

The Sarna religion of the Oraons of Jharkhand

also known as "Addi Dharam"

By Meenakshi Munda, Delhi University

Entry tags: Religious Group, Animist, Sarna Oraon

The Indian state of Jharkhand is the homeland of 32 Scheduled Tribes (ST) and eight particularly vulnerable tribal groups. According to the 2011 census, about four million Jharkhand residents are ST and the Oraon, who follow the Sarna religion, are about million. They are counted as "other religions and persuasions". The Sarna religion is based on animism and is sometimes called Addi Dharam. They believe in a benevolent spirit and rely upon it for their overall wellbeing. The term 'Sarna' refers to a Sacred Grove or place of worship (which is usually a Sal tree of the *Shorea robusta* species). The sacred grove is a small patch of forest that is protected because it is sacred and the site of deity worship. 'Spirits of the forest' are said to dwell in the roots of Sal trees, and 'spirits of the village' are said to reside in the most ancient of the Sal trees of the Sarna, or sacred grove of the village. The tribal version of Sarna when we consider this linguistically offers a very pertinent explanation of the term Sarna. In Kurukh (Oraon language) there is a term called "Saara Baana" which means 'work to be accomplished'. In such a way, the place where all the wishes and works are accomplished is called Sarna. Controlling these events are different types of spirits: ancestral spirits, spirits of people who died unnaturally, or forest spirits. The sacred place is home to the deity Sarna Mai. Furthermore, people's activities are based around propitiating, through blood sacrifice, spirits that happen to reside in nature. The Mundas and the Santals go to Sarna/Jaher for most of their religious rites, but Oraons go to Sarna only once a year. This yearly visit is for Khaddi, or the Sarhul feast, and the remaining have their own specific places of worship. The highest divinity or Supreme being, the creator of the Universe recognized by the Sarna Oraon is Dharmes. He fosters all living and non-living things. They believe that spirits control all the goods and the ills of life, like earthquakes, cyclones, and floods. Second in the hierarchy are the spirits of naturally dead ancestors, called Pachbalar. Later sections belong to the village deities and spirits (Bansakti, Banjaribhut, Chatur-Siman-Garhadhora, Tusa-bhura). The fourth section are the spirits of hunting and war, called Chandi, worshipped by men; and spirits which protect pregnant women from the evil eye, called Joda and Achrael, worshipped only by women. The religion is organized around many tribal groups throughout Chattishgarh, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh, Assam, and West Bengal.



Date Range: 1845 CE - 2019 CE

Region: Ranchi, Jharkhand

Region tags: Asia, South Asia, India, Jharkhand, Hazaribag, Ranchi, Palamu, Latehar, Gadhwa, Dhanbad, Singhbhum, Gumla, Santhal Pargana, Lohardaga,

Palamu, Ranchi, Latehar, Hazaribag, Gumla, Singhbhum, Santhal Pargana, Gadhwa, Dhanbad, Lohardaga

Status of Participants:

✓ Elite ✓ Religious Specialists ✓ Non-elite (common people, general populace)

Sources

Print sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1: Roy, S. C 1928. Oraons Religion and Custom. Ranchi. Man in India office
- Source 2: Xaxa, V. 2005. Politics of Language, religion and Identity: Tribes in India, Economic and Political weekly
- Source 3: Koonathan, V. P. 1999. The Religion of the Oraons: A comparative study of the concept of God in the Sarna religion of the Oraons and Christian concept of God, Shillong, India: Don Bosco Center for Indigenous Culture, Sacred Heart Theological College.

Online sources for understanding this subject:

- Source 1 URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4410103?seq=1>
- Source 1 Description: <https://www.epw.in/journal/2014/5/reports-states-web-exclusives/tribals-jharkhand-religion-and-identity-politics.html>
- Source 2 URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2321023018762821>
- Source 2 Description: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44148256?seq=1>

—Source 3 URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4405287?seq=1>

—Source 3 Description: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23002223?seq=1>

Reference: Munda, Meenakshi. "Religion and Identity Among the Sarna Oraons: Understanding the Rejuvenation and Its Implications". Edited by Sahdeo Bouri. *Journal for Social Development* 6, no. 2 (April 12, 2014).

—Source 1 URL:

<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1968.70.5.02a00080#:~:text=This%20helped%20the%20missionaries%20>

—Source 1 URL:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/327960457_Ethnicity_Religion_and_Identity_Politics_among_Tribes_in_Jharkhand

—Source 1 Description: [https://cegh.net/article/S2213-3984\(19\)30432-4/pdf](https://cegh.net/article/S2213-3984(19)30432-4/pdf)

—Source 2 URL: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2321023018762821>

—Source 2 Description: <https://india.mongabay.com/2019/12/protecting-sarna-jharkhands-groves-of-faith/>

Relevant online primary textual corpora (original languages and/or translations):

—Source 1 URL: <https://mayday.leftword.com/catalog/product/view/id/21557>

—Source 1 Description: book, Adi-Dharam, Religious Beliefs of the Adivasis of India: An Outline of Religious Reconstruction with Special reference to the Jharkhand region, written by Dr Ram Dayal Munda.

—Source 2 URL: <https://www.facebook.com/sarna.dharam>

—Source 2 Description: Facebook page created for the Sarna religion follower, through this page Munda Sarna follower share their weekly, monthly activities. In this page they have shared pictures, videos, News paper clippings print calendar which includes the tribal festivals and at the top of the calendar name of respective tribal God and Goddess is mentioned like, "Sing Bonga" Supreme God of the Sarna Mundas, "Jai Chala" "Jai-DHarmesh" supreme Goddess and God of the Sarna Oraons, "Marang Buru" is the supreme God of the Sarna Santhal tribe.

—Source 3 URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kFmF2Nqypgo>

—Source 3 Description: This Video includes the demonstration and demand for the separate religious code in the census form for Adivasi's of India, call off Anti Conversion Bill.

Reference: Sudhir Toppo. "Collection of Spiritual Song, Praising Sarna Maa (aayo)". YouTube, December 8, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XW6WPbcpCmE>.

Reference: WildFilmsIndia. "Dance Performance by the Oraon Tribe". YouTube, February 16, 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BU3UoWC5R5c>.

Reference: YouTube. "Karam Festival Celebration". YouTube, n.d.. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FekZ7PXz9to>.

Reference: Tribal Akhra. "Traditional Marriage Rituals of an Sarna Oraon Society". YouTube, May 24, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_T15sbhUvA.

Reference: Anjan Munda. "Sarna Prathna Sabha (sarna Religious Meet)". YouTube, June 19, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6pH_Ud_yfk.

Reference: Anjan Munda. "Sarna Prathna Sabha (sarna Religious Meet)". YouTube, June 19, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6pH_Ud_yfk.

Reference: Anjan Munda. "Sarna Prathna Sabha (sarna Religious Meet)". YouTube, June 19, 2019. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6pH_Ud_yfk.

General Variables

Membership/Group Interactions

Are other religious groups in cultural contact with target religion:

— Yes

Notes: "The Gossnor Evangelical Lutheran missionaries were the first to make their appearance in Jharkhand, in 1844, Father Evangelist Gosseren of Berlin sent out four missionaries to work in India. on 2nd November 1845. After four years in 1850, they converted four Oraons into Christian" (Keshari N Sahay, 1968:924-925)

Reference: Sahay, Keshari Nandan. "Impact of Christianity on the Oraon of the Chainpur Belt in Chotanagpur: An Analysis- of Its Cultural Processes". *American Anthropologist* 70, no. 5 (1968): 923-42.

