

CHAPTER-III

3.0 SOCIAL PICTURE IN THE NOVELS OF: MONORANJAN LAHARY, TIREN BORO AND KATINDRA SWARGIARY

3.1 Introduction:

In Bodo literature maximum numbers of novels are social novels. In these novels, the social pictures of Bodo peoples have been depicted. The novelist reflects the Bodo people's village life and their living style. In the village, Bodo people have their ritual, customs, marriage system, festivals, etc. The main occupation of Bodo people is cultivation. The selected six novels vividly present the social pictures of Bodo society.

3.2 A brief notes on Monoranjan Lahary:

Monoranjan Lahary was a famous writer in Bodo literature. He was born in 1936 at village Bamunkhura under Kokrajhar district of Assam, India. Bashanta Kr Lahary is his father and Deubari Lahary is his mother. Since his school life, he has been a special and loyal student. From Abhayswari High School, Abhayapuri, he completed Matriculation (Class X) in 1953 and was admitted to Cotton College, Guwahati. In 1955 he completed P.U and in 1957 he completed B.A. with English (Major). He graduated from Gauhati University in 1963 with M.A in English and B.T (B.Ed) in 1972. From 1963 to 1981, he entered the English Department at Kokrajhar College as a lecturer. After that, he worked at Kokrajhar Govt College as a lecturer. He also worked from 1981 to 1994 in C.T. E (College of Teacher Education), and from 1994 to 1999 in Dhubri B. Ed School. He also served as a guest faculty from 1999 till his death in the department of Bodo at Gauhati University Kokrajhar campus. Mr. Lahary was not just a teacher, but also one of Lower Assam's renowned authors. Via his literary works, he has made an important contribution to the literature of Bodo. His books are -Mablaba (1977). Mablaba arw gubun Khonthay(1993) and Ang Thangfingwn(1998), Gwdan Boro(1982), Nwjwr(1992), Solo Bidang (1978), Bajwi (1994), Gaodang, Dogri, Kharlung

(1976), Hainamuli (1985), Rebeka (1999) Alaishri, (2003), Daini (2005), Jhom (2006) and Faami (2008). Thunlai Arw Gohena (1978), Bhaothina Santhou, Boro Thunlaini Zarimin, Thunlai arw Gohena. He awarded Sahitya Akademi for his novel Daini? in 2009

3.2.1. Kharlung:

Kharlung Novel was written and published in 1976 by Monoranjan Lahary. He demonstrates the social image of the Bodos beautifully. His writing skill has made him to establish himself as a popular novelist.

Rahel Mochari mention in his thesis about the novel Kharlung as:.

“The novelist tries to depict the ‘kharlung’ nature of some Bodo people through this novel. In the novel, the central character Gohel himself is ‘kharlung’ by nature. He does not have the patience to stay in a particular place, including his home for a long time. He cannot also concentrate on a particular work for long span of time. There are many people like Gohel in Bodo society who do not have stability of mind and patience. For this reason, many Bodo people frequently shift from one place to another. Thus, the nomadic nature of the Bodos as a community and individual is the underlining theme of the novel Kharlung.”¹

The story of this novel has been developed based on character of an educated youth named ‘Gohel’ who could not keep his mind stable in any kind of job. His father wanted him to assist him in their agricultural activities. Gohel could not concentrate in any work. Like Gohel many Bodo people doesnot have stability and patience. Therefore, they shifted to other place with the hope of a better life. The novel also describes the Bodo people’s practices, customs, rituals, rules, religion, food habits and marriage.

¹ Mochari, Rahel(2014): A Critical Study on Female Characters of Monoranjan Lahary's Novels”. A thesis submitted to the university of Gauhati for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts P-27

Chinon Narzary mention in his thesis about the novel *Kharlung* as
*"Kharlung pivots around the cultural heritage of Bodo's. Gohel represents this heritage. It has depicted character that represents the Bodo people who are naturally accustomed to changing their places of settlement, hankering after natural beauties. They are lovers of free life and are those who meet with failure in life, without any perpetual objectives"*²

3.2.1.1 Agricultural life:

Bodo people live primarily in the village and their main occupation is farming. The socio-economic situation of the farmer as well as the pictures of Ransrem is also beautifully portrayed through the novel *Kharlung*. The father of Gohel is very anxious and worries about his son's future. Gohel was able to get a job though he was unable to pass the B.A final, but he left the job because of his sluggishness. His father asked him to get married or get a new job because of his rage. The novel began from the field of paddy and ended there. Paddy image or many grain forms are sown very beautifully. Gohel's mother used to bring his son's food, but his mother became concerned because of his absence in the document and began looking for him everywhere. Many farmers were engaged in ploughing and growing their paddy at the same time. Ransrem, Lesaram, Orga mahajwn were peasants, including many of the village's people. These entire pictures show the Bodo people's agricultural and village life.

3.2.1.2 Hadan Janai (Settlement to a new land):

Generally speaking, the novel *kharlung* represent the general life of Bodo people. In Bodo culture, Hadan janai plays a very important role. Bodo people like to move from one location to another. Gohel, who plays the pivot role in the novel as mentioned in the introduction, seems to be very intolerant. Lahary, metaphorically highlights the impatient existence of the Bodo people through

²Narzary Chinon (2010): A study of the Bodo novels since 1962 to 2001. A thesis submitted to the university of Gauhati for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts" p-16

Gohel's character. Including Gohel, among the Bodos, there were many other people carrying such dysfunctional and impatient characters. Such Bodo people can not live in one place because of the presence of some traditional patterns and they often tend to move from one place to another. Gohel was unable to settle in one place because in any situation he remains dissatisfied. In any location, circumstance, he used to feel uncomfortable, so he decided to shift from one place to another. As a result, he was unable to settle his life and stayed as an isolated person, which in many ways made him to face failures in life. The novel's title aptly implies the Bodo society's nature. The novel offers a realistic picture of Bodo society's simple and conventional way. The day that Gohel fled from Darrang as depicted in this novel, he met a lot of Bodo people who also gathered there to have a new life. These people that Gohel met are part of the Goalpara district, Tiabari, Takimari and Narabari village that went to settle in Mimang. They were concerned with a kind of blind belief that there would be no scarcity of land, food, meat, and fish in Mimang, in fact, nothing scarce. Such Bodo people also believe that as soon as they get a lot of lands, any people turn into a rich man. This aspect is vividly portrayed in this novel through Gohel. However, they realised it was just blind faith. They had a lot of problems to face. This Mimang place is flood-affected and destructive as flood destroys everything. There have been many illnesses, and every year the lack of a proper treatment facility kills many people.

3.2.1.3 Marriage System:

Marriage is one of the most important socially recognized rituals of Bodo society. Apart from being important rituals, it also serves as social occasions where people get together and make merry. Nevertheless this ritual varies according to the ethnicity and region. Hence Bodo society also has a distinct form of marriage system with many social rituals. According to Dr. Kameswar Brahma

"As with many other societies, the marriage ceremony is the most important in the life-cycle of the Bodos. Marriage is called 'Haba' by the Bodos. The Bodos have as many as six different types of marriage. These are Sangnanoi

*lainai haba, Gorjia Lakhinai haba, Kharsonnai haba, Bonanoi lainai haba, Donkhar langnai haba and Dongkha Habnai haba."*³

In this novel *Dwnkharlangnai haba, Kharsonnai haba, Haba gwla* and *Bihary lanai* (second marriage) picture are shown. The *Khokhilongbari* village where the marriage ceremony took place was beautifully depicted in this novel. *Gasiram's* son's marriage is shown along with *jatra gaan*. *Jatra gaan* has an important place in Bodo society's marriage since the early days; otherwise the marriage ceremony would have been boring. *Phenthep* is *Ransrem's* youngest daughter. *Ransrem* borrowed some money from one of the village's landlords known as *Orga Mahajwn* to educate *Gohel* with a promise to return it in time. Incapable of delaying the money they had to keep *Phenthep* as a servant in the home of *Orga mahajwn* against their wishes. One day *Orga Mahajan* tried to attack her sexually, so she fled home to her own house. She has been living in the home since then and supporting her mother in the household works.

One day, when *Phenthep* went for fishing with her friend snake biting her. A person named *Gala* seeing her in that condition calls to the local people who have the expertise and healing of Ayurvedic medicine. *Gala* takes care of her very carefully until she is completely healed. Thus a new relationship begins between them out of this whole scenario and both of them fall in love with each other. They both elope on the day of a wedding in a village called *Kokilingbari*. In the Bodo culture, this is called *Dwnkhar langnai*. At first they try to stay in *Guwahati* somewhere and then return to their village of *Bollamguri* and then return to their own house. A few days later, *phenthep* came to know the real character of *Gala*. She also came to know that he does not own a house of his own in the village called *Allengmari*, which is *Gala's* native place. *Phenthep* repented her decision and felt it was a wrong step on her part. *Gala* also at times acts as womaniser who kept multiple relationship with women. She was the third women in his life. *Phenthep's* father disagrees when he is asked by *Gala's* uncle to negotiate for *Gala* and *Phenthep's* marriage. While, *Phenthep* got pregnant but *Gala* can't accept the pregnancy of *Phenthep*. *Gala* and his aunt slowly misbehave with *Phenthep*, with whom she has

³Brahma, Dr. K : Aspects of Social Customs of the Bodos, Reprinted Edition: August, 2008 P-17

many issues to face. The villagers do not think it appropriate to allow the illicit relationship between Gala and Phenthep to continue. They decide to call for trial both Gala and Phenthep while Gala leaves the place and Phenthep falls into a dilemma in the meantime. So, by falling into the river, she attempts to commit suicide but wasn't dead as the river's water wasn't deep. Phenthep knows that both Gala and she committed sin after this accident, but the baby in her womb has the right to live. Phenthep finally, return to the home of her parents.

Phenthep's father Ransrem geot tensed and tries to get his daughter married before the baby takes birth. He found a man from the village Tulsibil and proposes for his daughter's marriage to his son. His son was already in love with another girl but his father didnot want them to get married. Hence, he was happy regarding the proposal of marriage to Phenthep. After marrying this man, Phenthep's life was again too harsh. This time it was harsher than the previous one. Her husband physically harmed her and also beat her. After seven months of marriage, she gave birth to a baby that was painful to her father. He used to scold her about the days she was with Gala on a regular basis. His girlfriend was also trying to come back and get married soon. Before the marriage agreement named Kharsonnai, his girlfriend wants to join his house, so he leaves Phenthep readily.

The author talks about how Rangrashi enters Gohel's house before marriage in the last part of the novel. Kharsonnai haba is called this form of marriage. In the Bodo community, we have seen the practice of keeping two wives, hence one could say polygamy is practiced in Bodo society. In the novel, Malshing babu is seen to have two wives. Orga Mahajwn of the village of Bamunkhura also wanted to woo for Phenthep as the second wife, but he could not.

3.2.1.4 Customary law:

The Bodo society is recognized for its distinct customs and traditions. In order to develop their culture, they preserve their distinct customs and traditions. They also have a very strong community feeling. When any wrong doing or offense happens in the family, the chosen elderly members of the society known as 'Gaonbura' decide through a panchayat process. The novel also shows the way of

settling the conflict or resolving some mystery in society through the chosen judge of members of society known as 'gaonbura' since the beginning of this novel. Through solving the issues, the members of the society sought to administer justice and felt it was best for the Bodo community. Once the cows he used to plough were seen eating Lesharam's paddy Soon Ransrem came close and stopped the cows from eating Lesharam's grains taking the cows off the paddy. From covetousness, Lesharam tries to complain about it to the community leader known as 'gaonbura' against Ransrem. A panchayat meeting was therefore held at night. The verdict is in the house of the headman of the village. The village headman's name is Gagrang and the age of 76. His views and the way in which justice is imparted are thus liked and obeyed by all without any favoritism. He always speaks the truth and has been a kind-hearted man. Everyone gathers at night in the house of the village headman. Lesaram came before everyone because he was the one against Ransrem to complain about the problem. Halmaji Mwdla went to let everyone know, and he went back to them whom he didn't meet. Sadaru, Badaru, Golo, Gwbla, Korde and all the others came to the court. In barendra, front yard, chairs and stools, villagers managed to take a seat for themselves.

Village head man asked to Lesaram to say his complain the reason what was the reason he complains about?

Lesaram wants to make Ransrem feel ashamed and for this, he said much more than what happened.

He said, "रानस्रेमनि हालुवा मानैया मैया आंनि खोथिया थिलियाव हाबनानै लांदां मरुन जाजोबबाय आंनि खोथियाखौ । शाला पाजि खि जानाइया मोसौखौ लानो हागौ बैनो आखोल गैया । जादौबो जादौ खासिया गाइनो दौसेबो गैया । शालापाजि हारामजादा। लेसाया मासाबागाबादि नेरखाडो"। (Kharlungp-48)

English rendering: (Ransrem's two cows entered my paddy field and now there is nothing left in it. They ate so much that there is none left to plant.)

He started to use bad language against him after that. When the Village headman Ransrem asked about it, he said that when he saw and brought the cows back, the cow just started eating the seedlings. Because Ransrem did not accept his

guilt, Lesaram began to beat him and his son Rode joined him and continued to beat him. They were opposed by the gaobura of the village. On behalf of Ransrem, many other people from the village had to asked for justice. The gaobura of the village said-

“लैसा, दाय मोनदों होन्नानै नों रानसेमनि मोदोमाव आखाइ होबाय । रदे, रानसेमा नोंफानि समान। बिखौ बुनाइ माने नोंफाखौनो बुनाइ। फिफाखौ बुनाइआ गिदित पाप । फा लेसा नोंनि खोथियाखौदि रानसेमनि हालुवा मानैया जाहैदों मोन बेनि साक्षी फोरमान दं ? गामी बोराइआ देशी पाइपखौ सोबनानै सोडो।

- साक्षि फोरमान दं आदा आंनि दाहोना बेरगौआनो आंजों लोगोसे दंमोन । लेसाया सिखादनानै बुडो ।” (Kharlung p-48)

English rendering: (Lwisa, just because it's someone's fault, don't hit them. Rode, Ransrem is of your father's age. It is a big sin to hit a person from your father's age. So Lwisa, Ransrem's two cows ate your rice seedlings. Do you have any witness?)

- आंनो नुथारदों । बेरगोया सिखातनानै बुडो।
- राइजोफोरनि मादाव सोरबा नुनाय दोंमोन नामा? गामि बोराइआ सोडो। आं नुदोंमोन आयं। खोथियाखौ बारा जायाखैमोन। बुदाडा बुडो।
- दोहाइ फुडाव आं आदै लेसानि खोथोयाथिलि सेरजों हाल होलांब्ला बेरगोखौ खोथोयानि खरो खरोखौ हाबाय थानाइ नुलांदोंमोन। खोथोयाखौ मानो बिब्दि हासोखौ होन्नानै सोंब्ला बियो बुडासै- माहाजोननि थिननाय। (KharlungP-52)

English rendering: (There is witness brother. My cowherd Bergo was with me.”

Lesa said.

"I saw it myself," Bergo said.

“What did you see?” Village headman asked.

"I saw that Ransrem's two cows ate all the seedlings that belonged to my master," Bergo said

“Is there anyone from the public who saw it?” Village headman asked

"I saw uncle. Not much from the seedlings was eaten." Budang said

“Earlier, this morning when I passed by uncle Lesa’s rice seedling field, I saw the tip of it being cut off. When I asked why they were doing that, they said our master said so.”

“Cutting it like that means they were trying to falsely prove uncle Ransrem’s cows ate all of it.” Kwmtha Halo said

“Did anyone else see Bergo cutting off the seedlings’ tip?” Village headman asked

“I saw that as well.” Gwbla’s cowherd, Gala said)”

After investigation like this gaobura of the village came to know that Lesaram was trying to trap Ransrem. Ransrem was later told to look upon his cows so that they would not eat the paddy of the other people. Then gaobura said to Lesa,

- “लेसाहा मोनसे गिदित दाय जादों। बियो इसेलो खोथिया जानायखौनो रानसेमनि हालुवा मानैया गसिबो मुरुन जाजोब्बाय होन्नानै खोथिया खरोखौ हासोनानै फाव फानदाइनानै बिखौ गिदित दायव खोखलैनानै साजा होहोनो नागिरदोंमोन बिब्दि खालामनो नाजानाइआव लेसाया उल्टासो गिदिट दाय खालामदों। बिब्दि खायनो। बिखौ डोजिचे रां खौलोबोत फोनांनाइ जाबाय ।” (Kharlung p-52)

English rendering: (Lesa, a big mistake has been done. You tried to trap Ransrem by cutting the tip off your seedlings just because some seedlings were eaten by his cow. So, for this, you will have to pay a fine of Rs. 61. And, for beating Ransrem, Lesa and Rode will have to ask forgiveness from him.)

Lesa was humiliated because he was backfired by his strategy. Earlier, before being asked for forgiveness, Ransrem told the public that he forgave them. In Bodo culture, this form of judgment and customs can be seen.

In the Bodo Culture, pre-marital sex is considered a sin. There is a penalty for those who, according to the people of the village, try to cross this morality. The novel portrays it through the eloping Gala and Phenthep, and before marriage, Phenthep becomes pregnant. Gala proposed to marry her, but she later refused to marry her, and Phentab had to return home. When the people of the village come to know about it, they ask her for purification by asking for sorrow with a famous prayer ritual known as 'jogyo' and a sum of Rs50 fine for the people of the village.

3.2.1.5 Festivals:

Festival and culture are always connected to each other hence form important parts of any society. Likewise, Bodo society too comprises of many different folks and festivals. According to Indramalati Narzaree, *“Folk festivals of the Bodos are divided in to two types. These are Religious festival and Agricultural Festival”*⁴. According to Dr. Kameswar Brahma, *“The festivals and ceremonies can be classified as follows: (a) Religious, (b) Seasonal and (c) Agricultural.”*⁵ Agriculture being the main source of livelihood is either directly or indirectly related to all festivals. The ceremony of ‘Wngkam gwrlwi janai’⁶ (eating new rice) celebrated after the harvesting season has been shown through Gohel and his friend in this novel. The Bodo people have a firm belief on this tradition of eating new rice after harvesting that God bless them much more if they were able to feed as many as people they could. When they were teenager, Gohel and his friend would not even leave Saradu⁷.

3.2.1.6 Food habits:

This novel also focuss on food habits by showing how Bodo people collects different vegetables. Along with this, also fishing habit is shown. Many festivals and social program remains inadequate without serving rice beer. Phentheeb goes for fishing with her friends. Uses of beetel nut and rice beer are shown many times in the novel. When guest came they offer rice beer and betel nut.

3.2.1.7 Hospitality:

Bodo people always show a very warm sense of hospitality with lots of respect. Bodo people believe the guest as Lwkhi or mainao⁸ that if guest come then Lwkhi or mainao will come along with them. They served every need of the guest

⁴ Narzaree, Indramalati: Laisini Bikhayao Indramalati, Reprint 2008, p-25

⁵ Brahma, Dr. K: Aspects of Social Customs of the Bodos, Reprinted Edition: August, 2008 P-47

⁶ eating new rice

⁷ Funeral ceremony

⁸ Wealth and property, goddess Lakshmi

with the hope. In the novel, Gohel portray as a guest of Bishthiram and Bishtiram's sister served him with all the delicacies herself.

3.2.1.8 Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and Maid):

The role of maid-servants cannot be neglected in the Bodo society. In the novel, we can see Lesharam kept Phenthep and Angshi stayed as a maid in his home. Bergo, Gala, Gatham, Rakeb, Daorao and Malshing Babu's six servants and five maids have been mentioned in the novel.

