Impact of Tribal Iconography in the Architecture of the Temples in Odisha, India

Ankita Pati^{1*} & Raj Sekhar Choudhury²

^{1&2}Assistant Professor, Piloo Mody College of Architecture, Cuttack, Odisha. ORCID No.: https://orcid.org/0009-0007-5783-9818 Email: arch.ankitapati@gmail.com¹, ar.rajsekhar@gmail.com²

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Abstract

Odisha is a cultural melting pot of not only the North and the South, but more so the coastal non-tribal culture and the Western hinterland tribal cultures of India. The state is home to the 3rd largest number of Scheduled Tribes in India, which includes 62 tribes. The artforms and culture of Odisha have evolved as a result of the interactions between such varied communities over the ages. The Nagara style of temple architecture adapted by the Odishan architects has been skillfully blended with tribal artforms and motifs emanating from the systematic inclusion of vernacular and tribal knowledge and customs.

This paper examines this phenomenon. It employs a comparative analysis of built forms, structures, decorations, and motifs. The tribal roots of many deities were also explored. Data was collected by personal visits to temples, interviews with subject experts, and from published literature. Its intention is to establish possible links between tribal art and the temple architecture of Odisha.

The paper concludes that there is a profound influence of tribal iconography on the Odisha's temple.

Keywords: Iconography, Tribal artforms, Odisha, Temple architecture, Nagara Style, Motifs, Symbolism, Built-form.

Introduction

Iconography in tribal art and architecture has been used from pre-historic times to date. They are developed typically in the rural areas and are often religious and ceremonial. Tribal art was not just about decoration, but was used for marking or commemorating special occasions like celebrations, thanking deities, harvests, births, marriages, and cultural festivals. It was also utilized to pacify negative forces of Nature. These forms of art have been used by different ethnic groups across the world and depict symbolic meanings behind colours, patterns, and shapes. The essence of tribal art continues to inspire creative activities of all kinds and is appreciated for its cultural significance and beauty evolved in temples.

Most religions are outcomes of the fear of human beings, of nature and natural phenomena. Indeed, the development and establishment of many religions can be attributed to the fear of and protection from (then) inexplicable natural phenomenon like the rains, floods, thundering clouds, lightning strikes, the turbulent wind, the trembling earth, or lava-spitting mountains, vast oceans and rivers, and awe and reverence for the sun and the fire. They have

led palaeolithic societies to believe in supernatural powers. In fact, some religions have also come into being in response to the fears of life and afterlife. Compassion for the dead, endeavors to protect their mortal remains, and meticulous additions to the bucket-list of what they carry for the journey after life have also reinforced the development of religions and rituals associated with them.

Often, God-heads have begun to represent these natural elements. Slowly, the world progressed from neolithic societies to establish river-valley metal-age cultures, and gods and deities too found places and built structures dedicated to them within villages and settlements. These have necessitated the construction of shelters, which have resulted in the construction of structural edifices. The main intention has been to make God feel at home. Thus, there came into existence the 'Temples' with a purpose and innumerable duties. However, there is a lack of evidence, – documentary and extant, compounded with the use of non-durable building materials in the ancient architecture of the Indian sub-continent, about when the Indo -Aryans started building temples. Nevertheless, as Fletcher, (1992) points out, it all started with the idea of Gods perceived in anthropomorphic forms.

The prolific panorama of Indian temple architecture holds an extensive range, associated with diverse geo-climatic locations and materials available—beginning with the simple Gupta Temple at Sanchi in the 5th century CE to the huge temples of Kanchi, Madurai, Bhubaneswar, Puri-Konark, Somnath, Gwalior, Parihaspora, etc.—having a broader aspect of art forms and symbolism.

