

LOCAL MEMORIES FROM YESTERDAY: MEMOIRS OF 'SOHRAE' IN FOLKLORE

BIBHUTI MARY KACHHAP

ABSTRACT

This study centers on the translated Santhali folktales, serving as a guiding principle for younger Santhal who carry the shared memories of their cultural heritage. The folksongs revolving around their famous festival 'Sohrae' which is significantly customary and marks the summit of married sisters with their brothers, it is also a 'thanksgiving festival' for their draught animals for their contribution in farming. The third story behind the celebration of Sohrae is in 'remembrance' of the eldest maiden sister who was promised 'memory' by her younger sisters every year. The folksongs show the earlier memories of the same events as a re-establishment of the cultural memory and identity as an act of perseverance for tradition. The study will discuss the five day 'Sohrae' festival as reliving the memory of the past traditions and culture, and again creating a recurring memory of the same and the reasons for its sustenance. This paper will only discuss folklores that signify their celebration in the Santhal Pargana, Jharkhand, India and not in the parts of Bengal and Orissa, because in the Santhal Pargana it is celebrated in January whereas in the other parts it is celebrated around October or November and because the Santhals are a dominant tribe in Jharkhand (Santhal Pargana). Since the geographies are different the customs might differ in a way or other because of 'local culture' influence.

Keywords: Folklore, Memory, collective memory, Santhal, tradition, and Sohrae.

INTRODUCTION

"Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name" (Nora 8).

Memory has age long cultural significance in the festival called 'Sohrae' celebrated by Santhals; a tribe dominant in Jharkhand, India. This festival is documented in folklores and folktales and read in translations across cultures. One of the reasons for the celebration of this festival is 'remembrance' which forms an integral part of 'Memory Studies'. Memory studies, is 'a not so recent development' but it only became popular among academicians' since 1900s. Literature about the past, history and memory about events are part of global discussion now, but local history and memory has not yet grabbed worldwide responsiveness. Therefore, this paper will focus on one of India's tribes from the state of Jharkhand called Santhal and will incorporate Memory Studies to understand their Sohrae festival as depicted in Santhal folklore. The Santhals have

a rich and ethnic cultural heritage and are generally found in Santhal Pargana, some parts of Bengal and Odisha. Santhals speak Santhali and belong to the Sarna¹ religion, Hinduism (as a cultural influence) and Christianity (due the British domination). Dumka and Godda in Jharkhand are districts closer to the Santhal Pargana which gives glimpses of city life. Hansda Showendra Shekhar, an award-winning writer from the tribe, has discusses stories about the life of Santhal people and their plight against the other communities and industrialists in his book *Adivasi Will not Dance* (2015). This book is now read in academia which is momentous for the people in terms of recognition.

Most recognised work in Santhal folklore and tales is written by W.G. Archer, an eminent British scholar who conducted extensive research on the folklore of the Santhal people. Archer's work is considered one of the most significant contributions to the study of Santhal folklore and has had a profound influence on subsequent scholarship in this field. He is amongst the only few known authors to have given a descriptive account of the Santhals in English language. His book *The Hill of Flutes* is a mini encyclopaedia on the traditions and cultures of the Santhals along with Reverend Paul Olaf Bodding's book *A Chapter of Santal Folklore* (1924) and *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* by Cecil Henry Bompas. Sangram Murmu, a resident of the Godda subdivision, assisted Bodding in understanding the Santali language. Due to his close ties with his community, he gathered several stories and received a modest payment from Bodding for his efforts in writing and collecting stories. According to the tribal account, Sangram Murmu is credited with both writing and collecting the majority of the stories himself (Datta 173-174; Sinha and Manna 72). Local writers have written in Hindi or Santhali, and translations are lacking, limiting the scope of the study. Santhal as they are called are hardworking race who were previously dependent extensively on agriculture (Soren and Jamir 83). However, as time passed, they received education and are currently employed as professionals in a variety of fields. Yet, there is a sizable population that requires government assistance. Regardless of their circumstances, they have always believed in honouring and celebrating traditional festivals such as Sohrae. Sohrae is amongst the most famous festivals of the Santhals and is a five-day event; each day has its own significance. According to one of the tales the reason behind the celebration of 'Sohrae' is 'remembrance'. "Sohrae was the eldest daughter of the first Santhal couple, Pilcu Haram and Pilcu Budhi" (Archer 200). They had 6 more daughters and 6 sons. According to the narrative one day the girls went to the forest to collect fruits and boys went for hunting. After a while the eldest daughter climbed the tree and sat on the furthest branch from the ground, the rest followed in order. While the boys were hunting, they were filled with desire by Marang Buru² (Lita) to have fruit also connotated as sexual desire. Therefore, the youngest son came to the tree where the girls were sitting and asked for the fruit to the youngest girl who was sitting at the lowest branch. She wanted to throw it at him, but he insisted her to come down and give it to

