

CHAPTER-IV

4.0 ECONOMIC PICTURE AS REFLECTED IN THE SIX SELECTED NOVELS

4.1 Introduction:

The Novels of Monoranjan Lahary, Tiren Boro, and Katindra Swargiary project the economic picture of the Bodo society. Bodo literature and novels mostly highlight the social status of the Bodo people, through this portrayal of the social picture, the economic conditions are also shown respectively. The Bodo society's living style and economic conditions, the way Bodo people live and try to manage and develop their economic conditions can be seen through these novels.

Monoranjan Lahary's 'Kharlung' and 'Hainamuli' have been chosen to present to the reader an economic and social picture of the Bodo society. The novel 'Kharlung' mainly focuses on the living style of the people of Bamunkura village. It also mentions about the family of Bistiram from Udalguri and the Bodo people's stay in Mimang. In the novel, often the culture of cultivation and farming or dependence of the Bodo people on agriculture is prominent. Farmers like Ransrem, Lesaram, Orga Mahajwn and many villagers cultivate crops and maintains their family. At the same time, the novelist has lime lighted the migrating habits of the Bodos. If the people are not satisfied with the crops that they cultivate in their lands than they go in search of new fertile land for more production of crops in order to gather crops as per their need and to upgrade their economic condition. The culture of rearing domestic cattle, keeping maids and servants, and using different household materials such as Songrai, Sandri, Ual, Gahen, etc in various household works are portrayed in the novel. Through Lahary's second novel 'Hainamuli', agricultural life of the Bodos, the tradition of hiring maids and servants, fishing, rearing livestock, and maintenance of their daily life are highlighted. Gorgoram Mahajwn due to his hard work and determination in cultivation was able to establish them financially while in the case of Rago, Nani, Bergo staying as maids and servants in the rich families to sustain themselves was their only source of livelihood.

Tiren Boro's novels 'Bigrai arw Dwisrai' and 'Deobari' along with the Bodo society's economic picture, Bodo language, culture, and its preservation are purely attached. The Bodo people organised the Bodoland movement to preserve their culture and literature. During the Bodoland movement, the Bodos had to face many troubles and difficulties. At that time the lives of the Bodos were severely affected along with their economic conditions. Such incidents are depicted by the novelist in the novel 'Bigrai arw Dwisrai'. The novel also portrays how the farmers could not cultivate in a proper manner as the domestic cattle were affected.

The Second novel 'Deobari' depicts a vivid picture of migration that is shifting from one place to another in search of new land. Deobari's father Saoriya, her brother Naodra and Theklo along with his brother Bonda sold out their old lands and migrated to Darrang district from Goalpara district. They further changed their location and went to look for new land in Kokrajhar District's Jiajiri and Mwithaguri villages. They went in search of a new land because they did not get sufficient crops as per their need in their old lands. They also did not get enough meat and fish. Deobari and Theklo got married to each other and they were able to settle down as a successful family with a sufficient economy. Many others, like Theklo and Deobari also migrated to Darrang district leaving behind their old lands. The various activities of the Bodos in the new land such as agriculture, weaving and craftwork designs, rearing domestic cattle, the tradition of hiring maids and servants, etc as well as developing the economic conditions has been shown here.

Katindra Swargiary's two novels 'Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng' and 'Khwm sinifrai Swranthing', depicts the economic and financial sources of the Bodos for livelihood. Through the novel Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng the novelist portrays the mesmerising rustic village life. The plot of the novel is based on the Swmligudi village, the village of Gwmsar and Saikhong and the villager's lifestyle. Most of the people from this village are solely dependent on agriculture for their livelihood. Along with agricultural activities, weaving and handy crafts, fishing, domesticating cattle are depicted in the novel. Some of the people from this village particularly engage themselves in fishing to support their families is depicted in the novel. In the novel Khwm sinifrai Swranthing, the novelist basically highlights the communal

conflict between the Bodos and the Muslims along with that the novelist beautifully describes the lifestyle and the sources of livelihood of the Bodos.

4.2. Kharlung:

In the novel Kharlung the economy and financial condition of the Bodo people can be seen. The village life of the Bodos is vividly portrayed in the novel. The agricultural life of the Bamunkura village is also depicted in the novel. Agriculture is the backbone of any village; the same was the case with Bamunkura village. Fishing, domesticating cattle, hunting, weaving, and bamboo crafts also helped in the development of the economy. Even the people from rich families and job holders engaging themselves with cultivation can be seen in the novel. At the same time to upgrade the agricultural sector, the search for a new land can be seen since time immemorial. In the Kharlung novel as well, the cultivation of land, fishing, migration, people from poor families staying as Maids and Servants can be seen.

4.2.1. Agriculture:

Agriculture is the main source of income of the Bodo people. Ransrem, Orga Mahajwn, Lesaram from Bamunkura village are also associated with agriculture to support their families. The novel starts with the scene of a field where people are busy working in their paddy fields. It shows how Gohel stopped working and left the paddy field due to his laziness, while some other villagers like Gala, Bergo, were busy in ploughing their lands.

–“शावन अखाफोर। दैलां बहर । माइ गाइफुनाय सम । बयबो फुनाय गाइनाइआव मुकुब । सान-हर अखा जु जु । हाटाइ खुनचेछो जानोसै। गेजेर गेजेर इचे नागारो आर हाफिनो : अखनबा अखा दामब्रा, अखनबा फ्रि फ्रि। चाकोमा गामीनि मानषिफ्रा माइ गाइनाइआव मोखां शोमदोसै। खाइसेहा गेजेर नांबाय। आर जाइफोरनि हाया इचेलो बिसोरहा गाइजोबहां जाबाय।” (Kharlung p-58)

English rendering: [Sawan season! summer season! Paddy plantation time! Everyone is busy in plantation. It has also been raining heavily, since few days both during days and nights. At times it stops raining, while it again gets mild at times. The villager from Sakhwma village has been busy in the paddy plantation. Some of the villagers have completed half the portion of plantation. While, those who have less lands have almost completed it.]

With this sentence, the novelist is trying to project the agricultural activities of the Bodos. In the family of Orga Mahajwn, to help out in the cultivation of paddy there are three servants and two maids. They help in the cultivation of crops and also in many household works.

“गाबोनहाल हुरुन्नाइआव गोबाव जाब्ला माहाजोना राइगोन- गाथामया बुडो।”
(Kharlung p-80)

English rendering: [Tomorrow, if we will be late in taking the oxen's in the paddy field for ploughing the owner will scold.]

This line projects the work associated with the agriculture sector as every day almost every family of the village had to take their oxen for ploughing in the fields. It can be said that the Bodos go in search of new land to upgrade and stabilise their economic conditions. This novel mentions that Gohel leaves his native place Udalguri and migrates to Lakhimpur. The novel also shows how Gohel met some new people in Lakhimpur who also have migrated newly to this place. They beilved that that there would not be any shortage of things in the new place to live a good life. The thoughts of Gohel as depicted in the novel have been mentioned below:

“आं खोनानो मोनदोमोनदि मिमांआव जेनिबो आंखाल गैया। हा हु, माइ-दै, ना-बेदत, रां-खाउरी जेनिबो आंखाल गैया। मिमांनि सोना हादर सायाव मिमाडारीफ्रा लोहोर लोहोर सुदेमै राइजो जोगासिनो दं। मिमांनि उदां फैलाउ बिखायाव दावसिनफोरबादि आदारखौ खेपखांनानै जाब्लानो मोनो। आर आं खोनानो मोनदोदि मिमाडाव खारबोनाय निखाउरीमानि गासिबो रांखाउरी आरो हा-हु खालामनानै लाफैनो हादो। बिब्दिखायनो जानो हागौ हाजार हाजार बडोया मिमांनि सिमां लानानै गोवालपारा, कामरुप आरो दरंनिफ्राइ न-

बां, लाइ-लथर आरो मोसौ-मैसो फान्नानै मिमां थिडै हान्जा हान्जा फेगासिनो दं।”

(Kharlung P-98)

English rendering: [I heard in the new land there is no shortage, land, paddy-water, fish-meat, money, etc. The migrated people are happily living together in the new land. In the heart of new land like the birds picking up the grains anyone can pick up, everything is available. And I have heard that the poor people who migrate to the new land become rich later on and can also take as much land as they want. Maybe for that reason, many Bodos dreamt of leaving Goalpara, Kamrup, and Darrang by selling their houses, utensils, cattle's, etc and are coming in search of new land.]

After migrating to the new land the Bodo people forms a new village. The Bodos from Bamunkura village formed their new land as Seniabamunkura. The people who had migrated from Bamunkura as a sign of their native land they named their new village as Seniabamunkura. It has been five years since Gohel's uncle Aolen had made a farm house in that village while some of his relatives were still in the Bhutiapara village. Thopsa, Thibau and Phame along with their children from Bamunkura village have also migrated in that village. Aolen 59 years old man blackish complexion with little white beard was one of the oldest men in the village. The village was big but has few houses while most of the people's houses were not properly furnished even. The houses were small and temporarily made just to accommodate for time being without any beetle nut and jackfruit tree. The village was surrounded by a forest that includes swamp, wetland, woods, streams, reef, ditches, etc.

4.2.2 Fishing:

Fishing is also one of the supporters of the economy of the Bodo people. We know that Bodos love to reside in the village areas near the woods and forests, rivers and streams, etc. Because they like to collect and gather the gifts of nature such as green vegetables, herbs, fish, meat, etc for their day to day livelihood. Many kinds of vegetables such as Fern, Ontai Bajab, Sibru, etc are collected from the nearby woods. Likewise, Snails and Crabs are collected from the rivers. Gohel's sister

Phenthep also goes along with her maiden friends for fishing frown and collecting snail, and teases among them-

- “ आंलाइ दुर्गा पुजानि समाव खारसनहेनोसै हाइ । बिबारिया बुडासै।
- सोरनाव बाल बिबारि? जॉखिलया सोडासै।
- सोर दंभावयोलाइ, जलाइ गामिनि आन्दारामनि फिसाज्ला देखलायालाइ। मैनासोया बुडासै। बड़बो ग्लाब ग्लाब मिनियासै।
- नॉलाइ फेनथेप? जॉखिलया सोडासै।
- आंहा रावबो गैयाहाइ। फेनथेपया बुडासै।
- नंखाइ हाइ सोलिथारबाइ नॉ। गालायाबा दंखायो।
- बिबारिया बुडासै। फेनथेपनि मोखाडा लाजिनाइयाव गोज्जा जासिनासै।
- बिब्दिनो गावसोरनि गोर्बो बाथा फोरखो बुंफुरुंलाइमामै बिसोर सामो खन्नाइयाव मुखुब जायासै।” (Kharlung p-108)

English rendering: [-I am going to get married soon after Durga Puja Bibari said.

- With whom Bibari? Jwngkli ask?
- Who would be, with the Son of Anandoram from Jolai village Dekla. Mwinasi replied. Everyone broke out in laughter.
- What about you Phenthep? Jwngkli ask.
- I don't have anyone. Phenthep replied.
- It is a lie, you have cheated us. Gala is there. Bibari said.]

Phenthep blushed in shyness. In this way expressing their inner thoughts among themselves they became busy collecting Snails.

In the new land as well the Bodo people went fishing. Because, the new land is always cover adjacent to the nearby forests, rivers, and streams.

4.2.3 Cattle farming:

Cattle farming also help the Bodo people in developing their economic status. The oxen are used in ploughing the paddy fields and milk was extracted from the cows for consumption purpose. At present due to the advancement of science

and technology the use of tractors for ploughing can be seen; but in the olden times, the oxen were used for ploughing. The families who have huge cowshed or families with more cows and oxen were considered as rich and wealthy. Ransrem also rears oxen named Khanda and Sena. These two oxen help him to plough and maintain his agricultural life. One day Lesaram charged that Ransrem's oxen had eaten his crops and injure one of Ransrem's oxen. Ransrem also due to anger targeted the house of Lesaram and said-

- “बियो धिक्कारजों जाबजों लेसानि नखो थांखिनानै बुंहारासै।
- जाइ मानसियादिनैआनि हालुवा मोसोनि आंठिखो दानख्लापनानै हरबाय बे मानषिनि आठिंडावबो सानचे बेलाचे गाराइ जानानै एमफो नांथारगोन दे लेफोर।”

(Kharlung p-126)

English rendering: [He said sadly to point out Lesa's house, whoever has injured the leg of my oxen, his leg will also be affected by a disease and insects will dwell in it.]

The words of Ransrem's touch Lesaram's heart like a spell, but he thought Ransrem's words will never affect him. Since Ransrem's ox was ill he could not plough his land during the plantation season. The little land that he had was given for adhi¹ (sharecropping) to Karbla.

Ransrem was not financially sound. His daughter Phenthep eloped with one boy but later the boy refused to marry her. She conceived a child before marriage and this was considered to be a great impurity in the village. Meeting in the village was organised and as per the punishment for the crime Rs.50 was fined and as an act of forgiveness they had to perform puja to purify the family and village. At the same time tea had to be given as a sign of pardon from the villagers. As Ransrem did not have as much money to meet the expenses he went to sell one cow and one ox in Bhouraguri market. After selling the cow and the bull calf he gave the fined money to the village committee and the remaining was spent in performing the Puja and in giving tea. In this way, the Bodos protect their financial expenses by Cattle Farming.