Odisha schools of art and paintings consist not only of classical styles but also of folk and tribal styles. The range is myriad, from silver filigree, *dhokra* art, paintings (*pattachitra*, *saura*, etc.), brass and bell metal work, wood craft, stone work, papier mâché, applique work, tie and dye, terracotta, handloom textiles, etc., to performing arts such as dance forms (*Odissi*, *Gotipua*, *Chhau*, etc.), music (*Odissi*, folk, etc.), theatres (traditional, shadow puppetry, etc.), festivals, food, and architecture. The folk art of Odisha includes the *dhokra* art and papier mâché whereas the classical style includes palm paintings, the ikat styles, and the famous *pattachitra*. Odisha also has a prosperous tradition of tribal art and culture. Different communities like *Saura*, *Juang*, *Kondha*, and *Kissans* have their own individual style, which represents their rich cultural traditions.

In terms of land area, Odisha is the 8th largest state, and in terms of population, it is the 11th largest. The state is home to the 3rd largest number of Scheduled Tribes in India, which includes 62 tribes out of which 13 tribes are identified as 'Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs)' (Ota, 2015).



Fig. 1: Block-wise distribution of the tribal population in Odisha Source: Ota, 2018

Odisha is a cultural melting pot with historical monuments, archaeological remains, indigenous dance, music, arts, and sculpture where the North meets the South. The artforms and culture of Odisha is as diverse as its indigenous inhabitants. Having substantial diversity and number of both tribal and non-tribal populace, its art form has evolved with qualities—both aesthetic as well as utilitarian. With such a juxtaposed population of tribal and non-tribal ethnicity persistent throughout its history, interchange of ideas, beliefs, customs, and rituals was inevitable. This paper endeavors to examine this phenomenon. It aims to understand the influence and profundity of tribal iconography in Odisha temples and explore the cultural, religious, and artistic intersections between tribal traditions and temples of Odisha.

Its objectives are:

- 1. To examine the influences of the indigenous tribes on development of religious cults and, hence, regional iconography and architecture by cataloging specific instances of tribal iconography in selected Odisha temples.
- 2. To evaluate tribal and vernacular influences in sacred icon representation, architectural and decoration motifs

Review of Literature

Odisha, with its rich legacy of a substantial number of temples, poses a unique attraction for tourists, scholars, and many others alike. For nearly a millennium, from the 6th-7th century CE to the 15th-16th century CE, there was an unbroken continuity of progress in the architectural practice of this style of temples, unique to the region. The cult, regional practices, and temple construction continued without any interruptions with the change in the ruling family. The sub-style of Northern temples, i.e., the *Nagara* style, has been adapted by the Odishan architects, and the temples have flourished here with a systematic evolution called the *Kalinga* style of temples (Fletcher, 1992; Thomas, 1986). This style had expressions distinct from the other styles of temples in terms of structure, the architectural expression through forms, the decorations and motifs of the exterior and interior, and the deities as well. This was a result of the systematic inclusion of both vernacular and tribal indigenous knowledge and customs. For many ages, the tribal people have played a significant role in transforming Hindu rites and religious beliefs (Das, 2018).

The tribal provenance of the *Jagannatha* triad is acknowledged by scholars of the *Jagannatha* cult. Academicians such as B. M. Padhi, A. Eschmann, G. C. Tripathy, H. Kulke, B. Schnepel, H. von Stietencron, K.C. Mishra, etc. have studied and acknowledged the tribal origins of the *Jagannatha* cult and its subsequent assimilation into Hinduism. The *Jagannatha* trinity is worshiped as crassly carved wooden images - with disproportionately large heads with short fingerless arm stumps and a cylindrical body devoid of legs, - reveal its primordial or tribal origin. As opined by Tripathy (1978), the tribal origin of the figures, being too loud and apparent, was never concealed, suppressed, or changed. Rather, even after total assimilation of the triad into mainstream Hinduism, traditional religious texts, ballads, hearsay tales, stories, etc. propagating the glory and divinity of the *Jagannatha* figures expounded this tribal origin (Tripathy, 1978).