3.2.2 Hainamuli:

Hainamuli a social novel is the second Novel of Lahary, published in the year 1985. It described the incidents taking place in Bodo society as well as their troubles due to hainamuli. The novelist depicted the problems of the Bodo people their, belief, culture, tradition, etc. According to Indira Boro,

*"Once upon a time the Boros feared and worshipped ghosts and supernatural elements. The things that were beyond their reach were sought to be achieved with the help of supernatural powers; i.e. through the use of Hainamuli, which was a prevalent practice in the Boro society. After failing to win the love and affection of the girl whom he loved he sought to win over her through unfair means by taking the help of one Oja named Udli who is also a widow. But the result of this action is very dreadful. The actions, reactions, the consequences of these types of evil practices are shown in this novel. As such, this novel by Lahary is also another well-developed piece in Boro literature."*⁹

Until today, superstitious believes prevailed among the Bodo society. There are many beliefs which they accept and practice in their lives. Hainamuli is one among them. While it is also true that the belief in Hainamuli no more exist in today's Bodo society. Once upon a time, this Hainamuli played a powerful role in

⁹Boro Indira : Comparative study about the Boro and Assamese novel. A thesis submitted to the university of Gauhati for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts, p-23

Bodo society that forced a boy and a girl to bind their hearts. This was mainly practiced by the evil people of the village. A boy who wants to win the heart of a beautiful girl, who is not interested in him, forces her by making her drink Hainamuli. With the help of that, he would dream of building the best life. But that was not always good for them because of Hainamuli they used to be in danger. This belief and practice befall many lives of the people. Such practices ended their lives and some even became mentally sick. The novelist through his novel showed how the power of Hainamuli had devastated the lives of the people through his novel. A wealthy man, Gorgoram from the village Dwikorguri lived happily before they were entrapped to Hainamuli. But, later on, their family broke down; focusing on the family of Gorgoram the novelist preceded his story. Manasi was the only daughter of Gorgoram who was very beautiful to look at and who stayed in the town's hostel for her studies. Seeing her wealth and beauty one of the servants named Rago tries to win her love. Being the daughter of a wealthy man she never talked to Rago, and falling in love with him was less expected or impossible.

Rago therefore goes to get Hainamuli from Udli oja¹⁰ and make her drink it. Udli is a woman, who practiced witchcraft hence being called and depicted as a witch in the novel. Udli managed to find three boys for her three daughters through the use of Hainamuli. Udli lighted many families but in the end, she faced problems and ruined her life itself. Her three daughters being unable to adjust with their in-laws all came back. They fought with them and came home along with their husbands which became a problem for Udli. Udli was boycotted from the village because of her selfishness and anti-social practices in the village. The negative power of Hainamuli was exposed at the later stage. Due to the usage of Hainamuli Rago faced a dreadful death and because of the practice of witchcraft toward Rojen Dewsri, Thopsa Oja, all of them have succumbed to the same death.

¹⁰ Quack

3.2.2.1 Agricultural life:

We have seen many Bodo people depending on Agriculture even till date. Bodo villages always had paddy fields, vegetable garden, and trees. In the same way, Dwikorguri village was surrounded by paddy fields, vegetable gardens trees, etc. In the novel 'Hainamuli' all the incidents are of Gorgoram Mahajwn's family. Gorgoram was having plenty of wealth and he was known as the richest man in the village. He had plenty of paddy, cattle, goats, servants, maids and had everything lavishly. He was a very hard-working man. He took great care of his servants, works, made them do the works sincerely. Waking them early, taking care of the animals, birds and everything in the house was his prime duty. He is called as one of the accomplished farmers due to his perseverance and hard work; he became the richest man in the village. With the rising of the sun, he used to wake up, held his yoke, hat, stick and bulls to the field for ploughing. He was in great haste because it was 'Nanggal Jangkra'¹¹. On that day a finishing touch is given to rice planting for the season. Many persons in the village who are free even without being invited join the rice planting. After finishing the work, the workers make merry in the paddy field by throwing mud to each other in gay. On that day, the house owner has to provide a lunch to all those who have turned to "Nanggal Jangkra". On Gorgoram's Nanggal Jangkra, Rando Dorbari, Sewari and Samela had come; they took the help of other servants as well. With no exchange of gold, they were seen helping one another. At weddings, or in any problems they come together to help each other. Despite the changes in today's world we cannot say or conclude by telling, there is no tradition of helping one another because it thus prevails. In the story of Gorgoram Mahajwn, we can see helping one another in their 'Nanggal Jangkra'. The villagers were fed well for their help. This is how we see Bodo farmers working together fostering the growth of cultivation.

Sanda, a farmer is also portrayed in the novel. He was envious toward Gorgoram when he was not given money. He tried to put him into trouble. Few days later Manasi and Baten had ended their marriage, Baten comes to know that Mansi was pregnant. He was very sad to know this. While walking alone through the

¹¹The last of agricultural works for the family

roadside; at that very moment he happens to meet Sanda. Sanda was collecting the ripe crops from the field. He was collecting the season's paddy 'Maisali'¹² from the field to take them home. Sanda used to think Gorgoram as his enemy and Baten were talking to him and Baten came to know about Manasi and Rago's relation. On the other hand, Sanda simply wants Gorgoram to put into trouble and at that same time, Baten enquired about Manasi. Getting an opportunity, senseless and fake news were narrated to Baten which turned their happy married life into a miserable life.

3.2.2.2. Customary law:

This novel is written considering the lives of the village people. It was due to a lack of education, they accepted superstitious belief. Such beliefs, norms, traditions, and cultures are practiced since ancient times in the Bodo society. Whoever in the village commits any crime or mistakes were punished. The sexual crime was perceived as the biggest crime in the Bodo society. Gorgoram Mahajwn's daughter Manasi had a sexual relationship with their servant Rago before marriage. This was perceived as bad conduct by society.

The servant Rago was very much fond of Manasi but she never paid any attention to him or she never had any feelings toward him. Being the daughter of a rich man, she always took Rago as servant, so once while she invited her friend Rongina to her home, she told her about Rago-

“नोंगौ लोगो, दाहोनाखौ दाहोना होननांगौ। बियो जौनि दाहोना। दाहोनाआ दाहोनाआनो”।

(Hainamuli p-10)

English rendering: [“Yes friend we must consider a servant to be a servant only.]

He is Rago and he is a mere servant. Hearing such words from Manasi he was heartbroken. Therefore, he went to get hainamuli from Udli Oja. With the help of the maid, Rago manages to make her drink and mix Hainamuli. The hainamuli worked and new changes were seen on Manasi's behaviour. Likewise, both of them went out together at night, having a sexual relationship. One night, while they were trying to elope, they were caught. Because of their bad conduct, the villagers held a

¹² A paddy genus mainly cultivated in rainy season

meeting. Sanda took Gorgoram as his enemy added spices to the situation and made things go worst. Halmaji who plays the role of boy errand went around the village informing about the meeting that was to be held. As per the decision made by the village headman both Manasi and Rago were asked to pay Rs.500 and Rs.700 respectively. According to their custom, they were led to purify themselves by lighting 'Aoathi'¹³ and asking forgiveness by touching the feet of everybody. These were the customary law of the Bodo society while making decisions. After the arrival of all the villagers, the purification session began. Both Rago and Manasi have to be present before the lighting of the lamp. The incident was explained to the crowd by Gorgoram. Immediately Rago took the blame for him and asked forgiveness from the villagers by touching their feet. Manasi also went around asking forgiveness and shedding her tears. Her mother held her around and made her ask forgiveness by touching the feet of all those present there. While Manasi was going around, touching the feet of the people she fell a kind of Giddiness and was about to fall. Her mother, on noticing that, hurried to hold her and took her to the room. Billa sprinkled some water on her head and mother fanned for her as well as took special care of her. Lighting of Lamp was too washed off the illicit relationship of both Rago and Manasi. To cleanse their sins and to purify the village, such a ceremony was conducted by the priest. Then Gorgoram treated the villagers with some drinks and food. The claim made upon Manasi and Rago was explained to the village head man by Gorgoram.

The Novel 'Hainamuli' highlights the social structure and customs of the Bodo people. In the same manner, the novel depicts the judgment given to Udli and her daughter Naleb. Whoever in the village is caught in any crime is called for the trail. Gaonbura is designated, as well as accepted by the local people as the administrative head of the Bodo village. In the novel, Naleb and Udli were called for the verdict to appear before the Gaonbura. Gorgoram did not give his daughter in marriage to Rago even after being caught of having a sexual relationship and knowing that a child was born to his daughter. He secretly looked for a man hosted a marriage party and made Baten his son-in-law. After their marriage, Baten loved his

¹³ Offering prayers to fire

wife so much after spent some time he got to know the truth about Manasi, thereafter his love fades. Thopsa Oja had once told Manasi that her brain might not remain normal. She became uncontrollable whenever she got angry. That was how she faced death and left two sons name Sahen and Nagen. After the death of his daughter, Gorgoram looked for another girl to give in Marriage to Baten. That girl was Naleb, the daughter of Udli. Gorgoram had hoped that after bringing another girl there would flourish happiness and grandchildren would get love again. But Naleb did not love Manasi's son. She killed her son Rojen by giving poison. For this reason, the judgment is conduct by the villagers. The meeting was held in Gorgarams house.

At Gorgoram's order, the maid-servant brought Naleb for the judgment. The village headman told her to sit and said –since you have heard what has been told about you being a witch. He blamed her for killing Rojen by giving poison and asked her to validate it with a 'yes' or no' While she weeped being called a witch and went inside the house. Hadang said-

“बिदिब्ला बेनो फोरमान होयोदि नालेपानो रजेनखौ फोथैबाय। आरो मानासीनि थैनायनि गुदियाव दं नालेपनि बिमा उदलि। उदलिनि दायनागिरि आरो अजागिरिखौ आंबो खोनाबाय। बेखौनो सुंदयै बुंजायो दि आदा गर्गरामनि नखराव संहारनि बेगर फोनाया उदलियानो। बिदिबादि राक्षसीनि फिसाजोखौ बाटेननो हिन्जाव खालामनानै सुनि बोनानै लाफैनाय जादौ।” (Hainamuli p-140)

English rendering: [The act of her silentness tells that she did kill Rojen. And near the death of Manasi lies the death of Naleb's mother Udli. I have known the practice of witchcraft or black magic of Udli. In short, we can say the offender for ruining the family of Gorgoram is Udli. To bring a daughter of a witch and giving in marriage Baten is welcoming misfortune in the family.]

One old man stood and said-

“रागनिफ्राय आंबो खोनानो मोनदौमोन दि रागनि हायनामुलि होनायाबो उदलियानोमोन। आरो रागआ बे मुलिखौ नानिनि हेफाजाबै मानासिनो दौहोदौमोन।” (Hainamulip-139)

English translation ["I have also heard from Rago that Udli is the one who has given 'Hainamuli'. And Rago with the help of Nani made her take that medicine".]

After saying this he sat. Another young man said, "I have also heard that Udli is the one who killed Thopsa Oja. The one who put fences in the house of Saokla was none but Udli giving medicine and giving away his daughters in marriage is also none but Udli. All the evils that occurred in the village were all done by Udli. Sanda further blamed a witch's daughter as witch only. All the people gathered clapped for him. The village headman seated on his seat ordered to bring Naleb in front of him.

The Gaonbura pronounces saying-

“ खोनासं राइजोफोर। नालेपा जेब्ला सालिसाफोरखौ खण्डन खालामनो हायाखिसै बिनो जेनिबो दाय जाबाय। बे दायनि साजाया बेनो- नालेबखौ थफ्ला बोन्नानै गाबोननो बे नखरनिफ्राय होखार नांगौ। आरो बाटेनआ इयुनाव बिजों सोमोन्दो लाखिबावब्ला बिखौबो होखार हरनाय जागोन ।” (Hainamuli p-140)

English rendering: ["Listen, my dear people, because Naleb could not control the crowd and response. She is found guilty for the crime. As for the case- Naleb has to carry her things to leave the house and the village too. And for now, everything is over. We don't need to file a case for the crime otherwise. And if we find them again in a relationship Baten too will be boycotted from the village.]

Hearing the final verdict all clapped for the Gaonbura. Gaonbura again spoke-

“गामिबोराइनि बे रायआव बयबो आखाय खप खप खबनानै मदद होनायसै। गावबुराया आरो बुंभावबाय-आइनमथे रजेननि सहखौ आनजाद नायनो थाखाय पुलिसनो खौरां हरनानै घुबुरियाव हरनांगौ। नाथाय बेफोर हुलसुलफोरखौ खालामनांगौ गैलिया। जा जाबाय जाबाय। नालेपखौबो पुलिसनो हमहोनानै हरजागौमोन। बेखौबो खालामनो गोनां गैलिया। साखि ताखी, मामला-मकर्मायाव गसनांगोन, खारनांगोन आरो बायदिसिना जेथो फैगोन। बिदिखायनो गामिनि आइन मते नालेपखौ होखारनायनि राय जाबाय। गर्गरामआ होखार

हराब्ला गावनो दायी जागोन। हयथ बे दायनि थाखाय गर्गरामआ गामिनिफ्राय बैकट
जानांगौ जागोन।” (Hainamuli P-140-142)

English rendering: ["According to the law the dead body of Rojen should be sent to the Police station for Postmortem. But we are not going to do that whatever has happen, it is gone. We could have handed Naleb to the policeman. But we don't need to do that. For such reason, therefore, according to the law of the village Naleb has to be boycotted from the village. If Gorgoram does not send him, then he has to take the blame. Maybe because of the crime Gorgoram has to be boycotted"].

All the people present there agreed to what Gaonbura has declared and applauded. Meeting ended thereafter and everybody left for their respective homes. Udli being judged by the villagers was boycotted from the village. Till today such law and custom are being followed in the Bodo Society.

3.2.2.3 Superstitious belief:

Hainamuli is a superstitious belief that exists in Bodo society as none can change their feeling by medicine. Udli Oja knows both the medicine for good as well as for bad. He kills the people to those who stand against him. He collects all the poisonous leaves for medicine from the forests and jungles. Udli does all the evil things when people are away. He goes at noontime to the forest and at midnight to the cemetery for worshipping evil spirits to acquire strength from them. There is a belief amongst Bodo people about the existence of a ghost in the cemetery. Hence people are afraid of the cemetery and never allow their children to go out at noon. At such time Udli is at work to collect her medicines.

Earlier the Bodo society never went to doctor instead went to Ojas to cure sicknesses; Udli too was practicing to be an Oja. Udli became well known Oja from a small Oja. Earlier she use to cure minor sicknesses, Later on, she cured major sicknesses like diarrhea, typhoid, jaundice, cholera, edema. All the village people and the neighbouring village people too came in search of Udli Oja. He was not able to stay at home regularly. He was out every day to see sick people. Udli was able to cure some and not all. He was famous as Oja in some areas as Patakata, Gamabaribil, Mukuldang, Kumal Singh, Turibari, Kuchugaon, and Dotoma.

As she grew older she became more known to the people but her husband Sonaram did not know what she does and where she goes exactly. Some of them even started to fear her. They were even frightened to speak about her. Villagers started shouting at Udli, saying that she was the one who visits the cemetery during 'Omabaishya' 'Purnima' and 'Guru Baraprao' to worship. But the villagers could not blame her because none of them had seen her doing such unfair things openly. In the Bodo society, the belief of the practice of witchcraft, Tantra-Mantra, Mwdai-daodai, Deo-bhut all were prevailing. The big Ojas among themselves did fight and whoever was holding grudge killed one another. The people who are against somebody, with the help of Ojas take revenge over their enemies. With the help of the witchcraft making the person suffer letting the bottle inside the stomach, drinking the blood of the person such evil practices were present in the Bodo society.

A few days ago a very frightening incident occurred in the house of Saukla of Mukuldang. At first two-three stones were pelted in the house of Saukla. Nobody knew who threw stone in their house. All the three houses roofs of Saukla were made of tin hence they slept later at warehouse. From evening till midnight, which continued till dawn the stones were being pelted. It lasted one month nobody could find what was the incident in real.

All the family members were afraid. Some villagers too were afraid, some danced, while others were angry. The villagers thought that it was all the works of witchcraft and felt the need to call for Oja. One day Saukla saw the people who throw the stone. The person was none other than there Maid-servant. When she tries to hold the stone, by itself the stone flew and fell on the roof of Saukla's house. The person who threw does not know anything herself. Afterward, Saukla hid and went close to her and while she was trying to hold the stone, he immediately grasped her hand, asked her, why she was doing that, she replied telling she does not know anything. She told her that someone tells her to throw. Saukla discovered the person but who tells or makes, her to throw. He could not get the answer from her, slowly the child gets sick.

After few days later, the thing got into a worse situation. Things like glasses, plates, almirah, and chair felt down and made some noise by itself. Milk in the pot,

water in the kettle fell by itself. From dawn to the sunset Saukla's house was full of noise by the falling of glasses, plates, chairs by itself. His house turned into the dustbin. Later, he also notices some hairs, skeleton, charcoal, under the bed of his wife. After noticing things getting into worst, he calls for Thembra oja from Sialmari. Sial Oja discovered and said-

-Your enemy is disturbing you. She has a tight spell on your house. She did it with the help of your maid-servant. Saukla becomes so confused.

-Who is that enemy? From which village, and which side?

-Enemies' names cannot be told. But she is from the nearby village. She is also a great oja. Now you have to worship and make a sacrifice to break the spell. Otherwise, your family in danger and even the life of maid-servant is in danger. Make ready for the deow puja along with the things to offer". As told by Oja, Saukla made 'Deow Puja' from 5 pm to 10pm. When puja was over the Goddess left the house of Saukla giving notice of breaking a branch of a mango tree. From then onwards Saukla was a relief and the maid-servant too recovered from the sickness.

After breaking the spellbound, while Thembra oja was retreating home he hit thrice on the road while walking and also sneezed thrice. He noticed that something dangerous had occurred in his house hence he hurried towards home. Reaching home he found his wife ill. Thembra sat for Puja and discovered that oja has disturbed his family. A fight between Ojas was going on as he withdrew the spell of Saukla and Udli oja got angry. To find out the greatness of Thembra Oja, Udli attacked him with a spell on him. Thembra immediately goes for purifying his wife. Udli tied a spell in his worship place. After some time, Thembra's wife came back to sense. If Thembra could be a little late in reaching home, his wife could have lost her life. Such incident is shown in the novel which is not acceptable in modern time.

3.2.2.4. Marriage System:

We have seen the marriage system of the Bodo society in the novel 'Hainamuli'. Eloping is also one of the marriage practices that involved in the Bodo society. Rago took Hainamuli from Udli and gave it to Manasi. After being treated

by Hainamuli she fell in love with the servant Rago. From then, they both had a secret relationship. At night they met hidingly and had a sexual relationship, tried to elope but their plan did not work out. The same night they were caught and were called for judgment the next day. Rago thought that after eloping with Manasi he would become the owner of their house. But his plan and dream broke into pieces.