In ancient times the Bodos used to cultivate their crops with the rainwater. But in the present times coping up with the new scientific technology agricultural

¹ sharecropping

activities are done through the help of tractors and hand pumps can be seen. The novelist also shows the scarcity of rainwater in the agricultural activity of Bamunkura village.

4.2.4. Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

The Bodo people who are not well off financially or those who do not have houses usually do not go to work as labourers like other communities. They also do not go to cities in search of petty jobs. They stay as maids and servants shifting from one village to the other. The people who are rich and wealthy or people who have lots of land take the help of this maid-servant in the cultivation of crops. In the Kharlung novel, many characters of maids and servants can be seen. The character of servant Gala has been highlighted as sub-story in the novel. He is from Elengbari village. His parents migrated to Lakhimpur and died. He became an orphan and had no house even. Phenthep's father being unable to pay the debt made her stay as a maid in Orga Mahajwn's house. Since land was also mortgaged to Orga Mahajwn to educate Gohel, her father had no option rather than keeping Phenthep as maid in his home. Orga Mahajwn had a bad intention for Phenthep and he wanted to marry her as his second wife. When Phenthep went for a bath in the river, while washing utensils, and while she picked up dry clothes he used to see her lustfully. At night while sleeping he wanted to rape her mistakenly he had touched his daughter twice. One day when maid Ongsi went home and his daughter slept with her mother he took a chance and tried to rape Phenthep. But she narrowly managed to escape after a lot of struggles. Phenthep escaped from the house of Orga Mahajwn and later she did not go back to work as a maid in his house. One day when she along with her friends went for fishing she was bitten by a snake. Gala saved her by instantly fetching an expert oja who cured her of danger.

The family of Bistiram from Udalguri village as depicted in this novel is seen to have kept many maids and servants. It is through maids and servants that Mahajwn gets help in the cultivation of crops and other household activities. One day when Rangrasi went to sell clothes in the Udalguri market and got back late in coming home, Ramu Gunda tried to rape her. Gohel saved her, his two friends

immediately informed Rangrasi's father and her father came along with his five servants and saved her. This depicts how rich Malsing Mahajwn was , being able to afford five servants. In his family, some maids wash utensils, some clean the cowshed, some washes clothes and some works in the kitchen. While other servants work in the paddy field or works in the house garden doing their respective works. The novelist projects the household works and the role of the maids and servants in the Bodo society through the characters of maids and servants.

4.2.5. Handicraft:

Ransrem meets the demands of his family's basic eatables such as Songrai, Sandri, etc by making with his own hands. Ransrem can be often seen cutting pieces of bamboo sticks in his house. Ransrem is a very hard-working farmer and he wanted his son to take responsibility when he grows up, but his dreams were shattered. When he rebuked his son he was cutting bamboo in his house to make some necessary articles. Gaojeng is Ransrem's wife. When Goajeng's son ran away she came with tears and heavy heart back to her house. The sun was already setting and at that time to Ransrem was cutting bamboo sticks with an old knife.

When the matter of Gala and Phenthep was supposed to be discussed at that time also hard-working Ransrem was sitting in the veranda busy in cutting bamboo sticks to make his handicrafts. Ransrem made all the necessary items with his own hands. He is the only male worker in his house because it has been five years since his son had left his house. For that reason at his old age as well old Ransrem fetches the cows from the grazing fields, plough the fields, plucks the grass from the vegetable garden, making handicrafts, etc are done by him. The importance of using bamboo for household work is shown in this novel through these various instances.

4.3 Hainamuli:

Monoranjam Lahary's second novel Hainamuli also reflects the economic picture of Bodo society. Gorgaram Mahajwn and other members of the village live there as a cultivator and cattle farming they develop their economic condition.

4.3.1 Agriculture:

Agriculture is the main base or the backbone of the economic development in the Bodo society. In the novel Hainamuli, most of the family's reliable source of the financial phenomenon is Agriculture. The plot of the novel is based on the family of Gorgoram Mahajwn, and he is also one of the cultivators. Along with him Manashi's uncle Hadang, Sanda, Udli's family, are all agriculturists. Gorgoram Mahajwn takes the help of maids and servants in the cultivation of his land. Gorgoram himself is a very hard working man, even though he was a rich man he did not waste away his time leisurely. He guided his maids and servants in the agricultural activities and heightened the works positively. He reminded and guided his maids and servants-

“चेनसला नॉनि सिफुंआ दोनथ’ दो। हर थौबाय। जौबाउ, राग थिबाउ। नौसोरबो दाबो
उन्दुआखौ? गाबोन नांगाल-जांखाखौ बावबाय नौसोर? दाउज्ला गेसेरनाय सिगां
सिखारनांगौ।” (Hainamuli, P-3)

English rendering: [Sensla, keep your flute it is already late at night. Jwngblao, Rago, Thibao, till now you did not sleep? Have you forgotten tomorrow's Nangal Jangkra(festive end of cultivation of paddy)? You should wake up before the cock crows.]

“ऐ जौबाव, ऐ राग’, ऐ थिबाव। सिखारद’ हाल्ला माबार हरुन लांद’।” (Hainamuli P-4)

English rendering: [Oi Jwngblao, oi Rago take the oxen’s and go fast.]

He also does not stay ideally by ordering others for work. He does something or the other work and spends his time productively due to which he was able to preserve his inherited property and at the same time double his income. He plans his works according to calendar and Ponjika book. Accordingly at the end of the month Sawan on 31th he planned to stop the cultivation of paddy because in the Bhadro month the paddy doesn't grow well. His plan to cultivate all the remaining lands that he has and to stop the cultivation before the arrival of a new month Bhadroas well as the celebration of Nangal Jangkra is being projected by the novelist. Gorgoram has also been very determined to end his cultivation work along with his maids and servants and taking the help of the villagers three servants and the villagers, amongst

them seven of them will be ploughing the land. The saplings of paddy will be uprooted and re-planted by three maids. The planters include one widow, and two more maidens from the village. They were altogether six persons and celebration of Nangal Jangkra was supposed to be organised. The owner in this way allows the works of the servants and places them in order. In the Bodo society through the help of agricultural activities, the development of financial status can be seen.

The servants Rago, Jwngblao, and Thibao according to the orders of their owner helped in the cultivation. Gorgoram Mahajwn with his inherited property and his hard work were able to establish himself financially hence known as kuber Mahajwn in the village.

Gorgoram's family is financially well off family but they also have sorrows in their lives. Because they do not have sons, have only daughter. They are in great sorrow as to whom they will entrust their property after he dies. As their daughter grew up there was always constant argument between the two parents. Manasi's father wants his daughter to married off to someone, but her mother wants her to keep in their house by bringing a son-in-law which is called Gwrjia system. According to Deosri,

“देउश्रीनि बादैब्ला मानासीखौ गोरजिया लाखिगोन। नायल-जाल फिसा सासेल। बिखौ बिलाय हरब्ला नआव सोर थाबावनो, सोर कुबेरनि घोन-दौलतखौ भोग खालामनो, बोराय-बुरि दुब्ला थैब्ला बि सय सम्पतिखौ सोर उदिस लानो आरो बायदिसिना।” (Hainamuli P-11)

English rendering: [Deosri want to get gwrjia for Manasi. If Manasi will be married off than who will look after their property and who will stay at home and if they die who will take care of their property?]

But Gorgoram has a different opinion as it is the traditional law of the patriarchal society girls are expected to be married off to other family due to all these differences of views they argued with each other. Many handsome boys have come to ask Manasi's hands, and are mesmerised with her beauty as well as with her father's property. But due to the condition of Deosri's expectation to stay as her son-in-law they had to break the marriage proposals. Captured by the beauty of Manasi

and her father's property one of their servant Rago was secretly in love with her and wanted to marry her due to which the happy family of Gorgoram became ocean of sorrows.

The character of Sanda from the novel also highlights the agricultural phenomenon. With the character of Sanda, the dependence on agriculture of the Bodo society for their livelihood is very much prominent in the novel. Sanda is also one of the farmers. He is from the village of Gorgoram Mahajwn, and he envies Gorgoram Mahajwn a lot. One day when he went to ask for paddy he was not given as he had not repaid the previous paddy loan which he had taken that made him furious. On the other hand, Gorgoram Mahajwn is a very rich man and that is why he wanted to take revenge upon him. Sanda is a farmer and early morning before the breaking of dawn he goes to work in the paddy field. One day when Sanda was untying the oxen's from the cowshed to take for ploughing he saw Manasi and Rago; they were heading towards their house after having a secret meeting. When on the third day Manasi and Rago were about to elope they were caught by Sanda himself. Sanda informed the Gaonbura and spread the incident twice as to what actually was and spoiled the image. One day when he was collecting leftover paddy in the field, at that time he spoke to Baten. Baten had recently got married to Manasi. Baten had no idea about the case of love affair of his wife with Rago. As Sanda wanted to take revenge with Gorgoram he took the chance and discloses all the secrets about Manasi and Rago. From that day onwards there was the fire of hatred in the married life of Manasi and Baten. Overall with the portrayal of the character of Sanda the activities of collecting the leftover paddy in the field, and ploughing can be traced vividly.

4.3.2. Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

The people in the Bodo society cannot be considered as rich and financially sound. They belong to the middle-class society and most of the Bodos depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In the present times with the help of education as most people have developed economically rather it cannot be assumed as to all the sections of people have become financially sound. Anyways amongst the Bodos

who do not have lands to cultivate and houses to live in, these kinds of people staying as maids and servants can be seen. To develop their financial status and to support their parents and siblings, some families keep their sons and daughters as maids and servants. This picture is best represented in the novel of Lahary.

In this novel, the maids and servants in the house of Gorgoram Mahajwn are highlighted. They are Jwnngblao, Rogo, and Thibao. They work as per the order of their owner. Early morning they take out the cows and oxen, ploughing and different works are done by them. Early in the morning the owner wakes them up and makes them ready for working in the paddy field. On the day of Nangal Jangkra as well, as soon as the owner woke them up they got ready with the necessary materials such as headgear, stick and the oxen. As servant Rago has been staying for four consecutive years he does not care much about the orders of the owner, but Jwnblao and Thibao obey and are scared of the owner. In spite of reprimands and criticism from the side of the owner, due to their poor economic condition, they had to stay as maids and servants in other houses. The love affair of his daughter with servant Rago and their plan for eloping was brought to light with the help of the servants. When Manasi's son Rojen was poisoned by Naleb, at that time with the help of the servants he was able to test the rice which Rojen had eaten by feeding it to the cat and dog.

Servant Rago is from Kaoyaimari village. At the tender age he had lost his parents and like an abandoned bird stayed from one house to the other as a servant. Rago fell in love with the Mahajwn's daughter Manasi and wanted to marry her.

The character of maid Nani is also highlighted in the novel. She is an orphan and has grown up by staying as a maid. The servant Rago had given the medicine Hainamuli with the help of maid Nani to the Gorgoram Mahajwn's daughter. Nani had no idea that it was a Hainamuli. Rago had tricked her by saying that it is a medicine for passing the final examination. Nani regretted and felt sorry when the Hainamuli medicine affected the life of Manasi. On the next day, she left Mahajwn's house. Nani to feed herself and survive had to stay as a maid and thus she grew old. Nani mixes the medicine brought from Udli Oja with betel nut and gives it to Rago. After some moments the medicine works and Rago ask Nani's hand for marriage.

They got married and lived together. But the Hainamuli medicine affected Rago seriously and took a different turn for which he lost his life.

4.3.3. Cattle Farming:

Cattle farming help the Bodos to upgrade their financial status. Most of the materials which are necessary in the house are handmade. Such as eatable things, food, materials necessary in cultivation and plantation, etc are arranged as per the need in the family. In the same way, the living things which can be kept or domesticated in the house such as, chickens, pig, and animals are reared. The Bodos can be seen as domesticating chickens, hens, pigeons, ducks, goose, goats, pigs, cows and oxen. Generally, the family having more cows and oxen's are considered as rich and wealthy. They also considered as the backbone of agricultural works and respected for the same. During the Magh Bihu and Rongali Bihu, Pita Sitao (eatables made out of rice flour) is offered to the cows, oxen and they are worshipped too.

In the family of Gorgoram Mahajwn as well as lots of cows and oxen, chickens, pigs are seen. During the time of Nangal Jangkra as well Deosri killed their chickens, pig. They invite the villagers and feed them. When people visit as guests in the house, pig, and chickens were killed to serve the guests with Rice Beer. Gorgoram Mahajwn to cultivate his lands had reared enough cows and oxen. The progress of the economy can be seen in the family of Gorgoram with the help of cattle farming. He is a very hard-working farmer due to which he became a rich man. He has many pigs and chickens. When a guest comes or whenever there is any festival or program in his house he arranges the meals with the cattle resources that are available in his house.

