

## RITUAL AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE WILDERNESS: ETHNIC PAINTING OF THE ALU KURUMBAS

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### ABSTRACT

*This paper examines the aesthetic sense and technical aspects of the ethnic painting/tribal folk art of the Nilgiri Kurumbas. Ethnic painting in general articulates the aesthetic expressions of tribal/folk life and hence is symbolic of harmonious blend of nature and the human. They are painted on the walls of their huts and the colours used are mainly herbal extracts and fruit juices. A study of Kurumba painting against Neolithic art or prehistoric rock art would reveal a lot about the evolution of tribal art and the mysteries of tribal life.*

**Keywords:** Ethnic-Painting, Alu Kurumba, Rock-Art, Nilgiris, Everyday life

### Introduction

Tribal folk art is generally known as ‘ethnic art’ and one such ethnic art form is tribal painting. Indian tribal paintings are highly diverse in character. Each tribal group, however small it may be, has its own significant and unique style. Though simple in nature, their paintings are highly expressive and full of vitality. They express the whole story of the material life of a tribal group and serve as a veritable visual source of study of the tribal communities. The present study, while attempting to give a broad idea of the diverse aspects of one of the rich cultural heritage of India, ethnic paintings in historical perspective, also aims at familiarizing one of the forgotten ethnic groups of South India, *Alu Kurumba*<sup>1</sup> of the Nilgiris and their paintings to art historians and art lovers.

Historically, the tradition of the engraving and painting on the walls of natural rock is the artistic expression of the *pre-historic cave dwellers* all over the world. Archaeologists have identified that the early *rock-art* paintings and engravings corresponded to different periods of the *Stone Age* and even continued up to a short span of the early historic period. For a long time the *rock-art* of the world was an enigma for archaeologists and historians. The entire surface of the rock shelters contain *engravings* and paintings of different themes involving human beings, animals, trees and geometrical pattern, each one is different according to the taste and culture of the pre-historic communities. The

colour used is red-ochre, grey saffron, pinkish buff and brownish yellow. Sonawane argues that art is mostly a reflection of the human mind to a changing environment and culture. From times immemorial, such creative works of human origin have been controlled by his feeling of visual space and reflected how men perceived the world (2002:266). LeroiGourhan (1968: 48) has remarked that in a society models of weapons change very often, models of tools less often, and social institutions very seldom, while religious practices continue unchanged for millennia. Against this background it is not difficult to trace out the roots of the ethnic paintings from the pioneer *rock engravings* and paintings.

### **Ethnic Painting: Features**

Ethnic art is a term used to define several types of aboriginal art in the form of painting, metal work, wood work, bead making, jewellery making etc. Paintings are one of the most important expressions of aboriginal art. Ethnic paintings are seen generally on the house/hut walls of the tribal folk of India and are called wall paintings. Wall painting represents graceful geometrical patterns, men, animals and symbols and is classified into two categories - simple drawings and sketches filled in colors. On the basis of theme, surface of execution and locality it is further divided into four categories. The four classifications are *abstract*, *representative*, *natural* and *symbolic*. The *abstract* paintings are drawn at the lower or upper portions of the wall or around the door corners. *Representational* figures are drawn singly on the wall and they and naturalistic forms are sketched at a certain height from the level of the earth and in the centre of the wall or on both the sides of the door. *Symbolic* forms are seen in the interiors. Abstract painting is the most common variety and is popular among almost all ethnic painters of India. The basic themes of abstract paintings are geometrical pattern akin to Paleolithic rock art and it is very difficult to identify the meaning or utility of these symbols. Symbolic forms represent some familiar figures in the surroundings like human beings, animals and birds. Most of the tribal paintings are representative in nature and are spontaneously painted on the basis of artist's creativity. In naturalistic forms human beings, animals and nature are depicted.