In the novel, we see the wedding of Baten and Manasi. Manasi after having a sexual relationship with Rago becomes pregnant. In the life of Gorgoram misfortune shadowed one after another in the life of Gorgoram. After separating Rago and Manasi Gorgoram observe that Manasi was bearing a child and if the marriage does not take place immediately it will be a problem. Gorgoram calls for a person to look for a son-in-law who will stay in their house. 'Gwrjia lakhinai'¹⁴ is a type of marriage of Bodo society. Jaising Deoani got a boy from silkikata village and brought for him. The boy did not have parents and was a class VIII left out student. He was Baten, seeing him all the people were happy. So, their wedding was celebrated solemnly. Two days before the wedding, the boy was already in the house of Gorgoram. Gorgoram prepared very grandly for the wedding. Along with Baten, boys from silkikata and Jaising help Gorgoram in preparing for the marriage. The Marriage of the only daughter of Gorgoram was to take place solemnly. Relatives, neighbours, all were invited to the wedding and everybody was fed well. They also show Nalam dubi village's Jatra gaan group and show for the whole night.

Through the novel Hainamuli we also have seen Baten getting married for the second time. Suddenly Manasi died and left two children, for which Gorgoram gave marriage to Baten for the second time with Naleb to look the children.

3.2.2.5 Festivals:

The festival 'Nangal Jangkra' which is related to cultivation is seen in the novel, a feast of joy and happiness, Nangal Jangkra is celebrated, after the cultivation. They look forward to a suitable time and informs the whole villagers to complete the work. In some of the places, they used to offer Prasad too after completion of the plantation. When the work is completed, the owner of the house

¹⁴ Kept son-in-law in the house

gives them a feast. Drinks, rice beer, pork is mainly fed to them. Along with they make fun of throwing mud to each other and feast together. Gorgoram prepared chicken, pork for Nangal Jangkra. On the day of Nangal Jangkra, he used to wake up his servants, maid-servant early in the morning, made them ready, called another widow from the village and two young girls. He used to call his servants as he wakes up from the bed to get ready to plough. Waking his servant early in the morning at the first crow of the cock was his habit. He was very hard working because of his hard work he became double-rich than his father. He valued time so much. He worked looking at the calendar dates. He marked everything in his calendar. He always had a scheduled time-table to finish every work. By 31st Saun¹⁵ month plantation had to be finished and at Bhadra¹⁶ month celebrated 'Nangal Jangkra'. He tells his servants and maid-servant to complete work on time. He tells Senosla and Basep to kill chicken and pig and his wife cooked the food. This was the way he celebrated his Nangal Jangkra.

3.2.2.6 Food habits:

Bodo people have their own culture of merry-making. At the beginning of the novel itself we see the celebration of 'Nangal Jangkra'. For 'Nangal Jangkra' in the house of Gorgoram, the villagers came together to help them in their plantation. To give them feast chicken pork was prepared. Eating beetel nut, tobacco and wine are some important food habit of Bodo people. When people come to visit the family, betel nut and tobacco are given. To those people who came to the house of Gorgoram Deosri gave them betel nut and tobacco. The use of a drink of wine has taken a big space in the Bodo society. At the start of the novel, Deosri had offered betel nut and tobacco to whoever had come to their house.

¹⁵ An Indian month corresponding to July and August

¹⁶ An Indian month corresponding to August and September

3.2.2.7 Hospitality:

In the novel, many guests are shown. Jabsing Goyary came as a guest in the Gorgorams house. He is known as Jabsing Khatab by the people. Gorgoram Mahajen's wife Deosri served by rice beer and pork fry.

“बे समावनो देवश्रीया केटलिसे जौ बिदै लाबोनानै, लोगोसे अमा बेदत एउफ्रामनाय। जौखौ गिलासाव लुनानै होनानै जापसिनो आगबारायनानै होयो।

-लौसाबदो दे, नौ फैनो खबिरा हरखानायखाय बेखौ नौनोनो थिनाय जादौमोन। देउश्रीआ गुरै रावये आलासिखौ खावलायनानै बुडो।” (Hainamuli-14)

English rendering :(Deoshri request him to take rice beer and pork fry and said rice beer keeps for him)

Thopsa Oja also shows as a guest to Gorgoram's home. When Manasi was affected by hainamuli, he came to cure her. Deosri served him delicious food such as rice beer, pork, chicken, etc.

3.2.2.8 Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

The novel since beginning shows the presence of servant and maid-servant in the Bodo society. In the novel 'Hainamuli' we come across some of the servants and maid- servant. Mahajwn Gorgoram had four servants including the shepherd boy and three maid-servants. Gorgoram used to give the duty to his entire servant's work. His wife too used to look after the works of the maid-servant. In the house of Deosri there were three maids named Dabati, Nani and Sewari. Later, when Dabati and Sewari left home Aleng and Bela came to take theirs place.

In the novel, 'Hainamuli' Rago is portrait as an adamant servant. The happy family of Gorgoram turned into a broken family because of Rago. Rago stayed as a servant in the Gorgorams house from three to four years because of that he was quite adamant and hardly used to listen to his master. He went to the market, went to the field and did many other works as told by his master, slowly, he tried to marry his only daughter Manasi to get all his property. He gave Hainamuli to Manasi, which made her love him, but he only had a sexual relationship with her. He failed to elope her and marry and so his dream of becoming the owner of the house of Gorgoram

failed. He was boycotted from the village and finally, he was given Hainamuli by Nani the maid- servant. At the thought of marrying Nani, he lost his life with the power of the medicine of Udli.

In this novel maid-servant Nani, Debati and Seowari's presence is shown. The help rendered to the family in cooking and doing every household work is portrayed. The works told to be done by Deosri to all three maid-servants.

-“दाबाथि।

- मा मादै? दैखराव लटा जिग जिग मानजिबाय थानाय रुवाथिफ्रा सेंहरो।

- दाउज्ला माथामखौ हमनानै दोन्नो बावदोलाय।

- बावा मादै।

- नानि।

- मा आबै? थुरसि सुनाय रुवाथिया सेंहरो।

- अमाखौ गोरायै खानानै दोनखाबायथ”?

-दोनबाय आबै।

- शेउवारि।

- मा आयं?

- दाउज्ला गिबि गेसेरनाय सिगां सिखारनो बावदोलाय।

-थाब सिखारगोन आयं।“ (HainamuliP-2)

English translation: [-Debati

-Yes, aunty. (She responses while washing dishes in the well)

-Do not forget to catch three cocks.

-No, I won't

-Nani

-Yes, grandma. (Response while washing dishes)

-Did you tie the pig nicely?

-Yes, grandma, I did.

-Sewari

-Yes aunty

-Do not forget to wake up with the first crow of the cock.

-I shall get up early aunty.]

With the help of Maid -servant, Nani Rago was able to give Hainamuli to Manasi. Rago tempted her with oil and powder and Rago was successful in the work. He told Nani that the medicine was in order to make her pass matric exam. But when Nani realizes that the medicine is Hainamuli she felt guilty and run away from the house.

3.3 A brief notes on Tiren Boro:

Tiren Boro was born in 1952 at Rwota Chariali in Assam. The name of his father was Umacharan Boro, and the name of his mother was Deobari Boro. He was unable to pursue higher studies for family problem. He has made a tremendous contribution and has been involved in the Bodos ' literary movement, Script Movement, and Bodoland Movement. He has written significant critical essays for various newspapers and journals. He wrote and continues to write for periodicals and newspapers like Aronai and Bodosa. He was awarded the Sameswary Award–Bodo Sahitya Sabha's highest literary award for his novel Bigrai arw Dwisrai in 2001-2002. He also awarded Sahitya Akademi in 2015 for Bokhali (Novel). He has written ten books to date, including the books Jorase Maldang (short story), M.L.A. Fwidwngmwn (short story), Bigrai arw Dwisrai (novel), Fungbili (novel), GwswjwngGwsw (novel), Deobari (novel), Gadang Khujrani Solo (children's literature), Mahariari Jwhwlao Baliram Boro (biography), Somni Nwjrwti (essays) and Bokhali (novel), Beo Gonge Boro Gami Dongmwn (novel).

3.3.1 Bigrai arw Dwisrai:

Bigrai arw Dwisrai published in the year 1992 is a social novel by Tiren Boro. The novel focussed on the demand for a separate state. The novel depicts the true happenings of that time. The novelist presents that, Bodoland movement was the right demand for the society. This novel can be said as a social novel. His plot, character, scene and background, temporal settings, action, dialogue, are true and

real. The stories presented in this novel is not imagined or fantasized. The incidents took place in Assam during the Bodoland movement is portrayed in the novel. While heading to demand its recognition, the other people oppose it and treated the Bodo people very badly. This novel is one that tries to show all these incidents.

Bigrai and Dwisrai were from the village sonapuri and Rupapuri respectively. They studied in the same college and both started to like each other. They both started to meet each other at Tezpur Park. They both involve in the movement and sacrifice their love and study.

The fisherman was shot dead by the police; Bigrai too was treated very severely after being caught by the police. Many more people were beaten up and locked up in jail. On the other hand, the militaries continuously disturbed all the Bodo villages, letting none of the men to remain in the village. Taking the advantages of men absence in the village, they raped the Bodo women. From the village Rupapuri, Dwisrai and many young ladies were raped. During the agitation, Bigrai lost his one leg and Dwisrai her virginity. Even then their love did not fall apart. In this way, the novelist presents the Bodo villages, their hardships, troubles, etc. During the time of movement, he presents the life history of Bigrai and Dwisrai. The novel gives us real pictures of the Bodo society.

3.3.1.1 Bodoland Movement:

In this novel, the author develops his plot along the events and incidents that happened during the Bodoland Movement led by ABSU. Bodoland movement is one of the Bodo Society's real pictures and until today this movement has not come to an end. The Assam government police force treated the Bodo people in a very harsh manner. Women were raped by the police force. According to Chinon Narzary

“Bigrai Dwisrai (1992) by Tiren Boro is a complete photographic presentation of the Bodoland movement rendered during his lifetime as he has witnessed and experienced the movement. This was the time when the whole Bodo nation awakened all over Assam for the political, social and economic rights and uplift the Bodo society to get all-round development. In this novel, the author parallels to develop his plot along with the events and

incidents that happened during the Bodoland movement led by the Bodo Students Union. The agitation has not only imposed the whole effort to establish the values and ideals of the ancient Bodo life but also criticized the contemporary system of governance which has deprived them since time immemorial.”¹⁷

The beginning of the novel itself showcases us that the village was not at peace. All Bodo Students Union demanded a separate Bodo state. The story relates to some of the events happening at Rowta and other villages, like-the gang rape upon the Bodo women by the police force and torture upon the innocent people. All the depicted incidents and events are the real happenings only the dates, months, years are not mentioned and names are different in the story. With the coming of Bodofa at Geruva, the delegates of Darang district took a vow. Sujit Narzary and the other two-person who lose their lives in the hands of the military are – Alindra and Kobiram.

Bigrai and Dwisrai are the two important characters portrayed in the novel. Bigrai was from Sonaguri village. He lives with his mother, father, sister and brother. They were altogether five members in the family. His father worked in the field and could barely run the family. Dwisrai was from Rupapuri village, daughter of landlord Goneshwar. Both Birgrai and Dwisrai went to Tezpur College. Their love grew during their college life. Both had a great love for their culture. Dwisrai used to wear the ‘Dokhona’¹⁸ and ‘Phasra’¹⁹ woven by herself and respected her own culture. While, the other girls would like wear the dress of other culture at that time. During that time both Bigrai and Dwisrai kept engrossed themselves in the movement for a separate state. They both sacrifice their love for each other, their studies and completely engrossed themselves for the need of the social reformation of the Bodo society. Bigrai was the leader of the volunteer and Dwisrai was the leader of the District women committee. Though their movement was based on Ahimsa/non-violence, the government would arrest them without a warrant. Bigrai

¹⁷ Narzary Chinon (2010): A study of the Bodo novels since 1962 to 2001. A thesis submitted to the university of Gauhati for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts " p-20-21

¹⁸ Bodo women’s traditional dress.

¹⁹ Bodo women’s traditional shawl

was also listed as the most wanted by them. In search of him, the police visited the village Sonapuri regularly. Both men and women faced insecurity due to the police force. They were not able to live in their houses, instead hid themselves to get noticed. Once when Bigrai was heading toward his village bringing some news to the village, he saw mistreat of the military force done to the villagers. The farmers in the field could hear the screams of the people of the village. The saddest thing was the women carrying their baby on the back running for life. Carrying their babies on back, things on their heads and holding the hands of their children and running was not a silly thing to face. Even the servants who were ploughing in the field were beaten-up by the military force. Parents of Bigrai were also beaten up and his sister was able to escape with her friends. Their houses were fully destroyed. They chopped the wooden pillars of the house and the roof fell down. They took all the clothes away and shattered all the kitchen things. They broke the bed of Bigrai, caught his file and tore all the certificates he had due to anger for not being able to catch Bigrai. The well from which they used to draw water for drinking was filled with blankets, mattresses and many others. The house of Goneshwar the richest man was also shattered. The houses, things and everything found were not kept for good. Even the T.V. was torn down. They took the VCR and Rs.5000 from the house of Guneshwar and rice which was kept in the granary was mixed with kerosene. That was how the military did to the people of that place.

Since the ancient time, the Bodo people had no unity among themselves. Some of them volunteer themselves for the movement to keep their own culture but some of them joined the enemies instead and stood against the demand of the Bodo people. In the village, there was (Deowani) by the name Modon who was holding power over the Sonapuri village. He thinks that no one can overtake his power and whoever tries to overtake, he use to take control over that person. Bigrai kungur too founded a students union and took hold of the power in the village. Modon Deowani got angry and gave false information to the police for which they came in search of Bigrai very often. There was many more like Modon Deowani who was going against the Bodoland movement. Modon Deowani came to Bigrai to collect information about him. With pride, he said, 'our village is the only one where

military police have not enter and it is just because of me, and if I have to give an order they will come immediately'. While Modon was drinking with Bigrai's father and having a conversation, the village boys – Orhe, Raphwdgwra, Thebgang, and Onsai came in. They had a little quarrel among themselves. Orhe said to Modon Deowari,

“दिनै नौसोर बादिखौनो जोलैनि हांगार होन्नानै बुडो। गोसोआव लाखि देवानि बाबु-
माहारिनि थै सोबखगा नौसोर बादिखौ गोदान बर हान्जाया जेब्लाबो निमाहा होनाय नडा।”

(Bigrai arw Dwisrai p-15)

English rendering: (Today we call you as jwlwini hangar (one who tarnishes the good name of a family), keep in mind Deowani, to the people like you who suck the blood of culture, Bodoland fighters will never forgive.)

He did not keep quiet instead responded, "Yes, Is it only you who is doing work for the Bodo people? Have we not done anything? How dare you come to say such things. What has your student union done for Bodo culture? We the politician group has done a lot. To the poor, we have given new lands. To get more money we have dealt with the government. We are demanding separate land for the Bodos. The demand for Udayasol (P.T.C.A. Tribal state) is to be fulfilled; our leaders have informed us last time. From the very beginning, the Bodos have demanded Udayasol but why today students Union have to demand Bodoland? The demand of yours is not right. Simply to collect money from the people and take for oneself for livelihood and bluff them is your motive, you are going to kill all the Bodo people. They could not control their anger and they beat him up. Modon was called a 'jwlwini hangar'²⁰, for the same reason and for being beaten up he took charge over Bigrai's father. He said that he will informed the family to the police and broke down their family. Truly he informed the police and from then on there was an often visit to their village. In demanding Bodoland, there was no unity it came to be because of the people like Modon Deowani. While there was the regular visit of the police to Snapuri village, some people came to help out. They came to know about that, while an old man was telling to Bigrai,

²⁰ one who tarnishes the good name of a family

“खालि पुलिसफोरल गैयामोनलै बिसोरजों। बरफोरबो दंफायोमोन बिसोरजों। बाला गोरान गामिनि सा बा बरफोरबो दंफायो बिसोरजों लोगोसे। आंनो बिसोरखौ नायजोर नायजोर सिनाय मोनथारदों। पुलिसनि उन उन थानानै रां-रुफा, माय- मायरं, दाउ- अमा हमग्राफ्रा बरफ्रानो।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai p-28)

English rendering: (Only policemen, he was not with them. There were also some Bodos accompanying them. There are five Bodos from the village Balagwran. I recognised them nicely; the ones who are after the policeman collecting money, gold, and things are the Bodo's.)

Bigrai thinks that Bodos are against one another these days. Some of the Bodos are getting involved with terrorist and imposing bad acts upon the Bodos, covering their faces in the jail and acting like animals upon their people, are laughed by others. They are twisting their politics and making Bodos to fight among themselves.

The movement grew to further stage. Seeing the situation the Assam police Battalion tracked to hit the Bodos badly to whomever they find. Because of which men were unable to go out freely. Going to the market places to sell and buy things, which were completely banded for them. On the other hand, they have to sell their cultivation at low prices from home.

Women too have the power to stand or join in the movement. Women named Phaodur, Dwisrai and many more are seen in the novel. They all stood together, gave themselves wholly in the movement for the demand of the separate state, Phaodur, the sister of Bigrai who died in the movement is to be praised. One day the police force took ten very poor men, surviving their lives on fishing. That was a pitiful thing because; they used to go hungry if they do not go fishing. While they were back to their homes after fishing, policemen carried them off on the jeeb. So pitifully, they screamed from the jeep, hoping they would be freed from them. The news about them spread like a wildfire. The village community got ready to stop them in the middle of the road. They felt bad for those who were caught by the police because they were all aged people with no faults and complaints. At that time there were no men in the village because of which, group of women took initiative

to block the road. They got ready themselves; Phaodur went in haste calling all the women of the village, to block the road before they could reach the police station. Seeing their act, they asked them to stop doing that, but they stood adamant, refusing to give them away. The behavior made them get angry. He warns them to move till the count of three and if they don't he would shot them. As said, they fired and the bullet reaches to Phaodur and she died on the spot. This way Phaodur sacrificed her life for the movement.

The act of Phaodur and Dwisrai tells the active participation of women in the movement for separate state demand. The unbearable act upon the Bodo people and regular disturbances led the people to stay away from their respective homes. Men away from their homes gave them the advantage to rape the Bodo women. One day the military force came to Rupapuri village and raped all the Bodo women. Dwisrai too was raped by them violently.

Bigrai was in the list of most wanted and he was searched for every day by the police. One day there was a meeting of District Student's Union because nothing works without his presence, he left accompanied by one friend by taxi. He was caught by police on his way. As soon as he was caught, the news spread every corner of the village, all his co-workers felt sad about the news. Dwisrai too felt very sad for him. The police staff felt so happy at their success in catching him and they beat him thoroughly, in however and whatever way they could. For the case of burning the bridge, blasting bombs, shooting the people and for many other cases, they treated him so painfully. Dwisrai along with his mother comes to visit him in jail. After seeing the condition of Bigrai, both mother and Dwisrai felt so sorry for him. They kept him in jail for six months. After the talk at of three-party at Delhi, as per the resolution, the Assam government with no claim declared that all the prisoners were to be forced. According to the resolution made, he was freed from prison. After coming from the jail he did not give up to work for his tribe. Police staff became friends with the nearby Muslims and visited the village of Sonapuri. They burnt down all the houses of the Bodo people and snatched away all their property. Taking revenge upon that Bigrai moves to fight. When he went to save his village, he was hit on the leg. For which his leg was to be cut off. Like Bigrai, many

other Bodo youths became handicapped and lost their lives too. All these real incidents are portrayed in the novel by the novelist.