4.3.4. Fishing:

It is well known since the olden times that the Bodos love to reside by the side of the forests, streams, and rivers. If the root cause for it is examined than it can be seen that they just love to go for hunting, fishing beside cultivating lands. The people from poor families who do not possess the land for cultivation resides near the forest areas and most of them go for Hunting and Fishing and thus maintains

there basic needs. If it is said that only poor people go hunting than it will be a great mistake. In the novel, it could be seen that, when the embankments are broken or small partition that is made to take water in the paddy fields for cultivation are removed, than many people go for fishing as well as to collect snails. In the novel Hainamuli, Lahary did not forget to showcase the art and practice of fishing. Gogoram Mahajwn's two maids Dabathi and Seoari went for fishing.

4.3.5. Handicraft:

In Monoranjan Lahary's novel Hainamuli, the articles and materials needed for the maintenance of different works are made out of the gift of nature such as trees, bamboo, jute, etc. by the people themselves can be traced. Materials needed in ploughing yolk, stick are made by the Bodo people. The family of Gogoram Mahajwn is quite wealthy with lots of money. He has two cowsheds, two paddy storerooms, two storey wooden buildings, and surroundings full of the fruits bearing trees Mango, Jackfruit, etc. The materials use in the Bodo society and families such as Songrai, Sandri, Ual, Gahen, Khamphlai, etc are projected in the Hainamuli novel.

4.4 Bigrai arw Dwisrai:

Bigrai arw Dwisrai novel focuses on the economic picture of the Bodo novel. Through the village people of the Sonapuri, we can see the Bodo people's agricultural habits. Servant and maid system, fishing, handlooms, cattle farming are shown in the novel.

4.4.1. Agriculture:

Through the novel Bigrai arw Dwisrai, the economic status of the Bodos during the time of the Bodoland movement can be partially traced. At that time the Bodos were dominated and their economic status became very weak. The farmers could not cultivate their lands positively, and not only were their houses burnt but everything like utensils, paddy, rice, etc were burnt. The Bodos depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The Bodos while going to plough their lands, they

were encounter by police and military personnel and were beaten up, people being arrested can be seen. It cannot be denied that all these things have happened in real life. At the time the economic status of the Bodos was very weak and upon that they were disturbed and harassed by the military personals. The novelist has depicted some disturbances and discrimination that happen in the paddy field through some characters. In the starting lines of the novel, through the words of the novelist it can be traced out; how much the Bodos were disturbed and how they had to struggle to save their lives and for maintenance of economy.

Since the movement started there has been constant firing in Sonapuri village. Boys and girls participants in the movement from many different places and meetings were also held in that village due to which this village was targeted by the police. Sonapuri village is near to the national highway and the police frequently visited sometimes unnecessarily. Old man, woman, boys, girls, children, every age groups peoples were more or less ill-treated. People were picked up without reasons by the police and beaten up. Above all were forced to pay money to save their lives without committing any crime. There were many people like this are there in the Sonapuri village. Due to the need for finance, the villagers from Sonapuri village had to mortgage their lands or give for sharecropping to the nearby Muslims.

There were five members in Bigrai's family that includes mother Bingi, father Baoda, sister Phaodur and brother Sudem. They were poor family with little land to cultivate in order to maintain their living. The illiterate parents of Bigrai sent him to college and they had many hopes from their son. Thinking of the future lives of their sons in spite of many difficulties they had decided to educate them. But in the sorrowful call of the Bodo bima (Bodo mother) he could not resist himself. Like many thousands of young boys and girls who took part in the movement by sacrificing their interests, Bigrai and Sudem also participated in the Bodoland movement.

Bigrai Kurgur holding the post of secretary of the volunteer's force was listed in the most wanted category; often the police visited their village and was disturbed by the military personnel. Houses were broken, burnt, usable utensils and clothes were taken away, paddy and rice were taken away, chickens, pigs, and goats were

also taken away. The farmers were harassed and beaten when they were ploughing and planting paddy. One day an awful incident took place when Bigrai had come to visit his village from the camp. Sonapuri village was not very far from the place the residing place of Bigrai. It was afternoon time, mid-summer season, the Bodo farmers were still working in the fields. They suddenly heard a multitude of screaming voices of women, man, and children. Some glimpses of villagers running away could be seen later everyone was running. The saddest thing ever is the mothers having babies were running by taking their children on their back with much difficulty. By taking one baby on the back, keeping utensils on the head and again taking a child who can walk on the other hand and running is a very sorrowful picture. At that moment nobody had time to look at one another, only to protect their own lives the people were running. There is no time to look back. Amidst that, the sound of gun firing could be heard. By hearing the sound of Gun firing Bigrai Kungur became more restless. He called his friends and decided to get proper information about the actual incident, which increased the chaos. Three of them slowly proceeded towards the road. An aged person soon came running from the opposite direction and he was the first person to come running from the village. With a heavy breath, he told that police have covered the whole village and entered the houses and started to run again but was stopped by Bigrai Kungur Interrupted by Bigrai Kungur the man stop. Bigrai Kungur went near him and asked him-

“बिग्राय खुंगुरा बिनि खाथियाव थांनानै सोडो- नों सोर? मानसिया हां गोलाव गोलाव बोनानै फिन होयो- आं बे गामियावनो थायो। जों दुब्लियाव हाल एवबाय थादोंमोन। बे समावनो गामिनि मानसिफोरा पुलिस पुलिस होन्नानै खारबोयो। आंनि लोगो सासे दाहोनाया खारस्लाबनो हायाखिसै। आं इसे खारबोनानै उनथिं नाहरफिनब्लानुहरबाय पुलिसआ बिखौ हमनानै बुग्लि गसिनो दड। आंबो थाबथाया लासिनो बिथिं खारबोबाय थानायसै।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai P-20)

English rendering [Who are you? The man taking a long breath answered- 'I stay in this village. We were ploughing in the paddy fields. At that time the people were screaming police, police and running while one of his maids -servants and friends could not run. When I run a little further and look back, then I saw the police caught

him and was beating him. And without stopping I ran at full speed. After listening to him they restlessly look towards the village']

From Bigrai Kungur's village, one man related to politics Modon Basumatary; was from political power. He is recognised as Deoani. He is a person who has bad intentions and is considered as 'Jwlwini hangar' (one who tarnishes the good name of a family). In the movement for the demand of the separate state; all the Bodos were not united. Some bad people befriended the opposition party and made the situation more chaotic. Modon Deoani is one of them. One day he visited Bigrai's family and enquires about him to his father Baoda. At that time they had debates and disagreement among them, and he promised that one day he would make the police trample Bigrai's house.

“ऐ बावदा, साला मोनजारोडैनि फिसा। नंखाय नेहाथ थारानो नों आंखौ दिनै फाव फान्दायनानै बुहोबाय। बिनि फिथाया मोजां जानाय नडा मिथिना लाखा। आं बिनि खिथेरखौ होखारथारनानैसो गारगोन। आं मिथिखागौ बेफोर गासिबो नोंनि नोंसाजला बिगाय खुंगुरनि फाव फान्दायनायजोब। नायनि नोंनि नखौ आं गाबोननो पुलिस लाबोनानै थेर-बेथेर खालामनो हायो ना हाया।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai P-16)

English rendering: [Oi Baoda, sala son of a hungry man. People with no any dignity like you have made me beaten. The fruit of it will not be good you better know that. I will not leave until I take revenge. I know these things are all planned by your son Bigrai. Let us see, if tomorrow I will be able to bring police and destroy your family”].

The ill-treatment of the two villages Sonapuri and Rupapuri have been projected intensely in the novel. The enemies time and again have dominated and controlled the villages, as well as harassed the people. They burnt down leftover rice and paddy which they could not take along. The villagers how much they can they took out the paddy from the storeroom. They are trying to put out the fire of the half-burnt houses with water. Everyone is very busy to help. Some people were trying to take out the utensils from the burning houses. The houses, paddy rice, cows and oxen, clothings, everything was destroyed. An unpleasant and unacceptable incident has broken out in the Sonapuri village.

At that time many Bodo villages were disturbed by the police and military personnel. Sonapuri and Rupapari villages are just some examples, indeed many different Bodo villages were dominated and ill-treated; same incidents happen in other villages as well. Many Bodos were not able to cultivate their lands properly with the intervention of the police. They could not go to their fields, was not able to go to the market and sell their products. Such sorrowful things are depicted in the novel.

In the novel many Bodos were harassed, tortured, beaten up, and at times arrested by the police and military personals; while they were working in the field, ploughing, and planting paddy. In this way when Bigrai was in jail, he saw two illiterate persons being arrested without any crime is a very sad picture.

“सानसुनि ओंखाम जाखानानै बयबो जिरायलायदोमोन। आलबद बे बुब्लियावनो जेल सिडाव मोनसे नुथाय बयबो नोजोराव गोग्लैदोमोन। नुथाया जाबाय साब्रै बर मानसि बिसिनि थाग्रा थावनियाव सोनानै गालांबाय। बिसिनि मादाव सासेया बोरायथार। बैसोया डजिबा बोसोरसो जागोन। बिसिनि मोदोमाव गेन्जि गांफा गांफाल थार। मोदोम गंसे हाब्रु फुदला फुदलि। बोराय मानसिया आयदै आयदै होन्नानै खेंखायदो। सेंग्रा सानेया खुनुरोखोम सानाय बिसखौ सहायनानै थारो सेंग्रासाया मोदै हुगार हुगार गाबसोगारदो। जा नुबाय बिसोरखौ पुलिसआ गाज्जि रोखोमै बुग्लिदो।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai P-59)

English rendering –[After having lunch all the people were having rest, suddenly unexpected things happen and all the eyes fell onto it. Four Bodo boys and one old man aged 65 ,were locked up in the jail.they were covered with only one piece of cloths as a vest and their whole body was covered with mud. The old man was aching with pain, two boys were enduring the pain with much difficulty while the other boy was crying and wiping his tears. And it was crystal clear that they were beaten and tortured to the fullest by the police.]

Bigrai Kungur went near to them and talked to them. He enquires about the condition. They were from Khwirabari village, from the same village. They were ploughing the lands. The police control the surroundings of the village and arrested

them. The old man and the small boys are father and son. They were ploughing the land together. On that day they were beginning to start the plantation work but everything went in vain. There was none at home to plough their land. The old man is disheartened at this. By seeing the condition of the old man everyone felt sad.

4.4.2. Fishing:

During the movement, the daily labourers had to face difficulties. Some people in the Sonapuri village do not possess lands. They depend on fishing for their livelihood. They sell the fish in the market and maintain their family. But due to the disturbance of the police, they could not go for fishing and they were left to go hungry. One day some villagers went fishing by taking their nets in the nearby lake. After fishing when they were heading back together, on the way police arrest them. On the way inside the vehicle, the people were beaten and tortured. They were screaming and requesting the police to release them the whole way. The news of the arrest spread all over the places. The people decided to be united and stop them in the mid-way of the village. The people of Sonapuri village were ready to stop. The villagers of Sonapuri were disheartened with the arrest of some people as the people who had been arrested are aged persons as well as innocent. If for a day they did not go for fishing they had to go hungry. In what case and for what reason they were arrested is thought worthy. The family members of the arrested persons became restless and disheartened.

4.4.3. Handloom:

The Bodo women are very expert in handloom and weaving. They like to live amidst the natural landscape. Then they weave different types and colours of floral designs in the traditional attire Dokhona and Phasra. The indigenous Bodos are accustomed to the production of clothes from the thread of Indi is an important culture. The Bodos make their clothes which are necessary for them such as Dokhona and Phasra, Gamsa for man and different winter woollen shawls. It is an act of preserving the rich cultural tradition of the Bodos as well as it also helps in the development of the economy. Dwisrai is also one who respects and loves her

culture. Due to the changing times, many Bodo girls have adorned themselves with different attire of other tribes, but Dwisrai did not wear those clothes. When she was studying in college, she wore the Dokhona which was made by her. In the olden times when the girls did not know handloom and weaving, it was very difficult in getting marriage proposals.

“माहारि बिफा महत्मा गान्धीया आसामाव फैनायाव तेजपुराव थानानैनो समायना आसामनि रै-रुब महर मुस्त्रिखौ बिजिरलांदों- ‘सि दानो रोडै सिखलासाया जुलि जानायानो गोब्राबैसो जायो।बाथ्राया इनायनो रोखोम जाफ्लेथारनाय। बर आइजोफ्रा साफ्रोमबो दानाय लुनायाव आखा फाखा। सोरबाया जुदि सि दानो रोडाबोला बे सिखलाखौ रावबो नायफिनग्रांला। ओजोंहाय दानो लुनो गोरों सोखलाफ्रा हौवानिबो आंखाल गैया।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai P-6)

English rendering: (The father of the nation, Mahatma Gandhi visited Assam, stayed in Tezpur and experiences the beautiful scene and describes as- 'the girl who does not know to weave get married with much difficulty.' The words are really differentiating. The Bodo girls are experts in the art of weaving. If anyone does not know to weave she is not even considered. On the other hand, those who know to weave; there is no shortage of boys for them.)