### **Ethnic Painting in India**

Every aspect of Indian ethnic art blends into the pervasive greenery with perfect harmony. India is a rich store house of different varieties of ethnic paintings. It has won the admiration of all art lovers, historians and archaeologists in different parts of the world. Paintings are an integral part of tribal existence. They signify social and economic well being, important events

in life, merry making, festive joys, reverence to ancestors, and religious symbols. A cursory glimpse at the panorama of Indian ethnic paintings reflects regional, cultural and ethnic variations. On the basis of this variation we can classify the ethnic paintings as follows.

## **Western India**

Tribal paintings of Western India are an extension of the ancient customs and traditions of the numerous ethnic groups of the states of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The prominent artists of these areas are *Rathwas* in Gujarath and *Warli* in Maharashtra. The celebrated paintings of *Rathwas* are known as *Pithora* paintings (Tribhuvan and Finkenauer, 2003) and the painters are solely male members and known as *Lakharas*. *Pithora* paintings (Fig.1) are colorful wall paintings dedicated to the Supreme Being; *Pithora* is painted on various ceremonial/festive occasions or to invoke the blessings of God *Pithora* or to eliminate natural calamities. A majority of *Pithora* paintings portray the wedding of *Pithora* and his consort *Pithori*, accompanied by dancing people, birds, animals, musicians, etc. Being a symbolic and ritualistic form *Pithora* paintings are found on the inner walls of the tribal houses. The exquisite character of these paintings are that they are dynamic figures with properly blended colors, symbol of happiness, peace and prosperity and it denotes auspicious occurrence like wedding, child birth and festive occasions. Before painting the walls are plastered with 2 layers of cow dung and a layer of white chalk powder. The raw materials are arranged by unmarried girls in the tribe, a process which they call as *Lipna*. The main wall, which is the largest, is considered sacred and paintings of legends of creation are made here. The two side walls contain figures of the deity and ancestor. The colour is prepared from natural products and is mixed with milk. Then this solution is again mixed with intoxicating solution made from *Mahua* tree or Indian Butter Tree (*Maducalongifolia*). The major colours used are red, vermilion, orange, yellow, indigo, ultramarine, green, silver and black and the brush is prepared by thrashing twigs of *Neem* tree (*Azadirachta indica*) or bamboo (*Bambuseae*).

The *Warli* tribe in Maharashtra executed their artistic talent on the mud walls of their houses and is popularly known as *Warli* painting (Fig.2). Unlike the *Pithora* painters, artists are female members of the community. The main theme of this ethnic art is harvest and the name is originated from the word *Warla* which means a piece of land or a field. One of the interesting things related with this painting is the color usage. Only white color prepared from rice powder is used for painting. Besides harvest, other important themes are wedding, birth ceremonies, everyday life scenes etc. This painting is also notable for its relation with rock art of ancient

India because they used geometric patterns like dot, crooked line square, triangle and circle. They used triangles to indicate mountain and circles to indicate sun and the moon. Being an agricultural community we can relate their art form with Neolithic rock art.

## Eastern India

The tribal areas of Eastern India are mainly the states of West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand and Orissa. Most popular ethnic groups in West Bengal and Bihar are *Santhals* and *Santhal* paintings (Fig.3) are prepared on hand-made papers with poster colours and the themes are natural surroundings, everyday life, fields, dances, harvests, wine parties, Hindu Gods and Goddesses (Kaiser, 2012). The paintings are popularly known among the *Santhal* of *Jharkhand* as *Paitkar* paintings (Fig.4). Specialized painters of this ethnic group known as '*Jadu Patua*' or magic painters inhabiting the borders of West Bengal and Bihar, paint images which speak about the life of *Santhals* and are painted with organic materials. The themes of *Paitkar* paintings are Goddess *Manasa*, the Goddess of Serpents, scenes of donation of alms to Hindu gods and also to the regional tribal gods, daily lives of the local people of *Jharkhand* etc. This painting is also known as scroll painting.

The *Oraon* tribes of *Jharkhand* are involved in several forms of paintings which include *Oraon Comb Cut* paintings (Ghosh, 2003). The designs of the *Oraon* paintings (Fig.5) are geometric patterns, birds, fishes, arches, cattle etc.