¹ An indigenous religion practiced by the tribals in Jharkhand which is specifically nature worship.

² It is referred to the supreme god/ deity of the Santhal tribe.

him. As she landed the boy took the fruit and caught her hand and as Marang Buru had inflicted him with desire (probably sexual) he made her his wife. Rest of the brothers followed consecutively and only Sohrae was left at the topmost branches without a husband. As a consequence, she was promised remembrance by the sisters every year hence the celebration of Sohrae (Archer 200-201). “The Sohrai festival brings out the cultural identity of the Santal people through their indigenous forms of ancestor worship, rituals, and performing arts like the Sohrai dance and art forms like Sohrai paintings unique to the celebration process” (Basu 500).

Why is Sohrae celebrated for 5 days? According to another story; once upon a time there was a king who had a wife, and it is believed that she had a godly husband who lived in secrecy in the jungle. The wife allowed the king to hunt in the jungle in all directions except the one in which the ‘dev pati’ (godly husband) lived. One day the king was hunting in the jungle but failed to hunt down even a single animal, so he went in the direction which the wife had prohibited. The king found a black cobra and killed it. This cobra was her ‘dev pati’ (godly husband). When the wife came to know about this, she was sad at first but turned furious and wanted to kill the king. She conspired to kill the king and in order to do so she set aside a condition before the king and asked him to guess the name of a flower that she had planted in the garden. If he failed to guess he would be killed and if he succeeded, she would be killed. When the elder sister of the king heard about it, she along with her children left to meet the king. While still on her way with the help of a vulture she discovered a way to safeguard the king. She succeeded in protecting the king and the king was extremely pleased with her sister. In honour of her sister, he announced a 5-day festival to celebrate her sister and insisted everyone to light diya (oil lamp made from clay) for 5 consecutive days. Since the name of the king’s sister was Maradh Dhae, Sohrae is also known as Maradh Dhae. (as translated from a Santhali book by Usha Rani³ in Hindi and then translated into English by me). The third tale mentioned above is the reason why the festival is called Sohrae, a promise by younger sisters to their eldest sister who was unsuccessful to get married. According to the folklores the eldest one was promised ‘memory’ or ‘remembrance’ each year, the sibling promised to meet her once every year and that marks the celebration of her. Celebration of festivals is part of ‘social memory’ (Fentress and Wickham 1992) but when celebrated/remembered by a particular community it becomes ‘collective’ as well. According to Sontag “What is called collective memory is not a remembering but a stipulating: that this is important and this is the story about how it happened, with the pictures that lock the story in our minds” (86). Collective memory is effective while aiming to reconstruct the past for the prerequisites of the present (Halbawch 25). ‘Sohrae’ with the assistance of collective memory accommodates the antiquity of the story of the celebration. Though Siobhan Kattago remarks that individuals alone have the ability to recall, in contrast to groups. Nonetheless, the idea of ‘collective instruction’ becomes achievable when individuals have a shared language and

³ She is a native Santhal and is a student at Ranchi University, Jharkhand pursuing Masters in Santhal Language.

mutual understanding (3). In sharp contrast to Kattago's argument, ritual also demonstrates collective unity, as exemplified notably by the Santhal Community (V. Turner; Sinha and Manna 83). Santhals who speak their language are ardent towards their tradition, culture and rituals which includes them under 'collective instruction'. Therefore 'remembering' in context of Sohrae is collective in nature. Koselleck claims that collective memory does not exist what exists is collective conditions which make memory possible (6). However, Koselleck also agrees that language makes it possible. To conclude, Sontag and Koselleck both agree that language can make memory collective (Kattago 4).