<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1968.70.5.02a00080>.



Is the cultural contact competitive:

– Yes

Notes: According to S. C Roy, The Oraon Religion and Customs. 1928, also the research work by Keshari N Sahay,

<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1968.70.5.02a00080#:~:text=This%20helped%20the%20mis>



Is the cultural contact accommodating/pluralistic:

– Yes

Notes: Both Christian converted and Sarna Oraons are integrated into community solidarity and struggle for the Land rights also they have stand unitedly in Jharkhand movement.

(<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2321023018762821.111>)



Is the cultural contact neutral:

– No

Notes: There was a continuous struggle to stop conversion into Christian or following Hindu sect. The difference between the converted Christian and Sarna Oraon was not clearly visible but some occasion can not be treated neutrally like marriage or entering into the religious space. (<https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/rss-vs-church-how-tribals-in-jharkhand-are-being-seen-as-potential-leaders/printarticle/61704979.cms>)



Is there violent conflict (within sample region):

– Yes

Notes: According to

<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1968.70.5.02a00080#:~:text=This%20helped%20the%20mis928>



Is there violent conflict (with groups outside the sample region):

– Yes

Does the religious group have a general process/system for assigning religious affiliation:

– No

Notes: As Sarna Oraon being born into a particular clan, there is no process for assigning religious affiliation.

Reference: Roy, Sarat Chandra. Oraon Religion and Custom. Ranchi, 1928.

<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.215147/page/n29/mode/2up?q=clan>.

Does the religious group actively proselytize and recruit new members:

– No

Notes: so far there is no evidence of recruitment of new members in the society.

Does the religion have official political support

– Yes

Notes: Traditional Sarna Oraon society is divided into numbers of territorial segments known as PARHAS (These are divided into number of villages, which constitute the smallest political unit). Parhas consist of an odd number of villages like 3,5,7 etc and Parhas rule by the Raja (King). The village head along with Parhas assembly decides all the matters of socio-religious, legal/ quasi Legal matters. (Roy, 1928)

Reference: Roy, Sarat Chandra. The Oraons of Chota Nagpur. Ranchi: Crown Publication, n.d..

<https://archive.org/details/TheOraonsOfChotaNagpur/page/n7/mode/2up>.



Are the priests paid by polity:

– No

Notes: There is no religious infrastructure exist neither money have any role to play.

Is there a conception of apostasy in the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: There is difference in the attitude towards the converted Christians and the Sarna Oraons, social difference can be observe during matrimonial alliance, celebration of cummmunity festivals, diffrences in rituals. The conversion was considered not an offence but has created a border line between these two faith follower.



Are apostates prosecuted or punished:

— No

Notes:

<https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1525/aa.1968.70.5.02a00080#:~:text=This%20helped%20the%20mis>

Size and Structure

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (estimated population, numerical):

— Estimated population, numeric: 1498169

Notes: Total Oraon Population of Jharkhand= 1498169 (census 2011) Christian Oraon popuation=449092 Sarna Oraon Population= 1049077 (<https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/SCST-Series/ST14.html>) 'According to the census report of 1911 the total Oroan population of Chota Nagpur (now known as Jharkhand) Plateau or rather of Ranchi district as 398768' the total Oraon population in the entire province of Bihar (Jharkhand state separated from Bihar in 2000) and Orissa (Odisha) was 587411. (<https://archive.org/details/TheOraonsOfChotaNagpur/page/n537/mode/2up?q=Oraon+population>). Population according to census 1911, total district population=398768, Oroans listed under Hindu category=7343, listed under category of Animist=302778, population of Christian Oraons=88647 (<https://archive.org/details/TheOraonsOfChotaNagpur/page/n543/mode/2up?q=Oraon+population>)

Number of adherents of religious group within sample region (% of sample region population, numerical):

— Estimated population, percentage of sample region: 58.26

Notes: Total Sarna follower in Jharkhand is estimated 4235786 in census 2011.

Nature of religious group [please select one]:

— Large official religious group with smaller religious groups also openly allowed

Notes: The Sarna religion is large religious group in that sample region. Though, in census 2011 there is no separate coulunm in the census form. Many of the 32 scheduled tribe community, mentioned their religion name "Sarna" in the "other religion unclassified". The Sarna religion follower are highest in number i.e 3910313 (43.23%) of the total population of Jharkhand and Hindu religion follower are the second highest i.e 3245856 (37.55%). (<https://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/PCA/ST.html>)

Are there recognized leaders in the religious group:

— Yes



Is there a hierarchy among these leaders:

— No



Are leaders believed to possess supernatural powers or qualities:

— No



Are religious leaders chosen:

— Yes



A leader chooses his/her own replacement:

– No

↳ Are leaders considered fallible:

– No

Notes: Most of the time leaders are not considered fallible as they are selected by the community itself, and the community has the right to change the leader if in case they found him guilty.

↳ Are close followers or disciples of a religious leader required to obediently and unquestionably accept the leader's pronouncements on all matters:

– No

Notes: A leader does not have much influence on the community as there is no compulsion on the weekly religious meet like the Christian community has.

Scripture

Does the religious group have scriptures:

Scripture is a generic term used to designate revered texts that are considered particularly authoritative and sacred relative to other texts. Strictly speaking, it refers to written texts, but there are also "oral scriptures" (e.g. the Vedas of India).

– Yes

Notes: <https://archive.org/details/TheOraonsOfChotaNagpur/page/n359/mode/2up?q=song>
<https://archive.org/details/TheOraonsOfChotaNagpur/page/n313/mode/2up?q=song>

↳ Are they written:

– No

Notes: One of the earliest literature on religious beliefs of Oraon or also known as Kurukh was revied by a German Lutheran Missionary, Ferdinand Hahn, he wrote Kurukh Grammer published in 1900 (Reverend Ferdinand Hahn, " Some Notes on the Religion and Superstitions of the Oraons", Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Vol. 72, part III, No. 1, 12-19),1903. Another book entitled Kurukh Folk-Lore in Original was first published by Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Culcutta in 1905 containing folklore, myths, Legends and Customs. In 1915, Indian anthropologist S.C Roy wrote The Oraons of Chotanagpur: Their History, Economic life and Social Organisation. (<https://archive.org/details/TheOraonsOfChotaNagpur/page/n497/mode/2up?q=443>) A critical text with translation and notes was later written a European Missionary, A. Grignard in 1931 entitled as Hahn's Oraon Folk-lore in the Original: a Critical text with translation and Notes. (A Grignard. Hahn's Oraon Folk-lore in the Original: a Critical text with translation and Notes. Patna Government Printing Press,1931)

↳ Are they oral:

– Yes

Notes: The Sarna Oroan are the people of oral tradition; their scripture is written in their talks and walks, mind and in the heart. That can be seen in their moral life. They are controlled by awareness of acceptable or unacceptable behaviour and customary law not by any pressure of religion. (Hahn,1931:23)

↳ Is there a story (or a set of stories) associated with the origin of scripture:

– No

Notes: First compiled by Ferdinand Hahn in 1931, a book titled, Hahn's Oraon Folk-Lore in the Original: A critical text with translation and notes.
(<http://www.southasiaarchive.com/Content/sarf.147415/230285>)

Reference: Grignard, A.. Hahn's Oraon Folk Lore in the Original: A Critical Text with Translations and Notes. Suprerintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1930.
<http://www.southasiaarchive.com/Content/sarf.147415/230285>.