3.3.1.2 Agricultural life:

The only way to survive for the people then was cultivation. The novel shows how Bodo people work in the field to live their life. Bingi and Baoda who were from the village Sonapuri too, work in the field to earn their livelihood. Even though they were poor Baoda, the father of Bigrai supported his son to make him an educated person. With the little land they worked hard and led a happy life. But the movement which came to the ground disturbed them. To defend their culture and tradition many young boys and girls stood forward. Baoda had two sons named Bigrai and Sudem, both volunteered themselves whole heartedly for the movement. Police listed Bigrai as most wanted and they used to come in search of him every day in the village Sonapuri. They also disturbed the family by taking away their money, birds, goats, pigs, and many other things and they broke down all their houses. On the other hand, it also hindered the life of the farmers. They could not go to the field to work. Whenever they find any Bodo boy in the field they would catch them and for which they were unable to work in the field. Once, while they were working in the field, the police force came and chased them. Some of them ran and escaped but whoever was caught, did not escape from being beaten-up almost dead.

During early days, Bodo cultivators faced lots of problem because of the armed conflict. When Bigrai kungur was in jail, he saw altogether five Bodo people being caught. Seeing them he felt very sad because all of them were innocent, illiterate farmers. They were all farmers who somehow live on the little cultivation they had. To such people, they tied their hands at the back and pull them like cows. The government's people annoyingly treated the Bodo people.

At that time, the farmers faced lots of problems, many complications raised in their lives because of the regular visit of the military during the day as well as night. The farmers lived in fear and were unable to go to their fields for cultivation. The farmers could not work properly. Every villager lived in fear and just past their days. The evil act of the police force did not allow the farmers to go to the market

for buying and selling. Because of that, the cultivators have to sell their cultivations at low prices from their homes itself. The heartbroken life led by the Bodo cultivators is presented in the novel by the novelist.

3.3.1.3 Handloom:

Through the novel, the novelist portrays the Bodo people's art of weaving. Bodo women were expert in weaving their traditional attire. They were very expert in drawing various designs in their traditional attire. They know how to match the colours bringing beauty to it. Dwisrai was also very expert in weaving. While reading at Tezpur College, she used to wear her own made Dokhona. She was the one Bodo woman, who loved her culture and tradition. While in college, some of the Bodo girls out of their shyness to expose their culture and tradition wore other culture's dress, whereas Dwisrai wore, Dokhona which was woven by her. She never paid heed to the comment pass upon her of wearing Dokhona.

Whoever goes for the fight/war is given Aronai and is blessed with a victory is what we learn about from the very beginning. Dwisrai from the village Rupapuri was an expert in weaving Aronai. She has to weave two Aronai to give them for the youngster who will go for the fight. Bodo maidens use to wear them one Aronai each wishing them victory.

“आरनाइ सिखौ हरसेनि मादावनो दाखांजोबनांगौ। दानाय बहराव खुगाजौं रायज्जलायनोबो मोना। सोर मिथिनो, दैसाय दानाय आरनाइ सिखौ सोरबा मोनगानगोन। सोर जोहोलाव जानजियाव साय खानानै दावहा नांनो थांगोनबा। जानो हागौलाय खोमा गाव मोजां मोन्नाय जोहोलावनो जान्जियाव खानानै दावहायाव थानो मोनगोन।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai p-85)

English rendering [The Aronai was to be weaved by forth night and while weaving they cannot talk. Dwisrai was thinking to herself, "To whom will I get to give the Aronai which I have woven, it could be nice if I get a chance to give it to my love"].

Dwisrai's wish came true when military force came to Sonapuri village and burnt down. All Bodo men came forward to fight with them. At that time Dwisrai gave him the Aronai which she has woven and said,

“बिग्राय आदा, नों सासे जोहोलाव। नों दिनै दावहायाव थांनो ओंखारदों। सुथुरखौ फेजेननानै होखांहरनानै सनाफुरि गामिखौ रैखा खालामगोन। नै बे आरनाइआ नौनि जीउखौ रैखाथि होगोन। दावहायाव नोडे नै गुन बारा बोलो मोनगोन। आरो देरहासाद जानानै आलो गोजोनै सौफैफिनगोन।” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai p-110)

English rendering: ["Brother Bigrai, you are one of the warriors, you are now out for the war. You will wash off all the enemies and bring peace to Sonapuri village, In the war, you will have double strength of what you have and come back of what you have and come back home victoriously".]

At once rest of the maidens got themselves ready to wish the warriors 'victory' by tying one Aronai each to their waist. After wearing them an Aronai they sprinkle holy water upon them. The act of maidens toward the warriors which is seen in the novel is what was prevailed long ago during the time of ancient king.

3.3.1.4 Fishing:

Fishing is another important source for their livelihood which prevailed from very beginning. They always looked for the village which had a river in a peaceful environment. They like to collect fishes, crabs, snails from the river and have them and for those who are poor, they even take them to the market for sale. In the novel 'Bigrai arw Dwisrai' too we have seen Bodo people going for fishing. There were two people from the village Sonapuri, who did not have land. They used to go to the river for fishing every day, earning for their livelihood. But the military force did not pity them, instead took all the ten fishermen to the jail, while they were coming back home from fishing. The news of their being taken by the police spread like a wildfire. At that time, there was not a single man in the village to take their news. For that reason, women committee from the village took initiative in stopping them from halfway. Bigrai kungur's sister Phaodur was the secretary for women committee. To take action over the situation, she came up first due because of the fight that occur between them, Phaodur was shot dead in the hand of the police K. Saikia.

3.3.1.5 Hospitality:

Hospitality to guests is a beautiful social picture of the Bodo society. In the novel, Modon Deoani came as a guest in Bigrai's home. When he came to their home they offer to sit.

”मदन देवानाखौ नुनाय लोगो लोगोनो जनायनिफ्राय सिखारनानै जनो मासि लायनानै
होफैनायसै ” (Bigrai arw Dwisrai p-11)

English rendering: [When Modon deoani came he offer to sit]

He was an offer by drink jou (rice beer)

3.3.1.6 Dahwna arw Ruathi: (male servant and maid servant):

Keeping servant and maid is Bodo people's habit since ancient times. In the novel, the character of servant and maid are highlighted by the novelist. The servant of Dambaru Mahajwn is also punished by the police when he was ploughing in the paddy field. Such some servant from Sonapuri was also beaten by police in the time of Bodoland movement

3.3.2 Deobari:

‘Deobari’ is a social novel written by Tiren Boro. The novel was first published in the year 2011. It presents a woman named as Deobari. The title is based on her character, her living style. Along with the living picture of Deobari, the novelist also projects the Bodos Society's living style, sadness, happiness, misfortunes, traditional rituals, etc in the novel. The Bodo Community's village lifestyle and when their agriculture land fails to produce goods as expected, their search for new land in some other places have been projected in the novel. During the time of migration or shifting of houses, the difficulties faced by the people can be traced in the novel. The superstitious belief of the village people, festivals, diseases and sickness, cured by the village quack (oja) is being highlighted in the novel. Ronchai Basumatary mention in his article in Joner (An international Multidisciplinary Research Journal) issue III as:

*"Deobari is a social novel depicting the simple rural life of Bodos, and their economic and political conditions. Their simple rural life was impacted by many outside factors, i.e., religious conversion, linguistic imposition, cultural imposition, and immigration. The religious conversion into Ek Saran, propounded by Xankardev posed a serious challenge in the formation of ethnic identity. The imposition of Assamese language on Bodos led Bodo language to nearly death language, and cultural colonization created fragmentation among the Bodos. The immigration from Bangladesh and mainland India created land alienation and economic challenge for the Bodos. The plot of the novel revolves around the family of Deobari and Teklo, their life and problems faced by them."*²¹

Deobari is the daughter of Saoriya from Jiajiri village. Her mother is no more; she has two sisters and one brother. Her brother Naobra got married to a girl named Mwina. On the other side, Thekhlo from Mwithaguri village stays with his brother Bonda and sister-in-law Bonburwi. He is very expert in agricultural work. His brother and sister-in-law stay in the spell of alcohol hence the agricultural responsibilities were on Theklo. His another brother Goiswrwn also wanted to take him during the time of partition of property by seeing his ability to work hard but his elder brother took him along with him. Thekhlo secretly loves Deobari, when she goes to the paddy field to give food or when he met her in the river he used to talk to her. When Deobari's family planned to migrate to Darrang district and he had the idea that their family is also going to Darrang, Theklo was very happy and excited. Damphrw oja, a quack from Haladola village wanted to take Deobari as his daughter-in-law, but Deobari's brother Naodra and her father Saoriya did not accept the bangle that was kept in the corner of the house by the Bridegroom's family; calving that they will not give their daughter's hand in marriage to the son of a quack. Theklo got the news that Damphrw Oja is coming to see Deobari. Theklo became restless and went to confirmed whether the marriage will be held or not.

²¹Basumatary, Ronchai- http://www.joner.co.in/pdf/ISSUE_III/Ronchai.pdf accessed on 02 July 2017

When he heard from Deobari's father that it has been canceled Theklo was very happy. The family of Theklo and the family of Deobari migrated to Rowta by train.

Theklo and Bonda together cleaned up the new place. On the other hand, Deobari's father also cleaned up their selected place. Theklo's sister-in-law Bonburwi asks for Deobari's hand for marriage to Theklo. Deobari's brother and sister-in-law were also worried regarding their sister's marriage in a new place. They also secretly desired Theklo because he was a very good person and also an expert in every work with good character. The families gave consent to each other and fixed the date for marriage. When the date arrived Theklo and Deobari took Hathasuni marriage according to the Bathou religion. Theklo after marriage works harder and increases his economic status. Bonda's intention of migration became opposite to what they had thought. The Dwisagwran village is sandy and is not fit for agricultural activities and cultivation. That is why the people once again decided to shift in some other place. They searched and found a new land in the village named Jaharbari. In that Jaharbari village, Theklo and Deobari cultivated paddy and vegetables. Deobari also helped her husband in cultivation as much as she could. Sometimes she went to harvest paddy along with her husband and she did farming poultry, pig, and goats. In this way, she also helped in increasing the financial status of the family. Deobari and Theklo were blessed with four children. Their eldest son died due to serious illness. Deobari and Theklo longed for a baby boy like many people does. They considered that a boy could cultivate more and also to have a big hierarchical family. But their dreams remain unfulfilled. Still, without losing hope both of them worked hard and they were able to be financially stable. Deobari and Theklo after their marriage lived with Theklo's brother for ten years. After ten years they separated from their brother and they were able to establish themselves sufficiently with finance. Theklo was also able to build a house with a tin roof like the villagers. Omakhi Mahajan and Khaphal Mahajwn at the same time were able to buy a bullock cart. On the other hand, the adopted son of his brother Bonda is very lazy and Bonda is also an alcoholic hence their family became financially stagnant. When Bonda became aged he fell seriously ill. In Mwitaguri village their brother Goiswrwn was left alone. Deobari and Theklo after migrating to Jahargami, after

many years they visited their birthplace. Theklo informs about the illness of his brother Bonda to his brother Goiswrwn and he hopes to get the share of money of the property which they had left in the village. Theklo and Deobari stayed for one week and visited their relatives. Later on, when they were to go back Theklo's brother gave the share of money to him. Deobari and Theklo bid goodbye to their brother and sister-in-law and go back to Darrang district.

3.3.2.1 Hadan Janai (Settlement in new land):

Bodo people had a habit to shift to a new land in search of a better life. Hence Saoriya and Naodra also secretly planned to sell the land they had and migrated to Darrang district. In order to sell the 10 bigha's of paddy field and 5 bigha's of housing land, they started looking for buyers. Their decision to migrate to Darrang district was due to many reasons. The most important three reasons were, firstly, in search of wetland favorable for cultivation, secondly due to natural calamities like flood and soil erosion by Torang River. Lastly, the only son of Naodra did not wish to remain alone in the Jiajiri village. The other reason includes the absence of many relatives in the Jiajiri village.

Bonda from Mwithaguri village was also a farmer and fed up with living in Goalpara district because the agriculture products that were produced became insufficient. Fishing did not provide them with many fishes, unlike earlier days. Hunting in the forest also could not help much and there was a shortage of meat too. Therefore, Bonda decided to go in search of new land and migrate to survive himself. The other people of Goalpara district also started to migrate to other places towards the eastern districts.

The most generalised reason for the Bodo people's migration was searching for a new land favorable for the cultivation of paddy. The Bodos migrating to one place to the other places mostly includes those families with many family members, quarreling among themselves and getting separated because of the shortage of land in their own places. Also, when plague disease affects a person, one had to leave the village and go to another place. When the people are cast spell by witchcraft they fear for their lives and migrates to other places. In olden times there were many

lands in Assam which were not owned by anyone. These lands were taken hold by the people as they wish. Many different tribes also took hold of many lands which were not owned by the government. Before the partition of Bangladesh, many people of East Pakistan also migrated to 'Assam'.

Theklo made all the necessary preparations to migrate to a new land by selling all their property which were in their native lands such as land, chickens, and pigs. Since Goiswrwn has already separated from his two brothers. Theklo and Bonda are going to migrate to another place the three brothers discussed the matter in the house regarding the property as they did not think wise to hand over their inherited property in the hands of strange people. They wished their own brother Goiswrwn to keep the property while Goiswrwn too secretly desired to get the property of his brothers with lesser money. While everyone put forwarded their opinions wine made from the rice was served by the servant named Haranga.

According to the decision taken, it was decided that their brother would keep the property. Goiswrwn bought the house for 5000 thousand rupees while the oxen were bought for 4000 thousand rupees by one of the villagers named Mahajwn. The pig was sold for 250 rupees. The paddy field which was his share was sold for 500 rupees per Bigha. All the property near the house such as surroundings land of consisting the bamboo plants, jackfruit trees, mango trees were left with Goiswrwn till a decision was to be taken in the nearby future.

The housing land was bought for 1200 rupees, further 1000 rupees was collected by selling some other minute things. Bonda also kept a second plan up to himself that if after migrating to Darrang life doesn't seem pleasant he will come back. Keeping in mind all these future things they decided to leave some of their property without selling. Goiswrwn was left with only a single property. His brother Theklo's share of property 10 Bigha's of land was unpaid by Goiswrwn.

On the other hand, Saoriya and his son Naodra made all the preparations to migrate. Bonda's family had five members that include his wife Bonburwi, brother Theklo, Bonda's daughter's Asagi and Bwisagi. After selling his land and household property he had gained 6000 thousand rupees. Altogether 7500 rupees, knife, axe,

utensils, clothing was packed with a 'Hisima'²² cloth in order to migrate to Darrang district. To grind paddy and rice they decided to take along the traditional grinder made from Dumru tree 'Ual'²³ and Sal tree 'Gahen'²⁴. 'songrai'²⁵, 'Sandri'²⁶ were taken along too. Along with the materials and articles necessary for a living, they also took jute for future use. Naodra sold his entire paddy to one Bengali businessman. He also sold the oxen and pig as well. During the Kati month in the first week itself, Naodra went to Darrang district in Rowta town, stayed in his brother-in-law's house and enquired about the place in advance. He stayed in one of his brother-in-law's house until he builds a house of his own. In Saoriya's family total four members have migrated, his sons Naodra, daughter-in-law, Mwina and youngest daughter Deobari. Since winter was about to come they decided to take warm clothes.

They had to walk from Tangla town to reach their selected place as train was not available. The town's name was Rowta. Deobari and Theklo came from Goalpara to Rowta. They named the new place as Dwisagwan. In that new land with lots of difficulties, they cleared the forests and did cultivation. After migrating to the Darrang district they thought to settle forever but after some time, they felt bored as there was a lack of wetland favorable for cultivation and more production of crops. The river which flows through the village a branch of Dwnsri River brings flood in the village and later it dried up soon too. Theklo and Deobari also once again migrated to a different place and named as Jahargami. In that land Theklo and Deobari work very hard and made a house made of tin roof, also bought a new bullock cart. They also reached to the level of Omakhi Mahajwn, Khaphal Mahajwn while Bonda always remain addicted to his drinking habit.

²² Worm cloyh for kids

²³ A wooden husking implement

²⁴ Heavy wooden pestle for pounding and husking paddy, rice, etc.

²⁵ Wincrowing pan

²⁶ Sieve

3.3.2.2 Agriculture Life:

The source of livelihood of the Bodos is cultivation. In the novel cultivation and farming and many farmers can be seen. Deobari is the daughter of Saoriya Mwsahari from Jijiri. Saoriya is a widower and left with three daughters Goisri, Jangkali, Deobari, and son Naodra. Saoriya lives happily with his small family. His two daughters Goisri and Jangkali got married and his son Naodra also married a girl named Mwina. The one and only son of his parents Naodra had lots of land and property near the Jijiri River flowing from the Northern side of the Beel Jijiri River that falls in the Torong River. In this river, there were also lots of varieties of fishes. Adjacent to that river there are many streams where people sometimes wash their clothes and take a bath. The Torong River both helps the people and harms them too. During the summer season because of heavy rainfall, the river gets flooded and the nearby villagers do not get a sound sleep. At which time there will be soil erosion of the village or the paddy field it cannot be predicted. The Jijiri villagers depend on the rainwater for the cultivation of paddy and their paddy field does not easily absorb the water. The land is up and down, with highlands and beels. They had to depend on rain during the cultivation of paddy and they can also take the help of the river Jijiri. The nearby Torong River flows pleasantly towards the field and the water dries out. As the paddy field does not get sufficient water, the production of paddy does not come as expected. So they shift to hadan for cultivation.

Bonda is also a farmer who depends on agriculture. Bonda's family has seven members altogether. They are Bonda's wife Bonburwi, younger brother Goisrwn and his wife Laisri. Bonda has two daughters Asagi and Bwisagi. His youngest brother is Theklo.

Bonda is addicted to alcohol and his wife Bonburwi is also a drunkard. The pot filled with alcohol is kept ready to serve as soon as one gets over. The pots are never at rest. This way the two pots do not get rest. 'Jantha'²⁷ and 'Laothai'²⁸ were always ready to serve them. Both husband and wife smoke Tobacco. A bamboo container of Tobacco has shined brightly due to constant usage of Tobacco. Along

²⁷A utensil made of bamboo or cane having meshed bottom for filtering rice beer.

²⁸A bamboo implement for distributing wine.

with that always a 'jigab buntha'²⁹ (bundle of straw) will be ready all the time. So his agriculture is depending on Theklo. Bonda's younger brother also a farmer. Bonda along with Theklo went in new land for develop their agriculture. But Bonda was not success due to his drunker habit. Theklo develop his economic condition. After marriage Theklo separate from his elder brother Bonda. Women also helped in many works such as cultivation of paddy, crops and in the development of finance as well. Deobari helped Theklo in many works such as in harvesting paddy, cultivation crops, getting up early morning and grinding paddy, taking chicken and pigs etc. In cultivation the materials which are needed to maintain their living are made by themselves. When Naodra and Bonda migrated in the new land, they made some of the tools on their own which were necessary for their living. It can be traced in the novel that Theklo was cutting a piece of wood to make a ploughing tool.

(पुस दान। गोजां बोथोर.

माइ मारा मारि जोबसां जोबसि। गोजांनायखौ होखारनो थाखाय सिथला अर सुनानै बयबो जमा सायदौ। बन्दा, थेख्ल, बनबुरै, बाइनां, आसागि, सारागि मोनहा ग्रिद जनानै अर सायलायगासिनो दड। देवबारिया ओंखाम संग्रायाव ओंखाम इंखि संनायाव मुखुब।) Deobari p-123

English rendering: [The harvesting comes to an end. They used to create a bonfire in the courtyard to keep them warm. Bonda, Theklo, Bonburwi, Bainang, Asagi, and Bwisagi sit together near the fire while Deobari stays busy in cooking in the kitchen.]