The notable ethnic painting in Orissa is *Ittal* painting (Fig.6) and artists are from *Saora* tribe. The expert *Ittal* painters are popularly known as *Ittalmaranor* picture man. These paintings are executed on the village walls to please the gods and ancestors for averting disease, promoting fertility, to celebrate festive occasions, and for ceremonial functions. It is believed that before *Saora* artists started their work they got revelation in their dreams regarding the theme and they acted according to the direction in their dreams. Their most important motifs are horses, riders, monkeys climbing or perched on trees, deer, peacock, dancing villagers, elephants, lizards, tigers, goats, monkeys, sun, moon, huts, cattle, women with baskets, flowers, birds, combs, villagers playing musical instruments like trumpets, drums, gongs, *Idital* the tribal deity, priests, worshippers, and scenes of ceremonies of seed sowing, harvesting, and hunting. Figures are placed in circular or triangular panels around the *Ittal*. One of the interesting elements in *Saora* paintings are their rich blending with nature. They used bamboo brush and the main colours used are black made from soot of oil lamps and white from sun dried rice powder. These two colours are mixed in water, juice from roots and herbs and made into a paste.

## Central India

The most vibrant ethnic artists of Central India are the Gond and the Bhil inhabiting in Madhya Pradesh, Bundelkhand, Gondwana, Nimar and Malwa. The Gond paintings (Perdriolle, 2012) are lively expressions from their everyday life, religious sentiments and devotions and painters are womenfolk (Fig.7). They marvelously painted festivals like *Karwa Chauth*, *Deepavali*, *Ahoi*, *Ashtami*, *Nag Panchami*, *Sanjhi* etc. Other important items that figured in their paintings are horses, elephants, tigers, birds, gods, men in bright and multi colours. Some of these were etched on the mud walls of their houses (Fig.8).

The Bhil paintings (Ibid) are noted for their images from myth and folklore and are executed on the interior walls of their houses. They prepared colours from juice of leaves and flowers and brushes are made from Neem twigs. The traditional painters of this community are popularly known as *lekhindra* and they were experts in drawing *Pithora* horses. Being an agricultural community they painted seasons that affected their agriculture, natural calamities and gods who protect their field and life.

## South India – Alu-Kurumbas

*Kurumba* is one of the traditional ethnic groups<sup>2</sup> of *Nilgiris* in South India. Their chief occupations are swidden cultivation, hunting and food gathering. The *Nilgiri* is a district of Tamil Nadu which is located at the point of the union of the *Eastern* and *Western Ghats*. The natural boundary of the plateau on the South is *Bhavani* river, on the North *Moyar* river where the *Nilgiri* borders the *Karnataka* State, on the West, it borders *Wayanad* plateau in *Kerala* State and on the East the *Coimbatore* district of *Tamil Nadu*. The *Kurumbas* are the smallest tribal group who are conservative and are remarkable for the degree to which they adhere to old ways of living. Among them there are two subdivisions – *Palu-Kurumba* and *Alu-Kurumba*. The *Kurumbas* of Attappadi are *Palu*<sup>3</sup>*Kurumba* and of *Nilgiri* are *Alu*<sup>4</sup>*Kurumba*. They are separated by the geographical setting. The *Alu-Kurumbas* live in the upper elevations of the *Nilgiris* and the *Palu-Kurumba* live in the lower elevation on both banks of the river *Bhavani*. The *Palu-Kurumba* are believed to be migrants from the *Kund*, a region in the *Nilgiris*. Dieter B. Kapp, who made two years' extensive study about the *Kurumbas* of this region, points out that the *Nilgiris* are a zone of refugee tribes like *Kurumba*, *Toda*, *Iruia*, *Kota* and *Badaga*. They are small factions of groups flourishing elsewhere and came here. The earliest settlers of this region are *Kurumbas* and entire groups of *Kurumbas* were forced out of their hamlets by the *Badaga* who arrived here perhaps in the sixteenth century. According

