

Cultural Aspects of Traditional Games of *West Odisha*:

Dr. Sanjaya Kumar Bag

Introduction

Culture is a way of life of a group of people, the knowledge, behaviors, beliefs, values, and attitudes, symbols that they accept generally without thinking about them, and that are passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to next. Culture includes a group's skills, knowledge, aesthetics; religion, concept of universe, material objects.

Western Orissa or the western part of *Orissa* (*Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Sonepur, Sundergarh, and Athamallik* block of *Dhenkanal* district) as a culture area different from the rest part of the state geographically, historically, and linguistically; known for its unique and rich cultural heritage. It has distinctive social institutions, festivals, and verbal as well as non-verbal folkloric traditions.

Western Orissa has a wonderful exclusive tradition of games, which can be not only played by skilled or sports person, but also every member of family during leisure. Even in the modern age of technology it has more than hundred numbers of games performed by the man, women, and children of all age groups.¹ These games are varied from competitive games, games of imitation to games based on rites and rituals. Traditional games of *Western Orissa* also have a great value of festivity. In this paper I endeavor to discuss how traditional games are the products of society or culture and how they enriched the heritage of a society.

Traditional Games as a Cultural Expression

As a significant part of culture, traditional games reflect the day today life like preparing food items, collecting firewood, and other food products from forest, selling and buying of agricultural products, different traditional working culture, rites rituals, and festivity of a given social community. There are number of games in *Western Orissa* which succinctly depict the cultural profile of this area.

Expression of day today life in Traditional Games

Traditional games of *Western Orissa* have a great space for depiction of day today activities. The game *Paen Anba* (bringing water) that is performed by both boys and girls of five to eight years age group, visualize the culinary tradition of *Western Orissa*. Participants are taking water from pond or river and prepare different traditional food items symbolically. They use different leaves and stems for preparing this food items. *Mahulbeta*² (collecting *Mahua* or *Madhuca Indica*) and *Kathjiba* (collecting firewood) represents the day-to-day work of collecting firewood and *Mahua* flower of forest dwelling tribal people of *Western Orissa*. The game *Kathjiba*, or *Tangia Chhane Dia*³ (give me an axe) also a game that narrates the nuptial tradition. The nuptial

tradition, particularly *Kaniamaga* (proposal of marriage) also found in the game *Bahadia Samdhen*.⁴ The game *Machhasare Ghina* (buy some fish)⁵ represents the selling of fish by fisher women moving around the *Para* (settlements) in *Western Orissa*.

The *Hatbika*⁶ visualizes the picture of traditional *Hat* (market), selling of agricultural product of *Western Orissa*. Here both boys and girls make an enactment of market system in two groups what they have experienced in their locality. The selling and buying of different vegetables, food items, ornaments, apparels, utensils, and other things are performed symbolically, which they have seen in their near by *Hat*. Similarly the games *Purathela*⁷ and *Bhara Tangen*⁸ also represent various traditional working culture of *Western Orissa*.

Games as an expression of Rites and Rituals

Rites and rituals are a conveyance of a social order that punctuate the lives of individuals and communities: rites of passage, seasonal rites and rituals marking the stages of life from birth to death and which have an existential and social meaning. They are at the centre of many popular social events on important dates in the cultural calendar and at key moments in the life of the community such as births, marriages or religious ceremonies. Many traditional Games of *Western Orissa* are associated with rites and rituals. Some of them named as *Gedi* or *Ghudel*⁹, *Ganthi Ganana*¹⁰, *Jam Bhut*¹¹, *Mudi Luken*¹², and *Gaur Badi*¹³.

Gedi played by all adolescent, young, and middle-aged, is a totally ritual based game. Performance of this game started from *Ratha Yatra*, the second day of bright fortnight of *Ashadh* and continues till new moon of *Bhadrab*. New moon of *Bhadrab*, which is also known as *Dansara* or *Belsara* festival in *Western Orissa*,¹⁴ has a great socio-cultural importance. All the participants destroy their *Gedi* and buried under the white-aunt hole that known as *Duker Kheda*. *Duker* is known as a deity of diseases, and behind this performance they believed that in this way they drive out the deity *Duker* and all the diseases from their village.

Mudi Luken (hiding finger ring by bride and bridegroom), which is performed by both girls and boys between five to seven age groups, represent the nuptial tradition of *Western Orissa*. This game played by two participants, one player hides the ring (this may be straw piece, or piece of an earthen pot) under the pile of dust, and another player have to find out this. If he finds that then he will win.

