh</i>) decorated with minute incised geometrical designs. There are ridges in length-wise directions from one end to the other at regular intervals. Used by the Maria community of Madhya Pradesh. Bastar, Madhya Pradesh.

Plate	Fig.	Description
XXV— <i>contd.</i>	2	Lidded wooden case locally known as <i>Hengaro</i> . This is decorated with engraved lines. Used by the Santal community of Bihar for keeping miscellaneous articles. Dumka, Santal Parganas, Bihar.
	3	Bottle-shaped tobacco container made out of a single piece of wood. The upper and lower ends of the container are decorated with engraved lines. There are also teeth-like sinuous lines at the top part. The container has a small string, and is provided with a stopper. Used by the Gond community of Madhya Pradesh.
XXVI	1	Vermillion container locally known as <i>Shinghalia</i> . The object contains two parts—the container and its lid. The lower part has a circular pedestal with which there is a small stand which holds a circular bowl. The bowl is decorated with steps. The cavity of the bowl is covered by a dome-shaped well decorated lid. The whole specimen is painted in red colour. Used by a tribal community of Madhya Pradesh.
	2	Stylised peacock carved out of a single piece of wood. The figure has both-sided representation. Used by the Saoras of Orissa.
	3	Circular cymbal locally known as <i>Chatkora</i> . This is made of single piece of wood. The lower surface of the object is circular and flat, while on the upper decorated one vertical structure remains in the centre. Used by the Gond community of Madhya Pradesh. Chhindwara, Madhya Pradesh.

Plate	Fig.	Description
XXVII	1	<p>Bearded anthropomorphic mask carved out of a single piece of wood. The eyes are represented by oval cavities, and the mouth is shown by a long slit. The inner side of the mask is hollow. Teeth are not easily visible. Ears are represented by raised wooden portion. Ear holes communicate with the back cavity. Nasal apertures are constituted by triangular holes. Eye-brows and ridges are prominent. In-between the eyes on the forehead a circular piece of wood is found to be inserted. A bunch of long grass which is tied to the string, and hangs below the mouth represents the beard. Two extremities of the rope are tied to the ears. Used by the Muria community of Madhya Pradesh. Shirpuri, Kondagaon Tehsil, Madhya Pradesh.</p>
	2	<p>Anthropomorphic mask carved out of a single piece of wood. The face of the mask is very flat with a rectangular opening representing the mouth. The eyes are shown by two circular apertures. The nose and the eye-brows are made of glue. Above the forehead there are traces of two horns. Used by the Baiga community of Madhya Pradesh.</p>
	3	<p>Oblong wooden mask locally known as <i>Mukhakriti</i>. The mask is hollow inside and roughly cylindrical. The outer surface is decorated with red and blue colours. Used by the Baiga community of Madhya Pradesh. Biga-chok, Mandla, Madhya Pradesh.</p>

Plate	Fig.	Description
XXVII— <i>Concl.</i> 4	4	Wooden bull carved out of a single piece of wood . It is painted all over with steel grey colour. The eyes are drawn with red, black and white colours. Fore-legs, hind-legs and the tail are exaggerated, while the head is attached with the main body by a comparatively narrow neck. Used by a tribal community of Bihar.