Dwisrai is one who loves the nation. The thought for the development of the nation and society ignited in her heart since she was a small child. After pursuing education and becoming an educated person her love for the nation and society grew stronger. When she gets chance to showcase her culture she feels very proud of herself. When she goes to college or other places she adorns herself with the Dohkona made by her beauty. When someone criticizes her for wearing a Dokhona she does not care. She is fair, slim, medium height girl, by seeing her physical feature anyone could recognise her to be a Bodo girl.

The Bodo woman adorns the persons who go for a fight or war with an Aronai as a sign of encouragement to win the battle. Dwisrai is also busy weaving an Aronai. Two Aronai fell in her share. Two Aronai she has to weave and give. By wearing that Aronai some Bodo youths will go for a fight or a war. The Bodo woman will make the Bodo youths wear in the mid-war to make them win. Like the

tradition of the forefathers, the new Bodo generation is also preserving the tradition. The Bodos are the descendants of warriors.

The Aronai has to be woven in one night. They cannot talk while weaving. Who knows who will get a chance to wear the Aronai made by Dwisrai. Who will tie that Aronai on the waist and go for the war? It might be possible that the person whom she loves might wear and go for the war.

Dwisrai and some girls from the village made Bigrai and his friends wear the Aronai; as they get ready to fight back the police, military personals and the Muslims as they were ill-treated extremely as a sign to protect them from danger.

“दैसाया थाबैनो आर’नाइ फालिखौ दिहुननाने बुंनायसै- बिग्राय आदा, नौ सासे जोहोलाव।
नौ दिनै दावहायाव थांनो ओंखारदौ। सुथुरखौ फेजेननाने होखांहरनाने सनाफुरि गामिखौ रैखा
खालामगोन। नै बे आरनाइआ नौनि जीउखौ रैखाथि होगोन। दावहायाव नोडो नै गुण
बाराबोलोमोनगोन। आरोदेरहासादजानानैआलोगोजोनैसौफेफिनगोन।” (Bigrai arw
Dwisrai P-110)

English rendering: [Dwisrai immediately took out the Aronai and said, Brother Bigrai, you are a youth. Today you are ready for a war. You will defeat the enemies and protect the Sonapur village with pride. This Aronai will protect your life from danger. You will get more energy than as usual, and will win the battle and reach back home safely.]

By saying so, Dwisrai tied the Aronai Phali onto the waist of Bigrai and so some girls also tied their Aronai onto the waist of the boys who were going for the war. This scene was indeed a sorrowful moment. After tying the Aronai Phali the girls sprinkles holy water on the young boys. When the rituals of the woman were done Bigrai shouted a slogan,

“जैबर’हारिनि-जै:बर’सा- देरहासाद”(Bigrai arw Dwisrai P-110)

‘Jwi Boro Harini Jwi; Boro-sa Derhasat’ the land and sky resounded. The Bodo soldiers march towards the Sonapur village together.

4.4.4. Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

The Bodos are financially weak. Most of the people live in the village areas and they are economically not stable. Some people cultivate crops for their livelihood, some people are very poor and even they do not have lands for cultivation. People coming from such type of family conditions are forced to keep their children for work, they are called as servants and maid. The servants used to stay as a contract in exchange for paddy, and the maids in exchange for Dokhona, blouse, umbrella, etc. But the contract system among the Mahajwn's differs from place to place. In the present times mostly taking paper money can be seen. In the novel Bigrai arw Dwisrai also the characters of the servants are very much prominent. The servants of the Sonapuri village were tortured and beaten up during the Bodoland movement. One of them escaped very fast and narrates the incident to Bigrai and his friends.

The servant of Dabaru Mahajwn had just finished his lunch after ploughing the field. Police caught him in the field itself and dragged him to the road. When he gained consciousness the police asked him some questions and punched him with the gun. The person was in a complete unconscious state. Bigrai arranged people to take him to the hospital. Bigrai left that village went to see other villages. In the middle of the road, there are two fallen coconut trees. He examines the trees, lots of fruits were there. He thought to himself that- the police going in search of Bodo extremists had felt thirsty and they had cut down the coconut trees and drank the coconut water. Again he saw in the house garden there was a fallen beetle nut tree. The betel leaves had also dried up. It was very much clear to Bigrai. The trees also did not escape the tyrannous behaviour of the police. They also had to sacrifice in the hands of the police. In the opinion of the police, not only the Bodo people are extremists but, everything that is in and around the houses of the Bodo people became extremists such as- plants and trees, paddy-rice, clothing, cycle, clock, radio, goats and pigs, chickens and pigeons, etc everything is extremist.

4.4.5. Cattle farming:

In the novel *Bigrai arw Dwisrai* the rearing of domestic animals has been projected. By rearing cattle the Bodos could develop and safeguard their financial status. Rearing of cows basically in cattle farming is noteworthy. By rearing the cows and oxen the farmers can cultivate their lands. In the olden times, the opinion was such that those having more cows and oxen or whose cowshed is bigger they were considered to be rich. In the novel *Bigrai arw Dwisrai* the rearing of cows can be traced. During the Bodoland movement, many farmers had to face many atrocities. They could not cultivate their land properly. In the name of the movement, the police caught and arrested any Bodo boys stating that they were from the extremist wing party. The man could not stay at home and therefore there was a problem with the cultivation of crops. At that time the Bodos became financially very weak. At the same time, the people from other tribes felt happy for the misfortune of the Bodos. The police instigated the Muslims to be against the Bodos and they went to Bodo village as thieves. By befriending with the police the Muslims also disturbed the Sonapuri village. The Muslims became enemies with the Bodos due to the misguidance of the police personnel holding high posts such as Mr. Lask, and SP Mr. N Bhuyan. Near the Sonapuri village, there are many Muslims. One day due to the instigation of the police, some Muslims from the Muslim village took away the cows that were grazing in the Sonapuri Paddy fields in the afternoon. This incident heightened the scope for bigger incidents. The Bodos of Sonapur village got angry with the Muslims because they took away the cows and oxen. At the outset, the people of Sonapur had also lodged an FIR, but the police did not take any initiative. That is why some Bodo boys to take revenge brought back two oxen from the Muslims and they sent a message to the Muslims that if they return the oxen of the Bodos than only they are willing to give back the oxen that they brought. This incident took a different turn into bigger problems. The Muslims help out the police in burning the houses of the Bodos and they looted the property of the Bodo villages. The Bodos had to face lots of difficulties in rearing the cattle's during the movement. This is projected in a sorrowful tone.

4.5. Deobari:

In the novel Deobari, the character of Deobari is the main protagonist. Deobari is projected as hardworking, loving, and good hearted women. On the other hand, the character to Theklo is also highlighted. Although he is an illiterate person, he is a very hardworking and kind-hearted man. He toils and works very hard to enhance their financial condition. The novelist has depicted the agrarian life of the Bodo society and their dependence on agricultural products. Through the character of Deobari, Handloom and Weaving, cultivation of vegetables, rearing of chickens, pigs, goats, etc can be traced. The search of a new land by the Bodo people is also depicted in the novel. The advantages and disadvantages such as difficulties, sorrows, and dangers faced by the people in migration to the new land are depicted in the novel. For the development of the economy, the Bodo people adopting various techniques are projected in the novel. Bodo people to improve their economic status and in search of new opportunities by selling their lands and migrating to other places are highlighted. The economic status of the Bodos and their reliable source of livelihood are projected widely by the novelist. The economic picture that has been portrayed in the novel may be discussed below.

4.5.1. Agriculture:

Since time immemorial agriculture has been the main source of livelihood of the Bodos. In the novel Deobari, most of the Bodos related to cultivation and agricultural works have been showcased. Mostly the Bodos cultivate Paddy, Sobai², Dal, Jute, and different types of vegetables. The novel Deobari showcases the characters of Naodra, Theklo, Goiswrwn, Bonda, Orga Mahajwn, Khaphal Mahajwn as the sole representation of agriculture and cultivation of crops.

Deobari is from Jiajiri village located in the district of Goalpara. Her mother had passed away and she lives with her father, brother, and sister in law. They depend on agriculture for their living. Deobari's brother Naodra decided to leave his native land and migrate to other places. He has different reasons for migrating to a new land. The paddy field of Jiajiri village is not favourable for cultivation, and the

² Black Gram

land is up and down. During the cultivation of paddy, they had to depend on rainwater or the nearby river water. When the nearby river gets flooded, it washes off the water that remains and the field dries up. This shortage of water leads to less production of crops as expected.

Bonda's family from Mwithaguri village and Saoriya's family from Jiajiri village migrated to Darrang district with new hopes and new aspirations. They depend fully on agriculture as they were not educated or literate even. All of them decided to work very hard to clear the new land and cultivate the lands and to enhance their financial status hopefully. Both the brother Theklo and Bonda are busy in clearing off the forests in the new land. Theklo made one Nanggal to plough in the new land.

On the other side also the Deobari's father Saoriya and his son were busy clearing the woods. They thought that in the new land they would get the crops as they expect as it is fertile land. They named the new land as Dwisra Gwran. People also migrated from Kokrajhar district and various districts. A river named Mora Dwnsiri was flowing from the north to the southern part nearby the village. This river gets flooded during the monsoon season and dries up thereafter. That is why it is named as Mora Dwnsiri (Dead Dwnsiri). There were 20 families in the village. Those people who had migrated five to six years earlier had cleared off more forests land and took over the lands for agriculture purposes. By clearing off the forests anyone and everyone could cultivate the lands as per their wish. Naodra had booked his land years earlier near to his sister's place, where he prepared to build his house. There are no bamboos so the house must be built with the trees of the forest. Swrgiswrwn and Thophsa, both of them have grown old and to help them a community work saori was called to build a house for them. Deobari helped her sister in law Mwina in cooking and does various types of household works. On the other hand, Bonda and his brother had booked a plot of land and they are also busy clearing off the bushes. They selected a little higher plot of land to build a house. They made pillars of trees to support the house and prepared a roof out of bamboo and straw, therefore, two houses were built. There was a little problem with water. After the establishment of a new village, the people got together and dug a well in

the middle of the village. All the villagers used the water of that bore well. Dwnsiri River flows near to the village. The villagers go to this river for bathing and washing clothes.

Leaving behind their native land and migrating in a new land forever in the new village Dwisa Gwran under Darrang district, was not as they had dreamt off or as expected. The expected search for a new land remains unfulfilled. To cultivate paddy the land should be wet and marshy. In Dwisa Gwran village water was scarce for the cultivation of paddy. This led some of the villagers to re-migrate to some other region for better lands. Bonda and Theklo also decided to re-locate themselves in some new land again leaving behind Dwisa Gwran village. Most of the villagers went and found out that the new land was good and favourable for cultivation. The new land was also not very much covered with bushes, and there was neither big banana trees. If the people work hard they will be able to get the produced goods in abundance. One day many villagers came and clear the grassy land and bushes for building houses and for cultivation purposes. They selected a higher land for building the houses and began to prepare the required materials necessary. Thereafter, this place became a new village. Along with Bonda, his brother Theklo is also there. Like all the people Theklo is working very hard along with his brother in clearing off the bushes. Deobari as well help out him in his work.

Illiterate and uneducated, who had never seen the image of a school Theklo worked very hard and made his best efforts in bringing about economic development that can be seen in the novel. After marriage Theklo stayed with his elder brother for more than ten years. Nevertheless, he decided to separate from his brother as he saw that his children were growing up and they needed to be taken care of with utmost love and for their future. One day in the evening he discusses his decision with his brother, but his brother and sister-in-law didn't want him to be separated from them. Thinking about Theklo's future they approved his decision. After separating from his brother Theklo and Deobari work harder. They decided to enhance their financial status. Deobari supported her husband Theklo whole heartedly in bringing about financial development in the family. She reared pig, chicken, goat, etc, weaved clothes to wear, reared silkworm and sold the raw materials as well as weaved

clothes out of the filtered silk thread. In the case of agricultural works, she helps her husband in the field for the cultivation of various crops. Whenever, she used to get some free time after the harvest of paddy, she used to help her husband in reaping the paddies too. She also helped her husband in collecting the paddies and bringing them back home. Later, she also grinds the paddies in ual. Deobari helped her husband to a great extent. They worked together for the upliftment of their financial status. The Bodo does not use the paddy for consumption alone rather they also sell out in times of financial crisis or if they have borrowed any money from someone than they just negotiate with the paddy in terms of money indebted. In the novel, the negotiation of paddy with money can be seen. Theklo also had exchanged the paddy with money when he had to make his oxen cart. Theklo borrow money in exchange for Maisali paddy from Dayal Mahajwn. He is lending money in exchange for paddy grains. Many villagers from our village have taken money from him. Thophsa also has taken money for twenty mon (800 kg) of paddy from him.