↳ Are the scriptures alterable:

– Yes

Notes: It has been observed that the oral scriptures changes, as per the need of the village community. (Munda, R. D, Adi Dharam, 2014:..)

↳ Are there formal institutions (i.e. institutions that are authorized by the religious community or political leaders) for interpreting the scriptures:

– No

↳ Is there a select group of people trained in transmitting the scriptures:

– No

↳ Is there a codified canon of scriptures:

– No

Notes: So far no evidence of codified scripture present in Jharkhand.

Architecture, Geography

Is monumental religious architecture present:

– No

Notes: Monumental religious architecture is not present in this religion as the Sarna follower believe the supreme God, "Dharmes" lives in the Sacred Grove and the branches of the tree are considered as the wall of his house, the sky is the roof, grasses are the carpet.

Are there different types of religious monumental architecture:

– Yes

↳ Tombs:

– No

↳ Cemeteries:

– Yes

Notes: In Jharkhand, every tribal village in the state has a burial ground having diverse names as hargarhi, hargarha, harsalli and jangarha etc. In the austic vernacular of the proto-austroloid Kolarian and even among the Dravidian speaking tribes dolmens are called "Sasandiri". Among the 32 tribes presently it is the Mundas, Hos, Asurs and the Oraons that can be called megalithic tribes . The Oraon sasandiri is different having a combination of both a dolmen of a flat capstone on four stones and a birdiri menhir placed beside it. The modern-day Oraon sasandiris is similar to their earlier forms but are of a petite size.
(https://www.researchgate.net/figure/The-author-with-an-Oraon-sasandiri-dolmen_fig3_282586142)

Reference: Das, Subhashish. "The Hargarhis of Jharkhand: A Brief Study of the Megaliths of Jharkhand". Researchgate, 2015.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/282586142_The_Hargarhis_of_Jharkhand_A_Brief_Study_of_the_Megaliths_of_Jharkhand

↳ Temples:

– No

↳ Altars:

– Yes

Notes: Devi- Mai or the Mother Goddess, borrowed name from the Hindu Neighbours of Oraon. Devi- Manda or Devi sthan is most of the Oraon village situated near the entrance, considered that the Devi will protect the village from the evil spirit. "In many villages, a thatch supported by four wooden posts shelters the symbol of Devi Mai. This is done in conformity with Hindu usage, although no temples are erected for the genuine Oraon Gods. There are symbols seen in the Devi Manda are 3, 4 or 7 lumps of earth in the form of small cones to represent the breast of

mother earth". <https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.215147/page/n81/mode/2up?q=42>

Reference: ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ ■■■■■■ "Danda Katta Ritual". YouTube, March 28, 2019. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EqQXrdhJRGY>.

↳ Devotional markers:

— Yes

Notes: There are few occasions when Altars called "Danda Katta" is made, for example, birth, death, marriage, etc. "Danda Katta" is the original method of the Oraon's approach to supernatural powers for security from evil.
(<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.215147/page/n49/mode/2up?q=danda+>)

↳ Mass gathering point [plazas, courtyard, square. Places permanently demarcated using visible objects or structures]:

— Yes

Notes: Sarna Oraons have their mass gathering points and are known as "Akhra" (community dance ground) it is the centrally located place in the village where during festivals entire village meet. Another mass gathering place is "Sarna" i.e the sacred grove where the entire community worship. (<http://www.antrocom.net/upload/sub/antrocom/150219/08-Antrocom.pdf>)

Reference: Kumar, Abhishek. "Unity and Social Solidarity in a Tribal Village of Dooars". *Antrocom Journal of Anthropology* 15, no. 2 (2019): 133–40.
<http://www.antrocom.net/upload/sub/antrocom/150219/08-Antrocom.pdf>.

↳ Other type of religious monumental architecture:

— No

Is iconography present:

— No

Notes: There is no concept of iconography in Sarna religion. But, in cultural contact with the Hindu religion evidence of iconography can be observed. (Roy, 1928:)

Are there specific sites dedicated to sacred practice or considered sacred:

— Yes

Notes: 'Jharkhand's Sacred groves with Sal trees (*Shorea robusta*), generally referred to as Sarna, are central to the tribal communities culture and heritage. sacred groves is the place of worship for the tribals in the state'. (<https://india.mongabay.com/2019/12/protecting-sarna-jharkhands-groves-of-faith/>).

↳ Are sacred site oriented to environmental features:

"Environmental features" refers to features in the landscape, mountains, rivers, cardinal directions etc...

— Yes

Notes: The Sun is conceived only as a symbol, not a personification of nature. Spirits are basically of nature and therefore act as guardians of Nature. seen in this role they have to be placated by offerings and sacrifices lest they destroy crops, forests, vegetation and other natural resources. spirits are a creation of God". (https://www.jstor.org/stable/23002223?seq=2#metadata_info_tab_contents:102)

Are pilgrimages present:

— No

Notes: No such ethnographic evidence found for the presence of pilgrimage.

Beliefs

Burial and Afterlife

Is a spirit-body distinction present:

Answer "no" only if personhood (or consciousness) is extinguished with death of the physical body. Answering yes does not necessarily imply the existence of Cartesian mind/body dualism, merely that some element of personhood (or consciousness) survives the death of the body.

— Yes

Notes: Oraon believes in the existence of the spirit of good, embodied to Dharme (Supreme God of Oroans). They consider the spirit very sacred and this is because there is a belief existing when a Sarna Oroan dies a natural death his spirit becomes sacred and it is worshiped. (Roy, 1928, 44)

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as having qualitatively different powers or properties than other body parts:

— Yes

↳ Spirit-mind is conceived of as non-material, ontologically distinct from body:

— Yes

↳ Other spirit-body relationship:

— Yes [specify]: The soul of unnatural death has to lead the life of Bhut- preta (Ghost), female ghost is called Chrin.

Notes: The soul of unnatural death has to lead the life of Bhut- preta (Ghost). " The class of mischievous spirit and evil powers which are objects not of religious ritual but of Magical rites and exorcism. These consist of the spirit of persons dying unnatural death, certain water spirit and other stray disease spirits".(Roy, 1928: 96)

Belief in afterlife:

— Yes

Notes: The importance of the soul in almost tribal communities of Jharkhand the Supreme being is considered to be an "old man" when conceived in human form.

↳ Is the spatial location of the afterlife specified or described by the religious group:

— Yes

↳ Afterlife in specified realm of space beyond this world:

— No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "above" space:

— No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined "below" space:

— No

↳ Afterlife in vaguely defined horizontal space:

— No

↳ Afterlife located in "other" space:

— No

Reincarnation in this world:

— No

Are there special treatments for adherents' corpses:

— Yes

|

↳ Cremation:

— Yes

Notes: Cremation is area-specific only. "The custom of disposing of the dead also depending on nature's signal. if a person dies after the new paddy seedlings have sprouted, then the Oraon follow the practice of burial. when death takes place after the harvest and before the sprouting of the new paddy plants, then the body is cremated" Verginius Xaxa, "Oraon Religion and Customs and Environment" Journal of India International Centre Quater (Vol. 19, No. 1, 105)

Reference: Xaxa, Virginius. "Oraons: Religion, Customs and Environment". India International Centre 1 (n.d.). <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23002223>.