(RE) LIVING THE MEMORY OF THE PAST

The Sohrae festival like any other harvest festival is celebrated in the month of January every year by the Santhals in the Santhal Pargana of Jharkhand. Each year it marks a 5-day celebration where they indulge in past traditions and relive the memory of their ancestors. But drastic change in their celebrations has been witnessed due to conditions explained later and consequently the celebrations last for 3 days instead of 5. Since the folklore describes the activities of the 5-day celebrations this paper will explain as it is.

Day 1 – called Umh (to clean and bath). Yet another reason why Sohrae celebrates the agrarian animals locates during the early civilization when humans used cattle for farming especially cow for milk and bull to plough. The Thakur (God) had instructed people to treat cow as mother and bull as father. But he was annoyed by the mistreatment they received by humans and decided to take back the cattle. Thakurain (Goddess) intervened and pleaded to the Thakur alas Thakur decided encourage humans to rectify their errors and invite them to commemorate animals for a duration of three days. That is the reason why animals are bathed and worshipped during Sohrae (Basu 11).

On this day every family in a particular locality is asked to contribute sufficient amount of uncooked rice, a young chicken, potatoes, turmeric powder and salt to prepare a mix called khichri. People also bring Ranu (a fermenting agent like yeast) to prepare Handia (rice beer) followed by the rituals initiated by Naike (priest) who performs several rituals and offers blood of animals to Bonga (spirit). Later the same food is distributed among families in a Bunyan leaf. Also, as a part of ritual an egg is placed in the way of the returning cows and whosoever's cow stamps on it will pay by benevolence; a pot of rice beer in the Maghe festival (another regional festival) as it is considered auspicious for crops and cow. "The cows have risen up/ And my lover lurks in the pipal/ By the banyan stands my husband/ And the cows have risen to their feet" (Archer 204). This particular folklore talks about the activity that takes place on the first day. It accentuates the animal's worth as they are the reason for the celebration and the harvest festival. Every year the rituals are similar but since Archer has described the ritual from 1943, for the readers his work is a past experience which coincides with the same events years after. "At Sitbala in 1943... a brown cow took fright and in a lumbering gallop, struck the egg a glancing blow. The cow rushed on towards the herd and its owner

clasped it with a cry of joy. The egg was then eaten by the kundam naeke⁴” (Archer 200). On this occasion married women are invited to their parents’ home, as one of the tales focus on the summit of brothers and their married sisters. As the rice beer is distributed among the people as a ritual the priest informs everyone about the ‘eldest daughter’s arrival’ i.e. Sohrae (Archer 200). Every year they sing the same songs handed down to them by their forefathers; the meanings are also handed down as a part of cultural memory (Sturken 2008; Assaman 1992).

Day 2 – Sarde Maha / Bong Maha. This day is dedicated to the cows and cowshed as they clean them along with all the machinery used in agriculture. They also bathe the animals and apply vermillion and oil in their horns and bring the first paddy for the course of worship of the animals. But it begins with a dance by males in front of the Headman’s house “drifting down the village road” (Archer 269). The women join the trail and participation is anticipatory, this goes on until night and married women and men participate and have gallons of amusement and marriage is mocked and only laughter remains.



Women during Sohrae worshipping a cow on Sarde Maha (Picture courtesy, Puja Hansda 2022)

Sit down, stand up/ O friends, we have no food or drink/ But in the eyes’ meeting there is pleasure. // In the thick forest, father/ A dove has been decoyed/ In the middle of the village/ The headman was enticed.// In the upper village/ O you two girls/ A green boy/ Is playing on a drum/ Girl, we will dance/ Out of the house/ Swinging our legs/ Holding our cloth.// Aunt, the jamun buds are scarlet/ The tip of the plantain sways/ So long as I have no husband/ I shall nod and sway my body (Archer 205).

The above lines talk about married women meeting friends after coming to their parent’s house. They are delighted about the meeting even though there is no food or drink. The meeting gives them pleasure which is unparalleled to any food. Since on the second day they meet at the headman’s house he is mentioned in the folklore. It also describes the dancing which begins at the headman’s courtyard.

⁴ Naeke is the priest who facilitates the rituals during the festival.

The dancing style is stressed upon as it is very peculiar. While they form a line sideways to dance, they don't hold hands instead they hold each other's garments on the waist. As these women are happy and swaying their body to the songs, they also think about being not married and having liberty to dance as they wish. What is crucial to note is the Headman's attendance, which will undergo shifts as the years pass. Ultimately it will be a past history for people who celebrated Sohrae during his tenure.