Ganthi Ganana (counting the node of bamboo) is a game performed during wedding ceremony by *Kharia*¹⁵ tribes of *Sundergarh* district. In this game one of the *Sian* (senior and respectable person) asked every body to tell the name of the nine-node of bamboo stick, which represents the names their *Gotra* (lineage). *Sian* asked everybody one by one, he wins who tells each name correctly. If *Sian* asked someone and he failed to answer it, then he may be punished, which depends on *Sian*.

Performance of this game is not just for enjoyment, but also to introduce knowledge about their *gotra* to their next generation.

The game *Jam Bhut*, which is played by seven to twelve years of boys only, is a game based on tribal beliefs of witchcraft. One player does the acting as he is being witch crafted, and other players' calls up a *Gunia* (witch doctor) to treat him. The *Gunia* also performed by the participants. They do all the formalities and paraphernalia related to witchcraft, what they have experienced in their locality.

Players of *Western Orissa* also believe in scarifying animals as they have experienced in various *Puja* and festival, they imitate the enactment and performed in *Gharbanaba* (making house) game. They catch a butterfly or some insects and sacrificed this one in their symbolic performance of *Puja* at the time of playing.

Gaur Badi is a game performed by only *Magadha Gauda*¹⁶ (milkman) community in their *Kirikachhen* Puja. This performance starts after harvesting from the tenth day of bright fortnight of *Kartika*, and ends in tenth day of bright fortnight of *Magha*. The performers start from their village and performed within their *pali/panchura*¹⁷ villages only. This is a martial performance; they played their tricks with help of a five feet deigned stick. It is believed to be sacred that if every body should play in the name of their *Kirikachhen* deity; it would bring happiness and peace in life for the whole year.

Performance of Games at the time of Festivity

Festive occasions encompass rich and diverse elements of both intangible and tangible cultural heritage. They play a principal role in most societies as expressions of cultural identity through the collective values and beliefs that they represent. In the festive mood of *Nuakhai*¹⁸, *Dashara*¹⁹ and *Belsara* people of *Western Orissa* organized numbers of games like *Hanichopen*²⁰, *Thenga Pelen*²¹, and *Khutighicha/ Badighicha*²². *Humo/ Bauli/ Boria*²³ also played by young girls in various festive occasions of *Western Orissa*. Though *Bana Badi* or *Gaur Badi* is a ritual based game it is also performed at various festive occasions. It is interesting that *Bati* (marbles), and *Luklukani* (hide and seek) played by *Barabhai Bhima* in *Balijatra*²⁴.

Influence of culture in Traditional Games

Influence of local and contemporary culture in traditional games of *Western Orissa* is inevitable. The performers are influenced by folk theater as well as mass media, and contemporary material culture.

Influence of Folk Theater

Traditional Games of *Western Orissa* more or little influenced by folk theatre; they performed what they have seen in theatrical performance of folk drama. The games *Ram Ravan Judhha*, *Gada Judhha* are result of folk theater. Players what they have seen in the night they performed it at their playing time. But it is interesting to note

that when the players of traditional games perform this *Ram Ravan Judhha*, and *Gada Judhha* it is not necessary that *Rama* or *Bhima* will always win; *Ravan* and *Duryodhan* also display their victory.

Influence of Mass Media

Mass Media also have a great influence on the traditional games of *Western Orissa*. Television serial like *Shaktiman* has very deeply influenced the traditional games. The players of rural setup has acquainted with this superman and his magical works as they have easily access to the television. They have added a character 'Shaktiman' in some games like *Ghar Banaba*, and *Rajamantri*²⁵. Participants of *Hadbando*²⁶ are also designating their friends as *Shaktiman* for his excellent performance. No doubt this is a recent development and influence of mass media.

Influence of Material Culture

Because of the influence of mass media, the rural area has little bit influenced by material culture. Now a day the cold drinks are not a dream for children of *Western Orissa*. And the players make use for their games from it. They used cold drinks cap as equipments for the games *Billa/Pati/Ghacha*²⁷. They also use printed side of matchbox as equipments in these games, where they generally used broken piece of earthen pot.