This sentence of the novel also gives a peaceful picture of Bodo village. The novelist has painted an imaginary image of the Bodo society and highlighted its beauty. In the novel, the Bodo people's association with cows and oxen taking them to the paddy field and bringing them back in the cowshed can be traced. The Bodo society primarily does their work with the help of the oxen. They take much care of the oxen and respect them. One day in the new land Dwisagwran village Theklo's ox was killed by a Tiger. Not only Theklo's ox was eaten by the Tiger but many villager's chickens, pigs and goats were killed by the Tiger. In olden days the cows and oxen of the village were altogether looked after by a particular person

²⁹ Bundle of straw

alternatively. When it was time for the cows and oxen to be taken for grazing the person who is responsible for that duty used to shout loudly cows and oxen. Then all the owners of the cows and oxen would loosen their tied up cows and oxen from the cowshed and chased them towards the person on duty. In the evening, the owners would take them back and tie them in their respective cowsheds. All these activities are the images of togetherness and community of the Bodo society.

3.3.2.3. Customary law:

The village of the Bodo society have their own selected elderly people from their community to settle all the disputes and crimes that happen in the villages. The committee along with the opinion of the villagers discusses the type of punishment to be given. Saoriya and Bonda's families have left Kokrajhar to live in the new land of Darrang district named as Dwisagwran. Mora Dwnsiri river flows from north to southwards through the rivers. During the summer this river gets flooded but during the winter season it dries up, hence the river is names as Mora Dwnsiri and the village as Dwisagwran. Theklo's ox was also killed by the Tigress. The village people decided to chase away the Tigress together in a meeting. On that day, all the villagers were informed by the beating drums to kill the tigress. Many people were happy but frightened too. They thought that if all the people together surround the Tigress by taking different tools such as arrows, sword, knife, axe, sticks, etc they will be able to attack and the Tigress will not be able to run away. Finally, the villagers were able to kill the Tigress and the danger which befell on the village was solved by all the people together.

The people were not happy to live in Dwisagwran village. The land in that village is sandy, and it is not favorable for the cultivation of crops. Like others, Deobari and Theklo also shifted again to other villages.

One day the villagers discuss together that to lead the village a leader is needed. There are altogether 30 families in the village. Again many people had come and selected the land. It soon became a large village.

The villagers search for an educated fellow, who will be able to speak courageously. There is one such person in the village. Migrated from Basuguri village, Baneswar Goyary was selected as the village Headman by the villagers.

The village's name was still undecided. Many said that since it was forest land and they had cleared the forest and build the houses; it should be named as Jahargami and all the people applause that it should be named as Jahargami.

The committee strongly decided on two things. Not anyone will be accepted as a member of the village. Because many people due to many reasons leave their original village and comes in search of new land. Some people are chased away because of their evil character as an Oja and witchcraft. For such kind of people, they will not provide a place in the village. Some people are thieves. One who is a thief brings or creates an unhealthy environment in the village. That is why such people are boycotted from the village. But those people also try to find a new place and if such kinds of people come, they will not be given a land, it was decided strongly by the people.

In that village, pretending to be a music teacher Lebendra took a name as Sameswar and stayed. But one day he met Deobari on the road and disclosed that he was the son of Damphwr oja, Lebendra. Deobari thought he came after her and a son of an oja, he will be an ojha; she tells her husband Theklo. Later on, Theklo called two of his friends for drinks and discloses the things. The villagers decided to do judgment. The next day the village halmaji inform everyone that there will be a big meeting and discussion. All the people gather. When the culprit Sameswar or Labendra was asked of his identity he did not accept that he was the son of Damphwr ojha. But later on, when some people beat him up, he discloses his identity and accepted his crime.

“सिमान जानोसैलै आफाफोर। आइदै, आइदै – नंगौ आफाफोर नंगौ। आं हलादला गामिनि
दामफोर अजानि फिसाज्ला लबेन्द्रसो। गामिया आंखौ होखार हरनायलाय हजौ थानो
जायगा गैयैनि ओजौ दरंआव खारबोनानै आस्रय लाफैनो गोनां जादौ।” (Deobari-149)

English rendering [I will confess fathers! Aaidwi-Yes fathers yes. I am the son of Damphwr oja from Haladola village – Labendra. I was boycotted from the

village and did not have any place to go, so I came to Darrang district. Deobari knows me very well. But fathers what opinion you have about my father, I am not like that anymore.]

“गामिनि गावबुराया बुंनायसै- बिदिब्लाथ नों गाज्जि मानसिसो। गाज्जि मानसिखौ जों गामिआव थावनि होनो हाया। दायनानि फिसाया दायनाखा। नोंबोथ दायना रोंगौ। जाय दामफोर अजाखौ सारा ओनसोलावनो दायना होननानै मिथियोमोन। सोरबा सोरबा गामिनि मानसिफ्रा दामफोर दायनाखौ गिनानैनो गामि गारनानै दरमआव खारबोनो गोनां जादों। आरो बे दामफोर दायनानि फिसाज्ला दिनै बाव सौफैदों। जों नोंखौ राइजोआ बेव जायगा होनो हाया।” (Deobari p-149)

English rendering [The village Headman says-If that is true, you are a bad person. We cannot keep such kind of bad people in the village. The son of a witch is a witch as well. You also know witchcraft. Damphwr was well known as a witch whole area. Some people due to fear of Damphwr which had to fled to this Darrang district, and today that witch son has reached here. We cannot keep you in this village.]

Two elderly people and some people from the village decided to lead him to the Rowta train station. The evening time Train had arrived and the ticket was booked and he was sent away.

Firstly, Labendra was also boycotted from their village Haladola after a judgemental meeting conducted by the villagers. His father Damphwr Oja is a well-known witch. After Damphwr's dead son Labendra had studied his father's oja's worked by collecting different herbs. If someone scolds him for his bad behavior he says that he will cast spell etc. after such behaviour's villagers think that he learns witch. Gradually the village people decided to stand against him. The villagers one day decided to boycott him from the village. One day the villagers gathered for a meeting in his name. Labendra's crime is that he is creating an unhealthy atmosphere in the village. Every time he creates chaos. That is why the village has decided to send him away from the village.

In this way, the Bodo society together does Judgement and solves the problems that may arise in the village and such acts can be seen still today.

3.3.2.4 Superstitious Belief:

Belief in witch is a major problem in Bodo society. Till now this belief is available in the society. In this novel Damphwr oja is known as a witch. He is from Haladola village. People called Damphwr oja whenever people got sick. The patient was examined by him. If the sickness was gone, it is considered good oja and great oja. While if the patient does not get alright or if the patient dies, it is considered as witchcraft, and because of cast spell, the patient died. In this way, Damphwr oja examined two patients and they died. Since then Damphwr oja was known as a wizard. In this way, no one gave their daughters in marriage to Labendra. Deobari also did not get married to Labendra because his father was a wizard. At one time many people feared Damphwr Oja. When the people met him on the roads they did not look at him. Nobody visited their house out of fear. Along with the father, the children, son, and daughters were looked down as sons and daughters of a witch.

One day Damphwr fell seriously ill and passed away. Labendra had observed his father's magical wizard work by collecting different herbs in people's surroundings and he was able to make medicines and he cured also. He takes or carries a bag full of such medicines on his shoulder every time. At night while coming back to his village he makes a loud noise and creates intolerable scenes. The villager decided to send him away from the village. This kind of superstitious belief is available in Bodo society.

The village people when they get into illness instead of seeing a doctor, preferring a village quack can be seen. In Deobari novel, the Bodo society's treatment of the illness through some 'Jarinaï'³⁰ process by herbs can be seen. The Bodo society's thought pattern and superstitious belief can be seen in the novel. At the same the illiteracy of the people is showcased in the novel.

One day Deobari's elder son fell severely ill. When the sickness worsens Deobari wanted to take him to one Bengali Doctor in Rowta, but Theklo said that it was too far. The child was 5 years old; it would be difficult to bring back the child. Theklo decided to go to Badung quack for the child's check-up. Badung quack heard

³⁰ To say a charm to enchant

the condition of the child and he examines by the 'Khaori'³¹ process. After examining by the 'Khaori' process for once, twice and thrice he said that nothing serious had happened but asked to perform Puja in Goddess Aaini, and then his sickness would go away. Theklo calls Badung oja to perform puja. Theklo made all the preparations and brought delicate leaves and materials necessary to Bailong oja. Bailong sat behind the bed and started to perform the ritual. After some time the leaves were folded and tied it up with jute thread and Theklo hang it on to the roof. Deobari also gave rice beer and two glasses while Theklo brought Tobacco and lighted a fire. Then Theklo opens the pot which was covered by straw, pours some drops on the floor and some in the glass. Seasonal sickness is cured by Badung ojah an in such manner. But Deobari's son's health worsens and he was taken to the doctor also. The Doctor diagnosed it to be typhoid and Malaria. The sickness worsens and Deobari's son died suddenly. When Theklo's brother Bonda was seriously ill, at that time all medicines were brought from the oja and Rice beer was served as a sign of respect.

3.3.2.5 Marriage System:

Through the Deobari Novel, two marriage systems can be seen Haba gwlaio and Gwrjia lakhinai haba system. During the stay at Jiajiri village itself, Damphr Oja from Haladola village had come to ask Deobari's hand in marriage to his son. Damphr liked Deobari and had kept Bangles in their house. If the Bangle is accepted then marriage will take place, but if the Bangle is not accepted marriage will be cancelled. Deobari's father Saoriya did not want to give his daughter to the son of a witch that is why he did not accept the Bangle.

In the new village, there was a discussion between the two families about the marriage of Deobari and Theklo. After the discussion, the date for the marriage was fixed. According to the Bathou religion, the marriage ceremony was conducted. The traditional marriage system 'Hathasuni' ritual was performed.

³¹ To determine one's future with the help of conch-shells

Theklo and Deobari's marriage was held on Friday through 'Hathasuni',³² marriage system. In the village, marriage party was never held before. That is why the villagers were ready to attend the marriage party of Theklo and Deobari. After the discussion between the two families, the bride was already taken a day before the marriage. Bonda had bought one chicken and one cock from the Lalpur market for his brother Theklo's Hathasuni marriage.

In the evening the village Thekla oja was called in to perform the ritual. All the villagers also came to attend the marriage ceremony of Theklo and Deobari. All the people were very happy. Bonda's wife Bonburwi cleaned the 'Bathou Sali'³³ very clean. Thekla oja came and he went to the well and washed himself. When the time came, the new bride and bridegroom were brought near the Bathou. Then after the recitation of the mantra's Thekla oja sacrifice the cock and the chicken near the Bathou God. After the sacrifice, two boys burnt the cock, chicken and cut it into pieces.

Onla³⁴ was pounded by two girls early in the noontime. Deobari made preparations to cook curry of rice flour with chicken as a ritual of 'Hathasuni' marriage. The curry which is made for Bridegroom should not be given turmeric powder. The curry for the Bridegroom was prepared separately. When the food was ready, it was brought out to be served. The new Bride Deobari kept Khamphlai in the courtyard and served the food. Along with the new Bridegroom his friend Laothai was also served.

In Hathasuni marriage, the Bridegroom is not allowed to finish up his food from the plate. They had to leave some food. Theklo also after eating two handfuls left his plate. People who had come to attend the wedding laughed out loud seeing this. The new Bride after serving the Bridegroom served all the people as well.

After attending Hathasuni marriage the people went back to their respective houses and some girls did not go. When all the people were gone they kept Deobari inside the house and went away. In this way, Theklo and Deobari's marriage was concluded.

³² Original marriage system of the Bodos

³³ The place where Bathou is established

³⁴ A curry prepared from ground rice

The marriage system of keeping the son-in-law as gwrjia in the house of the Bride is also one of the prevalent rituals in the Bodo society. In the Bodo society, in someone's family when there is a son or when there is only one daughter, then the boy is kept as gwrjia. After marriage, the boy stays in the Brides house. Deobari and Theklo also decided to keep gwrjia as they had only one daughter. Both husband and wife thought to search a boy for their daughter Phaogali. Theklo decided to make a boy by the name of Alu as his son-in-law. Alu is a hard-working servant; many owners want to take him as a servant. He works as a servant in the house of Khaphal Mahajwn, and Khaphal Mahajwn also thought to keep him as his son-in-law for his daughter Nilima, by observing Alu's hard-working nature. Theklo heard that Alu did not want to get married to Khaphal Mahajwn's daughter, therefore he asked Alu to work as a servant in his house and slowly he will ask his hand in marriage to his daughter. It went on as it was thought, Alu came to stay as a servant and after the cultivation work, he gave the word to marry Theklo's daughter according to the 'Hathasuni' marriage ritual. But Khaphal Mahajwn by some tactics was able to keep Alu as his son-in-law for his adopted daughter Nilima.

Khaphal Mahajwn was also a servant and he was kept as a gwrjia by Omaki Mahajwn. Omaki Mahajwn was impressed by the hard-working nature of Khaphal and gave him in marriage to his eldest daughter Thuntri. Khaphal was also lured by the property of Omaki Mahajan and obliged to stay as his son-in-law. After many years of their marriage, they could not get a child because his wife could not bear a child. That is why they adopted a girl child and for that adopted child Nili, Alu is kept as gwrjia. In the novel, Theklo and his brother Goiswrwn sons also remain as a son-in-law.

Theklo's brother Bonda has no boy child, therefore adopted a boy child, and his eldest daughter was given in marriage to Rowtang and he was kept in the girl's house as a gwrjia. The younger daughter was given in marriage to one boy who had come from Kamrup district to work as a servant, Sangdaria and he was also kept as a gwrjia. In which house there are many boy children, that family was considered rich. Deobari has only one boy child and it can be seen that she is worried. In the novel,

the novelist has showcased the living style, marriage systems, and rituals of the Bodo Community.

3.3.2.6 Festivals:

In the Bodo Society, the people can be seen practising some important festivals still today. The Bodo Community festivals are mostly related to the economy and agriculture. The main source of livelihood of the Bodo's in Agriculture and based on the agriculture most of the festivals are celebrated. In this novel, the celebration of different festivals has not been celebrated, but some of them are being highlighted. In this novel, the character of Bonda goes to the market to buy sticky rice to celebrate the festival of Magw (Magh Bihu). But as he could not get the sticky rice in the market, he goes to the nearby village to enquire and the person to whom he enquired tells Bonda that it was available in their house. The next day he goes to fetch the sticky rice in the house of Ulakani bwrai in the Goaparari village with that old man Bonda started to take opium drugs. Bonda calls that man in their house during the Magh Bihu celebrations. During the Magh Bihu varieties of Pita are being prepared.

Through this novel, the eating of new rice can also be traced. The celebration of new rice is celebrated at the getting of the first new rice after the harvest. In Bonda's house, there will be the celebration wngkham gwrlwi janai (celebration of the new rice-eating). All the villagers will be invited to take part in the banquet. Early morning Bonda went to the Tuesday market to buy two chickens. It will be prepared with sobai³⁵ (Black bears). Yesterday Bonburwi, Asagi and Saragi had gone for fishing and they brought fishes such as spollled snake head, stinging catfish, walking catfish and many more. The fish will be prepared with Onla.

To prepare dinner for the celebration Bonburwi called Deobari telling that she was a young girl. Only Deobari is at her youth age nearby by Bonburwi house. Deobari also went as she was called for help in the home work. Deobari said she was shy to go but Bonburwi herself forcefully came and call her. In the evening Theklo went to invite all the villagers for the celebration of the new rice party. All the

³⁵ (Black bears)

people, Oldman, old woman, Boys, girls, children, everyone came for the new rice party. The rice beer (Jou) was prepared before a week in a big Jar and it was brought out in the courtyard. The village man who knew how to extract the wine extracted. Theklo took one full bowl. To serve the food, the Banana plant was cut and small plates were made out of it. In the courtyard itself some people were drinking wine and some were having food. The celebration of the new rice can be seen in the Bodo Society.

3.3.2.7 Religion:

The foremost religion of the Bodos is Bathou religion. Through the novel, the worship of the Bathou God is prominent. At the same time amongst the Bodo community, the religion disparities can be seen. Those people who did not want to worship the Bathou God shifted and converted to other religions. Naodra thought deeply regarding the Bathou religion. At one time some of the people did not like some ritual of the Bathou religion.

Naodra thought deeply regarding the Bodo community religious ritual. The ritual of the main religion of the Bodo's such as sacrificing of chickens and pigeons were not appreciated. He was not satisfied with the killing of living thing and sacrificing. That is why he decided to convert himself to other religions. When the ritual of religion is not good, happiness does not come. Golok Basumatary is a preacher of Onukul religion from Bahini village, Udalguri. Naodra converted from Bathou religion to Onukul religion by him. At that time, the conversion of one religion to another religion was seen very less among the Bodo community. But later on, the people of Harisinga, Udalguri areas the Bodo people left their own religion and started accepting the Christian religion can be seen. Naodra's act of accepting other religions negating the Bathou religion was not appreciated by his relatives. His father Saoriya was not happy at the conversion of his son to other religion. Saoriya did not change his religion at his old age and worship the Bathou God. In the Novel from the character of Ulakaniya, the Bodos converting to other religion can be seen. It is sadly expressed by Ulakani in front of Bonda as thus-

“है मा बुंगोनलै फंबाय। जों आसामनारि बरफोरखौ शरण होनो फाइदों। दा गामियावहा नामघर बनायबाय। हाबे नामघराव जों गामिनि बयखौबो लिंहरनानै कीर्तन घषा कितापखौ फरियो। फरिनानै बुजायनानै होयो। बामोन गसाइया बुडो आसामनारि कछारिफ्रा फिसा जाथिनो। मदाइ-दावदाय होनायाव दाव फारेव बोलि होनाया महापापनोलै फंबाय। बिनिखायनो जौनि गेजेराव एक शरण शंकरदेबनि घोरोमखौ प्रचार खामनो फाइदों।”
(Deobari p-131)

English rendering: ["Hey" What to say, brother. They have come to convert the people of Assam. Now they have built Namghor in the village. They are calling the people from the village and the Kirton Ghosa was read aloud. After reading it is explained. The Bamun God says that the Assam's Kachari's are a small clan. In worshipping God, they sacrifice chicken and pigeons which is a big sin it seems brother. That is why they have come to preach and spread the religion of Sri. Sankardev].

“जौनि मानसिफोरखो बर रावबो रायज्जलायनो होसावा। उसमिया भाषाखौसो बुंनो होयो। जौनि भाषाया भाषा नडानोरे। माबा दवानसो नो। बेखायनो जौनि भाषाखौ गारसानो बुदों।
जौखौ जखाइ लौनो होयाखै। दाव, अमा फिसिनो होयाखैलै फंबाय। कीर्तन धषायाव मा लिरनाय दड जौखौ फरिनो होया। हाबे कितापखौ दांनो होसाया। जों दांबोला सुवा जायोनो।” (Deobari P-131)

English rendering (Nobody allows we Bodo's to speak our Bodo language. All the people speak Assamese. Our language is not a language it seems, which is something Dowan. That is why they have suggested to neglect our language. They have prohibited the use of alcohol. Prohibits the farming of chickens and pigs what is written in the Kirtan book they do not allow us to read. The book is not allowed to be touched. If we touch, it becomes unholy it seems.)

Bathou religion's ritual of sacrifice, consuming of Rice wine (Jou) was not liked by some of the people and those people converted to other religion and some felt that being a Bodo was looking down by others, and so converted to other religion, the novelist has highlighted some of those things as well.