Day 3 – khuntao (to tie) maha(day) known as gura khunta and kara khunta. Men tease the bullocks which they usually employ in the field. According to their belief it is a process to make them exercise as they have been idle after the harvest. Next morning, a discussion is held at the headman's house "to decide whether the important rite of khuntao or baiting is to be performed" (Archer 209). Khuntao can take place only if there was no unprecedented trouble in the preceding year. Songs sung on that day are as follows:

Elder brother You went out/ As the cock crowed/ You went away/ As the peacock called/ And did not tell me any secret./ Whether to bait the buffaloes/ Or bait the bullocks/ You said nothing/ And you went away./ Dhani, Dhani, Dhani/ What sort of man are you?/ The bullock kicked my fan/ Elder brother, elder brother/ What sort of man are you?/ The buffalo kicked my shield/ Elder brother, we shall bait/ A buffalo or a bullock/ The friends are coming/ Take them to their seats (Archer 210).

The songs describe the Khuntao ritual of baiting the animals. So every year they are reminded that the celebration of this particular ritual means; the preceding year has been auspicious. Therefore, it is important for things to remain propitious throughout. But if any inauspicious incident in the form of death took place the previous year then the baiting is obliterated but under such circumstance they only eat and enjoy the day. They also recall the memory of subsequent years when they were able to celebrate it. Such memory is part of LeDoux's model for memory according to which "each time a subject retrieves a memory, it does so not from some original unchanged template bearing neural traces of the event but from the last remembered version of the same" (LeDoux n.p.).

When the celebrations take place there was already a memory of the last celebration which might not be deliberate but 'collective' enhancing the celebration. Erll and Rigney agree that "Collective memories are actively produced through repeated acts of remembrance using both a variety of media and a variety of genres" (112). These festivities are reproduced in folklore are "informed understandings of the past" (113). There is sequence to memory of the folklore as to how celebrations take place and then using it to develop another aspiration of the memory to not forget. The folklores are a resonance of emotions for family and the community which includes the agrarian animals. And high esteem towards the animals as they provide them livelihood. Uncle, brother father and lover all are performing different tasks for Sohrae. Each year these songs are sung, and the rituals repeated with the memory of the last.

There is moisture on your hands/ Sweat on your eyes/ O my love, who are you?/ Feel with your hands/ Touch me with your thighs/ I am your former lover (Archer 198).

Remembering the former lover, the girl weans as it was a 'shock of parting' (Archer 198). We are going on the road/ There are limes in the way/ One I have eaten/ Two I have tucked away the lover/ O take them for yourself/ For once you were my lover (Archer 198).

These instances in songs, especially for young girls are like 'medicine' to their pain inflicted by the lover, since she has now met him during Sohrae she can continue her marriage. It is also believed that these result in successful marriages (Archer 198). Recalling the days before marriage women yearn and notify to their uncles to call them home at Sohrae. Again, the last line refers to the woman's memory of the former lover. The rapidly unfolding history confronts their past, and they take pleasure in it rather than keeping it as their historical secret, "which is how our hopelessly forgetful modern societies, propelled by change, organize the past" (Nora 7). And because it is both individual and collective, it is "the living imagination of the historical actors of the past" (Hutton 534). The following lines from the folklore indicate the collective recall, "Uncle at Sohrae/ Call us and invite us/ Uncle, we are yours/ Uncle, bring us/ Leaves of Lar/ And leaves of tamarind/ Uncle, we are many/ Brothers and sisters/ Feed us as you will/ But Uncle, we are yours (Archer 196)".

Day 4 – called Jalli maha. On this day people go from house to house taking blessings for the animals and also get food and drink as they visit each house.