In *Ghar Banaba* game when they demand dowry for their son's marriage, they are asking for television, disk player, motorbike and other modern gadgets, which was not occurred before. And interesting is when they are playing *Bagchhe*²⁸, or *Dhadi-ki-Dhukdi*²⁹ in hot afternoon of summer season they challenged other party, "I will definitely defeat you, would you give me a cold drink?" or "If you are defeated, you have to give me a cold drink!" Punishment and fine for defeated group or player is a part of traditional game performance, but the cold drink as fine is certainly due to the influence of modern culture.

Impacts of Traditional Games in Western Orissa's Culture

Like any other artifact traditional games also has an incredible impact in a given culture. Traditional games are not only for physical strength, it is also a means for mass entertainment. Impulsive exchange of lore element of given community is also done in between the performance. Performance of traditional games creates bridge of unity between playgroups as well as in society. The players also learn successful application of skill and imitative knowledge from traditional games; and this knowledge transmitted from one generation to next generation. In this way the traditional games has a great educative value, it is like an educational institution where the performers learns the behavior, friendship, and cooperation. After all traditional games are a link between past and present of a given society.

Exchange of Lore Element

Performance of traditional games as 'event' creates a significant space for exchange of lore element. The traditional knowledge about games, as well as cultural knowledge of a given society have been exchanged between participants, and handed down generation to generation. Players of traditional games get a familiar idea about their environment, house patterns, agricultural practices, food habits, and culinary tradition through this game performance. And this knowledge exchanged with one individual to other in the context of enactment.

Successful Application of Skill and Imitative Knowledge

Players of traditional games learn successful application of skill and knowledge through the performance of game. They make their own equipments successfully, what are required for their performance. The games like *Ghar Banaba*³⁰, *Chasbas*³¹ (agricultural works), and *Bahadia Samdhen* are just an imitation of their sociofact. The repeated performance of these games make them skilled; help them when they get the chance in a large social set up they do it successfully.

Unity among Participants

Performance of traditional games creates a strong sense of unity and mutual understanding between the players in a given community. The playgroups though they are not fixed, meet frequently, performed the games, and being united after the performance also. This unity is not just a playgroup's unity, it continues for life long, which helps them for leading a peaceful social life in future.

Traditional games as a platform of Education

Participants of traditional games of *Western Orissa* learn socialization, friendship, co-operation, unity, discipline, and different social rule regulations from the performance of game. They learn how to make house, and do household activities from the game *Gharbanaba*, and *Bahadia Samdhen*. They also get a familiar idea about agriculture from the game *Chasbas*. The game *Patral Handakhe*^{β2} is a unique game to accustom the players with their local environments. The participants collect a good knowledge about flora and fauna while performing this game. And it is no doubt that the traditional games are like an educational institution for children and young of a particular cultural community.

Transmission of Knowledge

In traditional games players are actively constructing knowledge through their experiences of games, they actively learn about the game world – the entire system of interaction. Players come to a game with prior knowledge and experience about the real and game world, about games they have played before and so on. They then attempt to apply this knowledge to the new situation, provided by the game. Players

construct mental pictures, or models, in their head based on the patterns they discover during play. Through performance of games, players build up a mental model, or image, of the game system and how it plays; in essence how it works. They can then use these models to predict what would happen, experiment to find out what actually did happen, and got reflected on the outcome.



Tiger and goat (indoor game)



Thengapelen (outdoor game)

Linking the Past with Present

Traditional games of *Western Orissa* are conduit between past and the present social set up. Traditional games as remnants of cultural past provides much information about cultural practices, and depicts the picture of contemporary society as a mirror of culture. One can trace the traditional nuptial activities from the games *Mudiluken* as well as see the influence of modernization, as the participants are using the cold drink caps as equipments for the games *Ghacha*, and *Pati*.

Traditional Games in changing Cultural Context

We know that culture is dynamic, culture changes; people discard, modify, retain in a proportion of changing social scenario. The members at any given time cannot by themselves define the boundaries of social experience. So long as new generations are being born into society, social context will remain a dynamic process not a static setting. In a dynamic socio-cultural scenario the artifact indecisively adopt all the influence comes its way. The traditional games of *Western Orissa* also adopted many things in changing context.

Changes in Equipments

Keeping view in changing cultural scenario the choice of equipments of players of traditional games of *Western Orissa* has also changed in some extent. Now cold drinks cap, and matchbox cover are used as a substitute of *Pati* in *Ghacha*, which is generally played by pieces of earthen pot. The ready-made marbles also used in *Bati* in

which generally players using own hand made marbles from stone, though they prefer the old one for better performance. Sponge balls are in used *Pitu*, in which players are generally, use balls made of turn and discarded cloth pieces.