3.3.2.8 Food Habits:

Through the novel, the food habits of the Bodo society are highlighted. The Bodo woman collects different types of vegetables from the woods and prepares them as curry. They have good knowledge about the vegetables with which meat to cook and how it tastes. At the start of the novel, Deobari goes to collect 'Sibru'³⁶, vegetable near the river and takes a long time. Most of the people of the Mwithaguri village did not have well. Therefore, the people used the river Tarang's water for drinking, washing vegetables, washing clothes, to wash utensils and for many other purposes. In that river, Theklo meets Deobari and talks to her. Theklo is secretly in love with Deobari and wanted to marry her. At the same time, he inquired about the decision of migration of their family to Goalpara as she was alone. The people residing near the Tarang river does fishing. Deobari and Theklo after migrating to the new land marry each other according to the Hathasuni marriage ceremony. The onla dish prepared in the Hathasuni marriage can be seen in the novel. When Deobari, Theklo, Saoriya, Bonda migrated by Train they cook their meal in Tangla station. During the preparation of the meal, Napham³⁷ dish was prepared by Bonburwi. Napham is one of the most prominent traditional items of the Bodo society.

In the new land, Deobari and Theklo cultivated many vegetables such as spinach, Lapa³⁸, cauliflower, cabbage, sour leaves, coriander, onion, etc. The Bodo's cultivates vegetables as well. Deobari and Theklo both of them are very hard working. That is why they were able to increase their economic status. Theklo and Deobari went to their native land after many years. Their sister-in-law treated them with chicken and onla can be seen.

In the food habit of the Bodo community, the 'Jou' is one of the most notable items. In the novel, many times the use of 'Jou' can be traced in many occasions. 'The use of 'Jou' is prevalent since olden days. The making of 'Jou', the making of Emao³⁹ falls under the category of the food habits of the Bodo's. The making of Jou

³⁶A kind of thorny arum plant

³⁷ Fermentation of dried fish with arum and sour in the bamboo pipe by way of airtie

³⁸ A kind of winter vegetable

³⁹ Soaked rice cake used for fermenting beer

and Emao also portrays the Bodo woman's knowledge in that particular area. If the 'Jou' was limitedly used by the people it was good for health. But the extreme usage of the 'Jou' causes many diseases and illness among the people.

In olden days in the Bodo families, the drinking of 'Jou' in the evening was a practiced habit. In the present days as well in some of the families such kind of practices can be seen.

In the families where there are servants, the owner, Laokhar everyone in the family would sit together in the courtyard and consumed the rice beer(Jou). The servants only drank the Jou it is not true; along with drinking, they engaged themselves in different kinds of works. Such as making of jute thread-making of fish trapping basket, making of stick for different purposes, etc.

The 'Jou' was being extracted by the expert servant. Another person will serve the extracted 'Jou' in the bowl. Others engaged themselves in some works at the same time sips the 'Jou'. In that session, many topics are being discussed between the owner and the servants of the house. Such as household works, agriculture, seasons, village conditions and much information from other places are being discussed. Saaon Dan(Summer season) is the season of cultivation. Bonda has one elderly servant. His name is Haranga. Working as a servant in many household he had grown old. It is fortunate to get Haranga as a servant. He is very expert in all the works and the owners want to take him as their servant.

During the hosting of guests, the use of 'Jou' is very prominent. In the community work, 'Jou' is the main item. When Damphwr oja came to see Deobari, he had come with a jar full of 'Jou' and they had taken the 'Jou' together. When someone comes to visit as a guest, Jou is served. Bonda being a guest in one family, he is served 'Jou' can be traced. When the Bodo people have community work or when some programs are to be conducted in the family the use of 'Jou' can be seen. When Theklo call for help to bring sal trees to build his house, it can be traced that those people were served with a meal, meat and 'Jou' by Deobari. In the marriage ceremony of the Bodo's or any festivals, programs the 'Jou' is being used. In Theklo and Deobari's marriage the people were served 'Jou'. In the family of Bonburwi during the time of the new rice celebration 'Jou' was served to the people.

'Jou'(rice beer)was prepared and available in everyone's family. The family members after hard work of cultivation and other works, to kill their tiredness, consuming the 'Jou' can be seen. Bonda is addicted to 'Jou' and if he gets a little tired by doing little work, and very often he can be seen taking the 'Jou'. After consuming Jou and opium he is affected by serious disease. Theklo does not consume much 'Jou' only on some occasions like while visiting some families and during community works, he takes the 'Jou'.

In the Bodo society when someone gets sick it can be seen that instead of seeing a doctor, the oja is preferred since olden days. In the present time such kind of activities has diminished but still today the belief of the oja can be seen. The sick people were examined by the oja's and as an act of thanking the 'Jou' was given to the oja. Deobari serves 'Jou' to Bailong oja when he had come to examine her seriously ill son. One day when Bonda was seriously sick, Bonburwi asked Theklo to fetch medicine from the oja and she prepares the 'Jou' to serve the oja. At that time when the oja cured the sickness, it can be seen that as a gift they take 'Jou' mostly. One day when the music teacher came to reside in Deobari's and Theklo's village, they ask an act of drinking 'Jou' calls some village people and discussing the matter can be seen.

After their marriage, Deobari's brother Naodra and her sister-in-law Sita had come to visit her in the house. Deobari treated them lovingly with a good meal and at the same she plucks some of the vegetables from her vegetable garden and gave to them. Theklo and Deobari also come to visit their native land for a week and in that one week; the visiting of relatives can be seen. The dishes like onla (Rice flour) and chicken, 'Jou' (Rice beer) and meat, etc, the traditional dishes and items being served can be portrayed in the novel. When the neighbor came to visit the serving of 'Jou', tobacco, betel nut and betel leaf, it can be seen in the Bodo society.

3.3.2.9 Hospitalities:

The guest in the Bodo society is considered equal to God since the olden days. The guests are treated very lovingly and caringly. When the guests come in any family, it is considered that Goddess Laxmi is visiting. It can be collected from the novel that Deobari serves her guests, who came to their house with much care. One day Damphwr oja from the Haladola village came to see Deobari as his daughter-in-law. But Deobari's father Saoriya and her brother Naodra did not want to give her in the family of the witch. Saoriya, even though he did not consent to the marriage proposal he made preparations for meals. Damphwr oja had informed that by the morning they would reach their house. On that day the sun shined brightly, the weather is very pleasant. They already made up their mind not to give Deobari for marriage but all the family members made preparations for the arrival of the guests. After some time the guests arrive. Saoriya welcomes the guests from the entrance of the house. Deobari comes out from the house and gives them place to sit. Later on, they talk about the reason for their visit. On the other hand, Naodra and the village headman arrive. During the discussion, the 'Jou' brought by the Damphwr oja was served. Whoever came in the house of Saoriya took the Rice beer, but Damphwr oja and the guests that came with him did not take meal at the house of Saoriya in spite of repeated requests. The villagers who came into Saoriya's house had a nice meal after the leaving of the guests.

Theklo also went to visit Jajiri's village Deobari as a guest one day. Theklo loves Deobari and after he got the news that Damphwr oja had come to ask Deobari's hand in marriage to his son, Theklo just as an act of visit goes to enquire the condition. He meets Deobari at her house entrance and she requests Theklo to come to their house. Theklo feels excited at the invitation and he obliges to go. Deobari leads Theklo and they reach their house courtyard. Deobari brings one 'khamphlai'⁴⁰ and lets Theklo sit on it. She goes inside the house and cuts the betel nut and then she goes to pluck beetle leaves, she washes the betel leaves and then brings down the lime which was hanging onto the verandah in a Bamboo pot. Then

⁴⁰ A low wooden seat with or without legs

she serves it on the Batha⁴¹(container use in serving betel nut and betel leaf). Her sister-in-law makes tea and serves it to Theklo. The Bodo person in this way serves the guests that come in the house. It does not matter whether the guest is from a farway place or from nearby. All the guests are equally treated and served betel nuts and Tabacco etc. Theklo's brother Bonda had also visited Deobari family before migrating to Darrang district. He had come to enquire about the preparations of migrating to Darrang district as he had heard that the family of Saoriya is also going to migrate, the preparations made and to fixed on which date they would migrate, and if possible they could go together. As soon as Saoriya saw Bonda he requested to come inside the house and ask Deobari to give him Khamphlai. Deobari brings one khamphlai and Bonda sits. Deobari serves Tobacco to Bonda and Bonda lits it up and smokes. Bonda and Saoriya discuss the terms and conditions of migrating to the new land. After sometime Deobari brings one full pot of Jou(Rice beer) and bowls to serve. Saoriya himself extracts the 'Jou'. He extracted with one extractor call Janta. After that, he collected it in a bowl and gave it to Bonda. Bonda was looking at the process of 'Jou' extraction and it made his mouth water. As soon as Saoriya gave it to him, he drank it.

Saoriya and Bonda after migrating to Rowta visited each other. During the time of Magh Bihu for the preparation of Pita and Sitao, one day Bonda had gone to Goalpara in the house of Khaniya Bwrai to fetch sticky Rice. Khaniya bwrai also treated him nicely as a guest and served him tea and 'Jou'. As Bonda got a chance to consume opium in his house, he kept relations with him and visited him frequently. The Khaniya Bwrai also goes to Bonda's house as a guest. For the first time Bonda got chance to eat fish curry prepared with kharwi⁴² in Khaniya Bwrai's house.

3.3.2.10 Handloom:

Weaving and Handloom is one of the most appreciable cultures of the Bodo society. The Bodo woman learns the art of weaving from their childhood age; otherwise, they cannot get married. The Bodo mother teaches their daughters from

⁴¹ container use in serving betel nut and betel leaf

⁴² Alkali

the childhood age, to form healthy character, household works. To sweep the floor, courtyard, washing utensils, collecting vegetables, to look after the babies, etc are all learned from the mothers. When the mother is capable of all the works, the daughter also becomes an expert. When someone comes to the house sweeping the floors, khamphlai being given to sit are all learn from the mother herself. To teach the art of weaving, the Bodo mothers prepare 'Si Sudam'⁴³ and teache the daughters. To teach the art of fishing, small Jekhai⁴⁴ and Khobai⁴⁵ are made and given to the daughters and they are led by their mothers for fishing. In this way, the Bodo girls learn every art of work as they grow up and become expert in their particular area of works. Deobari is one such girl, who is expert in each and every work. She learned the art of weaving from her sisters. She learned to develop her good character from her sisters. During her childhood days, she used to play the childhood games of cooking with her friends. When her sisters prepared food, she used to go up and down in the kitchen. She used to lit the fire when her sister's prepared food, helped her sisters in cutting vegetables, goes along her sisters to wash utensils in the river. She also fetches water for drinking, on her waist, sweeping the courtyard one in the morning and at the evening were regular work of Deobari.

Deobari is a hard-working girl and with a good character. She helped her husband Theklo in many works. The weaving of Indi cloth, 'Hisima'⁴⁶ cloth, rearing of 'Indi Empou'⁴⁷ and producing threads and making of Indi clothes, through the character of Deobri it can be showcased. If there was an emergency need in the family she sold her Indi clothes and helped her husband. A school was also established in Deobari's village, and Sidhesar Sarma came as a teacher in the school. But he looks down on the Bodo Community. He is a Harsha (Assamese people) and from a Brahmin family. The Harsa (Assamese people) teacher was accommodated in one of the intelligent and highly respected man Swrgiswrwn's house. He does not take the food prepared by the Bodos. But he takes the rice, meat, fish, vegetables

⁴³ Cloth made by a child in playtime

⁴⁴ A bamboo made net used for catching fish.

⁴⁵ A basket made from bamboo used to keep fish.

⁴⁶ Warm cloth for kids

⁴⁷ The eri silkworm

collected by the Bodo girls. Before cooking the family members have to clean all the utensils nicely. He only cooks and eat. They were really encapsulated by the clothes prepared by the Bodo woman and Bodo girls. Many parents of the children when their sons and daughters passed out the Lower primary level, they gifted the Indi cloth as an honour and respect to the teacher. The Bodo's weaving and production of clothes were good and beautiful; it was in fact respected by other tribes as well.

3.3.2.11 Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

The system of keeping maid and servants in the Bodo society can be seen since olden times. The rich families, with lots of land, to cultivate those lands they take the help of servants. On the other hand, the maids are taken to help out in the cooking, kitchen works, planting paddy, etc. and on the other hand the people from the poor families due to their poor financial status, parents send them away from the house and keep them as maids and servants in the rich families.

The children like boys and girls are kept as Laokhar⁴⁸ and Bokhali⁴⁹. The grown-up boys and girls are considered as servants and maids. The laokhar (cowboy) looks after the cow and the bokhali will look after the babies. Some of the people from poor families stay as servants and maids and they become grown-up men and women. When the servants and maids are hard-working they are being taken by the village Mahajwn's as servants and maids. Some of the servants are being taken as gwrijia and daughter in law, and sometimes step wife of the rich owners can be seen in the Bodo society. In the Deobari Novel, the system of servants and maids is beautifully portrayed.

Bonda also took servants and maids in his old village Mwithaguri. The servant's works are ploughing, grazing the oxen, tying the oxen in the shed, making jute thread in the evenings. The maids do the work of planting paddy and kitchen works such as cooking and household works. In the Mwithaguri village, the servant of Bonda was a very good hard working man that is why the people wanted to get

⁴⁸Cowboys

⁴⁹Care-taker

him as a servant in many households. The maid Delaisri is also one of the experts and a hard-working girl who knows to make rice beer and many works.

On the other side, Khaphal Mahajwn tries to keep a servant by the name of Alu as his Gwrjia (son-in-law) for his adopted daughter Lily. Khaphal Mahajwn was also a servant. He had worked in the house of Omakhi Mahajwn for many years. After observing his hard-working nature and good character Omakhi gives in marriage to his eldest daughter Thuntri. Omakhi gives him some land and property.

After many years of their marriage, Khaphal and Thunthri did not get a child because Thunthri was not able to bear a child. She was a Bandi⁵⁰ (one who cannot bear a child). That is why to escape the criticism of the people they adopted one daughter. That dopted daughter's name is Lily. Now he has decided to give his daughter in marriage to his servant Alu. Theklo also wanted to keep Alu as his son-in-law, at the same time Khaphal also wanted Alu to be his son-in-law. Theklo and Deobari's dream of making Alu as their son-in-law did not succeed. They had decided to give a boy by the name Aluram in marriage to their daughter Phaogali Aluram had come to stay in their house. After the cultivation was over it was decided that marriage would be performed according to the Hathasuni marriage ritual. But Omakhi Mahajwn's son-in-law Khaphal Mahajwn used some techniques; he contacted some people and made Aluram as his son-in-law. But Theklo and Deobari accepted all those things like the plan of God. If they are lucky one day their daughter Phaogali will get married. Theklo and Deobari's other dream did not come true. Their dream of taking lots of boy children and living a happy life was shattered. They were blessed with only son child and four daughters. But they were happy although they were blessed with only one boy child. They are happy at what God has given to them.

Theklo and Deobari were also able to afford servants, maids, and cowboys in their family. In the new land, there was a servant by the name Alu who was expert in each and every work, and everyone in the village wanted to take him as a servant. He worked in the family of Khaphal Mahajwn for many years. Khaphal Mahajwn is trying to keep Alu as his gwrjia (Son-in-law) and Theklo also wishes to keep him as

⁵⁰ one who cannot bear a child

his gwrjia (Son-in-law) for his daughter. First of all, Theklo will bring Alu as their servant and slowly they will disclose their idea and discuss among themselves. According to the plan, Theklo went to stay as a servant in their house and later on he also gave word to stay as their son-in-law, but Khaphal Mahajwn by hook and by crook, through some people, he was able to make Alu his son-in-law. Even the servants and maids if luck favours, they could be rich fellows and this can be seen in the novel. The servants were paid 40 kgs of paddy as their salary. Theklo took Swmla as his servant and because he was too young he was paid only 40kg of paddy. He was there for three years. Later on, he was paid 20kg more extra by the owner because of his hard work and full dedication to his work.

3.4. A brief notes on Katindra Swargiary:

Katindra Swargiary was born on 1st February 1964 in the village of Salbari, Simlaguri of Baksa district. After completion of the lower primary in his village, he got admitted in Salbari for middle elementary, after completing matriculation he also completed pre-university. Since childhood katindra Swargiary used to compose many poems. In this way, he was able to touch other branches of literature as well. Thus he placed himself as one of the renounced literature. As a young student, he was very much inclined to composing poems and published in many different magazines. His published books are Boroni jarimin arw swmaosarnai (1992), Pungbili Simang (poem), Hongla pandit(Short story), Som Airakhi arw Boro hari, Hadanao Bwisagw (Drama), Jarwoli(Novel), Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng(Novel), Jaorikhangnaini gibi Aida (Short story),Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing(Novel), Angni Jiuni Dengkhw and Khwmsi (Novel) respectively. He translate some book namely Maram janai Thungri (Mamore Dhora Tarwal by Dr. Mamoni Raisom Goswami), Lekhabilaini Dinga (Kagas ki Nao by Krisan Chandar), Or Nangnai gsw (Ignited Minds By A.P.J Abdul Kalam).He also edited and published combined works of Bodo and Assamese volume of poetry 'Ringpin' showcasing disorder picture of Bodo Society Economic discriminated by others, political and Religions stagnation, keeping in view these elements. He awarded Sameswari from Bodo Sahitya Sabha for his short story book Hangla Pandit in 1996. In 2006 he also awarded Sahitya

Akademi for his novel Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng. He died in the year 2008 but his works will always shine amongst the Bodo people.

3.4.1 Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng:

Katindra Swargiary's Sanmwkhangari Lamajwng is a social novel. The novel was first published in the year 2002. In the year 2006, he was awarded the most prestigious literary award Sahitya Academy award. In this novel, the social picture is vividly limelight. The novel has altogether 25 Chapters. The storyline of the novel is based on the village of Swmliguri village, adjacent village to Salbari. A Bodo village, living a life a farmer, Aspirations, sadness, and happiness, problems, and incidents are picturize. The story of the novel gets serious after chapter 16. In the previous chapters, the environmental scenery and village life are depicted. Along with Gwmsar, Saikhong, Gwmbwr, Swmkhang, Ramwnda and Rwndao's childhood memories like playing happily, catching a grasshopper, cricket, fishing, shooting birds searching eggs, playing marbal, etc, are being picturized. Along with that the playfulness nature beautiful girls group, Baleng, Somaisri's happy moments is also depicted. Gwmsar's group after coming back from school plays different kinds of games. Sometimes they steal bamboo, banana plant and make a boat when there was a flood in their village, they had stolen Haita Banana plant and made a small and went to Demsi Beel they went in search of swansetc. Gwmsar's group like go to Karmanga beel Demsi beel, Kerbai quack's swamps for fishings. Kids enjoying Kati Gasa puja enjoying Bihu festivals going for a new rice party in someone's house going to see Jatra Ghan, going for a meeting, all such kind of childhood activities are being depicted. The Novelist has highlighted the happy moments of Gwmsar's group till chapter 14, how they used to roam in the villages and play around along with that he also limelights the history of Bodo literature and the movement for Roman Alphabets and Debnagiri Script. In the Roman script movement, the sacrifice of the lives of Amla and Shiv is also being picturized.

Gwmsar and Haina's love story is one of the subplots of the novel. The relationship between Somaisri and Saikahang is also a sub-plot in the Novel. Gwmsar goes to Guwahati to study M.B.SS. When he was studying at Gauhati one

day he went to visit Medical College at Bangagor, there he met Haina a student of the cotton college. Haina is from Goramari village under the district Sonitpur; she stays with her brother and sister-in-law in the rent house. Both of them introduce themselves at their first meeting and later on gradually they fell in love.