Another instance of such a phenomenon is observed in the *Samalei* temple at Subarnapur (Sonepur). Goddess *Baunthi* - represented by a wooden post wrapped in a sari - is worshiped daily along with the presiding deity, Goddess *Samalei*. During *Maha Dashami* (Dusshera) day, Goddess *Baunthi* is taken out for a ritualistic procession to the temple of *Shiva*, manifested as the *Budha Raja* (an old tribal deity). Similar examples of wooden posts wrapped in *sari* acting as the *chalanti pratima* (movable deities) are witnessed in *Khilamunda* Temple, Ranapur, and as *Kathi Thakurani* of Banpur *Bhagawati* (Eschmann, 1978).



Fig. 2: Goddess *Baunthi* (wooden post wrapped in *sari*) beside presiding deity Goddess *Samalei*, Subarnapur. Source:Author



Fig. 3: *Kathi Thakurani* of Banpur *Bhagawati* inside the temple during non-festival days. Source:Author



Fig. 4: Procession of *Kathi Thakurani* of Banpur Bhagawati during Dussehra Jatra, 2023. Source:Author

At Raj-Ranapur, a bronze image of Goddess *Maninageshwari- istadevi* (tutelary deity) of the feudatory *Rajas* is worshiped by the *Brahmins* in the temple adjoining the palace. However, the original shrine of the goddess exists atop a nearby hill, with an original aniconic image of an unhewn round stone being worshiped by *Khond* priests. This may indicate towards gradual acceptance and acknowledgement of the powerful but not fully Hinduized goddess who resided atop a hill in the border area between the non-tribal Mahanadi delta and its tribal hinterland (Eschmann, 1978).

The tutelary deity of the *Sulki* and *Bhanja* dynasties, Goddess *Stambheswari*, is widely worshiped in Western Odisha in the form of a wooden post or a stone under a tree. Incantations to the Goddess may be supposed to be addressed to an anthropomorphic image; however, the Goddess is deliberately represented aniconically. Such representations of iconographically well defined Hindu gods using just symbols, heaps of mud, stone platforms, wooden posts, etc. are not uncommon in Odisha (example: Maa *Hingula* Temple at Gopalprasad, Maa *Mahuri Kalua* Temple at Kanthigada, etc.) (Kulke, 1978).

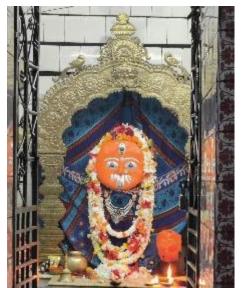


Fig. 5: Heap of earth, plastered over with vermillion and sandalwood paste, representing Goddess *Khambeshwari* Temple, Asika. Source:Author



Fig. 6: Stone image of *Maa Hingula* Temple at Gopalprasad. Source:Author



Fig. 7: An earthen mound and two stones represent *Maa Mahuri Kalua* Temple at Kanthigada. Source:Author



Fig. 8: Carved wooden post used for religious purposes in a *Kondh* Village. Source:Author

The use of symbols is not just restricted to representations of the divine. Symbols also find their application in architecture to represent cultural and religious beliefs. Tribal influence in the temples of Odisha can still be discerned from various symbolic elements in the motifs or patterns of the temple carvings, incorporated to convey social or religious ideas. The inclusive social character of tribal communities also influenced the temples, which were dedicated to such assimilated Godheads and decorated with such cultural and religious motifs are accessible to a wide range of people, fostering a sense of inclusiveness and openness.

One of the most common themes of carvings in the temples are scenes from everyday life. Scenes of a king's court, soldiers marching for battles, *gurukuls*, dancing girls, hunting expeditions, and even building construction, ship building, etc. are effortlessly depicted by the master craftsmen (Behera, 1982). A dramatic scene described by M. M. Ganguly as 'Lion Hunt' exists in the northern facade of the *Parshurameshvara* temple (Ganguly, 1912). Similar themes of day-to-day life are also depicted in the paintings of the Saura tribes.

Even the spatial arrangements of the tribal settlements may have influenced the layout and design of the Odishan temples. The integration of open courtyards, communal spaces, and interconnected structures also reflects the social and architectural practices of tribal communities (Mohapatra and Majhi, 2020).