PLATES



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE II



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

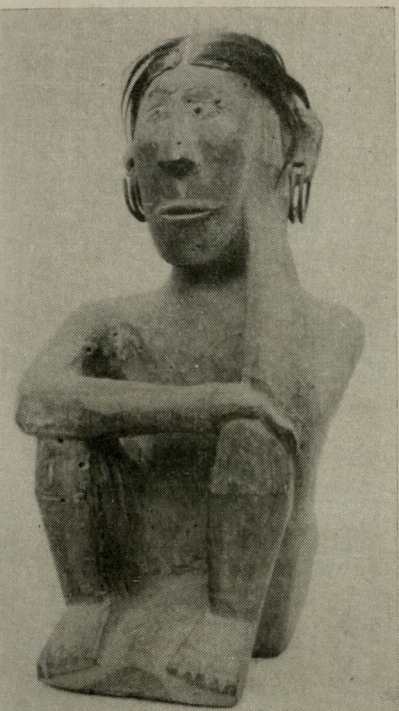


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE IV

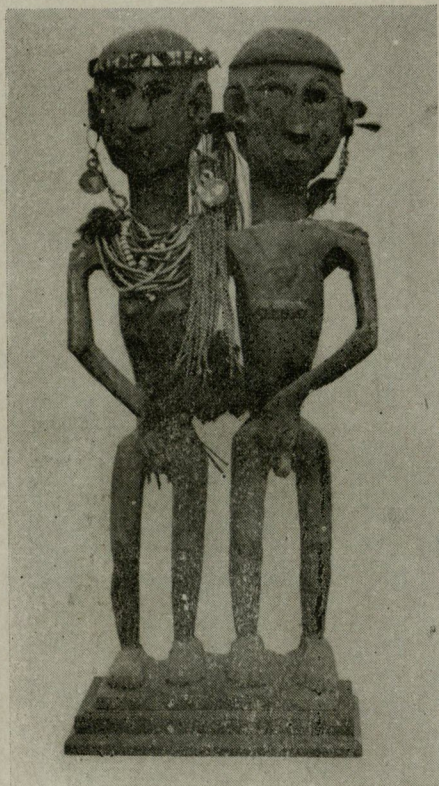


Fig. 2



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE VI



Fig 1

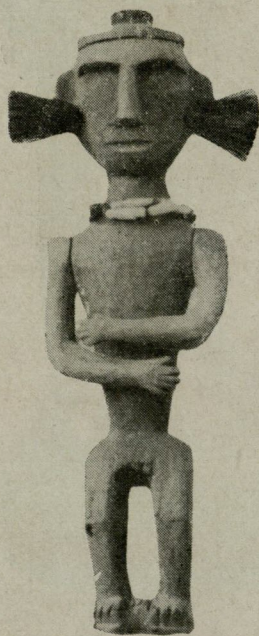