Changes in Performance

Changes in performance have been noticed in Traditional games of *Western Orissa* in changing cultural scenario. Rules regulations have been changed and modified in the light of contemporary cultural set up, though traditional games are not restricted to any rule regulation and always flexible in nature. The game *Bhalu Maten*³³, which is performed by unmarried girls and one young boy in the evening time, organized under the *Tiken* (?) or *Muhua* tree only; now a day due to extinction of these trees, the participants organized these games under any other trees. Performers of this game are also restricted in some tribal set up because of sanskritization, their parents some times feel that it is not good for their girls to play with one young man in a remote places.

Changes in Character

The players of *Western Orissa* are not far away from modern mass culture. The influences of visual media have a great impact in the traditional games of *Western Orissa*. Players like to use celebrity's name and names of popular items in their games. At the time of group division, the players arrange themselves in pairs by identifying some pseudonym and come to the *gad* (captain) to choose them. Here they use celebrity's name from bollywood and cricket world. Even they add some characters for their games from small and big screen. They add new characters to their games like *Saktiman*, *Harry Potter* in *Chor Pulish*, and *Raja Mantri* games. These changes are no doubt due to influence of mass media, which is certainly unavoidable.

Developing New Games

Changing socio-cultural scenario has created a good space for developing new games for the players of traditional games in *Western Orissa*. Like *Chor Pulish*, *Raja Mantri*, they have created a game '*Sarapanch*', experiencing the three tiers *Panchayatiraj* system. They have added other characters like *Chairman*, *B.D. O.*, and *Member* (ward member) to this game also. They have also developed string play *Khat Pinjra* (cot and birdcage) as they have seen it in television. They quickly design cot, net, basket, tree, peacock, and birdcage by operating string.

Conclusion

It is a fact that players of *Western Orissa* developing new games whatever may be the influence; but it is also a bitter truth that most of the traditional games of *Western Orissa* are in imminent danger of disappearance and extinction, due to the various

tendencies of globalization and modernization. There are many games lost due to lack of proper promotion, even older people also not able to recall that exactly.

Considering traditional games as a significant part of the cultural heritage, they should be documented, protected, revitalized, and promoted. Traditional games have important values towards the overall development of the individual human being and one's community. Traditional games do not demand any substantial material and financial resources or investments, but they can contribute to better inter-cultural understanding and mutual tolerance, both within and among the communities of nation, which will contribute to build a culture of peace.

Not in *Western Orissa* in all over the world, the traditional games contribute mutual understanding and peaceful behavior to a life of different cultural and social groups, communities and nations. They are means of their identity. Therefore the significance of traditional games and identity must be strengthened and the opportunities for practicing them must be held open for all human beings especially for young people, the physically challenged and disadvantaged groups in the society.

1. I have collected one hundred ten games from *Western Orissa* at the time of my field work for doctoral programme.

2. *Mahulbeta* basically a narrative based game performed by two groups of girls between five to seven years age group, goes on like this- one group asked another group to have for collecting *Mahua* with them- "Go to collect *Mahua* friends, go to collect *Mahua*

Make yours hair friends, make yours hair

Put up your dress friend, put up your dress."

Then another group adds-

"Have water rice friend, have water rice

We have to come back soon friends; we have to come back soon.

Go to collect *Mahua* friends, go to collect *Mahua*"

And the game goes on, narrating various day today activities of their daily life.

3. The game *Tangia Chhane Dia*, played by two groups, both boys and girls of five to seven years age groups. One playing group asked the other one when they asked for an axe, that, "why you are wanted this?" And they replied, "We would collect bamboo." Another group again asked, "What would you do with that bamboo?" Similarly they replied, "We would prepare a *jhapi* (basket)?" The first group asked again, "What you would do with that *jhapi*?" And reply of other group is, "we would keep our *chhidapata* (apparels)." The first group asked again, "Why you need basketful apparels." Other group replied that, "we would marry our son." And the question answer continues-

"What your son's name?"

-*Kadel kera!*

-What is your daughter-in-law's name?

-*Maenabati*... and at the end both group clapped their hands and said, *udijare maenabati kadel kera ramjham* (fly Mainabati, Ramjham Kadel Kera).