The Research Methodology

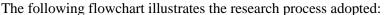
Data from both primary and secondary sources has contributed to this paper. The secondary data have been collected from surveys of literature, such as journal and conference papers, books, magazines and e-magazines, periodicals, etc. related to the history of temple architecture in Odisha, tribal communities of Odisha, their socio-cultural and religious systems, tribal settlements, and their influence on the development of religious cults and architecture. The works of academicians and researchers such as B. M. Padhi, A. Eschmann, G. C. Tripathy, H. Kulke, H. von Stietencron, K.C. Mishra, and A. B. Ota - to name a few, were thoroughly studied to develop our basic research problem as well as the initial base of literature.

For the collection of primary data regarding the architectural, structural, and sculptural features of the Odishan temples, the authors have undertaken specific visits to temple sites, enumerated as under:

- 1. Baital Deula, Bhubaneswar
- 2. Sisireswara Temple, Bhubaneswar
- 3. Parashurameswara, Bhubaneswar
- 4. Mukhteswara, Bhubaneswar
- 5. Siddheswara, Bhubaneswar
- 6. Swarnajaleswara, Bhubaneswar
- 7. Kotiteertheswara, Bhubaneswar
- 8. Sampoornajaleswara, Bhubaneswar
- 9. Subarnajaleswara, Bhubaneswar
- 10. Chitrakarini, Bhubaneswar
- 11. Ananta Basudeva, Bhubaneswar
- 12. Rajarani, Bhubaneswar
- 13. Chausath Yogini, Hirapur
- 14. Konark Sun Temple, Konark
- 15. Samaleswari Temple, Subarnapur
- 16. Hingula Temple, Gopalprasad
- 17. Stambeshwari (Khambeshwari) Temple, Asika
- 18. Mahuri Kalua Temple, Kanthigada
- 19. Bhagabati Temple, Banpur
- 20. Maninageswari Temple, Raj-Ranapur
- 21. Biraja Temple, Jajpur.

In-situ observations in the above-mentioned temples, photographs of specific architectural and structural features, ornamentation details of sculptures, geometrical patterns, etc., and discussions with experts in the field of Odishan Temple architecture contributed immensely to the pool of primary data. The details of the experts are as follows.

- 1. Ar. Maitreyee Mishra, Professor, Piloo Mody College of Architecture: With more than 25 years of experience and expertise in Architectural History & Heritage of Odisha.
- 2. Dr. Partha Sarathi Mishra, Associate Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Sri Sri University: A researcher and academician with in-depth knowledge in areas of symbolism, sacred geometry, and cosmology of Odishan temples.
- 3. Ar. Deepak Kumar Jena, Conservation Architect: A conservation architect with practical experience, having worked in many conservation projects as well as in collaboration with INTACH.



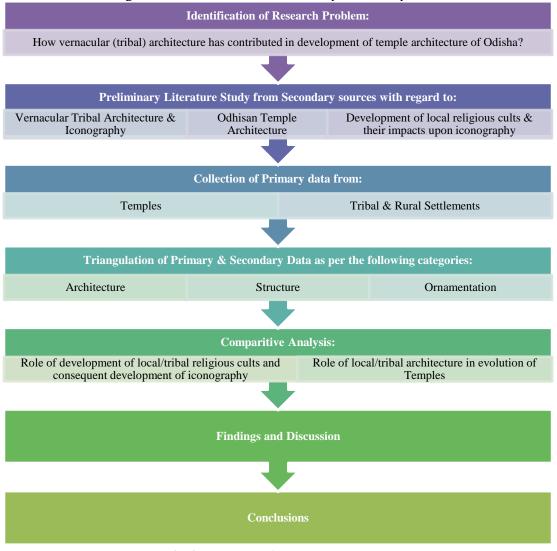


Fig. 9: Flowchart of the Research Process. Source: Author

Since the data collected was qualitative with literary evidence, pictorial data of various temples, tribal hutments, as well as tribal art of Odisha, the method of analysis adopted was also qualitative. It employed a comparative analysis. This method allows instancing various entities within the same framework so as to analyze, understand, and explain their characteristics as a function of their varying relationships to the framework as a whole (Tilly, 1984).