Fig. 2

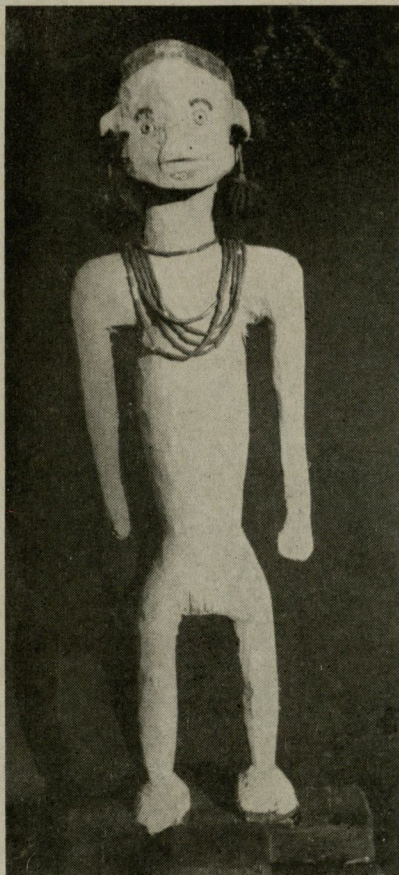


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE VIII

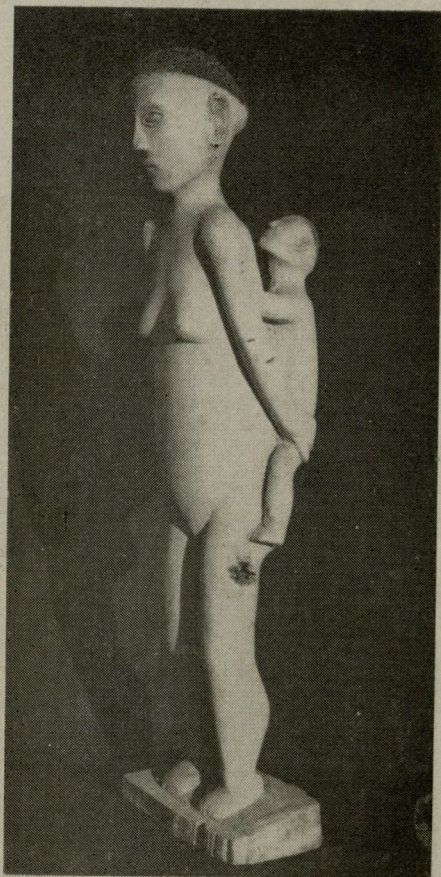


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

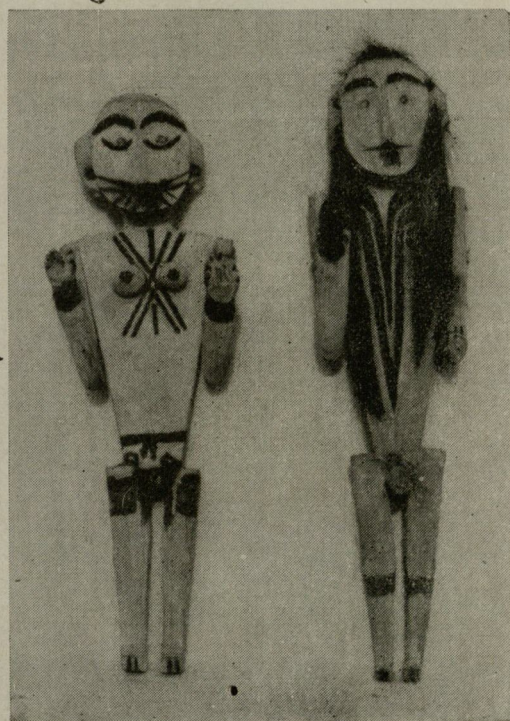


Fig. 2

PLATE X



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

PLATE XII



Fig. 1