Theklo had a desire to build a tin house. Both husband and wife with lots of effort, today they are going to build tin house. Theklo's wife has been always there behind every success of Theklo. She also helped him to build tin house. Deobari in spite of taking care of the three children reared livestock and helped her husband Theklo to a great extent. With the help and support of his wife Deobari, Theklo had gain double strength. Theklo and Deobari are hard-working individuals, they have planted betel nut trees and those beetle nut plantations have already grown well enough. In between betel nut trees, pineapple plants are also grown.

In the vegetable garden, spinach leaves, leafy vegetables, radish, cabbage, etc are abundant. Cows and buffalo's, paddy and rice, livestock, etc have made the family of Theklo and Deobari a complete family. One day Deobari's brother and sister in law had come to visit them as guests and they were surprised by observing their surroundings full of vegetables.

Thophsa Mahajwn did not appreciate the financial forwardness. He is Deobari and Theklo's elder brother-in-law and therefore they respected him and had mutual understanding amongst them. Thophsa in spite of so much love and care doesn't care about them. Omakhi Mahajan also envied about the progress of Theklo,

as Theklo by his sheer hard work and determination was able to own a decent house of tin, just like his house. At one time Theklo was a poor man but today he is no longer a poor man. Just like Omakhi Mahajwn and Thophsa Mahajwn he was able to sleep under the house of a tin roof house. On Friday in Lalpur, Jonai market people go to sell paddy grains, jute, mustard seeds, black gram, etc. Everyone has their private carts and they load various items in their carts and take it for sale in Lalpur market. At the present times, Theklo also takes various produced crops for sale every week by his oxen cart.

Though Theklo's brother Bonda went to a new land, it did not improve his economic life as he spent most of his time drinking. They lived happily when both the brothers were together. As Theklo planned for having children in nearby future, and get seperated from hus brother,that made his brothers life very in a very troubled situation. Banda had no son, only two daughters. His elder daughter was married and kept her at home as gwrjia while second daughter was married to the servant of their house kept her also at home as gwrjia. He also adopted a son named Bainang. The adopted son was lazy like his father. His father besides drinking also started to take drugs after meeting a friend Ulakhania. Slowly he got affected and was bedridden afterward.

The novelists also convey that most Bodo people also depended on agriculture cultivation of rice. They did not know how to cultivate other crops much. After shifting from Kokrajhar district to Darrang district, the new area was completely unknown to them. There was no suitable place for the market as every side was surrounded by jungles. The population was also very less in that area. In the west side, lots of Muslim people and Hindu people came and settled there. Whenever they found unoccupied they built their houses and settled themselves. To the North, some Nepali people came and occupied that place. They used to rear cattle and buffaloes. There were big sheds for the cattle and buffaloes in the middle of the jungles. The Bodo people settled from districts like – Goalpara, Kamrup, and Nagaon. Many Muslim people Hindus Bengalis also came from different place and settled. They all came and occupied the places that were empty by making small houses. The people of Jahar village lived on cultivation agriculture. They cultivated

crops like paddy, jute grains and all kinds of them. During the autumn season, they also grow vegetables and chillies too. At the beginning Bodo people did not know how to grow chilly and jute. They learned how to grow jute or cultivate jute from Muslim people. From then they also learned and cultivated 'Bangla Asu paddy'. They used to collect the seed corns from Muslims who were their neighbours.

Through the novel, the characters of Thophsa, Orga, Khaphal, etc. depending on agricultural crops for enhancing their financial status have been portrayed. They shifted to a new land and created an environment for the agricultural activities and cultivated varieties of crops, thereafter improving their financial stability. They have gain name and fame as Mahajwn in the village and were able to build houses of tin roofs. Theklo and Deobari were also able to build a house roofed with tin due to their constant efforts and untiring hard work.

Reaping or harvesting was done with some rituals. The guardian of the family generally an elderly female member of the family go to the field, to collect a handful of paddy after having bathed and wearing new Dokhona. After that, all men go and tie the paddy and carry them home. After getting the grinding and other processes, they make 'sitao-pita' during 'Magw Domashi'. During Bwisagu they make 'sworai' and everyone enjoys a lot. Theklo and Deobari too lived and led a good life in the same village. The whole set of the agricultural life of the Bodo people their benefits loses, drawbacks, interest everything is depicted in the novel by the novelist.

4.5.2. Handlooms:

All the Bodo tribal people use to make clothes for themselves. They were expert weavers this enabled them to save money instead of going to the market. There were many Boro people waving clothes like gamsa, dokhona, phasra, jwmgra, shawl, bed sheets, and many more items. In the novel 'Deobari' we can see the practice of handlooms or the talent of handloom, through the character Deobari. From her early age itself, Deobari knew how to weave. She learned every work from her childhood, like a plantation, fishing, pounding rice, collecting vegetables, along with that she also learned to wave. Every Bodo mothers taught their children all the

works right from their childhood days. Good habits, knowledge, household works, washing dishes, sweeping floor, collecting vegetables, carrying a baby and taking care of them, cultivating were taught by their mothers. If visitors come welcoming them, taking care of the surroundings was done properly by the Bodo girls. Deobari was one such woman who learned all the works and was an expert in everything.

Bodo women are also seen handling the needs of the family and helping in whatever way they can. In planting paddy growing of vegetable and in many more, works they were all expertise. Collecting natural vegetations like Sibru³, Onthai Bajab⁴, dingkhia⁵, they used to help the family. Deobari used to earn for herself from her young age onwards by rearing hens, pigs and selling them to the market. After her marriage, she dedicated herself towards leading a happy life with Theklo. Besides, her full support with her husband in plantation of paddy and vegetation, she also supported him by weaving clothes like dokhona, gamosa, bed sheet, etc.

The community of the Jahar village used to come together and think of how they could develop the village. They opened one library in the middle of the village. They also opened the weaving centre. All the village women used to go there and weave clothes and sell them. Through that act, they were able to help with the family.

Deobari felt so sorry when her husband Theklo borrowed money from others and was indebted. She was not informed about the borrowed money. Later she came to know only when Kabuli came to their house to ask for his money. She says,

“माथो नौनिया आखला मोजां थारलाय। सोर फोरोडा नौखौ काबुलिनिफ्राय सुतनि थाखा दाहार लानोलाय? मानि आंखालाव काबुलिनिफ्राय सुतनि थाखा लानो गोनं जायामोन नौहालाय?

.....

“जा जाबाय जाबायसै। माइखौ हले फाननो नांलाहाय। सेमोन दानाय इन्दिसि गांनै दड। बेखौनो फाननो गाहेग नागिरदो। दानो जासिहैबानो हास्राफ्रानो लागोन। बिसोरो बर

³ A kind of thorny arum plant

⁴ A wild plant has a sweet smell

⁵ fern

हिन्जावफोर दानाय इन्दि सि नागिरसो गारो। फास खुरि मोनाबाबो सारि खुरिसो मोनाबि।
होम्बानो काबुलिनि दाहारखौ सुखनो हागोन। थोवाबा माबा माबि फानलु-फानला जरायदेरनो
हागोन। थेवबो माइखौ फानथारनो नांलाहाय। गथफ्रा देरसाव बोजोबबाय। माखौ जानोहाय।
रावनावबो दाहार बिनानै मोना।” (Deobari P-136)

English rendering: [Your character is very good. Who taught you to borrow money for interest? What was in short and why is that you have to take money from Kabuli for interest?

Though she was angry at her husband, she found ways and returned the money. She said to her husband, "What has happened is gone. You must not sell the paddy. There is an 'Indi ji' (traditional Shawl) of last year's, we can sell that. If we go and sell, there will be 'Non-Bodo' customers to buy them. They look for the 'Indi' woven by Bodo women. If we don't get for Rs. 100 also we might get for Rs 80. That will be enough to return the money borrowed from Kabuli and if it is not enough we can sell some things and managed that. Even then don't sell paddy. Children are all grown, what we will eat. We don't get from others.]

That way Deobari used to direct her husband. Bodo women were able to clear the shortage that runs in the family by weaving. Same way Deobari helped her husband in returning the money that was borrowed by selling her woven clothes.

Deobari carried all the clothes from her birthplace as she shifted to a new place. One day while they were heading to their birthplace after many years, Theklo wore a new 'Gamsa'⁶ which were woven by thread. Even the dress was of woven clothes, which were stitched by the tailor. Over that, he wore 'Jawahar' coat which was of 'Indi ji'. On foot, he wore sandal of motor tyre, bought from Lalpul market. It was the winter season. They might feel cold so she took out 'Indi ji' from her wooden box which was locked and kept for a long time and carried them in a carry bag. Deobari takes out Dokhona from her box that was of 'Daorai mukhreb agor' green in colour and wore that. Thinking that it would bring inconvenience while boarding in a vehicle she wore it in short length. Since it was winter season she also

⁶ One kind of Bodo traditional dress for men

wore the sweater of black colour bought from the market. Over that, she also wore 'indi ji' which was woven by her. She wore sandal and did not forget to hold women's knives in her hand.

Both Theklo and Deobari co-operated and were able to build a tin house. Deobari asked her husband to carry 'indi ji' along with him while he was going to get 'Sal' tree for building a house.

4.5.3 Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

Bodo people who were living below the poverty line or who were poor used to survive by staying in other houses, working for them to live their life. The novel also depicts the two characters of the same. Staying from one house to another house serving other people some was able to build a bright future. While they were in the village Mwithaguri which was also their birth place, Bonda had a servant, named Haranga. He was a very hard working person therefore almost all the rich people opted only to have him as their servant. He grew old as a servant. They also had a shepherd boy named – Rantheng and Maid – servant Delaisri. Dahwna (servant) did the works like ploughing, cultivating, making of ropes and laokar (shepherd) did the work of tending the cows. Ruathi (maid – servant) Delaisri did all the household chores like – cooking, looking after the horse and planting of paddy. Many poor families send their children to work in other families. They grow their life working for others.

In the new village of Darang we find the characters of servants and maid – servants. The family of Deobari too had servant named Swmbla, whom they took for three years and appreciating the works done by him, stopped them from sending him away his payment is one mon paddy (40 kg paddy). They increased half mon of paddy (20 kg) as his payment and would not send him. Theklo took Swmbla along with him when he went to get 'Sal' tree for making house. Theklo and Deobari left their two daughters and one son in the good care of their servants while going to the city. Bonda gave her youngest daughter Saragi in marriage to a servant named Sengdariya who came from Kamrup district. He kept 'gwrjia' as there were no boys in the family. Theklo also thought of getting his eldest daughter Gali in marriage

with a servant. He thought that would be a help to his only son to work together. On the other hand Khaphal Mahajwn also thought of keeping back his servant to give him marriage with her daughter. Since both husband and wife did not have a child even after their marriage for a long time, they adopted one child.

Once upon a time, Khaphal Mahajwn was also a servant. Due to his hard work and good nature his master, Omakhi Mahajwn kept him 'gwrjia' by giving his daughter to him he became rich. Now he also thinks of giving away his adopted child to their servant Aalu and keeps him 'gwrjia'. On the other hand, Alu felt uncomfortable and move to Theklo's house after his completion of the stay as a servant in their house. He also agreed on Theklo's proposal of becoming his son-in-law and to stay 'gwrjia.' But all of a sudden he retreated his decision because of Khaphal Mahajwn, who with the help of some deoani's able Alu's thought to retreat and marry his daughter.

4.5.4 Cattle Farming:

The Bodo's improved their living style or economic life by rearing animals like – cows, goats, pigs, and hens. Their foremost agriculture is cows. In olden times whoever possessed full cows in their cowshed was considered to be the rich man. Till today, the people of Bodo tribe did not stop ploughing with bulls in spite of many scientific ways. Apart from using bulls and cows for work, they also sold them when they needed money. This then also serves as a source for their livelihood.

Though the novel 'Deobari' we also can see the rearing of cattle. While shifting to the new land, Bonda and Theklo sold all that they had like – hen, pig, cattle, and goats carried only the money. Thereafter, he bought new cattle to work or cultivate vegetables in the new land. Bonda the brother of Theklo spends his time mostly in drinking. He did not have much interest in cultivation, depended on his brother and left every work for Theklo. He also bought a pair of bulls for cultivation, but one of them was killed by the Tiger, who came to Dwisagwran village. That incident bothered both brothers very much.

Deobari also learned to rear hens from her young age and earned money to get her own needs. Once, on the occasion of Durga Puja, she sold her hens and bought the clothes that she needed. Deobari was the youngest in the family; therefore everybody in the family, brothers, and sisters loved her very much. During Durga Puja, she used to get dresses. Everybody likes to wear new dresses, during Puja time. Naodra used to buy for her new dress, sandal one week before as during the time of Puja the price rises high. Her sisters too, used to buy for during puja time, but then, they could not because they all left to Darrang, and it was impossible for them. Naodra also, after his marriage held a big responsibility in running the family, therefore Deobari thought, she might have lots of problems and did not wait for his gifts. Instead, she thought to sell her hens to buy new dresses for herself. As her plan young Deobari went to the market at Kokrajhar Narabari on Tuesday to sell her hens, calling friend Hamphe along with her. With the money she got from selling her hens, she bought all that she needed.