↳ Mummification:

— No

Notes: There is no evidence of mummification but the family perform many rituals before burial, like washing the dead body, putting turmeric paste along with the mustard oil, cover over new cloth, if the deceased is married woman, then the husband will put vermilion on her forehead as vermilion is the signification of a married woman. In the case of unnatural death, no such rituals will be performed. (Roy, 1928:173)

↳ Interment:

— No

↳ Cannibalism:

— No

↳ Exposure to elements (e.g. air drying):

— No

↳ Feeding to animals:

— No

↳ Secondary burial:

— No

↳ Re-treatment of corpse:

— No

↳ Other intensive (in terms of time or resources expended) treatment of corpse :

— No

Are co-sacrifices present in tomb/burial:

— No

Are grave goods present:

— Yes

↳ Personal effects:

— Yes

↳ Valuable items:

— Yes

↳ Significant wealth (e.g. gold, jade, intensely worked objects):

– Yes

↳ Some wealth (some valuable or useful objects interred):

– Yes

↳ Other valuable/precious items interred:

– Yes [specify]: Gold, Silver and personal belongings of the deceased

↳ Other grave goods:

– Yes

Are formal burials present:

– Yes

↳ As cenotaphs:

– No

↳ In cemetery:

– Yes

Notes: When a Sarna Oraon dies naturally, deceased will be buried keeping the dead body's head to the south and feet to the north in the community cemetery. In the case of unnatural death, the body is buried in a different place other than the common communal burial place. In the case of unnatural death, the Sarna Oraon cremate the body. (Roy, 1928:172) (<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.215147/page/n213/mode/2up?q=172>)

↳ Family tomb-crypt:

– No

↳ Domestic (individuals interred beneath house, or in areas used for normal domestic activities):

– No

↳ Other formal burial type:

– No

Supernatural Beings

Are supernatural beings present:

– Yes

Notes: various Sarna tribes variously named by the Supreme being is "Sing Bonga" by Mundas, "Marang Buru" by Ho's, "Thakur jiv" by Santhal, Dharmesh by Oraons, being the creator God. Sarna Oraons also believed that the "Pachbalar"(ancestors) and the spirit are concerned with the welfare of the living and act as guardian of nature respectively. (Xaxa Virginius, Oraons: Religion and Customs, OP cit, p.102)

↳ A supreme high god is present:

– Yes

Notes: Among the Sarna Oraons, "Dharmes" is considered as the supreme god, the creator of the Universe and among the Sarna Mundas "Sing Boga" is the Supreme God.

↳ The supreme high god is anthropomorphic:

– No

Notes: High god does not have any form, its just a supernatural power.

↳ The supreme high god is a sky deity:

— Yes

Notes: It is in common saying with the Sarna Oraons that 'Khekel Kia pachbalar, merkhanu Dharme,' 'the ancestor spirit dwell underneath the ground and the supreme Spirit in the sky'. (Roy,2012.36)

↳ The supreme high god is chthonic (of the underworld):

— Yes

↳ The supreme high god is fused with the monarch (king=high god):

— Yes

Notes: The Supreme being is recognised as the creator of the Universe and is placed at highest, is the "Dharmes" (Roy, 2012.15) <http://www.jetir.org/papers/JETIR2003057.pdf>

Reference: Lugun, Jayant Kishor. "Centrality of "life" in the Oraon Indigenous Community of Chotanagpur". JETIR 7, no. 3 (March 1, 2015). <http://www.jetir.org/papers/JETIR2003057.pdf>.

↳ The monarch is seen as a manifestation or emanation of the high god:

— Yes

↳ The supreme high god is a kin relation to elites:

— No

↳ The supreme high god has another type of loyalty-connection to elites:

— Yes [specify]: The supreme God "Dharmes" or also known as "Biri Belas" or "Sun lord" controls the other God and spirits is mainly symbolised by the sequence of the sacrifices at the principle Sarna Oraon festival known as Sarhul or Khaddi. This festival held at the village Sarna, fowls are sacrificed under the main Sarna tree to each Sarna Oraon deity and principle spirit as well as to the Dharmes.

↳ The supreme high god is unquestionably good:

— Yes

↳ Other feature(s) of supreme high god:

— Yes [specify]: Thought Dharmes is the supreme God but it is not necessarily being worshipped in all the occasions, priority is given according to the need and when other deities or spirits fail him, the Oraons offers prayers and sacrifices to the Dharmes as a last resource.

↳ The supreme high god has knowledge of this world:

— Yes

↳ The supreme god's knowledge is restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— No

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted within the sample

region:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god's knowledge is unrestricted outside of sample region:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

– Yes

Notes: As the Sun sees all that goes on upon the earth and in heaven, so it is believed that the Dharmes can also see all that man and the spirit do and knows all that they think. (Roy,2012. 23)

↳ The supreme high god can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

– Yes

Notes: Roy,2020.23

↳ The supreme high god can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god knows your basic character (personal essence):

– Yes

Notes: Roy, S. C. "The Oraon Religion and Customs." New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1999 <http://www.jetir.org/papers/JETIR2003057.pdf>

↳ The supreme high god knows what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god has other knowledge of this world:

– Yes [specify]: Natural Disaster

↳ The supreme high god has deliberate causal efficacy in the world:

– No

Notes: Supreme God Dharmes is the source and finality of all forms of life; and hence when the human negligence makes all forms of life unbearable, including that Dharmes and his horse, he decides to destroy his creation.

↳ The supreme high god has indirect causal efficacy in the world:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god exhibits positive emotion:

– Yes

↳ The supreme high god exhibits negative emotion:

– Yes

Notes: The Sarna Oraon has thought that Dharmes punishes offences against customary morality.

↳ The supreme high god possesses hunger:

– Yes

Notes: The Oraon offers the sacrifice of a white cock to him at every important feast such as "Sarhul" () and when other helpers fail. At every sacrificial ceremony, they offer a libation of a few drops of water in the name of Dharmes and a libation of a few drops of liquor to his ancestor- spirits 'pach balar' before libation of liquor and sacrifices of fowls or animals are offered to the particular spirits for whose ceremony is specially meant.

↳ Is it permissible to worship supernatural beings other than the high god:

— Yes

Notes: In different festivals and rituals, different spirit and deities are worshipped.

↳ The supreme high god possesses/exhibits some other feature:

— No

↳ The supreme high god communicates with the living:

— Yes

↳ In waking, everyday life:

— Yes

↳ In dreams:

— Yes

Notes: for the Sarna Oraon dreams are realities. In their belief system, they remember as the dream is, what his free soul saw, heard and did when it went out of the body during sleep or sickness and visited places far near usually the places which it had lately visited awake but sometimes also new and unfamiliar places. (Roy,2012,26

↳ In trance possession:

— Yes

↳ Through divination practices:

— No

↳ Only through religious specialists:

— No

Notes: The village priest called "Pahan" is the official religious functionary who performs rituals for the collective community worship like "Sarhul" or "Khaddi" is one of the most important festivals of the Oraons, "Danda-Katta" (The important ceremony of "danda -katta" is performed to ensure an abundance of crops and increased number of cattle and progeny.) and "Karam" (festivals of the Oraons), annual village worship, other worship has been performed by the head of house at their respective houses no such religious priest required. (https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/38807/12/12_chapter%204.pdf)

↳ Only through monarch

— No

↳ Other form of communication with living:

— No

↳ Previously human spirits are present:

— Yes

Notes: The spirits and deities of the Sarna Oraon Pantheon are broadly divided into two main classes of natural Spirits and human Spirits and each of these two classes might again be

subdivided into greater and lesser, superior and inferior God and Spirits. The Spirits of naturally dead ancestors known as "Pachbalar". (Roy, 2012.15)
(https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/38807/12/12_chapter%204.pdf)

↳ Human spirits can be seen:

— Yes

Notes: The Oraon conceived of the human soul as the shadowy counterpart or double of the physical body of the individual and this shadowy double is believed to carry with the vital principle. It is believed that the soul temporarily leaves the body daily or rather at night during the hours of sleep and occasionally when the person is sick.