Fig. 2

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

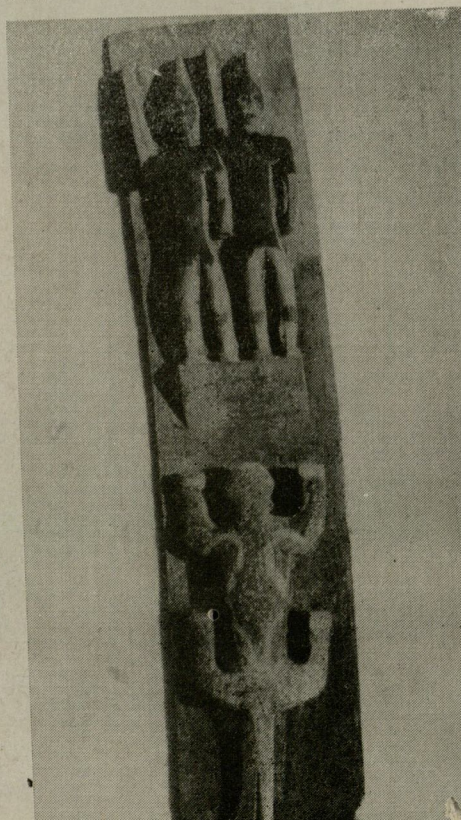


PLATE XIV

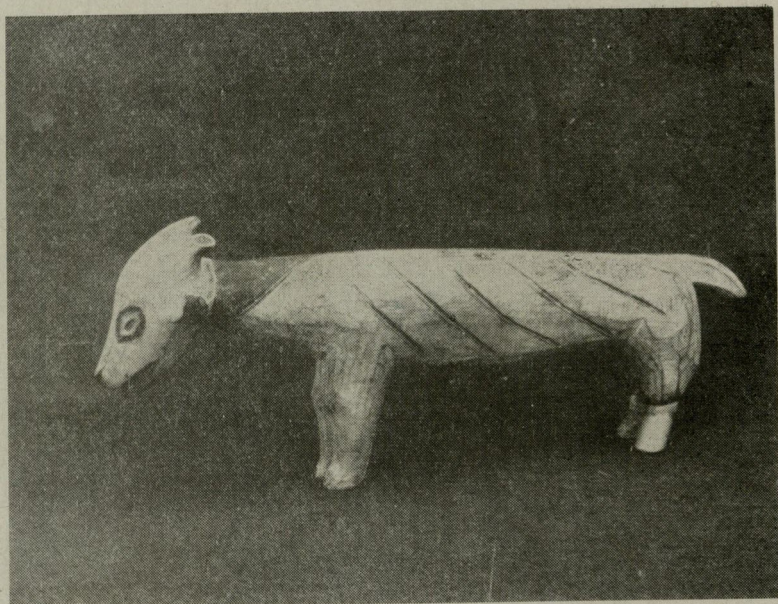


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

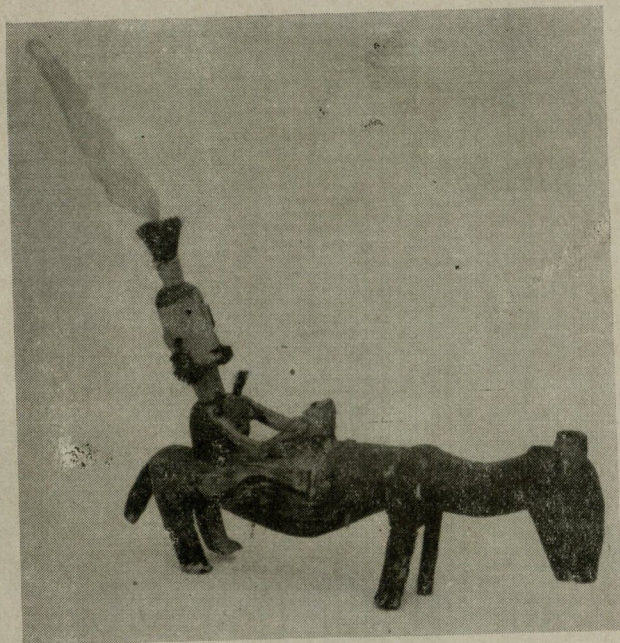


Fig. 1

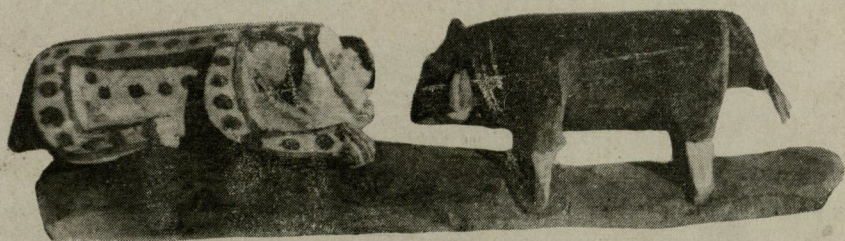


Fig. 2

PLATE XVI

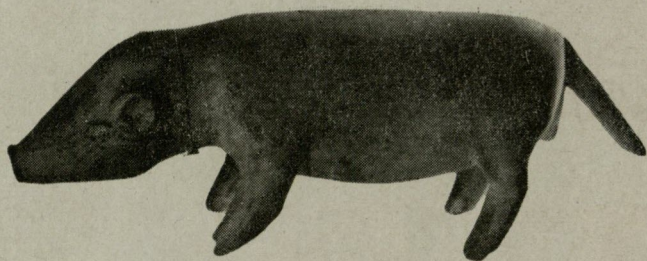


Fig. 1