to Kapp, “the Kurumbas were forced to leave the plateau of the hills long before the Badaga settlers arrived. There are strong grounds for supposing that the Kurumbas once occupied and cultivated the plateau of the Hills, and were driven thence by the Todas into the unhealthy localities which now they inhabit, on the pretext of their being a race of sorcerers, whose presence was a bane to the happiness of the other hill tribes. Several spots near the Badaga villages bear the name of Motta (the term used by the Todas, Kotas, Badagas and Irulas to denote the Kurumba hamlet). Kapp goes on to point out that to this day, the traces of their houses are still visible; and in one place a stone enclosure for buffaloes is seen, which, formerly belonged to a rich Kurumba, who was murdered by the Todas, at the instigation of the Badagas” (Kapp, 1985:506). A group of the retreating Nilgiri *Kurumbas* reached the Attappadi valley and settled there. Traditionally the *Kurumbas* played the role of sorcerers, medicine-men and priests not only for their own tribe but also for other Nilgiri tribes like the Badagas and Irulas. The field surveys<sup>5</sup> conducted among this tribe helped to recognize their capacity and efficiency as sorcerers and magico-religious practitioners and they are a nightmare for the other Nilgiri tribes.

### **Features of the Alu-Kurumba Painting**

The Alu-Kurumba painting is a religious art rooted in complex beliefs that explain their everyday life, their customs, the presence and abundance of natural resources.

**Area of Execution:-** Usually the surface for the painting is the outer wall of the temple or the house plastered with cow dung. But today artist use whitewashed walls and handmade papers.

**Artists:-**Alu-Kurumba painting is an expression of their socio-religious ideas and that is why this art is traditionally practiced exclusively by the male members of the community like temple caretaker or priest.

**Theme:-**Traditionally the figures executed are of animals, birds, gods, festival of Gods, seasons, wedding ceremony, ancestor-worshipping ceremony, scenes of ritual performances before and after harvesting, scenes of rituals to ward off natural calamities, and scenes of ritual performances in festive occasions. But nowadays they also depict scenes from everyday life like of honey collection, cultivation, herding etc. Among these paintings<sup>6</sup> Figure 9 illustrates the Alu-Kurumba folk making channels in their fields for their seed-sowing ceremony, close to which is found the sacred tree (clearly visible in the second picture but not in the first) where the shrine of their God, Thuppa Kata Devar (protector of harvest) is installed in the form of a small mud pot. One person carries a seed basket and, in front of the field, a group of men and women are gathered around the shrine to propitiate the deity before

seeding – men with musical instruments like blow pipes and women in dancing postures. Three spades are kept before the mud pot; and offerings to the God are kept in leaves of the sacred tree. In Figure 10 there is a depiction of the Kurumba harvesting ceremony called Thodu Habba. A group of people dance around the fruits of harvest presented as ritual objects amidst the music of blow pipe, drum etc. On the background grazingsheep, a cow, deer and an elephant are seen. Figure 11 is related with the festival of Key Deva/ Malinga Deva. Seven women are portrayed as carrying pots. Stones encircle the shrine, which has a thatched roof, and a stone is placed within the circle at the entrance. The women are supposed to pour their seven pots of water over the stone. According to belief if the water runs out over the edge of the circle, abundant rain and a good harvest is assured. Several musicians play flute and drum, while an elderly person with white hair, stands looking on in the foreground, wearing a sash and carrying a cane. Figure 12 illustrates different ritual ceremonies connected with the annual festival of Malinga Deva like dancing, pounding the grain in the mortar and offerings to Good. Figure 13 depicts the ritual known as *Manal* which is related to the worship of forest god and is symbolic of Alu-Kurumba faith in animism. The theme of figure 14 is a wedding ceremony and the rituals associated with it. Figures 15 and 16 are related to season – the first being a depiction of the winter and the second portrays prayers invoking rain. Figure 17 illustrates the rituals related to ancestor worship. Being animists, ancestor-worship is indispensable to Kurumba life. Figure 18 describes different aspects of their economic life. Figure 19 vividly depicts the honey combs hanging down from the rocks and the technical skill of Alu-Kurumba honey collectors in tapping them daringly. Figure 20 depicts *Ola Manal* a ritual for the worship of tools and implements. Figures 21 and 22 illustrate people taking rest during leisure time after a day's work. Here, men and women are portrayed in white colour.