4.5.5 Cottage:

By building houses themselves, they also saved plenty of money. The community of the Bodo society coming together and building a house is shown in the novel. The culture of building a house together is a praiseworthy thing. The building of houses is a clear mark for the development of Bodo people's materialistic culture. To settle the houses like kitchen, granary, cowshed, happens according to the tending order of the Bodo society.

Theklo and Naodra build houses for themselves while they settled to the new land and to the new place they gave the name 'Dwisagwran'. Saoriya and Naodra both father and son served one block of land and Clean the forest. Deobari helped his sister-in-law in cooking. In the new land Naodra book a land near his brother-in-law's house. He then gets ready for his new home by cleaning the forest. The home will be made by cutting woods from the forest. Swrgiswrwn and Thophsa along with father- in- law and sister -in -law help him as Saori lengnai to make home.

In the same way, Bonda and his brother Theklo also jointly reserved one block of land and cleared the forest together. They chose good land suitable for building a house. They build a house with a thatched roof and trunk of a tree as a pillar for their house. They managed to build two houses of the same kind.

They faced water problem, therefore, the people of that new place gather together and dug one well. The villagers drink from the same well. All the villagers also went to the same river and washed all their clothes.

The novelist showcases the establishment of the Bodo village in this way-

“गामिया रेल साइथिं सेरावनो। खाथिजों दैसा मोनसे बोहैलांदों। आन्दाजआव गामि जनाया बारा गोबाव जायाखै। खोब जाथारोबा जिने बोसोर-सोल जादों जानो हागौ। दाबो सोरगिदिं हाग्रा बंग्रायानो जिजोबाखै। सोरबा सोरबा गंसे गंनै थि न लुनानै लाबाय। सोरबा दाबो जाब-जाब जुबजाब नसा न लुनानैनो थदों। जानो हागौ बिसोरो गोदानै खारबोगोदान। हाग्रा एवसांनानै लान्दां जानाय हायाव आबाद इसे इनै मावदों। सोरबा सोरबा मैगं थाइगं जैरै-मैथासिख्ला, मैथा गोखै, मैथा बांगालफोदों।” (Deobari P-73)

English rendering: [The village is close to the Rail Station. A river flows beside it. The village seems not old according to its look. It may be only two years old. Till now the jungle is not cleared. Some of them have built one or two permanent houses. And some of them have built temporary houses. Maybe they have just shifted. They cultivated vegetables after clearing the jungle. The vegetables like – Mwithasikla, Mwita gwkhwi, Mwitha bangal.]

In the middle of the vegetation small houses were put up. Elephants come in a group to eat paddy. The village people chase them in a group. Apart from elephants wild pigs too came to destroy the vegetation. In the midst of all, they have to grow vegetation.

Theklo and Deobari lived for ten years together with his brother after their marriage. After living together for ten years, they moved and formed their own house. In the beginning, they had build temporary house only, later on, Theklo and Deobari managed to grow their economic status and build a tin house.

4.5.6 Handicraft:

Bodo people make all the useful things that are necessary for them from nature, for example – Songrai, Sandri, Ual – gaihen, Khamphlai, Nanggal – junggal etc. When Bonda and Saoriya shifted from Goalpara district to Darrang district he carried all those materials along with them. They did not carry nanggal – junggal, because they thought, that would cause the problem as they were travelling a long distance by train. So they thought they could make nanggal and junggal in the new land.

To start a new life, Theklo got new nanggal for cultivating vegetation. Indigenous implements like nanggal, songrai are made by the Bodo people themselves. The use of ‘Khamphlai’ is also seen in the novels very often. If someone comes to the house, they are given ‘Khamphlai’ to sit upon and it is also used for the family members at home. Khamphlai uses in the novel such as-

“Mother Deobari, the guest has arrived, bring khamphlai. Deobari comes out from the house and gives khamphlai. At the same time, her sister-in-law to brings khamphlai.”

"Four people who have come to see daughter-in-law, Damphr Oja and Oja burwi sat down. They are couples of the village. After they all have sat down, Soariya too brings one Khamphlai for herself and sat with them."

“All of a sudden once, Theklo went to Deobari’s house and he was asked to be seated on Khamphlai. Deobari sister-in-law Mwina attends everybody and gives them Khamphlai to sit”.

“Once Bonda from Mwitaguri village came to Deobari’s house to enquire about their shifting to Darrang district, assuming that he will get some news, at that time too, the use of Khamphlai is depicted by the novelist”.

“Mother Deobari, bring one Khamphlai. Dobar immediately comes out from the house and gives one Khamphlai. Bonda slowly moves and proceeds to set on it”

“At the new place, when the sister of Naodra, Jangkhali came to their house was given Khamphlai to sit. Oh! Sister-in-law, come and sit.”

Mwina goes and arranges on Khamphlai to sit. Jangkhali then sits on it. While Bonda was in the new land, he visited the family of Ulakaniya in the village

called 'Balisiya' and he was given Khamphlai to sit. In the novel, the novelist depicted many times the use of Khamphlai for sitting purposes, which Bodo people made themselves.

4.6 Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng:

Along with the image of the Bodo society, the economic condition of the Bodo community has also been described through this novel. The path is chosen by the Bodos to live their lives like cultivation, raising animals, fishing, selling their goods, becoming servants and maids, etc. activities are cited clearly in this novel. The author has described the way of living of Gwmsar, Saikhong, Gwmbwr in their village Simbligudi. Villager of that village was living by paddy-cultivation, harvesting it, jute planting, etc. activities were narrated by the author throughout the novel. Gwmsar, Saikhong, Gwmbwr, Ramwnda, and Rwndao used to play together in childhood and celebrate festivals. As they become mature they live became different from each other. Gwmsar becomes the only doctor of the village who got higher education and served his villagers by opening a hospital in nearby village Salbari. Saikhong got the opportunity to study BA but his path took a different way during the movement. He joined the movement to save the race of his community and became wanted by police. So, he was searched frequently by them and so he ran away somewhere. Gwmsar's other friends like Gwmbwr, Ramwnda, Gendao, etc. have chosen the path of cultivation for living their lives.

4.6.1 Agriculture:

The main way of living of the Bodos is cultivation. They used to cultivate various crops. The author has explained the living of people of Simbligudi village by cultivation. Most of the villagers were farmers.

Dabla, father of Gwmsar was a farmer and live by cultivating. He was living happily along with his wife Somaisri, two sons Gwmsar and Birindao and a brother named Jwngsar. He have around thirty bigha paddy field, approximately five bighas of homestead, two pairs of bullocks, a pair of cows. With this much property,

Somaisri and Dabla were living their life without any problem. Birindao was only three years of age by then.

Their son Gwmsar has also helped them in cultivation sometimes. After returning from school he used to do as her mother asked him

“नोइ आफा गोमसार, दिनै नों गेलेनो थांनालिया। नोंफा आरो नोंथैजों दुब्लिआव माइ हाहैदों। बालेंमोननि आवजार बिफां सेरनि हायाव दहाय फुंआव नोंफाया खोथिया फोनानै दोनबोदों। नों सखा होनो थांफै फिसा। नडाब्ला सखाफोरा खोथिया फोनाय माइफोरखौ जालांजोबगोन।” (Sanmwkhangari LamajwngP-28)

English rendering: [Dear son Gwmsar, don't go out to play today. Your father and uncle have scattered rice corp in the field nearby Aojar tree of Baleng's home. You should go there and drive away sparrows there; otherwise, sparrows will eat up all the seed.]

The author has described the character of Dabla as an active hard worker. His younger brother Jwngsar also had helped him in cultivation. We can see in the novel that Gwmsar had helped his father in cultivation after becoming a doctor. Bodo farmers helped each other in cultivation by organising a feeding event named a Saoriya, which has been seen for ages among Bodo peoples. Conducting Saoriya by Gwmsar's family had also seen in the novel for ploughing and paddy planting invitation was offered to help them in cultivation as required. Gwmbwr, Ramwnda and many other young village boys arrived for ploughing and paddy planting. Baleng, Somaisri, Phoudur, Swmsri, Laogi and two maids from the village and two other aged women have arrived. In this way, the villagers helped each other. Secondly, we can see the Saoriya organised by the family of Baleng.

In the novel, Saikhong's uncle Hobga and his father are doing cultivation. They have chosen as their way for living. Hobga helped his brother by the various ways in cultivation. They both work hard to develop their family. One day, Minisri was encountered as a welcoming mainao (Goddess of wealth) from the paddy field in the novel. Related with cultivation mainao welcoming is one of Bodo's most important festivals which are observed when first harvesting of rice crops is done. Saikhong's family was very well organised when his uncle Hobga and his father

were together but after separation, their economic condition became weak. Saikhong's life also spoiled while he joins the movement. He was unable to stay at home because of the continuous searching of police and ran away to the forest.

Baleng's father was also a farmer. Their family have organised a festival named 'Wngkam Gwrlwi janai'. This festival is organised when newly harvested rice crops are consumed for the first time. This new rice is offered to Goddess at first and then it is feed among the villagers. It is believed that there would be no lack of rice in the house only if villagers are fed with proper care in the fest.

Orkhang and Orga are the two very hardworking farmers. They are cultivating very well in the land given by their father. Jwngsar's father was very kind to him because he was the youngest son so he did not allow him to do any work. To make him well educated, he sent Jwngsar to Barpeta Mission. But he was unable to pass matriculation even after his third attempt and returned to home as helpless. He had no idea in cultivation. He did not complete in his education. His two elder brothers also were very kind to him and asked him to stay with them. After his father passed away, he used to create chaos in the family after getting drunk. Alcoholic Jwngsar decided to separate himself from his brother's family gathering the villagers. Though Orga and Orkhang were not willing to do but they were helpless. Jwngsar sold out all the property he got after separation from his brother and got married to a widow and used to work as labour. In this way, he spoiled his life by consuming alcohol.

4.6.2 Cattle Farming:

Selling raised chickens, pigs, cattle or using it for household expenses can be seen through the novel. Bullock is the most important domestic animals among the Bodos. They use it for cultivation mainly so we can see at least a pair of bullocks in each family of Bodo people in the Bodo village. Gwmsar's father has a cattle farm to develop his economic condition to cultivate and live. Since bullock is the main head for cultivation so they take care of it very well. One day, while Gwmsar and his friends were returning from the market place in the evening they saw Dabla putting some green grasses on fire near the cowshed so that mosquitoes run away and could

not bite his cows. We can see such characters in the case of Orga and Orkhang. They love their cattle very much.

Rising animals like chicken, pigs, goats, etc. can be seen among Bodos. They earn money by raising them. When some festivals occur at home, such as a wedding, then these raised animals are slaughtered and used as a meet to feed which results in reducing the wedding expenses. Gwmsar's family also has raised chickens and taking care of it properly. One day when Gwmsar was eating his lunch on the yard his mother drives away a mother hen when she came near to the place of his son's dinning. Delaisri showed stick to the hen so that they cannot return near to the place. When Gwmsar was about to finish, he threw some rice towards the mother hen. It is their chicken and it is difficult to find food outside because of the rainy season. By seeing the struggle of mother to feed so many chickens of her, Jwngsar might have felt pity for them, he then threw a hand full of rice towards them. Seeing this activity of son, Delaisri said,

“सि आफा, जाबाय जानायनि गेजेरावनो बेबायदियै दावफोरनो ओंखाम गारसावनानै हरनो हामा। लाइ मोनथारो बिसोर। हरनांलिया। दायो आं एंखुर होगोन बिसोरनो।”
(Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng P-27)

English rendering: [Son do not do such while you are eating. They will get used to it. Do not throw again. I shall give them some rice later.]

Through Delaisri's word, the care and love for her raised chickens can be understood. When chicken was having food one of the chicks was snatched away by an eagle. Coward's mother then left her chicks and ran away and hides under granary storage in the southeast side of the yard. She came out after an eagle had snatched off the chick and cried out to gather her remaining chicks like mad. Observing that coward and cold-hearted behaviour of mother hen, Delaisri said in anger,

“थुइ नोडो आवसारि। फिसाफोरखौ गजबना लानानै सुथुरनिफ्राय रैखा खालामनो नाजायालासिनो गावहासो एब्रेगोहैदो गिख'आ।” (Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng P-28)

English rendering: [You heartless mother instead of saving the chicks by hiding them inside her from the enemy coward herself had run away].

The anger of losing a chick and sorrow could be observed from those Delaisri's sentences.

4.6.3 Fishing:

Life by fishing can also rescue the economic condition of Bodos. Bodos used to live near streams, river and choose such villages to live. They do not only catch fish for consuming it but also for selling it nowadays. Through this novel, the authors have described how Bodos were among the early tribes to introduce fishing with Jekhai, collecting snails etc.