Findings

1. Architecture-Form Evaluation

The *Brahmin* system of worship increasingly became complex and ritualistic. The concept of protecting the sacred element has given rise to the erection of these edifices, or the main cella, which is the inner sanctum, also known as the *Garbhagriha* (literally meaning the womb house). It has become mandatory to feed, bathe, clothe, and entertain the deity as if God himself was there in the sanctum. In order to carry out various rituals with pomp and glory huge crowd accommodating halls were added to the inner sanctum (*Jagamohan*, *Natamandap* and *Bhoga Mandap*).

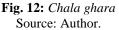


Fig. 10: Sketch of the plan of *Ananta Basudev* temple, Bhubaneswar (a typical plan of Odisha's temple) showing: *Jagamohan*, *Natamandapa*, and *Bhogamandapa* as preluding the *Garbhagriha*. *Source: Author

But earlier people, with limited resources, usually did not think of having a separate room for *Puja* or praying in their individual houses for religious activities (Bose, 1932; Patnaik, 2018). A designated house was chosen for having the '*Bhagabata Tungi*' (a house commonly built for reciting the Holy *Bhagabat Geeta*). These houses were made up of cob and thatched roofs in pyramidal form. In Odisha, the thatched roof structure is known as *Chala ghara*, and was termed as *Pidha*, when stacked and cut in a pyramidal shape. For performing social rituals or any offerings, gathering spaces were needed, so a temporary thatched roof structure supported with the bamboo posts was erected. This structure in a later phase was replicated and constructed with stones and formed a prelude to the sacred *garbhagriha* - the *jagamohan*. The *Jagamohan* structure had a stacked pyramidal appearance and came to be known as the *Pidha Deula* (Behera & Thomas, 1998).



Fig. 11: *Bhagabata Tungi* at Jajpur Source: A. K. Padhee, 2020.



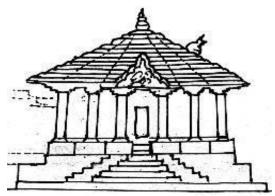
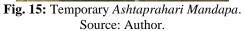


Fig. 13: Nahachalia Pidha Deula. Source: Author

Fig. 14: Nahachalia Pidha Deula, Mukhteswar Temple, Bhubaneswar. Source: Author

Asta-Prahari is a Hindu ritual function that lasts for 8 praharas (approximately 24 hours) without any break. It is a mass ritual or prayer in devotional praise for Lord Krishna. For this function, a special kind of temporary pavilion is constructed with bamboo pillars and a stacked thatch roof, such that the mandapa has a central space for offering and a pathway surrounding it for the parikrama (circumambulation). In a similar manner, in the inner sanctum, the deity was placed and offerings made at the center. and surrounding the sanctum there is a pathway called Pradkashina Patha for the parikrama. Also, in a few temples (like Parashurameswara) this astaprahari pavilion was replicated as the dwi-chalia pidha deula (Patnaik, 2018).





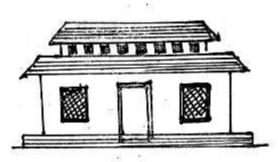


Fig. 16: Sketch of *Dwichalia Pidha Deula*. Source: Author



Fig. 17: Parashurameswara Temple, Bhubaneswar. Source: Author

Fig. 18: Dwichalia Pidha Deul of *Parashurameswara* temple, Bhubaneswar. Source: Author

A general feature profound in both rural vernacular dwellings of coastal Odisha as well as the tribal dwellings of the Western Odisha, is the raised platforms or high plinths. The superstructures sit over this high plinth which circumscribes it on all sides. Apart from protection against dampness and inundation, this high plinth serves as a raised ground for sitting purposes besides other household activities. Though it may not be a compulsory element, as it is mostly seen in the later period of temple construction, the Odishan temples too rest upon a raised platform known as the *Pista* (Sarangi, 2017).