Day 5 – Haku (fish) Katko (crab) maha. On the last day the men get up early in the morning have the fish and crab and go for hunting and a competition is held to shoot the arrow. If the same boy is able to shoot the arrow of the Manjhi⁵ for five consecutive years he is given a Dhoti. The last day ends with women singing goodbye to 'Sohrae'. It's like a lullaby that soothes the heart of the yearnings of the day. Goodbye contributes to memory studies through its ability to evoke feelings of nostalgia and longing. Bid farewell to someone or something, and it's common to encounter feelings of loss or sadness, accompanied by a profound sense of nostalgia for times gone by, and we may feel a deep sense of nostalgia. This nostalgia can be a powerful motivator for the preservation and celebration of cultural heritage and tradition, as it encourages us to look back on the past with a sense of reverence and respect. Therefore, Sohrae (the eldest sister) is an embodiment of the same hence she is referred as someone who will visit again. In the following stanza the women are happy that Sohrae was 'here' and meanwhile it is gone women should be happy and not mourn. "Sohrae Sohrae/ It was good while you were here/ It was different while you stayed/ Come again in time/ Joy, do not mourn/ On the due day come back" (Archer 213). Unlike other historical events in history such as 'Holocaust' the memory is fading as the people who experienced it become old and frail, thus their accounts are stored for the world to know. However, collective cultural memory, such as folklore, never diminishes; rather, it creates a new and fresh memory each time it occurs and is passed down from generation to generation (Olick and Robbins 123). The challenge with folklore lies

⁵ According to V.K. Kochar's article "Village Deities of the Santal and associated Rituals" it means village headman or the magician-cum-medicine man.

in its oral nature, and without proper documentation, individuals from the local community may struggle to recount the same stories as their ancestors.

The study is constrained by the absence of translations, with the most recent significant effort being W.G. Archer's work in the 1970s. Following him P.O. Boddington, and Rev. Dr. Andrew Campbell of Gobindpore⁶ published in 1891 *Folk tales of the Santal* as noted earlier, there has been no substantial contribution apart from them in the English language. Therefore, the translations of these folklores are as important as their documentation. Archer has not just translated the folklores but has also fossilized the memories of their great traditions with the evidence of the incidents that occurred throughout the five-day festivities. Stern agrees that certain folklorists are not incorrect when they say, "ethnic groups is a traditionally patterned social unit" (9) and hence the folklores of these social unit comprise of enriching experiences through the celebration. What remains is 'memory' as two native speakers of Santhali language belonging to the Santhal Pargana; Shobha Hansda and Usha Kiran disclosed the reason behind restricting the festival to 3-day affair. Sheer poverty in the region due to encroaching lands of the tribal by industrialists as explained in *The Adivasi will not Dance* by Hansda Showrendra Shekhar is amongst the prominent reasons why the celebration lasts only for 3 days now. The Masanjore project that displaced 144 villages in Dumka district (in Jharkhand) is an example of government run industrial developments which left them with no means to farm due to the inefficiency and loopholes of the policies (Rao 4440-1). Another drawback of these industries is the waste it produces; their incompetency lies there. These waste materials enter nearby water sources, which local residents rely on for their daily needs, along with exposure to radiation resulting from Uranium mining in Jadugoda (Jharkhand, India) (Sonowal and Jojo 3). Consequently, they often fall ill resulting in fewer workdays to no source of income restricting their ability to celebrate. People want to celebrate it for five days, but their finances aren't supportive, thus the refrainment. As a result, previous memories of Sohrae are meaningful, and folklores construct the collective memory leading to Rothberg views on memory as multidirectional since, the moment changes every year, as does the location of memory production. Though few scholars look otherwise and state that Santhal's enjoy life "with no restrictions and time schedules" but I only conform with their argument about "pricey rituals" which has ultimately led them to cut down the celebration in the case of Sohrae (Sinha and Manna 71).

Furthermore, since there is no five-day celebration, the events are summarised in 3 days which results in no more "milieux de memoire, real environments of memory" (Nora 7). The third day celebration called Khunta (pole) Maha, which is a place in the village where a pole is fixed and where the buffaloes are tied and as a part of ritual it is repeated every year. Each year brings a unique set of memories. The individuals who observe the pole throughout the night as part of the ritual vary annually. Consequently, the memories formed are often individualistic, and when individuals miss participating, they reconstruct these

⁶ A place in the Santhal Pargana where Dr. Andrew Campbell did an ethnography study.