Most of the villagers of Simbligudi live by fishing. It has been described in the novel that one after another Dhwnsi Lake was surrounded with many bright Hesak (light lamp) like we can see lights at night in any cities or towns. This Dhwnsi Lake has provided many families with their earnings for living. Dry or rainy, in all seasons, people go at night for catching fishes with spears taking Hesak and in the day time, they travel to Laodonga, Kharbonga and many different places for catching fishes with net. In the dry season, they catch various kinds of fishes like eal, kajuli, tilapia, pink pench, mystustengana, vaam (river eal), etc. just by pulling cattails and grasses. Many men and women from the northern village of Salbari use to come to Dhwnsi for catching fishes. They sell the fishes they caught and buy the needy stuff and goods for their household in Salbari market. While getting the fresh rainwater in the month of Bwisag, in the low lying land of Samsu rich-man, we can see crabs and snails coming out often. In rainy season families of Simbligudi village do not run out of fishes, crabs, and snails.

Theklo's father Laoda also lived by fishing. He did not have land property so he decided to choose this path for living. Laoda used to run his home by the money he got after selling the fishes he used to collect from the nearby rivers and ponds. Dhwnsi River was filled with fishes, crabs, and snails.

Gwmsar's family and other villagers also go for fishing in Laodanga and Kharbang to fulfill their hunger. Dabla took some fishes for home. This way they saved lots of money as they catch fishes by themselves.

Along with mature people many teenage boys and girls also do fishing, collect snails. We can see them becoming an expert in it as they grow older as described in the novel. As explained when Gwmsar and his friends were roaming after having their lunch, they saw that villagers Laoda, Merga, Saikhong, Uncle Hobga and many more were catching fishes with nets in the flowing of Dhwnsi lake flooded water. They have caught various kinds of fishes. His uncle Hobga was catching by throwing net and cleaning them up and putting the caught fishes into the Khobai⁷ (cage made of bamboo for keeping fish).

Group of Ramwnda, Gwmsar and many more also go for fishing in Dhwnsi Lake all of a sudden.

“थु जौहा घेमसि बिलोआव थानो।” (Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng P-19)

English rendering: [Let's go to Dhwnsi lake for fishing] saying such they went for fishing.

The author has explained the fishing scene as follows. It was evening time, in the paddy field of Kerpai, Gwmsar, Ramwnda, Gwmbwr, Saikhong, and Mwdaoka have kept fish trap. Traps were made of sticks of dry jute plant and large Boslarplant tying up along with fish hook with the help of hard thread within the sticks. Earthworm, tadpoles, grasshoppers and white eggs of ants were pinned with the fish hook and serially placed on the water of the paddy field. After doing this they rest for some moment in the low lying lands of Kerpai. After sometime various kinds of fishes were trapped in the hooks. They collected all their traps respectively and took caught fishes in Kobai and pierced them with a grass string. Sometimes they were able to catch river-eel also. That day only Swmkhang has brought Khobai and so others have taken their fishes by piercing with grass string.

“नोइ आइयै, हालगिंगासे ना मोनबोदों आं।” (Sanmwkhangari LamajwngP-46)

English rendering: [Look mother I have caught string full of fishes today] Gwmsar said and gave it to her mother. In this way, we can observe the fishing activities of the Bodo and bringing it in Khobai or by piercing it with grass string.

⁷ cage made of bamboo for keeping fish

4.6.4 Handlooms:

The weaving of Indi, silk clothes among Bodos represents the developed technique. They used to wear it for saving their economic condition. Raising silkworm and extracting threads from the cocoons of worms are the activities of most of the Bodo women in Bodo villages. They are skilled in it. They use to weave wool clothes, Gamsa, Jwmgra, etc. to wear and also earn money by selling it. Gwmsar's mother Bilaisri was uniting threads for weaving. Somaisri had set net of threads for making Dokhona ornamented with designs of Pharwo megon (dove eye design). She was observing the thread clearly wound around the Musra inside the Makhu placed inside the weaving instrument and started the weaving by pulling the rope tied up with the weaving machine made by them. She was concentrated on her work.

The author had explained the skilled nature of weaving of the Bodo women and expertise in designing it through Somaisri character. They use to weave the required clothes by themselves. The rainy season is over and the autumn season has arrived. No work remains in the paddy field and is out the season for planting rice. The rice corps is green in colour now. Servant does not have heavy works rather than ploughing in the backyards for vegetable plantation. Amateur women, Bodo women are busy weaving the well designed Dokhona, Jwmgra, Pali (Scarf) and woolen clothes required during winter, sometimes they went for fishing and collecting vegetables. This way the author has explained the expert nature of Bodo women. According to him, in the autumn season, Bodo men and women have much work than cultivating vegetables and weaving clothes.

We can see the preparation of weaving through the character of Saikhong's sister Mithinga in the novel. She was busy in uniting threads with her Jotor in a wooden stick known as Musra.

Mwdaoka's mother is also seen organising net of threads for weaving. Apart from Ramwnda's mother Thaisri, Gwmbwr's mother Hailu, amateur girls like Laogi and Phansari are helping Mwdaoka's mother. When Gwmsar and his friends are playing marbles near the looming place of Mwdaoka's mother, once marble went towards their loom and Ramwnda goes after it to bring it back and he jumped over

the net of threads. This time they have crossed the limit of patience of Teleb. She picked up the bamboo stick and drove them away from the place saying,

“दहायनो बुंदों आं हथसिराफोरखौ, हिसान सौनायखौ बारनाडा होननानै। हिसामआ खाना नाडो। थांगोनना थाडाखै नौंसोर बेनिफ्राय गुबुनफोराव गेलेहैथां।” (Sanmwkhangari LamajwngP-52)

English rendering: [I have told those cleavers before not to jump over the threads loom. It makes complications. Are you going or not? Go to other places.]

In the winter season, the mother provides their children with warm clothes weaved by them rather than buying it from the market and save money. We can see in the novel that during the third Belagur burning festival Gwmsar, Gwmbwr and many more have worn warm clothes. They have gathered with other children of the village taking laru, pita, sourai⁸ (snacks prepared by crushing rice) in their hands and enjoying the festival. They were given warm Hisima⁹ clothes by their mother to wear at that time.

4.6.5 Handicraft:

Making household stuffs by them is also a way of rescuing the economic condition of Bodos. Most of the required household kinds of stuff made from woods by themselves. Ploughing instruments, Jekhai, Khobai, Khamphlai are necessary stuff of Bodos are made by them. They make it from wood, bamboo, etc. Through this, they have rescued their economic condition since then. Orga and his colleague can be seen winding rope in the novel. Using a salgandwi¹⁰ is clearly seen through the character of Somaisri. She uses to wear her clothes with the help of his salgandwi. She has placed her hand-loom instrument nearby cow shed and start weaving. Many required things such as Gonsi¹¹, swrki¹², makhu¹³, takri¹⁴, etc. are

⁸ snacks prepared by crushing rice

⁹ Warm cloth

¹⁰ one of the two beams of a handloom on which the yarns and woven cloths are rolled up.

¹¹ Round and long small stick used in a weaving loom

¹² An implement made of bamboo to twist tread.

¹³ Made by bamboo for weaving

¹⁴ Made by bamboo for weaving

made by themselves only. Bodo believe that loom should not be crossed over. The author has shown the net looming thread of Mwdaoka's mother in this novel.

4.7. Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing:

Katindra Swargiary's Novel 'Khwmsiniprai Swrangthing' is the novel that fills the picture of the Boro society. In this novel, the picture of the Bodo society was depicted along with the image of the economic status of the Bodo community. The Bodo people's economic condition cannot be stated as a high rank. Many of the Bodo people accepted cultivation as their main source of livelihood. Along with cultivation, weaving, animal livestock, fishing, hunting of animals, making things with trees and bamboos have helped them in saving their money. In the novel, their customs, merry-making, happiness – sadness cultures are expressed and also their source of livelihood is depicted. They mainly cultivate crops with the help of cows. With the development of science and technology, we see the use of tractor in the present world but earlier cows were accepted as their main source for cultivation. In the novel we see, cultivation is done with the help of cows. Along with that domestication of hens, pigs, cows and the call for servants and maid-servants in the house are beautifully depicted in the novel.

The novelist targets and writes on the conflict that occurred between the two communities, Bodo and Muslim of Barpeta district. From the very beginning itself, the Bodos and the Muslims lived together. Though the people of both the communities lived happily because of two people the conflict arose and till today the conflict did not come to an end. The novelist composed the novel based on real happenings of the Bodo society. He also portrays the loss of the economy of the Bodo people because of the conflict between two communities. Bodo people could not plant paddy and also faced problem in travelling because of the conflicts and chaos in the Bodo villages. Bodo peoples business went down and women were not able to move out from their houses to collect vegetables, all these affected their livelihood. The novelist says –

“गोदोनिफ्रायनो बिसोर जॉनि हारिनि दोहोरोमाव आखाइ होबोनाय बाभ्राखौ जौ बयबो
मिथिखायो।बिसोरनि हारिनि गामिफोरनि सेर सेर थानाय बर आरो गुबुन गुबुन हारिनि

सुबुंफोरा बयबो सिमान लाखागोनदि बिसोरनि उदखारखौ सहायनो हायिनि थाखैनो गोबां सुबुंफोरा गावसोरनि जायगा आरो गामिफोरखौ नागारनानै गुबुन गोजान गोजान जायगायाव खारलानानै राज्यो जाहैनांदों। हर समाव दुब्लिनि आबादफोराव मोसौ-मैसो गुमनानै आबादखौ सिलिंखार खालामनानै होनाय, मोसौ-मैसोनि थाखै दुब्लिआव गांसो हाफैनायनि मुडाव सोमखोर जाफुनाय माइ गसाखैनो हनानै लानाय, दुब्लिनि गोमोन माइखौ हाखोमानानै खावनानै लानाय बाइदि उदखार खालामो।...बिसोरनि थाखैनो जॉनि हारिनि सिखला-हिनजावफोरा बिसोरनि गामिनि खाथि-खाला थानाय लडा एबा दैसाफोराव ना गुरनो थानो हालिया, सामु खननो थानो हालिया, थास' आथिं, थास' बिबार. थास' बिथराइ, दिंखिया, दौसेम खानो थानो हालिया। माबेबा गोजान दाबसेनिफ्राय लामा हान्थिना फैनानै बिसोरनि गामि सेराव बिलिफां एबा जाफैयोब्लाथ' गुबुन हारिनि-आइजोफोरा थारैनो खैफोरआव गोग्लैनांगोन बेयो सैथोखा। जॉनिफोरहा गोसोआव गैया दा, दिनैनिफ्राय बोसोरबासोल' सिगां समनि मोनसे जाथाइखौ! जॉनि बे गोजौ फरायसालिआवनो फरायनाय असमिया रावआरि फरायसुलिफोरा फरायसालि हगारनायनि उनाव दुब्लि गेजेर गेजेर गावसोरनि गामिफारसे थांदोंमोन। बि फरायसुलिफोरखौ दुब्लि गेजेरावनो सानथिं बाथिं जिनाहारि खालामदोंमोन मुसलमान सेंग्राफोरा। बेनो खाबु। बादगाद्राय जालानो नाजानायखौ इसे बद मोनहोनो नांगौ। जॉनि दोहोरोमाव गले गले आखाइ होनो नाजाग्रा बिसोरखौ गग्लोबनांगौ।" (Kwmsiniprai Swrangthing,P-45)

English rendering: [All of us know that they have been targeting our community from the very beginning. All those people of other communities who have lived close to them will be able to confess that because of their native land and shifted to another new place. Grazing their bulls and cows in the field of the Bodo people, cutting the ripen paddies from the field for feeding their cows and bulls, etc. were some of the torturing act. Because of them our Bodo girls and maidens are unable to go out for collecting vegetables, fishes, snails, ferns, etc. Ladies traveling close to their villages and happens to be late in the evening, no doubt they were in trouble. We don't remember, the incident about five years ago, girls studying in the high

school in the Assamese language were going through their village paddy field. All of them were raped by Muslim boys. We take advantage of them because they are trying to become worse. They are giving hands upon us often, we have to rule them]

The first conflict between Bodo and Muslim is the incident that took place in the village Thajouguri, finding the head of a dead cow in the well of Beldang Gamba. This incident spread all over the village and the Bodo youngsters with full anger broke the shops of the Muslim people, beat them up and chased them. After two days of talking, the chaos came down, the enemy of Bodo tribe Kasem Ali and Gopur Ali Khan with the help of Bodo boy name Rakheb to make the situation worse placed the head of pig at Mosque which was situated in the middle of the market. Because of this act, Muslim people got angry and beat-up Bodo people who were residing close to their village. On the other side, Bodo people also beat the Muslim people in the market. Though there was no greater conflict besides the two incidents. Kasem Ali and his group killed a Bodo boy Rwndao as well as the incident of rape case of a Bodo girl Hapang stirred animosity between the two communities. These hatred led to burning of houses and killing of each other. The novelist is expressing all these incidents and the loss in his novel.

4.7.1. Agriculture:

When we go to speak on account of the economic status of the Bodo people, cultivation is the one. In the novel “Kwmsinniprai Swrangting” the novelist portrays the incidents of the North Barpeta Road (Barpeta district), the conflicts between the Bodo people and Muslim people and this is the main theme of the novel. Rakheb is the main character in the novel.