↳ Human spirits can be physically felt:

— Yes

↳ Previously human spirits have knowledge of this world:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:

— No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:

— No

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits' knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:

— Yes

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):

— Yes

Notes: It is believed that the ancestor spirit takes care of his relative and can see their activities.

↳ Human spirits can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):

— Yes

↳ Human spirit's can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits know your basic character (personal essence):

— Yes

↳ Human spirits know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):

— Yes

Notes: The Oraon's believe in ancestor spirits appears to be the natural outcome of his conception of the human soul, although the belief in their beneficent nature is of later growth due to contact with other culture.
(Roy, 2012. 26)

- ↳ Human spirits have other form(s) of knowledge regarding this world:
 - No
- ↳ Human spirits have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:
 - No
- ↳ Human spirits have indirect causal efficacy in the world:
 - Yes

Notes: The soul of the person dying unnatural deaths known as 'Churil', 'Mua' is the ghost of women dying in pregnancy or during childbirth, it is believed that if the spirit sees any man passing by its grave, it pursues him and takes delight in tickling him under the arms and if possible, throwing him down senseless and embracing him. (Roy,2012.96)
- ↳ Human spirits have memory of life:
 - Yes

Notes: Ancestor spirits or "Pachbalar" are considered as part of the family so, they do have the memory of life.
- ↳ Human spirits exhibit positive emotion:
 - Yes
- ↳ Human spirits exhibit negative emotion:
 - Yes

Notes: People who died unnatural death are considered to exhibit negative emotions, these are 'Churil' (the ghost of a woman dying in pregnancy or during childbirth)or 'Ulatgonri', the 'Mua' (The spirit of a person dying of hunger or starvation or hanging himself or any other violence), the 'Baghout'. Drunk people are easy victims of this spirit. It is said that when there is continuous rain for several days, the 'Mua' spirits utter plaintive cries of "O my father! O, my mother!.
- ↳ Human spirits possess hunger:
 - Yes

Notes: Ancestor spirits are considered part of the family and they are remembered while eating a meal a few drops of water and pinch of food is offered in the plate or on the floor in the name the ancestors, before eating.
- ↳ Human spirits possess/exhibit some other feature:
 - No
- ↳ Human spirits communicate with the living:
 - Yes
 - ↳ In waking, everyday life:
 - Yes
 - ↳ In dreams:
 - Yes

Notes: for the Sarna Oraon dreams are realities. In their belief system, they remember as the dream is, what his free soul saw, heard and did when it went out of the body during sleep or sickness and visited places far near usually the places which it had lately visited awake but sometimes also new and unfamiliar places. (Roy,2012. 26)

- ↳ In trance possession:
 - Yes
- ↳ Through divination processes:
 - Yes
- ↳ Only through specialists:
 - No
- ↳ Only through monarch:
 - No
- ↳ Communicate with living through other means:
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings are present:
 - Yes
 - ↳ These supernatural beings can be seen:
 - Yes
 - Notes: Only a few people can see or feel and there is no standard procedure to prove it.
 - ↳ These supernatural beings can be physically felt:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge of this world:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to particular domain of human affairs:
 - No
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge restricted to (a) specific area(s) within the sample region:
 - No
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted within the sample region:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have knowledge unrestricted outside of sample region:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere normally visible (in public):
 - Yes
 - ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see you everywhere (in the dark, at home):
 - Yes

- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings can see inside heart/mind (hidden motives):
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings knows your basic character (personal essence):
 - Yes
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings know what will happen to you, what you will do (future sight):
 - No
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have other knowledge of this world:
 - Yes [specify]: Nature disaster
- ↳ Non-human supernatural beings have deliberate causal efficacy in the world:
 - No
- ↳ These supernatural beings have indirect causal efficacy in the world:
 - Yes

Notes: The Oraon tribals are associated with indirect causal efficacy in diverse arenas of personal welfare, harvest size, livestock productivity etc.
- ↳ These supernatural beings exhibit positive emotion:
 - Yes
- ↳ These supernatural beings exhibit negative emotion:
 - Yes
- ↳ These supernatural beings possess hunger:
 - Yes
- ↳ These supernatural beings possess/exhibit some other feature:
 - No
- ↳ Mixed human-divine beings are present:
 - No
- ↳ Does the religious group possess a variety of supernatural beings:
 - Yes
- ↳ Organized by kinship based on a family model:
 - Yes
- ↳ Organized hierarchically:
 - Yes

Notes: The Supreme God is the Dharmes then the ancestor spirits or 'Pach Balar' after that place of village deities and spirits comes, the 'Chala Pachcho' or the Old lady of the Grove, is most popular of Oraon deities and receive sacrifice during the Sarhul festival the 'Pat' or 'Pat Raja' is the master of all the village spirits. 'Darha' is the dreaded spirit of the village act as the guard of the village and it protects from the incursion of spirits from outside etc.

- ↳ Power of beings is domain specific:
 - Yes

- ↳ Other organization for pantheon:
 - No

Supernatural Monitoring

Is supernatural monitoring present:

This refers to surveillance by supernatural beings of humans' behaviour and/or thought particularly as it relates to social norms or potential norm violations.

– Yes

Notes: In Oraon Religious Beliefs and Practices, they believe in one supreme God (Dharmes) is the master of the universe as well as they also believe in the ancestral spirits. In all these religious practices, life occupies a central place. Thus the religion for Oraons is not merely a set of rituals but the way of life comes to them naturally.

- ↳ There is supernatural monitoring of prosocial norm adherence in particular:

Prosocial norms are norms that enhance cooperation among members of the group, including obviously "moral" or "ethical" norms, but also extending to norms concerning honouring contracts and oaths, providing hospitality, coming to mutual aid in emergencies, etc.

– Yes

Notes: The expected behaviour among the members of the group, it can be moral or ethical norms, joining hands during the crisis, helping or mutual understanding in the community as well in the family, providing hospitality, respecting women and elders etc.

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about taboos:
 - Yes

- ↳ Food:
 - Yes

Notes: As per the rule, an Oraon must restrict himself from eating or otherwise using, domesticating, killing, destroying, hurting the animal or plant, or other objects that form his totem.

- ↳ Sacred space(s):
 - Yes

Notes: Women are not allowed in the Sarna but take part in dance at the akhara which is located close to the grove. It appears that generally women are not permitted into the groves after attaining puberty.

- ↳ Sacred object(s):
 - Yes

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about other:
 - Yes [specify]: sacred space inside the house is termed as "Ula edpa" ("Ading" among the Munda tribe) in which other than family members are prohibited.