4. *Bahadia Samdhen* (give me daughter-in-law) is a narrative based game, played by girls in two groups. One group acts as bride and other for bridegroom. First bridegroom's group come and asked for bride- "Give daughter-in-law *samdhen*, give daughter-in-law." Then brides' group countered, "Our daughter does not how to cook and serve, how can we give our daughter?" Again bridegroom's group said, "We would teach her how to cook and serve, *samdhen* give daughter-in-law." Again brides' group countered, "Our daughter does not know how to take care household, how can we give our daughter?" Bridegroom's group replied that, "We will the take care of household, *samdhen* daughter-in-law." Like this they describe all the household activities done by women, dance in a rhythmic way slightly bending forward moving one-step ahead and one step back.

5. The game *Machhasare Ghina* (buy some fish) performed by girls in two groups. One player of a group acts as a fisherwomen and another one from other group acts as a *Sahuani* or the purchaser. Fisherwomen come and try to sale her fish, she said- "Buy some fish sister, buy some fish." *Sahuani* asked, "What type of fish do you have?" Fisherwomen replied again, "*Balia* (trout; wallagoniatu) fish my sister *Balia* fish." Then *Sahuani* takes her rhythm- "*tor balia machhke alang talang/ sagbengan libur tibur chhik chhika kelun go bai, chhik chhika kelun.*" Keep away your *Balia* my brinjal and green leafs are fine, let's come and play. Fisherwomen narrate again with describing different types of fish's names, and thus game carry on.

6. *Hatbika* is a game where players learn selling and buying the foods and other traditional home needs. *Main* or 'It' act as *Pasarabali* (seller women), she asked various vegetables, food grains, fruits, and other daily needs. Other players come to her and start bargaining, after these formalities *Pasarabali* asked, "Then what you would do with this?" They replied what they have to do with that. Again she asked, "What you would do with the rest thing?" They said that, "we will through away for crow and birds!" and immediately thrown all the things of *Pasarabali* and run away from there. 'It' followed them he/she will 'It' whom she touches first.

7. *Purathela* is a game of physical exercise. *Puara* is a traditional container for preserving paddy made up of straw, which contains one *Pastama*/ four *Puti* (approximately 320kg.). In this game players roll down a big stone, and the player who covers maximum distance is the winner.

8. Like *Purathela* this game also imitate agricultural activities. *Bhara* (sheaf of paddy) and *Tangen* mean to lift up. In this game players tries to lift up a heavy stone.

9. *Ghudel* or *Gedi* is known as *Ranapa* in coastal *Orissa*. Players ride over *Gedi* (equipments specially made for the performance) and walk, dance, and play other tricks.

10. Every node of the bamboo represents the name of their *gotra*, i. e. *Soreng*(stone), *Kerketa*(one kind of bird), *Dung Dung*(one kind of fish), *Kullu*(tortoise), *Bab*(paddy), *Bilung*(salt), *Tete*(one kind of bird), *Tapo*(smallest bird), and *Kidoo*(tiger).

11. This game is an imitation of traditional belief of witchcraft of *Western Orissa*.

12. *Mudiluken* (hiding ring) it is an imitative play of *Mudiluken*, which is performed by bride and bridegrooms at the wedding ceremony. The couples are asked to take off their rings and put them in a pot of clear water. As the rings settle to the bottom, the couples are asked to churn the water vigorously. After the churning people look anxiously at the water, as the water and the ring are going to the answer the

question. If the bride's ring lags behind in the swirling water she will be an obedient wife. If it is the opposite, the groom will be obedient to his wife.

13. Game played with stick by Cattle-rearing caste.

14. Known as *Saptapuri Amabasya* in coastal *Orissa*.

15. *Kharia* tribe belongs to Proto-Austroloid race and speaks *Kharia* of Austro-Asiatic language family. They are divided into three sections namely the *Dudh*, *Dhelki* and *Pahadi Kharia*.

16. Sub-groups of *Gaud* caste. The sub-castes of *Gaud* are different in different district, like they are *Gopapuria*, *Marthurapuria*, *Jharia*, and *Laria* in *Sundergarh*; *Magdha*, *Jharnia*, and *Sola Khandia* in *Sambalpur* district; *Madgdha*, *Laria*, and *Jhaia* in *Kalahandi* and *Bolangir* district.

17. *Pali/ Panchura* are near by villages believing in one deity or goddess. The deity or village goddess makes her *Jatra* (yearly journey) in these villages only.

18. The festival of eating new rice, which is held in the next day of *Ganesh Puja* or *Ganesh Chaturthi* in every year.

19. This day is important in *Western Orissa* because the villagers worship their local deities or goddesses.

20. *Hanichopen* (breaking earthen pot) is a competitive game. In some distance about ten to fifteen meters away, players are blind folded tries to hit the pot with help of a cudgel.