memories in their minds (Halbwachs 38). They vividly recount these episodes to their loved ones in the following year. In essence Archer's witnessing the rituals in Sitabala in 1943 and then documenting it in the book is likewise a form of memory that he retained and which Nora terms as "lieux de memoire, sites of memory" (7). Visiting Sitbala now and closely analysing Sohrae will provide a different experience because the Naikie who performed the rites will not be the same one that still performs, and there may be other variables responsible for the alterations. But the recollection remains vivid and shared, as everyone alive may recall the ritual in the same manner as Archer did with little to no alterations. However, "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts" (Erll, 2008, 2) can be seen in the changing dynamics of memories formed. Currently, there isn't a five-day celebration, but rather, it is the awareness of the events that recurs in one's mind. Due to rapid change memory becomes susceptible to time as a result, the issue of memory becomes a focal point in the collective awareness and concerns of the population (Sebald and Wagle 1). The past is often perceived as political in written and spoken narratives, yet certain academic pursuits like folklore studies discreetly convey underlying beliefs that are inherently apolitical. The memories of collective celebration do not saturate the "present with ideas, images and meanings" (Levy, 2016, 71) but Sohrae already possesses a reservoir of concepts, images, and meanings that they incorporate into rituals and express through folklore.

Collective memory as discussed by Erll has entered the nation-state discourse from ethnic. Considering that memory is a central foundation for the articulation of the future it is striking how undertheorized the future remains in the memory literature. A sufficient understanding of tradition is evident in the comprehension of the future possibilities that the past has presented to the present. Living traditions, by perpetuating an ongoing narrative, face a future whose specific and ascertainable nature, to the extent that it exists, originates from the past (MacIntyre 223).

MILIEU AND MEMORY

The deeper question in India is who the tribal are? The term 'tribe' describes people who were different from those of the conventional society is a colonial construction (Beteille 1995; Singh 1993; Xaxa 2005). The discourses on these areas are limited yet discursive because according to the government tribals are minority yet rate of inclusivity is questioning and alarming. Whatsoever may be the political concern behind their identity, tribals around the globe are tied to the milieu and nature worship. Essentially, the tribal society is shaped by longstanding customs, beliefs, and traditions, and all its members are anticipated to align themselves with and adhere to these practices. Their relationship is directly proportional and therefore every ritual they follow for example rituals at festival has eminent significance of their own. Though Tribals have been subject to politics of language, religion and identity (Xaxa 1363) they imbibe the nature to the core and also propagate sustainable living. Instead, the vitality of the rituals is to strengthen the nature. In the folklore mentioned above agrarian animals is paid

tribute for their contribution in farming along with worshiping trees however they also do not have a particular place of worship is contested as the Jaher (sacred grove) exists in the vicinity (Kochar 242) although, they consider entire nature as theirs. Their religion is popularly called Animism/ tribal religion (Xaxa 1363) or Sarna is identified as a religion for the tribal people in Jharkhand and they want its inclusion in the constitution (Abhishek n.p)

Doubtlessly folk and religion go hand in hand for tribals therefore often folk is one of the modes of collective memory (O'Connor 1). Past is history or memory, can be determined if they are left behind or constantly reinvented (O'Connor 4; Hutton, in Olick *et al.*, 2011: 412). Folk is never left behind it gets reinvented in its performance like in the case of Sohrae. Memories of the rituals of Sohrae in their appearance of continuity rebuild and re-establish. The song's motifs around the festival simultaneously maintain the rituals of the 5 days such as Khuntao Maha, Umh and Bong Maha. Geography or spatiality has a vital relation to memory as in these 5 days as they attach themselves to the places in the village to echo memory (Bachelard, 1994; Connerton, 1989, 2009; Halbwachs, 1950). Folk as a living tradition places itself in memory and creates collective memory through belongingness. And belongingness offers affiliation; values, collective identity and much more.

CONCLUSION

Building a new tomorrow with the remains of the past is a possibility established by the Sohrae festival. It also reminisces the people and practice and make it collective simultaneously. However, memory does have its limitations when it comes to imitation of the rituals or traditions. With the changing world it is witnessed that people have been infiltrating with the rituals and customs as well. For example, *Chatt* a festival celebrated in Bihar, India requires dipping in the river or any other natural water body as a part to ritual but with Covid and lockdown people constructed small structures and filled it with water to perform the dipping ritual. Similarly, with other religious rituals as well sustainability is being adhered to. These actions in a way restrict or deconstruct the earlier rigid notions and it affects the memory or collective memory of the group. Therefore, in lieu of collective memory's usage limitations must be observed (Funkenstein 6). In ritualistic insights Sohrae has also witnessed changes from five to three days and therefore the past should be a relic and archive for them to enhance and continue their ritual, tradition and culture in a collective way.

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