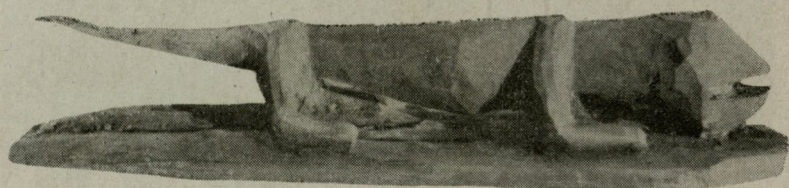


Fig. 2

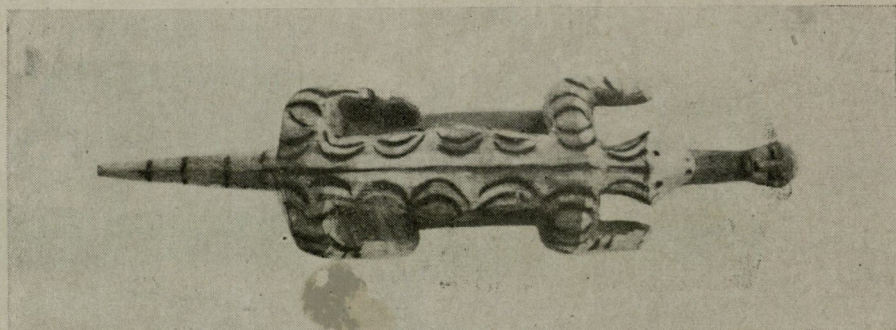


Fig. 3

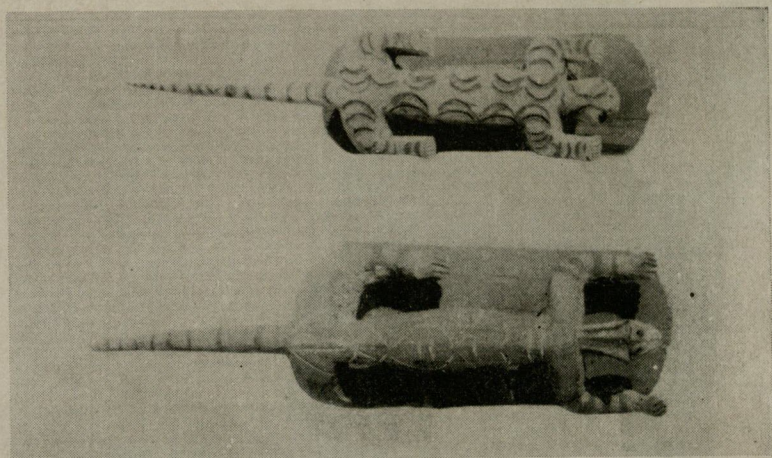


Fig. 1

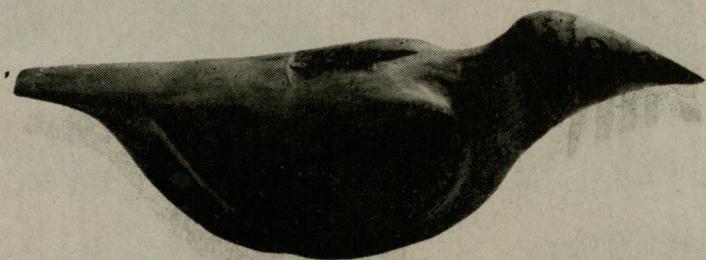


Fig. 2

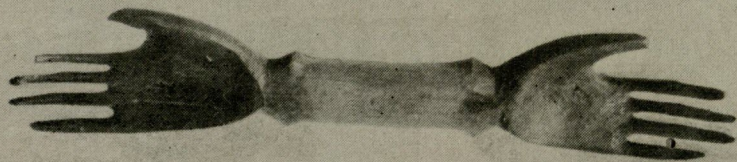


Fig. 3

PLATE XVIII

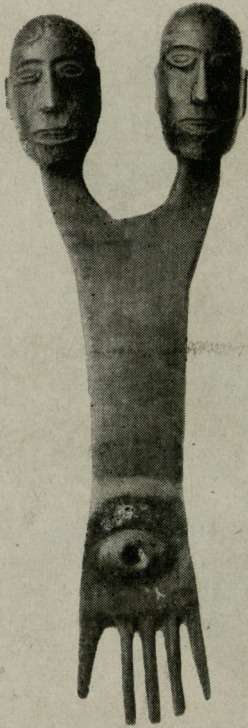


Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig.