**Colours:-** Generally five colors are prepared from natural objects to portray figures. They are red, black, green, white and yellow. The red colour is prepared from *Sem manna* or red soil, black and brown from the resins of the bark of a tree called *Vengaimaramor* Indian Kino Tree (*Pterocarpus marsupium*), green from *KataiGeda* plant, (could not be identified) white from *Bodhi manna* (lime paste) and yellow from *Kalimanna* or clay. Today they use water and poster colours because of the difficulty in gathering natural materials which, however, makes paintings more colorful than the traditional.

**Brush:-** Originally, they used to draw pictures with burnt twigs. Today they use a piece of cloth to apply colors.

**Design:-** They followed geometrical patterns similar to those found in rock art and the figures are drawn of stick like characters. Main patterns

used are lines, independent and concentric dots. While in traditional paintings it is difficult to identify the sex of the figures, in today's art work males and the females are clearly detectable.

### **Alu-Kurumba Painting and Nilgiri Rock Art**

The continuity of rock art tradition from the Palaeolithic times to the present is evidenced in the contemporary ritualistic and sacred paintings of the Alu-Kurumba. In north-western Tamil Nadu the Nilgiri region, Kothagiri region and Coimbatore region are key centers of rock art. Prehistoric rock paintings and engravings are found in five places – Vellarikombai, Selakorai, Errpettu, Kallampalayam, and Porivarai of the Nilgiris, Karikkiyur near Kothagiri and Mavadaippu near Coimbatore. Among these, rock art galleries like Vellarikombai (Allen Zackereal: 1984), Karikkiyur and Mavadaippu have close affinity to the paintings of the Alu-Kurumbas. They call rock art sites as *eluthu-parai* means ‘pictograph-rock’ and they believe that these paintings belong to their ancestors. They used to draw these pictographs on the body of those who have incurable diseases and also on the wall of their huts during a festival, ritual occasion etc.<sup>7</sup> The unique ecosystem and the material culture of the region had a significant impact on the rock art tradition here. The rock art of this region can be classified into two categories- petrograms or pictographs which are paintings done in white or red ochre and petroglyphs, figures etched out on rock surfaces. The material culture, especially the livelihood patterns and ritual practices, of the tribes have been reflected in their paintings like the rock art of the region. Garfinkel has argued that rock art can be a specially sensitive indicator of group affiliation and group identity when it serves as a method for symbolizing group boundaries. Also in many archaeological situations, rock art is the only data useful to the study of the stylistic elements characteristic of a particular prehistoric cultural group. Rock art functions, in some instances, as a manifestation of ritual/religious systems and exhibits elements (imagery) which serves as a response to stimuli from the natural and social environment. If these stimuli differ between particular ethnic units we can expect this to be physically manifested in the drawings painted and engraved upon the rock surfaces within their respective territories (Garfinkel, 1982:67). The paintings of Alu-Kurumbas during certain seasons especially in the harvest season and ritualistic occasions like festivals reflect a unique cultural continuity of rock art. They are the symbols of harmonious relation between the human and the environment. They remain an unbelievably rare example of the pre-historic perception of rock artists and it retains the flavour of the prehistoric rock paintings of the region.