Source: Author



Fig. 19: Raised or High-Plinth (of tribal dwelling) Fig. 20: Pista or Raised/High-Plinth (of Konark Sun temple) Source: Author

2. Architecture-Decorations and Motifs

After careful literature study, on-site observation, and analysis of tribal iconography, animals have played an important role in tribal art and Odishan temple iconography. Abstract patterns, human figures, and motifs with animal portrayals have served as the predominant factors in artistic composition.



Fig. 21: Saura paintings depicting daily lives and chores Source: H. P. Satapathy, 2015.



Fig. 22: Carvings on the door jamb depicting human figures in Parashurameswar, Bhubaneswar Source: Author

The motifs and patterns include rhomboids, honeycombs, grids, diamond chains, cross hatches, serpentines, and dots drawn in a repeating pattern (Mohapatra & Majhi, 2020). These paintings often vary from simple dots to lines to more complex squares or rectangles with repetitive patterns or independent patterns. The tribals have used paintings or their art forms to paint their walls or floors, and from there the idea of Jhoti -Chitta may have come, which is a traditional Odia white art. It is prepared with rice soaked in water and then ground to prepare a paste, which is then used to make intricate floral and geometric designs (Pradhan, 2009; Tripathy, 2011).

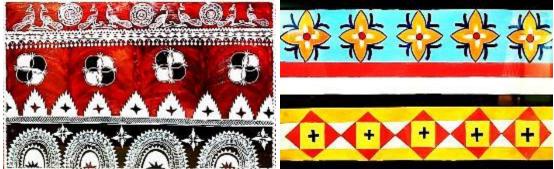


Fig. 23: Juang paintings with peacocks and geometric motifs Source: Odisha State Tribal Museum, 2018

Fig. 24: *Santal* paintings, typical geometric patterns Source: Odisha State Tribal Museum, 2018



Fig. 25: *Kolha* paintings with birds and geometric motifs. Source: Odisha State Tribal Museum, 2018



Fig. 26: Traditional *Jhoti* -*Chitta*. Source: Author

The ideas behind these floral designs may have been used to carve different abstract pattern motifs or floral patterns on the temple walls. The tribals used to portray their daily life or any event through their art which can also be found in the temple art form.



Fig. 27: Temple carvings with floral patterns, *Parashurameswar* Source: Author



Fig. 28: Temple carvings, *Baital Deula*. Source: Author

The *Parsurameshwar* temple of Odisha, a 10th-century temple includes creepers, and human and animal figures and even includes mythological stories depicting the marriage of Lord *Shiva* and Goddess *Parvati* and Lord *Shiva* restraining the pride of Demon King of *Lanka-Ravana*. In temples like *Mukteswar*, *RajaRani* and many more, images of the *Nagas* are depicted as amazing human creature sculptures, a canopy of serpent hood, and a serpent tail (Sen, 1972; Sethi, 2017). The artistic representation of *Chamunda* on the exterior walls can also be seen in *Baital Deula* temple



Fig. 29: Human and animals depicting battle scenes, Konark Sun Temple. Source: Author



Fig. 30: Shiva & Parvati in Parsurameshwar temple.



Fig. 31: Naga images of Mukhteswar and Swarnajaleswar Temple.

Source: Author



Fig. 32: Chamunda Devi on the exterior wall of Parashurameshwar. Source: Author



Fig. 33: Chamunda Devi, Baital Deula. Source: Author

3. Sacred Icon Representation

In the process of acculturation, the indigenous people have started incorporating some of the Hindu traits in their art forms, as well as in their religious life. For instance, the anthropomorphic image of the Goddess *Laxmi* has been replaced by a Lotus as a symbolic representation. Hindu god Lord *Jagannatha*, considered as a tribal deity is also depicted in icons. Scholars have traced that the origin of Lord *Jagannatha* is from *Daru* (the wood) as in pre-historic times the tribals worshiped the trees as their *Kitung* (God) for which they never cut any trees. They believed that *Kitung* had ten incarnations similar to the ten incarnations of Lord *Vishnu* (Dash, 2014; Eschmann, Kulke & Tripathi 1978).