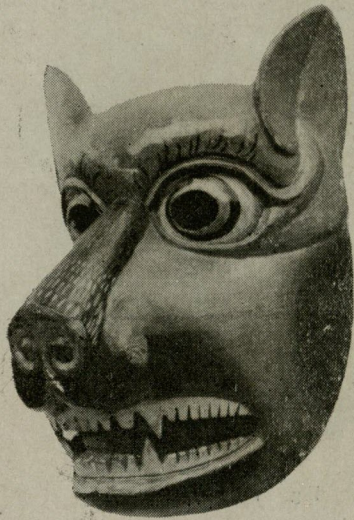


Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

PLATE XX



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

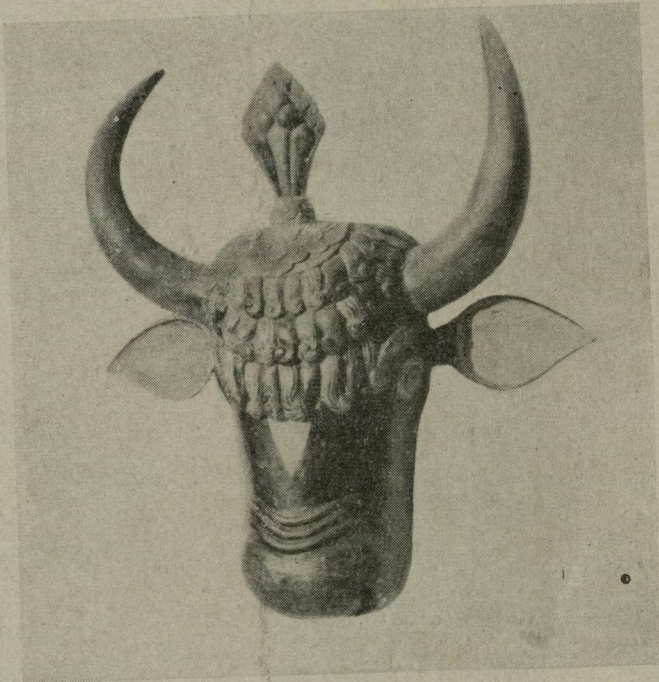


Fig. 2

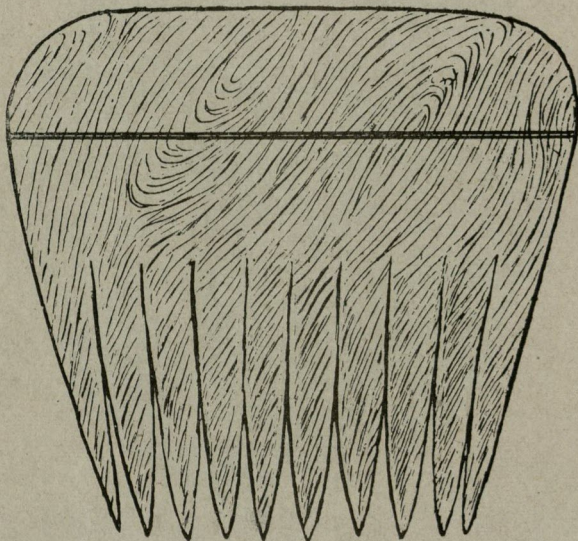


Fig. 1

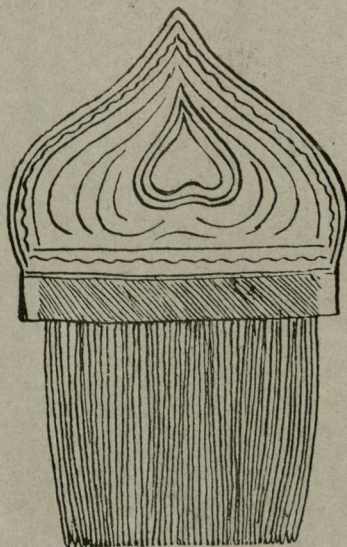


Fig. 2

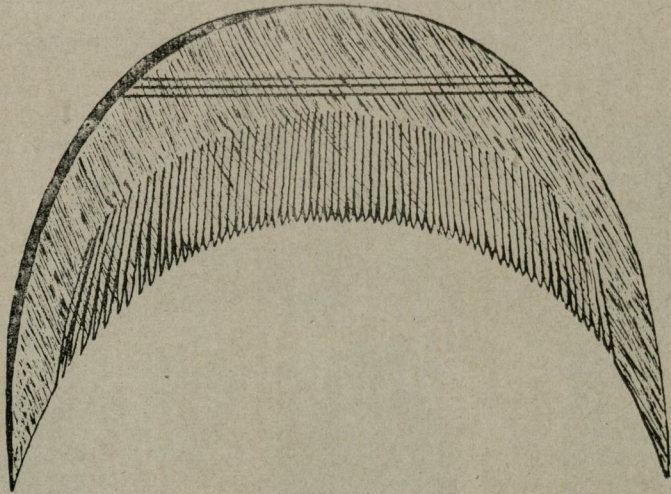


Fig. 1

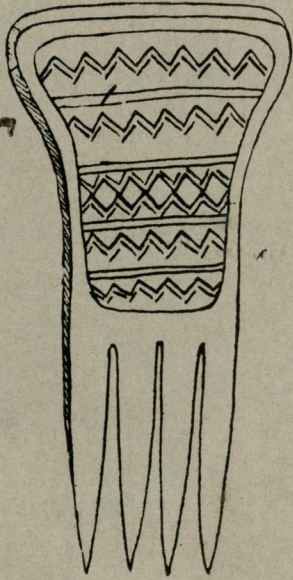


Fig. 2

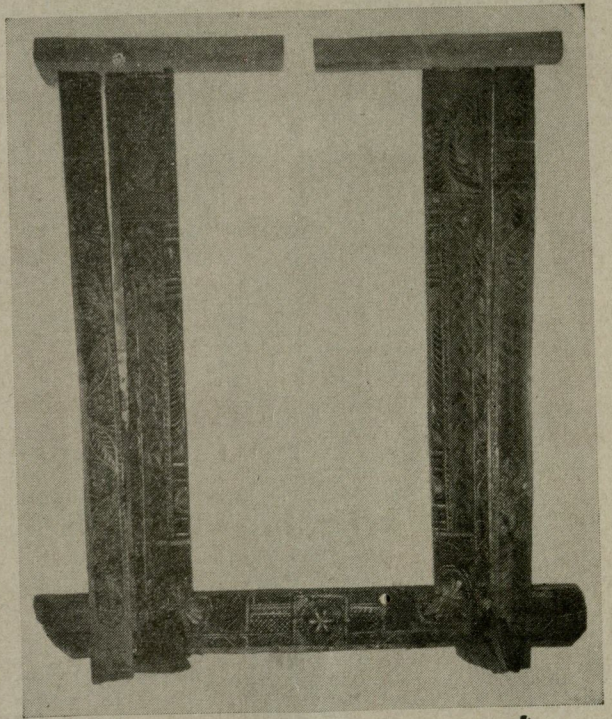


Fig. 3

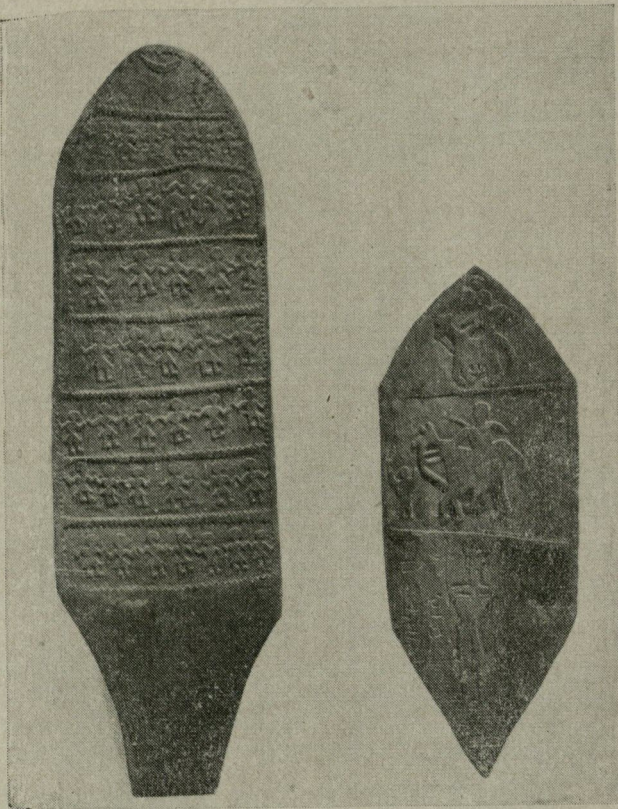


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

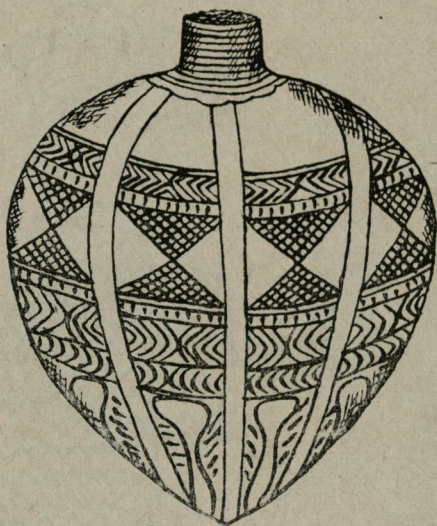


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

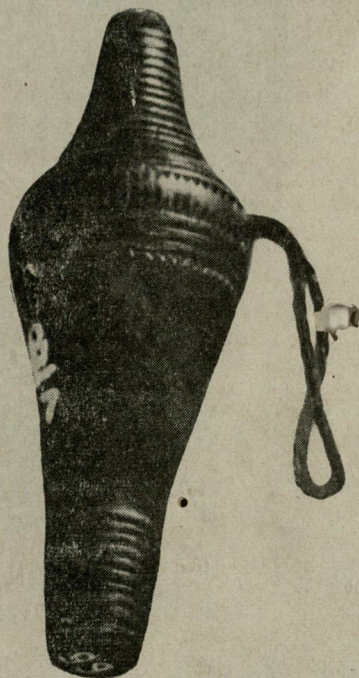