After completing M.B.B.S. Gwmsar did not stay in the city. He builds one hospital in Salbari village adjacent to his home town and there he stays and treats the patients from nearby villages. Haina did not disagree with the decision of Gwmsar instead she respected his work. One day Gwmsar and Haina's marriage was fixed. On the day of the marriage ceremony with joy and happiness and was performed, singing and dancing preparation of meal was made. Both the families were extremely happy but this happiness takes a different direction. Suddenly from the ceremony, the Bridegroom was seen nowhere. The time to reach the house of the bride gets late. The bride's brother, parents thought what will happen to the bride now, she gets angry with Gwmsar thinking that he has cheated on her. Overpower by anger and sadness she drinks poison to kill herself, everyone hurriedly takes her to the hospital. The other party enquired as to why the bridegroom did not come. No one thought that Gwmsar was busy in his nursing home. His childhood friend Saikhong was shot and to save him he was busy operating him. Later on, after coming home he got the news of Haina and heads towards her.

Saikhong and Somaisri are from the same village they used to play together when they were children. Their childhood friendship turns into love relationship when they became adult. Saikhong was involved in the Bodoland Movement. In the year 1993, 20th February, the treaty was signed between the government and the Bodo Community that led to the formation of B.A.C. After the peace treaty, Saikhong, hopes that he will come back to his village but he did not come back. For this reason, Somaisri becomes restless. Saikhong also thought that he would take up a small job, marry Somaisri and live happily. If not everyday but atleast twice a week he was being searched by police. He did not wish to surrender before the police because he knew that surrendering himself means diving into the mouth of the Tiger. In this way, he escapes from his house. Some people thought that Saikhong had died and if Somaisri hears such things she feels shattered but if some people meet Saikhong

somewhere and if she hears then a new ray of hope creeps in her. Thinking that she will meet Saikhong, she visits her sister Mainao in Mainaonwgwr but she does not meet him. When Saikhong was shot and Gwmsar saves his life, from Gwmsar, Somaisri comes to know about the conditions of Saikhong and she runs to meet him in a hurry. The story ends in this way-

“सानजाअखां फैसालिनिफ्राय गोजोन-सुदेम बार बारबोगासिनो दं। गोमसारमोननि गारिफोराबो खारगासिनो दं। ओजोंहाय समायस्रिआ! समाइस्रिआ साहाथिं गामि बारनानै साहा-सानजा खनाथिं मोखां जानानै दुब्लि गेजेर गेजेर खारगासिनो दं। बिनि खाथबनानै लानाय खानाइआ गेब्रुसारनानै आइलि-जाइलि जालांदों। नाथाय, दान्दिसे गसंदनानै खानाइखौ खाथबनानै लानोबो बिहा जेन गसंदनो सम गैया। गोमसारआ बुंदोंमोन- सानसेनि थाखैब्लाबो सायखंखौ फाख्रिगुरि गामिआव जिरायहोगोन। सालबारिनि सानजाहानि गामिआनो फाख्रिगुरि गामि। बेखायनो समाइस्रिआ सायखंखौ लोगो हमहैनो थाखै दुब्लि गेजेर गेजेर फाख्रिगुरि गामिखौ थांखिनानै खारदों।“(Sanmwkangari Lamajwng P-199)

English rendering: ["From the east sky horizon favorable breeze is coming. Gwmsar's vehicle is also running one side Somaisri! Somaisri crossing northern village is heading towards the north-east corner in between the paddy fields. Her hairband loosens up and her hair becomes untidy, but she does not even have a little time to tidy her hair. Gwmsar had said even for one day Saikhong will be given rest in Pakriguri village is Pakriguri village. For that reason, Somaisri to meet Saikhong, She is aiming for that village and running through the paddy field.]

3.4.1.1 Agricultural life:

This novel along with the socio-cultural picture of the society also presents the agricultural life of the villages. Agriculture is the backbone of Indian society hence the Bodo people too depend on it to a great extent. The small kids named Gwmsar, Gwmbwr, Saikhong, Rwndao, Mwdaokha, and Swmkhang were seen playing happily. These kids were making fun by going for fishing, collecting edible

insects like Guma⁵¹, Gusengra⁵² etc. These ways of playing were very much connected to nature which shows how Bodo society is deeply engrossed in nature. Bodo people mostly used to go for hunting, fishing, and growing paddy.

The importance of growing crops is mentioned in this novel. Bodo people used to cultivate varieties of rice among which some were of prominent value such as Asu Maisali. The rice-growing fields were very wide. The kids were trying to catch grasshoppers in the fields hence passed through the midway of the fields.

Gwmsar's father was a farmer. He had three bighas of land. He also owned a plough, two oxen and bull. Gwmsar had a younger brother named Jwngsar. He was studying in class 8 but had to give up his studies due to some incidents. As Gwmsar's father fell ill, hence he had to look after his brother's paddy field. While Gwmsar was well educated and held an MBBS degree. Though being a doctor, whenever he used to come back he used to help his father diligently in his cultivation works. Gwmsar in his student life also helped his father by looking after the initial works in the field and also kept a book beside him to go through when free. But his friends took farming as an occupation. Therefore this novel shows how people of this village were mostly farmers. During the rainy season they were most busy as it is the rice cultivating season while during the dry season some other pulses were grown and workload was comparatively lesser.

There is seen to exist a sense of brotherhood among the Bodo people. During the cultivating season one used to help the other. There is a social bonding called 'Saori-lengnai', in which the folks of people help each other in growing rice. Instead of taking money the owner used to feast them heavily with rice, meat, and drinks. Gwmsar's family also held 'Saori-lengnai'⁵³. Gwmsar was also seen participating in this occasion. Since a gap occurred while studying MBBS, so he was scared of leeches. He feared to go in the field due to the presence of leeches but somehow manages to go in. Seeing his fear his childhood friend Gwmsar teases him addressing as,

⁵¹ Grasshopper

⁵² One kind of ant

⁵³ Community work/ Aa collective and free mutual labour

“हेल्ल टाक्टर बाबु, हाउ आर इउ? मझे बाताओ, दुब्लिआव मानो फेदों नों? जोंहा रावहाबो खर सायाखै।

-माइ गायग्राफोरनो खोथिया राननानै होनोसो फेदोंलै आं गोमबोर। (गोमसारा बुंनायसै)

-खोथिया राननानै होनो फेदोंब्लालाय माथो लामायाव गसंनानै आर्थेआव बेदलाव अरदों ना लावार अरदों बेखौसो नायबाय थाखोलै नों। (गोमबोरआ बुंनायसै)”(Sanmwkangari Lamajwng P-168)

English rendering: ["Hello! Doctor Babu, how are you? Tell me, why have you come to the paddy field? Nobody is having a headache here". Gwmsar replies that he has come to distribute paddy plants to the planter to Gwmbwr. Gwmbwr again teases him saying- If you have come to distribute paddy plants then why are you standing and looking at your legs whether leech had bitten you or not?]

In the community works Gwmbwr, Ramendra and other boys came to plough the field and Baleng, Somaisri, Phaodur, Swmsri, Laogi and two maids from the village have come to plant the paddy. In the novel again it can be seen that the community work of harvesting can be traced in the family of Baleng. In Rwima's paddy field also the village people came for the community work. From Gwmsar's family, Gwmsar had to go for the community because at that time his brother, Birendra had also gone for a meeting in Salbari, and his father along with his uncle had gone to Sorupeta Circle office for the work of getting land patta. In the village, if anyone had work to be done, the Bodo people help out each other. That is why Gwmsar also went for the community work taking one sickle in his hand. Gwmsar was finding difficulty in tying the paddy at the beginning but later on, he managed to tie up the paddy into a bundle. The traditional beauty of saori lengnai a community work in the village can be seen till today.

The people who are associated with cultivations respect the cows very much and consider them equal to God. During the Magw or Domasi (Magh Bihu), they perform puja for the good health of the cows and oxen, as well as for the good harvest. The first festival of the Bihu starts with the festival of the cows. The cows are garlanded with bitter ground and brinjal, and charcoal is being marked on their body and later on, they are taken to the rivers for bathing. In the novel, the

celebration of Bihu and the cow's festivals is being depicted. Gwmsar, Saikhong, Gwambar and many others took their cows and oxen for bathing in the Laodonga River. Early morning Gwmsar woke up and help out his father Dabla in marking the cow with colours, making garlands of bitter ground, brinjal, by the bamboo stick and in garlanding them. His villagers and the people for the nearby village Turibari also came to the river Laodunga to bath the cows and oxen. After giving a bath to the cows and oxen they are freed in the paddy field, instead of being tied up. In the evening the cows and oxen are tied up with new thread in the cowshed. During the Magh festival as well the cows and oxen are worshipped, at this time the eatable things prepared such as 'Pita, Sitao',⁵⁴ prepared from rice flour are given to the Bathou God and the cows and oxen before the humans consume it.

One day Gwmsar's father Dabla in order to prevent the cows and oxen from mosquitoes he prepared a bundle of dry straws, wet straws, and some grass. He burns it so that it emits smoke and fanned the smoke all along the cowshed. Such kinds of the character directly show that the cows and oxen are considered as the base of agricultural life and worship it as a lucky charm. The cowshed of Simliguri village is often highlighted. Sometimes the cowshed of Gwmsar, sometimes Mwdaoka's cowshed, and sometimes the cowshed of Saikhong is often portrayed in the novel. In the Mwdaoka's cowshed, the group of Gwmsar used to play marbles.

The novelist has highlighted the village lifestyle and the agricultural association of the Bodo community in the novel. Such as- planting paddy, preparing paddy bed for sowing the paddy seeds, harvesting paddy and the initiative of Gwmsar and Saikhong's uncle shifting of the cows from place to place for grazing. One day Detsung got drunk and went home his brothers Orkang and Orga were sitting and making a thread for tying the cows and oxen in the courtyard. All these works showcase the village life and close association with the agriculture of the Bodo community and the Bodo society.

⁵⁴ Rice cake

3.4.1.2. Festivals:

The most celebrated and the biggest festivals of the Bodos are Bwisagu (Bihu). The novelist has highlighted the Bwisagu celebration and its beauty of Simliguri village. Before the festival, the boys and girls rehearse for the dances, for the festival the boys of Turibari village every year they form a group and practice for the festival one month in advance. Before the final preparation of dance, sometimes Gwmsar, Saikhong and Baleng's group goes to see the dance practice. To see the dance practice of Turibari, the boys and girls of Pakriguri and the boys and girls of Turibari also come to see it and the boys and girls of village Tangabari also gather to see the dance. In playing a different kind of musical instruments and dance practice if there was any mistake the trainer would highlight and enlighten them to do it rightly.

Before the Bwisagu (Bihu) festival it can be seen that the Garja puja is being performed in the Bodo community. To perform Garja puja there is a particular place in the village. The villagers of Simliguri also decide to perform the Garja puja in their village Garja Sali. They believe that if Garja puja is not performed it may befall the people from danger and bad omens. At the same time if there has been any mistake or crime committed against someone or against the society it is purified with Garja puja. In this puja, all the villagers take part happily and willingly. In this puja other than Goat, Chicken, Ducks, and Pigeons are the sacrifice to the Gods. Lastly, a small boat is made from Banana plant and it is covered like a house and inside that two pigeons marked by vermilion powder are kept and it is freed towards the southern part of the Mandir in the Beet so that the birds can fly away. The rules for performing Garja puja differs from place to place. When the time comes to perform this puja in the village, the boys and girls like Gwmsar and Baleng's group get excited. The village girls grind the rice flour in Baleng's traditional grinder and prepare varieties of rice recipes. Rice flour is mixed with ripe banana and ladu is made out of it. Often than Ladu, the Goat, Chicken, Duck and Pigeons sacrificed to the Gods are cooked and the meal is treated to all the villagers. On that day in the Simliguri village, no kitchen will light a fire. The last ritual of this puja is one oldest man of the village as to how the small children play with the middle hard part of the

banana leaf as making it a horse; just like that the oldest man makes and accelerates towards the southern part of the village road. As the galloping of the horse with the banana leaf, again another man takes a bamboo stick along with its leaves by tying a red cloth on the tip of the bamboo leaves and with energetic manly power implants it towards the East of the road. Nearby the implanted bamboo tree, the banana leaves are thrown and both the person comes back in the village. From the village when anyone goes somewhere or goes to their relatives, the villagers plucks and brings 2-3 pieces of grass and dumps it upon the implanted bamboo tree and worships the God Bathou. They believe that in that way if the evils and bad things may have accompanied them, that evils and bad things cannot enter to their village from the visited villages and the evil will return from that implanted bamboo tree. It is a belief by the people of the Simliguri village. It is belief and practice since olden times and if they will practice that belief they fear that the Gods and Goddesses from the neighbouring forest will come and destroy their lives, cows, chickens, pigs, and goats. In this way before the Bwisagu (Bihu) festival, the Garja puja is being performed.

The time for the Bwisagu (Bihu) festival and giving a bath to the cows and oxen also gradually arrives. Gwmsar's group is very excited and joyful at the advent of the Bwisagu festival. At the coming of the Bwisagu festival, all the Bodo people are joyous. This festival has been celebrated by the Bodo people since the time immemorial. The day before the bathing of the cows and oxen all the necessary items like branches of the trees, raw turmeric, bottlegourd, brinjal, etc are kept ready. Early morning the aged people wakes up and goes to the cowshed and applies mustard oil and makes a paste by mixing mustard oil and charcoal and applies it on the cow and oxen. Gwmsar also gets up early morning and applies the paste and garlands to the cows and oxen, thus helps out in the festival. After arranging all the necessities, along with his father Dabla, uncle Jwngsar, Gwmsar takes the four oxen and two cows and one calf to the Laodanga river for bathing. Gwmsar, Saikhong also along with their elders has come to the Laodanga River for bathing the cows and oxen. The villagers of Thuribari also bring their cows and oxen in the Laodanga river. By throwing pieces of battleground, brinjal, and turmeric onto the cows they

sing as-

“लाव जा, फान्थाव जा

बोसोरै बोसोर एर हान्जा हान्जा।।

बिमा गायदेबादि दा-जा

बिफा बलदबादि जा।।

.....।” (Sanmwkangari LamajwngP-86)

English rendering: ["Eat bottle gourd, eat Brinjal

The year often year increase your number

Don't become like mother small

Become like father big"]

After giving a bath to the cows and oxen they are left in the fields without tying. After that Dabla and Gwmsar also takes bath in the Laodanga River and snatches the garlands with each other made of the bottlegourd, brinjal and turmeric garlands with other playfully. Coming back home Dabla keeps the branches of the tree brinjal, bottlegourd and turmeric garlands in the earner of the kitchen, cowshed, bedroom, weaving home, etc. In the evening Bilaisri sweeps the cowshed and smoothens it with muddy water. Inside the cowshed eastern side, big banana is spread over and a new thread is kept and later on Bilaisri lights, the earthen lamp and both Dabla and Bilaisri kneels down and offers prayers. When the Bathou God is kept there also earthen lamp is lighted and worship. Worshipping the Bathou God in the cowshed and in Bathou temple they pray for the well being of the cows and oxen. Later on, the cows and oxen are tied with the new threads. In this way, the Bodo people celebrate the first part of the Bwisagu festival which is dedicated to the cows and oxen. The novelist has shown the beautiful scene of the Bwisagu festival in the Novel.

Magw or Domasi (Magh Bihu) is also one of the most celebrated festivals. In this festival, the Bodo woman makes varieties of Pita and Sitao. The small boys celebrate by burning Belagur⁵⁵. Visiting one another's house the Pita and Sitao are

⁵⁵Straw house

being served. Through the Novel, the Magh bihu celebration of the Simbiguri village is being showcased. Gwmsar and Saikhong's group makes the Belagur (Straw house) for the festival. They go to kerpai quack's swamp or Samsu Mahajwn swamp to collect long straw left ones after harvesting to make Belagur (straw house). From everyone's household, they collect hay. The straw and hay are collect near the village temple and near Baleng's house in the open space. Then from each family, five bamboo sticks are collected to build a Belagur (Straw house) but it became excess. From big to small many Belagur's were built for the next day's celebration and two tents were built near to the place where Belagur was built. One tent is for sleeping and the other is for cooking food. They brought cock, potato, brinjal, chili, flowers, oil, salt etc from Salbari market. Before burning the Belagur for two nights they stayed in the tent and also cooked and eat there only. Baleng, Somaisri, Phwisali cooked for them. The day before the celebration of Magh bihu from everyone's household the sound of the rice floor grinder could be heard. Gwmsar and his group went house to house to eat Tikli pita and sitao, they brought it to the tent also and eat later on. On the first day of the month for the celebration of Magh Bihu, at the break of the dawn Gwmsar and his group woke up and went to bath in Laodangari River. After coming back from the river they burn the Belagur. All the people in the union shouted loudly 'Dum Belagur'. At the place where Belagur was burnt, Baleng, Somaisri, Laogi, and Phwisali came to warm up themselves. When second Belagur was still burning the village elders like Saikhong's uncle Habga, Gwmsar's uncle Jwngsar, Baleng's father Merga reached after bathing for warming up them. When the third Belagur was burning many boys and girls gather at the place taking pita and sitao in their hands. They kept some Belagur to burn on the next day. In their way, Gwmsar's group burned Belagur and Sayed up happily for two days and three nights near the village temple in the open space. During the time of Magh Bihu people invite each other to treat with pita and sitao. Same to the small kids it is a joy to treat them with pita and sitao. Laisri longingly tells Saikhong and his group as

“सायखं, दहाय बेलासि समावनो आं नोंसोरखौ बुंखादोंमोन नझना बिलिफांआव जोंहानिआव
फिथा जानो फेनांगोन होननानै। मानो गोबाव खालामखो?”(Sanmwkangari Lamajwng
P-69)

English rendering: ["Saikhong in evening time I have told you that at night you have to come to our house to eat pita. Why have you been late?"]

Through the above line, it is known that love and during the festival season of Magh Bihu everyone likes to visit. This festival is celebrated happily in the Bodo community.

Kati puja is also highlighted in the Novel. At this time the Bodo cultivators and farmers light the earthen lamp in the paddy field. Gwmsar, Gwambar, Saikhong, Swmkang, Ramanda, and Mwdaoka are very happy. On that day in the evening, everyone from the village lights an earthen lamp in their own household Bathou sali and prays to God so that the paddy grows well and bears plenty of seeds. In the village paddy field, everyone lights an earthen lamp in the outer cover of the thaigir⁵⁶ (wood apple) by supporting with three-pointed bamboo sticks. In the paddy field in some places, Prasad is also being offered. The paddy field looks bright by the light of the earthen lamps. Gwmsar's group goes from one house to the other and plays around and eats Prasad merrily. In this way, with lots of enthusiasm, the Kati puja is being celebrated.

The celebration of the new rice festival has been celebrated since the olden times in the Bodo community. When for the first time the new rice is eaten after the harvest then this festival is celebrated. After offering sacrifice on the Thansali (Mandir) the people are also treated with a new meal. It is believed in the Bodo community that if the new rice is treated to all the people in the village than there will be plentiful without any crisis in future. In the novel, the eating of a new rice celebration in the house of Baleng from Simliguri village has been highlighted. During that time the villager helps out the hosting family in cutting vegetables and cooking etc.