Fig. 34: Daru of Lord Jagannath identified near Sarala Temple, Cuttack in 2015 during Nabakalebara. Source: www.bhubaneswarbuzz.com

Source: Author



Fig. 35: A statue of lord *Jagannatha* at *Biraja* Temple, Jajpur. Source: Author.



Fig. 36: Ancient statue of *Jagannath* found at *Sabara Shrikhetra Jagannatha* Temple, Kutunipadar, Koraput. Source: A. Sarangi, 2017.

Chamunda (Sanskrit: चामुण्डा, Cāmuṇḍā), also known as *Chamundi, Chamundeshwari*, and *Charchika*, is a frightening aspect of the *Devi* (divine mother) and belongs to the pantheon of the *Sapta* (7) *Matrikas*. She is also included in the 64 or 81 *Tantric Yogini* pantheon of goddesses. With obscured tribal origins, *Chamunda* has been incorporated into mainstream Hinduism and later adopted by the Jains too. The worship of *Chamunda* involves animal sacrifices along with offerings of meat and wine. In ancient times, human sacrifices to the goddess also finds mention. The tribals of Sundergarh and Sambalpur worshipped the Goddess (Mubeen & Shah, 2015). Described to be wearing a garland of skulls or severed heads with four, eight, ten, or twelve arms holding a sword, a *damaru*, a *trishula*, a snake, a thunderbolt, a *panapatra* and standing or sitting on a corpse of a man or defeated demons. *Chamunda* was a fierce form of the *Devi* with a skeletal body, a sunken belly, terrifying countenance of protruding teeth and eyeballs, and long nails. She wears a sacred garland of skulls and a headdress known as *Jata mukuta* (disheveled dreadlocked hair). Sometimes a crescent moon adorns her head with hairs tied with snakes or skull ornaments usually seen sitting on her *Vahana* (mount or vehicle) i.e., an owl (Rai, 2020; Mubeen & Shah, 2015).



Fig. 37: Chamunda Devi, Dharmasala (Jajpur), 8th Century BCE. Source: Odisha State Museum, 2021



Fig. 38: Chamunda Devi, Chausath Yogini Temple, Hirapur. Source: Author

Conclusions

A sensitive introspection into the evolution of human settlements and subsequent establishment of societies and cultures, we discover that Nature and its phenomenon has essayed a critical role in the development of religion, which in turn has essayed a major role in the expression of art, architecture and cultures. Further with time, as these societies expanded over trade and conquest they came to know, learn, appreciate and adapt to each other. And such adaptations found extrovert expressions in food and chores, customs and rituals, and art and architecture.

As tribal deities were reverentially accepted into mainstream Hinduism, so did tribal forms of dwellings act as inspiration for development of temple architecture.

Tribal iconography, as we have seen, also has lasting impression on the temple decorations, artforms, motifs and symbols and also even in design of temples in Odisha. This influence is evident in the elaborate ways that it permeates the region's social, cultural, and spiritual fabric in addition to the aesthetic appeal of these hallowed buildings. The harmonious coexistence of many cultural identities is symbolized by the merging of tribal features with conventional temple architecture, signifying the inclusive attitude of Odisha.

Upon closer examination of this fusion of creative forms, it is clear that the use of tribal symbols goes beyond aesthetics. It captures the story of our common cultural past and serves as a link between many communities, promoting harmony and understanding. Tribal-derived themes and symbols have deep significance that heighten the spiritual and philosophical ethos of the local communities. With an eye towards the future, the suggestions with distinctive cultural legacy through collaborative projects, community engagement, digital preservation, and cultural exchange may be initiated. In addition to preserving culture, these initiatives may provide a platform for promoting eco-friendly travel, business growth, and academic improvement. Let's appreciate the continuing legacy of tribal iconography in Odisha's culture as we traverse the future recognizing it as a source of inspiration and a testament to the timeless beauty of cultural fusion.

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