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of coreligionists:
 - No

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other religions:
 - No

- ↳ Supernatural beings care about murder of members of other polities:
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sex:
 - Yes
 - Notes: Sarna followers of the same totem regard themselves as descendants of a common ancestor and as such, blood relatives between whom marriage or sexual intercourse is not permissible. (Roy.2020, 205)
- ↳ Adultery:
 - Yes
- ↳ Incest:
 - Yes
- ↳ Other sexual practices:
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about lying:
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about honouring oaths:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about laziness:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about sorcery:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about non-lethal fighting:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about shirking risk:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about disrespecting elders:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about gossiping:
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about property crimes:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about proper ritual observance:
 - Yes
- ↳ Supernatural beings care about performance of rituals:

– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about conversion of non-religionists:
– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about economic fairness:
– No

↳ Supernatural beings care about personal hygiene:
– Yes

↳ Supernatural beings care about other:
– No

Do supernatural beings mete out punishment:

– Yes

Notes: Dharmes controls the other spirits and sees that they behave properly. Location of the sun in the sky is presumed to be that he sees all that man and spirits do down on the earth. The Oraon consider that Dharmes punishes offences against customary morality.
(https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/1895/9/09_chapter3.pdf)

↳ Is the cause or agent of supernatural punishment known:
– Yes

Notes: Many natural calamities famine, drought, epidemic are considered as the wrath of the supreme deity hence the supernatural punishment.

↳ Done only by high god:
– Yes

↳ Done by many supernatural beings:
– Yes

↳ Done through impersonal cause-effect principle:
– Yes

↳ Done by other entities or through other means [specify]
– No

↳ Is the reason for supernatural punishment known:
– Yes

↳ Done to enforce religious ritual-devotional adherence:
– Yes

↳ Done to enforce group norms:
– Yes

↳ Done to inhibit selfishness:
– Yes

- ↳ Done randomly:
 - No
- ↳ Other [specify]
 - Field doesn't know
- ↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in the afterlife:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Supernatural punishments in the afterlife are highly emphasized by the religious group:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of mild sensory displeasure:
 - No
 - ↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of extreme sensory displeasure:
 - No
 - ↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation as an inferior life form:
 - No
 - ↳ Punishment in the afterlife consists of reincarnation in an inferior realm:
 - No
 - ↳ Other [specify]
 - No
- ↳ Supernatural punishments are meted out in this lifetime:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Supernatural punishments in this life are highly emphasized by the religious group:
 - No
 - Notes: Supernatural punishments in this life are not highly emphasized by the religious group rather; we can say moderately emphasized by the religious group.
 - ↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Punishment in this life consists of political failure:
 - No
 - ↳ Punishment in this life consists of defeat in battle:
 - No
 - ↳ Punishment in this life consists of crop failure or bad weather:
 - Yes
 - ↳ Punishment in this life consists of disaster on journeys.

– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of mild sensory displeasure:
– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of extreme sensory displeasure:
– No

↳ Punishment in this life consists of sickness or illness:
– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of impaired reproduction:
– Yes

↳ Punishment in this life consists of bad luck visited on descendants:
– No

↳ Other [specify]
– No

Do supernatural beings bestow rewards:

– Yes

↳ Is the cause/purpose of supernatural rewards known:
– No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in the afterlife:
– No

↳ Supernatural rewards are bestowed out in this lifetime:
– No

Messianism/Eschatology

Are messianic beliefs present:

– No

Norms and Moral Realism

Are general social norms prescribed by the religious group:

– Yes

Notes: The moral norms what has to be done and what has not been done depends on the commandments of Dharmes that are found and interpreted in the myth. Their socio-cultural and religious traditions have originated and developed in and through their creation myths. In the Oraon creation myths, human beings are invited by Dharmes to be participants in his creative act through procreation and agriculture. Procreation is the Clear sign of Dharmes creative act through human beings, whereas the products of Land manifest that he continues to impart life in various forms. From the Oraon creation myth, it is clear that Dharmes himself teaches human beings to propagate the human race by establishing the institution of marriage. In a way, he first creates them his own image and now he asks them to continue his creative act through a social system instituted by him. (<http://www.jetir.org/papers/JETIR2003057.pdf>, 2)

Is there a conventional vs. moral distinction in the religious group:

– Yes

- ↳ What is the nature of this distinction:
 - Present (but not emphasized)
- ↳ Are specifically moral norms prescribed by the religious group:
 - No
- ↳ Moral norms apply to:
 - All individuals within society
 - All individuals within contemporary world
 - All individuals (any time period)

Are there centrally important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– Yes

- ↳ Honesty / trustworthiness / integrity:
 - Yes
- ↳ Courage (in battle):
 - Yes
- ↳ Courage (generic):
 - Yes
- ↳ Compassion / empathy / kindness / benevolence:
 - Yes
- ↳ Mercy / forgiveness / tolerance:
 - Yes
- ↳ Generosity / charity:
 - Yes
- ↳ Selflessness / selfless giving:
 - Yes
- ↳ Righteousness / moral rectitude:
 - Yes
- ↳ Ritual purity / ritual adherence / abstention from sources of impurity:
 - Yes
- ↳ Respectfulness / courtesy:
 - Yes
- ↳ Cooperation:
 - Yes

- ↳ Independence / creativity / freedom:
– Yes
- ↳ Moderation / frugality:
– Yes
- ↳ Forbearance / fortitude / patience:
– Yes
- ↳ Diligence / self-discipline / excellence:
– Yes
- ↳ Assertiveness / decisiveness / confidence / initiative:
– Yes
- ↳ Strength (physical):
– Yes
- ↳ Power / status / nobility:
– Yes
- ↳ Humility / modesty:
– Yes
- ↳ Contentment / serenity / equanimity:
– Yes
- ↳ Joyfulness / enthusiasm / cheerfulness:
– Yes
- ↳ Optimism / hope:
– Yes
- ↳ Gratitude / thankfulness:
– Yes
- ↳ Reverence / awe / wonder:
– Yes
- ↳ Faith / belief / trust / devotion:
– Yes
- ↳ Wisdom / understanding:
– Yes
- ↳ Discernment / intelligence:
– Yes
- ↳ Beauty / attractiveness:

– Yes

↳ Cleanliness (physical) / orderliness:

– Yes

↳ Other important virtues advocated by the religious group:

– No

Practices

Membership Costs and Practices

Does membership in this religious group require celibacy (full sexual abstinence):

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence found for the celibacy.

Does membership in this religious group require constraints on sexual activity (partial sexual abstinence):

– Yes

Notes: "Cohabitation with an immature girl is not common, in case if the girl is married before they attain puberty, the husband refrains from combating with her until the wife attains maturity" (Roy,2020,139) "Until lately free sexual intercourse with each other before marriage, with the only restriction that the couple should not belong to the same totemic clan, and if it happened then it punished only with the fine, the couple have to provide for a feast to the villagers or at least the sacrifice of a white cock to the supreme God, Dharmes" (Roy, 2020.138)

↳ Monogamy (males):

– Yes

Notes: Monogamy is the rule with the Oraon, but if an Oraon is not blessed with the offspring with his legitimised wife then he may marry the second lady. (Roy,2020.141)

↳ Monogamy (females):

– Yes

↳ Other sexual constraints (males):

– Yes

Notes: A sexual relationship with the same totemic clan girl is taboo, a general rule exists, natural disinclination towards marrying his son or daughter to girl or boy of his own village, as most of the village used to be the same totemic clan.

↳ Other sexual constraints (females):

– Yes

Notes: A sexual relationship with the same totemic clan boy is taboo, a general rule exists, natural disinclination towards marrying his son or daughter to girl or boy of his own village, as most of the village used to be the same totemic clan. A widow may marry again even if she has a child.