The petrograms and petroglyphs of the Nilgiri, Kothagiri and Coimbatore region contain many elements similar to that of the Alu-Kurumba paintings and it is also quite distinctive in many aspects including its technique of manufacture. The similarity lies in its form, subject matter and style. The Alu-Kurumba paintings are primarily ritualistic which describes various facets of their everyday life in ritualistic manner and have close relation with the Vellerikombai, Karikkiyur and Mavadaippu petrograms. The petrograms in Vellerikombai (Fig.23) are stylized figures of animals and scenes of human activities such as hunting and dancing painted in red ochre within a religious fervour. The heads of the human beings in Vellerikombai, Selakorai, Errpettu, Kallampalayam, and Porivarai are in a circular form and the body is painted in strokes. The theme of petroglyphs of Karikkiyur rock art are battle scenes depicting men on horseback with bows and arrows, men on bamboo ladder, mystic symbols, elephants, cattle, tiger, deer, wild boar and porcupine, and of human beings dancing or fighting in white ochre. These types of figures and use of white ochre are seldom found in Alu-Kurumba painting. The images of Mavadaippu (Fig.24) petrograms include a tiger, a deer with straight horns, anthropomorphic figures marching inside a circle, an elephant seizing a man with its trunk while another man chasing it, and several paintings of bamboo-ladders used for taking honey from the heights. The main differences are in the usage of tools, colour preparation, colour sense, surface etc. The rock artists of Vellerikombai, Karikkiyur and Mavadaippu were familiar with the use of either red or white ochre while the Alu-Kurumba used brown, black, green, red and white colours. For making petrograms the rock artists used sharp tipped tools and after drawing the outline they filled the figure with colours but Alu-Kurumba used twig brush (today cloth) and directly painted on the surface. The pre-historic artists selected rock surface as their canvas while Alu-Kurumba prefer walls and paper (today) as their canvas. The petroglyphs in rock art like wild animals, human beings, fauna etc in stick like form of the Nilgiris, Kothagiri and Coimbatore also appear to have highly influenced the sketches of the Alu-Kurumba.

## **Significance**

Alu-Kurumba paintings occupy a prominent place in the cultural tradition of South India and have a distinctive position in the ethnic art history of India. The uniqueness of this art is its harmonious and ritualistic blending of human life with the ecosystem. A systematic analysis of this ethnic art reveals the following fundamental elements behind it.

1. Alu-Kurumba paintings resemble rock art painting tradition in India.

The figures are stick like characters, with ritualistic, abstract and naturalistic themes; colours are prepared from nature, and are executed on the plastered walls.

2. The artists are talented and versatile.
3. Unlike other ethnic paintings in India the Alu-Kurumba paintings have close proximity to Neolithic rock art. A comparison of the Alu-Kurumba paintings with the ethnic paintings of the West and Central and Eastern India reveal the differences in theme, technique, design and colour.
4. Traditionally paintings are related to harvest, festival of Gods, wedding ceremonies, season, ancestor worshipping ceremony etc. Besides, scenes from everyday life, such as honey collection, cultivation, herding etc. also form frequent themes. A panoramic view of the economic activities of the Alu-Kurumbas like pre-harvesting, harvesting and post-harvesting and herding are clearly portrayed.
5. The paintings give a spectator visual treat of the flora and fauna of the region especially wild flora and fauna.
6. The art form comes as a part of hereditary responsibility of performing religious rites for the village. The technique behind Alu-Kurumba paintings are passed on from one generation to the other and this ethnic art is the means of livelihood of the artist.
7. The traditional style has been brought down from the walls and temples to paper due to its commercial value.
8. The traditional Alu-Kurumba style is losing its sanctity due to the lack of traditional artists and the emergence of a new style which is more comprehensible to the outside world.

## **Conclusion**

As in the case of ethnic art of other parts of India ethnic art of the Alu-Kurumba also deserve more in-depth analysis as to their features and techniques. This is one of the fast-perishing ethnic arts very close to pre-historic rock art and in order to save it as well as the artists governments both at the center and states are making earnest efforts in recent times – by setting up handicraft emporiums at important cities all over India and in all districts of Tamil Nadu. These artisans are also encouraged by various government institutions to participate in national and international exhibitions to display their skills and share their expertise with others. Government also conducts art workshops for them and provide platform for youth and budding Alu-Kurumba artists for learning their traditional art form. One of the significant steps in this regard is the founding of KARI<sup>8</sup> and C.P. RamaswamyAiyar

Foundation Chennai to revive the fantastic Alu-Kurumba art. These two organizations conduct workshops and exhibitions and encourage Alu-Kurumba youngsters for promoting this cherished tradition.

### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Most of the anthropological and ethno-archaeological studies are conducted on Nilgiri tribes like Irula Toda, Badaga and Kota.
- <sup>2</sup> Other ethnic groups are the Toda-pastoral tribe, Kota-artisan tribe, Badaga-farmers and Irula-slash and burn cultivators.
- <sup>3</sup> Palu means milk in Tamil
- <sup>4</sup> Alu means milk in Kannada
- <sup>5</sup> Interview with Raghavan Krishnan and his students of Vellarikombai village in Kotagiri district on 26-06-2014. He is the only expert traditional painter of this community and has been honoured several times for his skill in this field.
- <sup>6</sup> Paintings 9, 10&11, Courtesy: KARI (*Kurumba Art Revival Initiative*); paintings 12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21&22, Courtesy: C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar Foundation, Chennai.
- <sup>7</sup> This rock art site was first identified by Mr. Allen Zackerel, Professor of anthropology from USA in 1984.

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Ritual and Everyday Life in the Wilderness



Pithora Painting (Fig. 1)



Warli Painting (Fig. 2)



Santhal Painting (Fig.3)



Paitkar Painting (Fig.4)



Oraon Painting (Fig.5)



Ittal Painting (Fig.6)



Bhil Painting (Fig.8)



Gond Painting (Fig.7)



Seed Sowing (Fig. 9)



Thodu Habba (Fig. 10)



Festival of Keyi Deva (Fig. 11)



Festival of Malinga Swami (Fig. 12)



Manal (Fig. 13)



Wedding (Fig. 14)



Winter (Fig. 15)

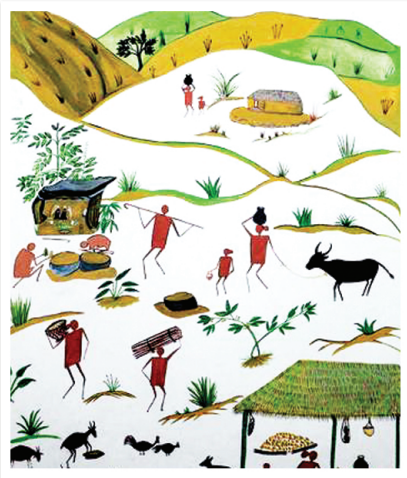
Ritual and Everyday Life in the Wilderness



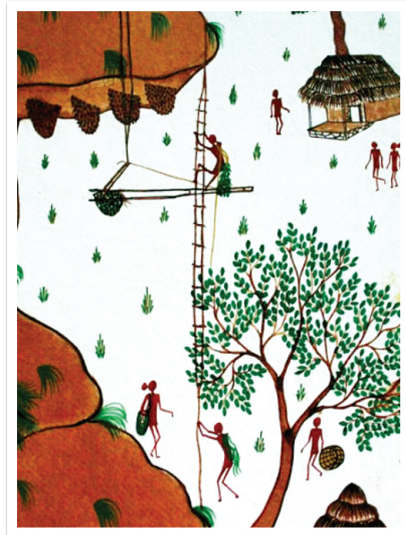
Prayer for Rain (Fig. 16)



Ancestor Worship (Fig. 17)



Livelihood Activities (Fig. 18)



Honey Collection (Fig. 19)



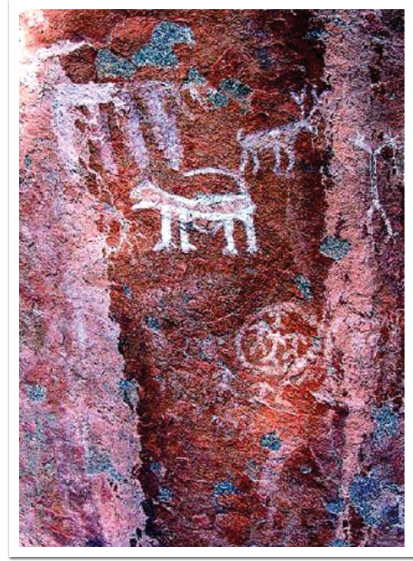
Relaxing (Fig. 21)



Ola Manal (Fig. 20)



Relaxing (Fig. 22)



Mavadaippu Painting (Fig. 23)



Vellarikombai Painting (Fig. 24)