Fig. 3

PLATE XXVI

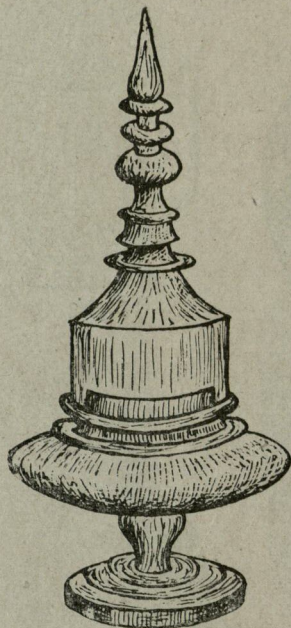


Fig. 1

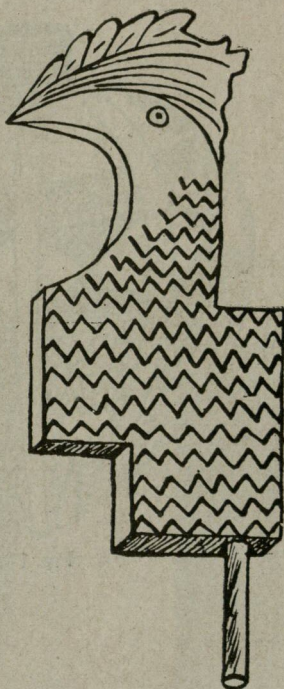


Fig. 2

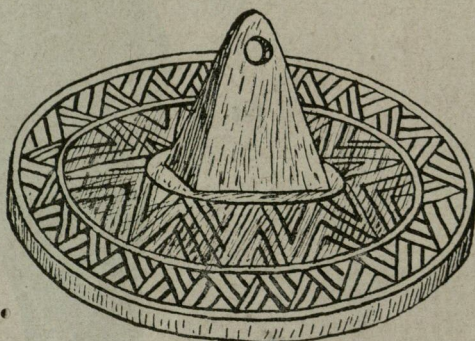


Fig. 3



Fig. 1

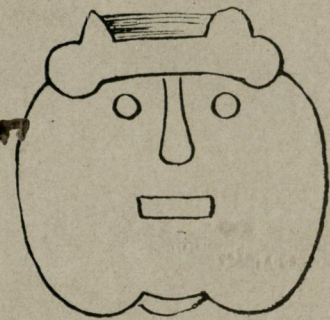


Fig. 2

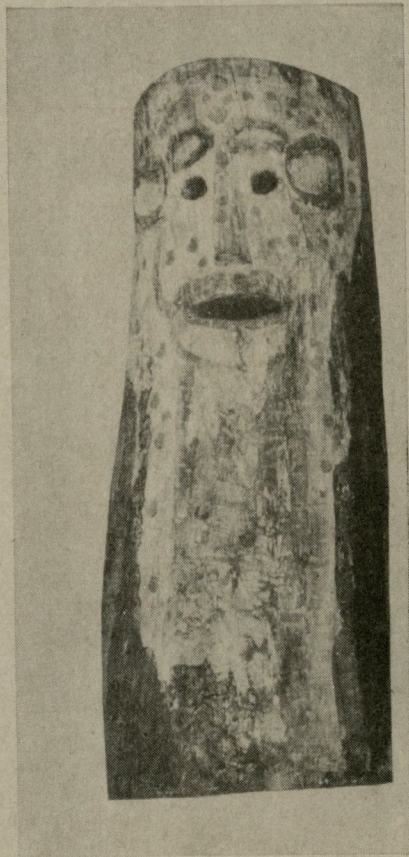


Fig. 3

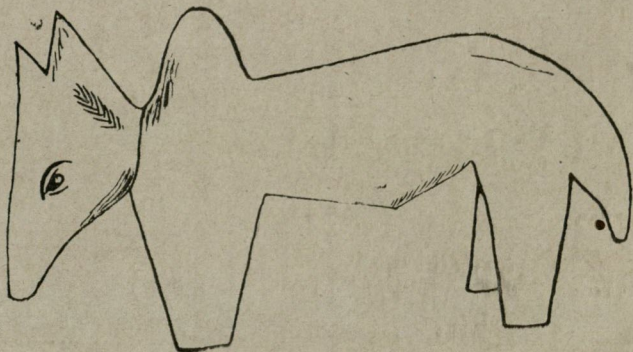


Fig. 4

in North-East India, which are not so frequently found in other parts of the country.

The proliferation of designs, in type and number as well as in number of objects on which they occur in North-East India and the comparative paucity of the same among the tribals in the rest of the country, requires some explanation. It is to be noted that the tribal communities in North-East India with rich tradition of wood-carving and other traditional crafts live in comparative isolation, but at the same time they have vigorous community life. On the other hand, the tribal communities in the rest of the country are in continuous contact with the peoples of the plains for a long time. They have also gone through the process of cultural erosion for a considerable period. It requires to be examined whether the differences in the prevalence and vitality of tribal wood-carving in these two areas are symptomatic of differences in the vigour of tribal cultures as a whole. This is a question which, however, requires depth study in a larger canvass.