Does membership in this religious group require castration:

– No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence documented for such practice called castration.

Does membership in this religious group require fasting:

– Yes

Notes: Only on special occasion the sacred specialist called Pahan (religious Guru which act like

intermediary between God and common People) need to fast before the religious performance. Pahan is the in charge of all the religious rituals and functions of the village like community worship, community festival, death rituals. Also the female and male who attend the worship will remain fasting till the sacrifices are offered. (Roy, 1928:80)
(<https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.215147/page/n109/mode/2up?q=fasting+>)

Does membership in this religious group require forgone food opportunities (taboos on desired foods):

— Yes

Notes: Sarna Oraon community has 68 types of totem and the Oraon must abstain from eating those animals, plants, living and non-living objects that form his totem. (Roy, 2020, 202-206)

Does membership in this religious group require permanent scarring or painful bodily alterations:

— No

Notes: Earlier ethnographic evidence shows that women used to tattoo but now it is not followed anymore.

Does membership in this religious group require painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic evidence for the presence of required painful physical positions or transitory painful wounds.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of adults:

"Adults" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition of a human who is 18-years-old or older and who is legally responsible for his/her actions, then please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic data available for such practice called sacrifice of adult.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of children:

"Children" here referring to an emic or indigenous category; if that category is different from the popular Western definition, please specify that difference in the Comments/Sources: box below.

— No

Notes: No ethnographic data available for such practice called sacrifice of Children.

Does membership in this religious group require self-sacrifice (suicide):

— No

Notes: No ethnographic data available for self- Sacrifice (suicide)

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of property/valuable items:

— No

Notes: No ethnographic data available for sacrifice of property in this religious group.

Does membership in this religious group require sacrifice of time (e.g., attendance at meetings or services, regular prayer, etc.):

— Yes

Notes: Sarna Oraons are instructed to attend Thursday prayer meet at Sarna sthal (Sacred grove or worship place for the Sarna religion follower).

Does membership in this religious group require physical risk taking:

— No

Does membership in this religious group require accepting ethical precepts:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require marginalization by out-group members:

– No

Does membership in this religious group require participation in small-scale rituals (private, household):

– Yes



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to small-scale rituals.

– Hours: 1

Does membership in this religious group require participation in large-scale rituals:

I.e. involving two or more households; includes large-scale “ceremonies” and “festivals.”

– Yes



On average, for large-scale rituals how many participants gather in one location:

– Number of participants: 50

Notes: It depends upon the village population it can be 20 or more than 100.



What is the average interval of time between performances (in hours):

Performances here refers to large-scale rituals.

– Average interval [hours]: 2



Are there orthodoxy checks:

Orthodoxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are interpreted in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper interpretation, etc.

– Yes

Notes: Pahan and village elders are the orthodoxy checks, as they guide the correct interpretation of a belief system.



Are there orthopraxy checks:

Orthopraxy checks are mechanisms used to ensure that rituals are performed in a standardized way, e.g. through the supervisory prominence of a professionalized priesthood or other system of governance, appeal to texts detailing the proper procedure, etc.

– Yes

Notes: Pahan and village elders are the orthodoxy checks, as they guide the correct interpretation of rites and rituals to the younger generation.



Does participation entail synchronic practices:

– Yes



Is there use of intoxicants:

– Yes

Are extra-ritual in-group markers present:

E.g. special changes to appearance such as circumcision, tattoos, scarification, etc.

– Yes

↳ Tattoos/scarification:

– Yes

Notes: For women, the tattoo was considered the body ornament which she can freely wear while on working and it was believed that after death, the only ornament can be carried along with her soul. When a Sarna oraon is seven or eight years of age, three parallel lines of punctures are made on her forehead and two on each of her temples. four and five years later, similar patterns or some flower designs are made on the upper part of her arms, on her back and chest, and on her legs. (Roy,2020, 68) Now, this tradition is lost.

↳ Circumcision:

– No

Notes: No such ethnographic evidence found.

↳ Food taboos:

– Yes

Notes: Eating, hunting, destroying, killing his totem is taboo among the Sarna Oraon and as a general rule still exists. (Roy,2020. 206)

↳ Hair:

– Yes

Notes: They male gather up their long hair in a chignon at the back of the head and into this inserted one or more iron-prongs 'chhahkar', wooden combs 'bagirka' and a small mirror. Female grow their hair long and use to oil and combed hair, wooden comb 'bagirka' inserted into the hair, clubbed with hair pins 'Khongso'.

↳ Dress:

– Yes

Notes: Traditional dress of the Oraon male to cover the upper part of the body with a cotton chader (shawl) called 'Pechhouri' and piece of cotton cloth about a foot in width and three to five or six in length wound around the waist and then passed between the thighs called "Kareya" (traditional G-string). Oraon women use to wear round the waist only a "Khanria" a four cubits long piece of cloth and upper part of the body is without any covering. (Roy,2020,63-64). Now, they have adopted modern dresses in their day to day life, like saree, jeans, pants a t-shirt etc.

↳ Ornaments:

– Yes

Notes: Women use to wear ornaments made up of silver, brass and gold. brass bracelet, known as "rasnia" one on each arm, on the neck, 'hasuli', "Chandoa-malas" or necklaces made up of silver coins. leg anklets called 'pairi', hair pin 'surra khnoso', nose pin 'nak-mutri'. many of the traditional ornaments are now been replaced by the modern designs and traditional are endangered. Male are also fond of jewellery. brass bracelets 'bera' one on each wrist, they gather up their long hair in a chignon at the back of the head and into this inserted one or more iron-prongs 'chhahkar', wooden combs 'bagirka' and a small mirror.

↳ Archaic ritual language:

– Yes

↳ Other:

– Yes [specify]: Kinship terminology

Notes: Use of Classificatory kinship terminology is changing in urban areas. Marriage endogamy is also witnessed earlier community followed exogamous kinship group of the clan.

Does the group employ fictive kinship terminology:

– Yes

↳ Fictive kinship terminology universal:

— Yes

↳ Fictive kinship terminology widespread:

— Yes

Notes: The social system of Sarna Oraons is based on the exogamous Kinship group of the clan. the Oraon follows the classificatory Kinship terminology. The application of the same kinship term for the same generation and same-sex.(Roy,2020.215)

Reference: Roy, Sarat Chandra. The Oraons of Chota Nagpur. Crown Publications, n.d..

↳ Fictive kinship terminology employed but uncommon:

— Yes

Society and Institutions

Levels of Social Complexity

The society to which the religious group belongs is best characterized as (please choose one):

— A chiefdom

Welfare

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized famine relief:

— No

Is famine relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized poverty relief:

— No

Is poverty relief available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm:

— Yes

Notes: Elderly people are always taken good care of by the family itself.

Is institutionalized care for the elderly and infirm available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Education

Does the religious group provide formal education to its adherents:

— Yes

Notes: The community have its Indigenous institution for the training of youth, and the elders used to be the trainer for passing the traditional knowledge. The institution of Oraon society is known as "Jonkh Erpa" or Bachelors' hall or "Dhumkudia" in the Hindi language, among the Munda society bachelors hall is known as "Citti: Ora:". Earlier the Dhumkudia building used to be a modest house with four mud walls, one doorway, and no windows thatch with wild grass or is rooted over with tiles. Class

or grade was divided into 3 years and during these 3 years, the family has to supply annually a certain quantity of "Karanj" oil (oil extracted from "Pongamia glabra") for lighting the Dhumkudia house. Now, Dhumkudia has evolved with new education types of equipment as per the need and demands of the students. (Roy, 2020, 135-141)

Reference: Bhagat, Phoolchand. "Social Page of the Modern Youth Dormitory of Oraons -dhumkudia". Facebook, n.d.. <https://www.facebook.com/dhumkudiya.dhumkudiya.5>.