21. *Thenga Pelen*

22. *Khutighicha/ Badi Ghichen* (Tug of War) is generally played by men. Two participant's sits face to face stretching legs straightly in together, each holding one end of the cudgel in their hands. He wins who able to drag the other to his side.

21. Like *Kabadi* this game also played by two groups boys, each group having five to seven players. One player of a group runs shouting *chele maare gudu... gudu...* or and attempt to touch players of other group. If he s

23. This game performed by two groups. One group holding each other hands in shoulder moves one step ahead towards other group with singing a song; then second group performed in the same way. The participants singing this what they have learned traditionally from their seniors, they have also composed extempore at the time of performance.

24. *Balijatra* is a festival where the tribals worshiped *Bhima*, a rain god.

25. This game is like card games. Players pen down the name *Raja*, *Mantri*. *Chor*, and *Pulish*, with some points in paper slips and rolled it, and then they mixed these slips and choose one by one and note down their points. This process repeats twenty times more, at the end they calculate their total points, and the lowest one is declared as *chor*.

26. *Hadbando* is an arboreal game played by a group of boys only. It attempts to touch other players who

27. The game *Billa/Ghacha/ Pati* is a game performed by a group of boys. They first draw a line known as *Pat Gar*; they draw a circle ten fifteen feet away from this line, and kept their *Pati* (the broken piece of earthen pot/ cold drink cap/ matchbox cover) in the middle of the circle. They attempt to drive out the *Pati* from the circle with help of a round stone known as *Billa*.

28. The game *Bagchhel* (tiger and goat) is played by two players. One player controls four tigers and other player controls up to twenty goats. The tiger hunt the goats while the goats attempt to block the tigers' movements.
29. This game is a variation of *Bagchhel*.
30. *Gharbanaba* (making house) is an imitative of house making and doing different house hold activities by small children.
31. Like *Gharbanaba*, *Chasbas* (agriculture) is also an imitative expression of traditional agricultural activities.
32. This game is a group performance. First, players choose 'It' who draw a circle, they then asked, "*san ki bad* (small or big one)"? If 'It' said *san* then they immediately run away and ploughed same leafs from near by small tree and if *bad* then from big tree, and return to deposit in that circle. In the time of returning if 'It' touches they then they will be 'It' and again they continue the game.
33. *Bhalumaten* is an interesting game, which is played by one male and a group of unmarried females. The male player sitting down having his blind folded head on one female's lap. Other females moving around them singing songs like *Janhi Phulare Bhalu Khai Mati Ja* (ridge gourd flower oh bear! eat and get wild)... *Kaharu Phulare Bhalu Khai Mati Ja* (pumpkin flower oh bear! eat and get wild)... they repeatedly singing mentioning the different names of vegetable flowers. And at the end they found the bear getting wild, which attacks the participants what they really enjoy.

References

- Andrew, W. M. J., Jr., "Some Function of Ayamara Games and Play", In *Studies in the Anthropology of Play: Papers in Memory of B. Allan Tindal*, ed. Phillips Stevens, Jr., New York: Leisure Press, 1977.
- Bascom, W. R. (ed.), *Frontiers of Folklore*, Colorado: West View Press, Inc., 1977.
- _____, *Story Performance and Event Contextual Study of Oral Narrative*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- _____, "Four Function of Folklore", *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 67, Pp. 333-349, 1954.
- Barooah, P. P., *Traditional Indian Games*, New Delhi: Golgotia Publishing Company, 1998.
- Ben-Amos, D., "Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context", *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.84, Pp. 3-15, 1971.
- Dundes, Alan, *The Study of Folklore*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1965.
- Dunning, E., (ed.), *The Sociology of Sports*, London: Frank Cacus & Co. Ltd., 1971.
- Mishra, Mahendra, 1989, *Paschima Odishara Loka Sanskruti*, Cuttack: Friends' Publishers, 1996.
- Pradhani, J., *Kalahandira Loka Krida*, Bhawanipatana: Zilla Sakhyarata Samiti, Bhawanipatana, n.d.

Roberts, J. M., et al, "Games in Culture", *American Anthropologist*, Vol.61, Pp.597-605, 1959.

Voirin, M., "The Meaning of Play", *Culture*, Vol.VI, No.4, Pp.137-147, 1979.