Rakheb was born of a poor family from the Ouabari village in the East South corner of the market. His father Jwngdao and mother Theleb cultivated crops in 20 bighas land and survive their lives. Both Jwngdao and Theleb did not have any relatives. Both of them met each other at the time of their stay in one house and both felt in love, later got married. The same way they worked in their 20 bighas of land and somehow survive their livelihood. But Jwngdao died when Rakheb was just one and a half years old. In spite of the entire hardships mother Theleb, brought up his

son Rakheb. She gave education to her son, till matriculation by selling away her four bighas of paddy field. 8 bighas of land were planted with paddy and with that she managed her livelihood. After passing his matriculation, Rakeb headed to join college. But he could not complete his studies because of the Bodoland movement. When he was engaged in the movement, his mother left him for eternal rest.

Rakheb was one of the energetic members of the Bodoland movement. After his matriculation, he also joined college but he left his studies and got involved himself in the movement. Bodo people demanded a separate state to make their recognition strong. Many thought that they would be able to stand on their feet if they got separate state and their sadness would have emerged. Keeping hope upon that many young boys got involved in the movement, not thinking of their own lives. Among them was Rakheb, subsequently, they got BAC and later their across dispute for those students who have forsaken their studies. According to the agreement of Bodo after getting BAC Bodo people surrendered the power of Democratic Movement 'Volunteer' to the government. The government gave them the amount of about 2 lakhs for the surrender volunteers. Rakheb too surrendered but he did not get that money. He did not like to repair his house also. He also felt shy to work any small jobs. He did not know how to plough even. Hence it was very difficult for him to get a job. His life turned miserable. Losing hopes in all he becomes drug addicts and gambler. He chose to be a bad person. Kasem Ali took that advantage and employed him to do unfair things to the society. Rakheb was drawn to it because of money. We can say that he was influenced by doing unfair things all because he did not have money.

The first reason for the conflict between Bodos and Muslims that is bought out in the novel is the incident which took place in the village called 'Thaijouguri'. The head of the dead cow was found in the well of Beldang Gambra. Beldang Gambro was a rich man, having plenty of wealth. He was a cultivator. He had a wife Mwirati two sons namely Bilipang, Rwnгдаo and two daughters name Phwisali and Jwnglari.

Beldang Gambra improved his economic life by cultivating crops in his land with the help of servants. He kept two servants name Bugdao and Jwngdao and one

maid-servant name Dubri. He took agriculture as the main source of their livelihood and kept servants and maid-servants always. Once when Bukdaw was coming back home after ploughing, he saw landlady (Mirati) and the maid Dubri trying to lift something from the well. Mirati on noticing Bugdao asked his help. Bugdao takes the thing out from the well, and when it was brought out they found that it was the head of a dead cow. Soon the news spread like a wildfire to the near and far village and there arose chaos.

One early morning, when Bugdao and Jwngdao went for ploughing to take the field, they saw a dead body in the field. At that time, many farmers were also ploughing. After seeing the dead body both Bugdao and Jwngdao headed home. They told everybody to whomever they met on the way. Within very short time villagers and police came to the spot. After discovering that the dead body was a Bodo boy's namely Rwndao. Bodo people got angry toward Muslim people and took revenge upon them. Two days after the incident, Kasem Ali's group raped one Bodo girl's namely Haphang. After observing the subsequent incidents, the Bodo boys grew angry and killed and burned down the houses of the neighbouring Muslims. Through the pictures of such incidents in the novel, the agriculture life of the Bodo people is shown. Haphang and Narathi from Tharaibari village survived their life by selling wine. Narathi's husband does not have any land and earned his life through daily (hazira) wages. Along with Haphang's grandpa and mom, they lived in a small house together. Haphang did not have any brothers because of which she end-up in selling wine. She also reared hens and pigs and collected money for their survival.

4.7.2. Cattle Farming:

Rearing of hens, pigs, goats, and cows helps the economic life of the Bodo people. Through the rearing of animals they can look after their family and from time to time they can sell them in the market and get money. It can save money in many ways – When somebody comes into the house, when there is a feast or celebration in the house they can kill them and save money.

In the novel, Beldang from the village of Thaijowguri is seen rearing cows. Early in the morning the servant, Bugdao of Beldang Gambra went to the cows in the field. Bodo people love cows and worship them. They take care of their food and health. The discovery of dead cow's head in the well of Beldang Gambra is the work against the religion of Bodo people. They believe that killing of cows, eating beef and doing any injustice to cows is a big crime. The discovery of dead cow's head in the well of Beldang Bambra has become against the religion of Bodo people. They thought the wrongful act would not be done by the Bodo but by the Muslim people. The Bodo boys grew angry went to the market, beat them and chased them all.

Cows are necessary for every Bodo cultivators. For their cultivation cow is the first thing. In every village, we can see the rearing of cattle by Bodo cultivators. The untying of cows and taking them to the paddy field for ploughing is the daily work of every Bodo farmers. One day, both the servants of Beldang Gambra headed out to the open field, carrying yoke – leveller on their shoulder. They went after the two pairs of bulls. Now, they cannot leave their yoke and leveller to the field, because people steal them. Earlier, they used to leave them in the paddy field itself. Keep aside the thought of stealing, nobody does anything to it. It was enough for them to wake up and bring the bulls and make ready in the field. Now that they have to carry yoke – leveller on their shoulder and move to the paddy field and when they finish ploughing they have to carry them back home. Bugdao and Jwngdao were the servants of Beldang Gambra. They are coming back home in the same manner carrying the yoke, leveller on their shoulder. In the paddy field, there was a corpse of a person. Many people were also ploughing in their field at that time. The dead body of Rwndao was first noticed by them. The communal conflict took the worst image from that very time. However, the novelist tried to showcase the agriculture life of the Bodo people along with such incidents.

In the novel, we also see the domestication of animals and birds by women. Some of the poor people make money by rearing pigs, hens, etc. Haphang, from the village Tharaibari are only two members in the family – mother and herself. They did not won any land, for which she became a wine seller. Besides selling wine she reared hens and collected money, bought thread to weave clothes. They used to buy

clothes for themselves by rearing hens and selling them. Any guest in the house was served with those hens. Haphang wanted to buy thread by selling her hen. While Rakheb had a strong desire to eat that hen with gourd, hence irritated Haphang to have it. Rakheb followed her and aiming at what he says:

“हाफां, नौनि दाउखौनो मासे जादोनि दे जौहा।“

“जाया मा! फाननानै आंहा दखना दानो खुन्दुं बायनांगौ।“

“इस! दखना दानायनि खुन्दुंखौ आं नौनो बायनानै होगोन नडाना।“

“नाडाहाय। देरबावथौं दाउफोरा।“

“फिसाया दाउ बेदर जानो लुगैदो खोमा। दिखुरा नायनानै मासे बुथारनो हादो ओरो।“

नालेबआ फिसाजो हाफांखौ बुरखायनो नाजानानै गोजोरावनो बुंदेरनानै हैनैयसै।

“दाउज्ला गेदेरखौ बुथारनो मोनाहाय। दिखुराखौसो बुथारनो मोनगोन।“

इसे बाबांसिनैब्लाबो गनायथि होनायसै हाफांआ।” (Khwm siniprai SwrangthingP-63)

English rendering: [Haphang lets eat one of your hen." "No! I have to sell them and buy thread to weave dokona." "Ish! As if I am not going to buy tread for you to weave dokona." "No! let the hens grow little more big." "maybe your husband want to eat chicken kill one for him." Naleb tells to her daughter Haphang. "Don't kill the big cock. Kill young one" Even though she did not want she agrees or permits to kill one. "I will kill the young one only, why to kill the big cock.]

Like Haphang many of the Bodo women rear hens and chickens and this is depicted in the character of Haphang in the novel.

4.7.3 Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

Many of the poor people have to survive their lives by staying servants and maids. The parents of Rakheb, the main characters in the novel too were servants and maid. Father Jwngdao did not have relatives to whom he could call them as his dear ones. By staying as a servant in the house of others he maintained his livelihood. When he was in the house of Neola Mahajwn, who is from the village called Ouabari, which is close to the market, he happens to fall in love with a girl named Theleb. On the other hand, Theleb also doesn't have any dear ones; she lost

her parents, relatives at the time of communal conflict between the Bodos and the Nagas at Dwitang – Rengma. She left the place Dwitang – Rengma and moved to the South of Brahmaputra with other people. She came with tears on her eyes. She was just at a growing stage. From the time she came to the South of Brahmaputra, she stayed in the house of rich people as 'Bokhali' (as a helper) and later on as a maid. While she was staying as a maid in the house of Neola Mahajwn at Ouabari village, she fell in love with Jwngdao and Married him. After their marriage, Jwngdao worked in his twenty bighas of land and Theleb too planted paddy in their land. They managed to have their own houses and land for cultivation inspite of being maids and servants. In this way, they lived their life happily.

In the novel, we also see the two servants Bukdao and Jwngblao and a maid name Dubri. All of them are the servants and maid of Beldang Gambra of Thajowguri village. The maid Dubri does the work of sweeping, cooking, planting, etc. All of them stay as servants and maids only to fill their stomachs and to earn money.

4.8 Summing Up:

Manaranjan Lahary's novel 'Kharlung' and 'Hainamuli' focus Bodo people's economic picture. In the novel, he tries to Bodo people's agriculture, fishing, cattle farming, servant and maid and handicraft process. Through the village Bamunkhura and their people he beautifully reflects the condition of the Bodo people.

Through the novel Hainamuli, the economic status of the Bodos and their living style is vividly projected. Gorgoram Mahajwn is a hard-working man with wealth and riches. The villager of Dwikorguri and the nearby villagers call him as Mahajwn. The novelist focuses his family as the main plot of the story. Highlighting the family of Gorgoram Mahajwn, the lifestyle of the Bodos and their agrarian society such as the cultivation of paddy and different types of crops depending on the agriculture sector for their living is proven. At the same time, cattle farming and domesticating of cows and oxen, chickens, pigs, goats and managing the household works and agricultural activities by keeping maids and servants are being projected through the family of Gorgoram Mahajwn. The people from poor families without lands and houses and those who are orphans; to support themselves financially

staying as maids and servants can be traced in the Hainamuli novel. The characters of Rago and Nani are some of the pure examples of it. In the novel the characters of Jwngblao, Rago, and Thibao showcases the image of servants and the maids through the characters of Dabati, Seoari, Baleng, and Bila can be seen. In this way, the novelist has beautifully showcased the motive for the development of the economic status of the Bodo society.

Tiren Boro's novel 'Bigrai arw Dwisrai' and 'Deobari' reflect the economic picture of the Bodo people. In the novel Bigrai arw Dwisrai the novelist shows the economic condition of the Bodo peoples. In the time of the Bodoland movement, Bodo peoples have faced many problems. Bodo people mainly cultivate to develop their economic condition. Cattle farming also develop Bodo people's economic condition. Fishing and handicraft also help them to live their life.

In the novel 'Deobari', the novelist focuses on the economic picture of Bodo people. Through the novel, we see their way of cultivating crops, investment of money and a way to survive livelihood. The conditions of the Bodo Farmer are showcased in the novel. The things which are used every day – Songgrai, Sandri, Nanggal Jonggal, gaihen- Ual etc. are being used in the novel. Bodo people got many things from nature itself and saved money for other purposes. They also got fishes, vegetables from nature and saved money. They cultivated rice for subsistence and commercial and increase their economic life. In the novel 'Deobari' the economic life of the Bodo people are shown very clearly. The farmers – Deobari, Theklo, Saoriya, Bonda, Naodra and all worked hard to maintain their economic life and managed to live their life.

Katindra Swargiary's novel 'Sanmwkhangari lamajwng' and 'Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing' novels reflect the economic picture of the Bodo people. The economic conditions of the Bodo have beautifully emerged through the novel 'Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng'. Bodos are not well developed in economic conditions. They used to live by cultivating and collecting vegetables, fishing, and hunting from nature. They use to make the required stuff on their own money. They used to collect every day's vegetables, fish, meat from the forest or river and streams. These activities have helped the poor in living. People belonging to poor families used to catch fishes,

collect crabs and snails in the lake, which have mainly been described by the author. Most people of Swmbligudi village use to catch fish either for eating or for selling them which can be seen throughout the novel. We can also see that people are living by fishing and collecting crabs and snails in Laodanga, Karbhanga, and Dubri Lake in this novel.

In the novel 'Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing' the novelist depicts the Bodo society and also the economic life is depicted. The cultivation of Bodo people, rearing of hen-pig, surviving life by staying servant and maid are seen in the novel. The communal conflict between the Muslims and the Bodos resulted in the fall of economic life. The Bodo people face various inconveniences in their cultivation, collecting vegetables, fishing, etc. Because of the conflict, they were not able to cultivate crops finely and they were to leave their houses and move to some other places. In the novel, a very rich man having plenty of wealth, heading from an aristocratic family is not shown. Growing crops, selling and buying of crops, selling and buying them are also not depicted in the novel. Since they did not have any land to cultivate, they are forced to get involved in some other things, to survive. Because Haphang and Narati did not have any land so, they had to sell wine to survive their own family.