↳ Is formal education restricted to religious professionals:
— No

↳ Is such education open to both males and females:
— No

Is formal education available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group:

— Yes

Notes: There are few community-based schools run by non-religious community members which is open to all. Loordipia is the first Kurukh Indigenous (the Oraon mother tongue) language-based school in Gumla, Jharkhand, established by Zephyrinus Baxla(<https://mattersindia.com/2016/08/worlds-first-kurux-school-soon-to-be-recognized/>)

Reference: Matters India. "World's First Kurux School Soon to Be Recognized". Matters India, August 14, 2016. <https://mattersindia.com/2016/08/worlds-first-kurux-school-soon-to-be-recognized/>.

↳ Is extra-religious education open to both males and females:
— Yes

Bureaucracy

Do the group's adherents interact with a formal bureaucracy within their group:

— Yes

Notes: Village or district level Sarna committee are often affiliated with the centrally located Sarna committee.

Do the group's adherents interact with other institutional bureaucracies:

— Yes

Notes: To maintain the harmony between other dominant religious groups. (<https://scroll.in/article/925788/in-jharkhand-ram-navami-celebrations-have-become-weaponised-sites-of-communal-tension>)

Public Works

Does the religious group in question provide public food storage:

— No

Notes: Agriculture is the principal occupation of the Oraons. In the Individual-level Sarna Oraon family keep its own food storage.

Is public food storage provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Does the religious group in question provide water management (irrigation, flood control):

— No

Is water management provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the

religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: State government and Non Governmental Organisations like PRADAN

Does the religious group in question provide transportation infrastructure:

— No

Is transportation infrastructure provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: service provided by the State Government

Taxation

Does the religious group in question levy taxes or tithes:

— Yes

Notes: Sarna committee collects donations for the various activities like a prayer meeting, festival celebration and other important meetings concerning the community rights.

Are taxes levied on the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Enforcement

Does the religious group in question provide an institutionalized police force:

— No

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized police force provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: For safety purpose, the community use to interact with the security forces.

Does the religious group in question provide institutionalized judges:

— Yes

Notes: The community has its own traditional governing system called "Padha" system and also at village level they have village headman. Many of the local dispute is resolved at the village level. The role of the judge is being played by the village.

(https://www.ijmra.us/project%20doc/2018/IJRSS_JUNE2018/IJMRA-13863.pdf)

Reference: Dung, Joachim Dung, "Needs and Importance of Cultural Practices Among Tribal of Western Odisha in Contemporary Society". International Journal of Research in Social Science 8, no. 6 (June 16, 2018). https://www.ijmra.us/project%20doc/2018/IJRSS_JUNE2018/IJMRA-13863.pdf.

Do the group's adherents interact with an institutionalized judicial system provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Notes: Community has its own customary Legal systems particular to the state.

Does the religious group in question enforce institutionalized punishment:

— Yes

Notes: If an individual does not follow the social norms, he or she may be outcaste by the community and/or levied penalty or given punishments.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include execution:
– No

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include exile:
– Yes

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include corporal punishments:
– No

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include ostracism:
– Yes

Reference: "When Will Their Exploitation End". February 12, 2010.
<https://www.deccanherald.com/content/52271/when-their-exploitation-end.html>.

↳ Do the institutionalized punishments include seizure of property:
– Yes
Notes: If the property owner is a widow then in most of the case lady is labelled as a witch, just to acquire her property. (<https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/ranchi/witch-hunts-superstition-kills-more-than-naxals-in-jharkhand/articleshow/70336295.cms>)

Are the group's adherents subject to institutionalized punishment enforced by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:
– No

Does the religious group in question have a formal legal code:
– Yes
Notes: The community has oral customary practices which is not yet documented.

Are the group's adherents subject to a formal legal code provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:
– Yes
Notes: "Disputes about the partition of family property, a certain offence against marriage, suspected cases of witchcraft, and sometimes even cases of assault and theft are still submitted to the "Panch" (village community represented by village elders possessing the constitutional and jurisdictional powers) for the decision". (Roy, 2020. 252-253)

Warfare

Does religious group in question possess an institutionalized military:
– No

Do the group's adherents participate in an institutionalized military provided by institution(s) other than the religious group in question:
– Yes

Are the group's adherents protected by or subject to an institutionalized military provided by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:
– Yes

Written Language

Does the religious group in question possess its own distinct written language:

— Yes

Notes: They have their own script called "Tolong siki" but it's not so popular. (<https://www.endangeredalphabets.net/alphabets/tolong-siki/>) The Santhali tribe also have "Ol Chiki" which is included in the 8th Schedule of the Indian constitution (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ninety-second_Amendment_of_the_Constitution_of_India#:~:text=The%20Ninety%2Dsecond%20Amendment%20of,in%20the%20schedule%20to%2022.) The Munda tribe has their scrip is known as "Mundari Bani" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mundari_language)



Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

— No

Notes: The community has developed its own script but it's not reached to the grassroots, people are still learning, that's why written material is available in the Hindi language.

— Yes



Is use of this distinct written language confined to religious professionals:

— No

Notes: since the "Pahan" (religious priest) not necessarily belongs to the same family in every generation, hence the right to access the distinct written language is not confined.

Is a non-religion-specific written language available to the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Is a non-religion-specific written language used by the group's adherents through an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— No

Calendar

Does the religious group in question possess a formal calendar:

— Yes

Notes: The Oraons follow the moon for their auspicious works, it can be the festival, marriage, entering the new house going for matrimonial alliances, etc.

Reference: Sarna Dharam Soto: Samiti /                                            "Sarna Dharam Soto: Samiti". Facebook, December 25, 2018. <https://www.facebook.com/sarnadharam14/posts/2233535023537101/>.

Is a formal calendar provided for the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

— Yes

Food Production

Does the religious group in question provide food for themselves:

— Yes

Notes: The Sarna Oraon relies upon intensive irrigation agriculture for subsistence, hunting, fishing, and animal husbandry also supplement their diet. (Roy,1915.156)

Reference: "Women Are Singing Kudukh Song While Paddy Plantation in Jharkhand", n.d.. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eh-X5Qnr6qw>.



Please characterize the forms/level of food production [choose all that apply]:

— Gathering

— Hunting (including marine animals)

- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

Notes: Reference- Roy, S. C. 1915, The Oraons of Chota Nagpur: Their historic, economic life and Social Organisation, The Bramho Mission Press, Calcutta.

Is food provided to the group's adherents by an institution(s) other than the religious group in question:

– Yes



Please characterize the forms/levels of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

– Yes

Notes: On the death of an individual, the family is provided with the food by the people of the same community after cremation or burial, as per customs, the grieving family can not prepare food on that particular day.



Please characterize the forms/levels of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

– Yes



Please characterize the forms/levels of food production [choose all that apply]:

- Gathering
- Hunting (including marine animals)
- Fishing
- Pastoralism
- Small-scale agriculture / horticultural gardens or orchards
- Large-scale agriculture (e.g., monocropping, organized irrigation systems)

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