⁵⁶ wood apple

Baleng's father had bought all the necessary items like vegetables and other things from the Salbari market. In the evening itself Saikhang's uncle Habga and Gwmsar's uncle Jwngsar come to Baleng's house and helps them. They cut down the banana plants which were near the cowshed and straw hedge, to make ready as plates for serving food. Before the sunset Somaisri, Laogi, Phwisali, Mwdaoka's mother Theleb, and Gwmbwr's mother Sonali came and help Baleng's mother in her work. The children and Gwmsar's group during the preparation for the celebration of new rice played around merrily. But Baleng helps out her mother in some work. Later on, Baleng's group, Samaisri and Gwmsar's group played hide and seek game. At one time all people gather in the court yard. Towards the eastern side of the courtyard fount to the Rice the earthen lamp is burning in the Thansali (mandir) and near to it one big banana leaf is placed and upon it, one bowl food, one bowl full of curry, two beetal nut and beetal leaf is placed. The food and curry should be warmed. Little smoke comes out of the warm rice and curry and moving upwards, near the Bathou Baleng's father Merga, mother Thobli kneeled down and worship. The dwori⁵⁷ took one pot full of water and Tulsi plant branch and sprinkled on the Bathou Thansali and to Merga and Thobli as well. He invoked goddess Laxmi and God Bwrai Bathou and recited the mantras. After that, he asks all the people to say 'Jwi Ai Mainao', 'Jwi Apa Bathou Bwrai Jwi'. Later on, by placing dry all the villagers were fed by the hosting family. In this way, the getting of the new rice was celebrated among the Bodo Community.

Another festival related to agriculture in the Novel is 'Mainao Borainai' (welcoming goddess Laxmi) The Bodo community is an agrarian society and paddy and rice is considered as Mainao, i.e. goddess Laxmi. When the new rice spring's up in the paddy field, a small amount of it is brought as a gesture of welcoming and happiness. According to the place and area, it is called by different names such as Aag Lainai, Mainao Lainai, Lwki Lainai, etc. This welcoming of the Mainao, it is celebrated by many rituals by the Bodos. Habga's wife Romaisri goes to bring Mainao by taking a huge bowl on her head and in the bowl a banana leaf is placed. Upon that leaf, one hand full of green paddy and one sickle is there. With the left

⁵⁷ pandit

hand, the bowl is supported and on the right hand, one pot and her hair are left untied. Gwmsar and his friends knew that while fetching Mainao from the paddy field, the one who brings cannot see behind, left, right or anywhere else, she cannot stop abruptly, she cannot talk with anyone or smile to anyone. By sacrificing two beetal nuts, two beetal leaves, after worshiping one handful of paddy has to be cut and directly it has to be kept in the Bakri⁵⁸. After keeping it inside the house only she can talk with anyone. If this ritual is not followed in the Bakri the mainao doesn't enter it remains back in the paddy field and if by any chance the fetcher of the mainao talks she is believed to be unlucky by the Bodo community. But on the way, the boys try their every effort to make the mainao fetcher to make her laugh or make her talk. Gwmsar's group tried their best to tease Romaisri to make her look towards them. They said thus,

ओइ मादै, मादै, नॉनि उन उन सैमा फाग्ला मासे थांदों। अरगोनलै मादै, खारदो, ओइ बाजै,
बाजैलै, हनै घेमसि बिलोआव अर जोंदों, ओइ बाजै, हनै लाउदंगार्थिं दाउराइ मासे बिरदों“

(Sanmwkhangari lamajwng P-54)

English rendering: (Oi baj sister-in-law see in there is a fire in Demxi Beel, Oi sister in-law see in the Laodanga river there is one peacock")

But Romaisri didn't pay attention to them and she marched towards her house. Gwmsar and his group lost to Romaisri.

3.4.1.3: Customary law:

The Bodo community in order to live a peaceful life has formed certain laws and regulations. In the Bodo society when anyone makes a mistake or commits a crime against the society there is always a gathering to discuss the matter. They conduct such kinds of justice in the village. In the Simliguri village as well one such kind of meeting can be seen.

Saikhong and his 'binanao gwdwi'⁵⁹(make like own sister) goes to attend the Bodo literature organisation's conference in Dudhnoi. But Detsung reports that they

⁵⁸ Granary,storehouse

⁵⁹ Like own sister

didn't go to Duhnoi instead they had gone to Bongaigaon and stayed in a hotel like a husband and a wife. In the Bodo society keeping physical relationships before marriage is considered a crime against society. That is why as reported to the secretary of the committee by Detsung a call for the meeting to discuss the matter is decided. The village halmaji Daorao informs everyone to come to the meeting. He tells the parents of Saikhong and tell him to come to the meeting. But Saikhong was unable to understand as to why he was supposed to attend the meeting. Because he had no idea that the meeting was to be held to discuss the relation between him and his binanao gwdwi (sweet sister). When he went to the meeting at the time only he comes to know about the agenda of the meeting from Gwmbwr and Ramenda. The meeting started and Detsung come forward and tell the reason for a suspect as such –

“खोनासं, ओइ राइजोफोर खोनासं। दुघनैआव जथुमलानाय जथुम्मायाव थांनो थाखै
 ओंखारलानाय सायखं आरो माइनावआ नाथाय जथुम्मासिम थाडाखैमोन। बिसोर बडाइगाव
 टाउननि गंसे हटेलआव बिसि-बिसायबादिये थालायनानैसो फैदोमोन।“(Sanmwkangari
 Lamajwng P-141)

English rendering: [“Listen, Oh people listen. Saikhong and Mainao didn't attend the convention which was held in Dudhnoi instead went to Bongaigaon town and stayed in one hotel as husband and wife.”]

Saikhong says that these words of Detsung are not true and when it is asked to Mainao she also denies. The president then asks enquires to Detsung. Then he says that he came to know from Jwngdao from Turibari village. The halmaji brings Jwngdao and Jwngdao comes to the meeting and gets angry to Detsung and says –

“बोरो-बोरोलै बि देरसुंआ। आंलाय माब्ला आरो मा समाव बि जौसाय फाग्लानि सेराव फंबाय
 सायखं आरो आनैसो माइनावनि बाथा खिन्थाफेरखोनो? जाथारि आरो नंथारि बाथा
 बांसावनानै मानसिफोरनि सायाव बोदनाम होनांगौ जाखो? दुधनैसिम थांखालि जाँ बिसोरखौ
 बडाइगावनिफ्रायनो लोगो मोनलांदोमोन आरो फैफिननायावबो जाँनि सालबारिसिम जयैनो
 फैदोमोन।“(Sanmwkangari Lamajwng P-144)

English rendering: [Where where is Detsung. When did I and at what time in front of mad have I said about brother Saikhong and niece Mainao? Why such things are

spread as rumors and the bad image is created? When we went Dudhnoi we met them from Bongaigaon and while coming back also till Salbari village we were together.]

Knowing the truth from Jwngdao, Detsung is considered as the culprit. But Detsung citing the excuse of natural call goes out and escapes. On the other hand, Daoputla punches Hongla by mistakenly thinking to be Detsung. Hongla and Daoputla fought and later on the president has to confer justice to them as well. Daoputla expresses his mistake and Hongla understands the situation and forgives Daoputla, and orders Daoputla to ask forgiveness from the people and assign ask him to touch the feet of the people. On the next day to discuss the matter of Detsung the president announces. In the Bodo society, small mistakes committed are solved by the village committee.

3.4.1.4 Marriage System:

Marriage is one of the most unavoidable social systems. In the Bodo society, there are six types of the marriage system. The novelist has not forgotten to paint a picture of marriage in the novel. Through Gwmsar and Haina's marriage, the picture of the marriage system is depicted. In both, the family celebrations for the marriage are depicted, like singing, dancing, inviting guests, etc. But on the day of marriage when Gwmsar was nowhere to be seen and the Bridegroom didn't reach the house of the Bride, the marriage took an emotional turn and everyone was sad. Haina think that Gwmsar has deceived her. She drinks medicines to kill herself. Gwmsar, on the other hand, tries to save his childhood friend Saikhong who was shot by police by operating. Later on, Gwmar goes to see Haina.

Through the novel, the marriage ritual of a widow can be traced. Simliguri village's Laodab Gamra's youngest son was sent for studies at Barpeta Road Mission School. But after failing for four of five times in HSLC he stayed at home without any work. He became addicted to alcohol and created be chaos in the family. Detsung, taking the help of one widow from his village sent word to marry Mainao, But Mainao's parents didn't consent to cite that Mainao was very young to be married off. With that widow lady, Detsung had a physical relationship and he had

to marry that widow who had two daughters. He became addicted to alcohol and he sold all his property and became a labourer.

Through the novel, the 'Hathasuni' marriage system is also highlighted. Saikhong's uncle Habga and Romaisri had a 'Hathasuni haba'. Jwngsar and Bidangsri felt in love with each other and they also had 'Hathasuni marriage'. In Bhutan, Nanglam, a picnic party was organised and at that time Jwngsar went to visit his relatives near Kamar River in one family for one night. The house where Jwngsar went to visit next to that house is Bidangsri's house. She failed in class seven and didn't go to school from that time onwards they fell in love and they went to meet each other in Simla market. One day when they went to meet each other, Jwngsar brought Bidangsri to their house and he didn't allow her to go back. Later on, Dabla and Bilaisri called the villagers and went to Kamardwisa village and there on 'Hathasuni marriage' were performed.

3.4.1.5: Religion:

Bathou religion is the foremost religion of the Bodos. The Bodo community has been worshipping the Bathou God since time immemorial. In the present time, different religions have influenced the Bodo community. But it is a fact that till today the Bodos have not forgotten the Bathou God. Through the novel, the worship of Bathou God can be traced. In the Bathou Thansali the cactus plant is the main part, it is surrounded by bamboo fencing. Gwmsar's mother Bilaisri every day morning and evening worships the Bathou God. In there Bathou Tansali along with the cactus plant there Tulsi plant and other plants are also there. In the huge cactus plant on the high branches, four to five couples of sparrows built their nests. At the time of prayer and worship, Bilaisri leaves her hair to untie and light the earthen lamp and kneels down and prays. The Bodos worship the Bathou God in this way. The wife of Narkw Mahajwn, Goiti's at the worship of the Bwrai Bathou by lighting earthen lamp is depicted in the novel. When Gwmsar, Saikhong, Gwmbwr came back after watching Sahitya Sabha in Salbari, they see that Narkw mahajwn's wife Goiti worshipping the Bathou God by singing a song.

In the novel, the Doudini dance and worshipping the Afa Bwrai Bathou can be depicted. Near Gwmsar's primary School, in Turbari playground, in the field through the Bwrai Bathou the Goddess Laxmi is invoking. A whole night with the music Dhol, flute, Serja, Doudini dance will be performed. Gwmsar's and his friends went see to the festival. Near the primary school western side, there is a huge people, tree and southern-western side to that tree Bathou Sali is built. Other than cactus plant other plants like Kaklang suni plants are planted in line and with the rife flour, diversion is made. Many people from the Simliguri village have come to witness the 'Doudini dance'. Kerai puja is being conducted and also Doudini dance to inspect the good and bad conditions of the family.

3.4.1.6 Food Habits:

In the food habit, the Bodo Community has its traditional dishes. The Bodo can prepare tasty dishes. The Bodo women have knowledge about the vegetables and with which meat, what vegetables can be mixed and which spices are to be given. In the novel, the food habit of the Bodo community is being highlighted. Gwmsar's mother is making preparations to cook water gourd with fish which her husband Dabla and son Gwmsar had brought from the river. When Gwmsar was to go to the community harvesting of the paddy his aunty tells Gwmsar to take rice with fish chutney. The Bodo community farmers, in the community, works like to eat rice along with chuntney in the paddy field. The Bodo person during the time of Magh Bihu prepares Pita and Sitao. Gwmsar group going house to house and eating pita can be traced in the novel. In the Bodo community, 'Jou' (Rice wine) is one of the most important items. In the Bodo festivals, and marriage ceremonies rice wine is a must. Betel nut and betel leaf are also very important in the Bodo society. In some of the community works and during puja betel nut and betel leaf is very important. At the same time when people go to visit houses in the village the betel nut and betel leaf are being served. In the novel, Somaisri serves betel nut and betel leaf when Mainao came to visit her, and Saikhong was also served betel nut and betel leaf.

3.4.1.7 Hospitality:

Hospitality is one of the most beautiful social pictures of the Bodo community. In the family when the guests come, they like to treat them like Gods. Still today the visiting of guests is very much relevant in the Bodo society. It is also true that in the present day the food habit has changed a lot in serving the guests. In older times instead of serving tea, Rice wine and Beetal nut and leaf were served. During meal chicken, pork, fish, etc. are served with rice and other vegetables are still prevalent today. In the novel, the family of Mwdaoka invites Mongla for lunch as a guest. Mongla is from Salbari village; he is a little bit mad and forgets things frequently. His condition is not inborn. When he was in primary school, one day he along with the friends of his age went to the field to watch the cows. At that time near the river, someone had made off egg offerings and he picked it up and ate. From that time onwards he became a little bit mad. He didn't take any training to play the 'Serja'⁶⁰ but he became a good Serja player. In Mwdaoka's house one day he visited and had lunch and played Serja for Gwmsar and his group.

3.4.1.8 Handloom:

Weaving and production of clothes help the Bodo culture to be at its peak. Simliguri village's women weaving and production of varieties of clothes has been highlighted in the novel. Gwmsar's mother Bilaisri by herself spins Indi (Eri worm) thread. When Gwmsar reached back from the school she was spinning Indi thread on the veranda. In spite of cooking and doing household works and caring for her children the Bodo women still find time to weave. The Bodo women help out each other in the preparation of different threads and put together to weave clothes that can be seen. Mwdaoka's mother is preparing threads to weave Dokhona. Ramenda's mother Thaisri, Gwmbwrs's mother Hailu, Girls like Laogi and Phwisali help Mwdaokha's mother in the preparation of thread.

On the other side, Habga's wife Romaisri makes a place for weaving near the cowshed itself. In the weaving place the making of different Agor⁶¹ (design) by

⁶⁰ A four-stringed Bodo musical instrument made of sijou tree or Bon-boranda tree

⁶¹ design

Baleb is depicted by the novelist. Somaisri's weaving is also portrayed by the novelist. Somaisri builds her weaving place attached to the house where they sleep. After taking lunch she sits on the bench and weaves her clothes. Somaisri is weaving chadar with 'parou megon'⁶² (pigeon eye) design. In the Bodo villages in each family, the weaving place can be seen. After the planting and harvesting of paddy, the Bodo women do the work of weaving. Through this introduction of the development of the Bodo, culture can be depicted.

3.4.2 Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing:

Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing is the foremost novel of Katindra Swargiary published in 2002, which has social assimilation. The Novel tries to highlight the disorderly atmosphere of Bodo society. It also showcases the tribal turbulence and portrays the effects and consequences of how the people had to hide and become homeless emotional stigma due to communal riots.

The novelist also highlights the communal riots between the Bodo people and the Muslims that took place in the Barpeta district. The Novelist creates an imaginary line and gave shape to that incident. The incident takes place in an undivided Barpeta district, where some unhealthy atmosphere developed.

The situation became intense due to some uncultured people who were selfish, egoistic and wanted to fulfill, their own personal motive. For such kind of people who are trouble makers the whole queues. The novel highlights the characters of Rakheb, Kasem Ali, Gopur Ali with negativism. The storyline of the novel is:

The love affair between the son Lat Ganbra, Biliphang and daughter of Gopur Ali Khan, Sahjadii is the base of communal riot between the Bodos and the Muslims. The boy is from the Bodo Community. They are totally different from the senior-religions background and that becomes the biggest obstacle and the base of communal violence and hatred. Gopur Ali does not consent to the marriage of his daughter to a Bodo boy, thus he along with Kasan Ali builds up an idea and twists. On the other hand, Kasam Ali due to his poor financial status grasps the opportunity

⁶² pigeon eye

offered by Gopur Ali Khan. The first step taken by them was by throwing dead cows head into the well of Beldang Gambra. Secondly, the Pig head was being thrown into the Mosque that was situated in the Bazar area. For Such kind of evil behavior which is against their respective religious beliefs, the people of both the communities were enraged without intending to find out the culprit they began to fight amongst themselves. Although the incident did not ignite the fire; in the meantime, there was another incident of murder of the Muslim. On the other hand, murdered a Bodo boy Rwndao and Bodo Girl Haphang being rape twisted the situation. The Bodo youths decided to take control, burn down and destroy the Muslims of the Bodo villages. As such a fearful war broke out between the two communities.

3.4.2.1 Bodoland movement:

Bodoland movement has long historical roots somewhere rooted in the Assam movement. The father of Bodo's, Upendra Nath Brahma took the initiative to demand a separate state Bodoland, and it is going on till today. Many young Boys and Girls have sacrificed their precious lives in the long run as a call by the Great Bodo Mother. Many girls lost their virginity due to turbulence and insurgency. The Novelist highlights the Bodoland Movement. Many youths took part in the movement as they felt the need to safeguard their motherland. The young students sacrifice their Education and drop out from school, colleges to participate in the Movement. Rakheb, Rwndao, Nabla, Nerswn also took part in the movement. Rakheb is from Eastern- South side of the village situated towards the Eastern-south of the Bazar. He is an orphan, as his father Jwngdao died when he was only one and a half years old. His mother Theleb due to financial crisis sold out the 4 Bighas of land and sent Rakheb to college. But Rakheb without completing his studies participated in the Movement. When the Movement was at its full swing, one-day Rakhebs mother passes away leaving behind Rakheb. At that time Rakheb was at Darrang District.

Bodoland movement and the alter convocation of Separate State by the Bodo Community strike the Government after many years. On the 20th Feb. 1993,

there was a meeting between the Government and the Bodo Community. After signing the treaty the Bodo Autonomous council was granted. The volunteer's force for the Bodoland movement surrenders themselves before the Government. The volunteer was given a 2 lakh grant as compensation. But Rakheb and his friends did not receive the compensation; unfortunately, Rakeb did not have any brother and sisters to call as dear ones. He could not take care and protect his home as well.

To forget his sorrows and distress one day along with his friends he goes for a drink and from that day onwards he became addicted to alcohol and gambling. During the movement, they were the ones who went to villages and enlightened the end effect of alcohol and stop the production of alcohol. They have said that alcohol is a very dangerous thing and it destroys life of a person. It brings communal liability and endangers society. But Rakheb, Rwndao, Nabla, and Nerswn become addicted to alcohol. After the formal agreement and cooperation, there was a pause in the lives of many youths. They do not have any jobs, shy to do petty jobs, and unable to find and do appropriate jobs lead them to be addicted to alcohol. Due to the financial crisis and lack of Guidance lead orphan Rakheb towards unfavorable behavior. Such kind of characters can be seen in many people/youths.

“हारि हारि-जाथि जाथि होननानै खारथिं खारथिं खरनि खानाइआ जाथि-थि जालांबाय।
खानाइखौ सोमखोर गोसोम खालामफिननायनि राहा नागिरबायनानै दायो आगोर मोनासो
जाबाय। हारि एबा जाथि मिथिफेरि खाबु लाग्राफोरनि उदैआ नाथाय सानफा एफा देरबायानो
थाबाय।“ (Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing p-49)

English rendering: [A battle cry and slogan's of Community and tribe has lead to white hairs on the heads of the people. To make that white hair turned into black there is no more way. But those who do not have the slightest knowledge about the true culture, and civil sense they are growing plumpy day by day.]

When Rakheb could not find any job he utters those words. Diving in the world of the Bodoland movement many youths had to lose their Education and they were nowhere to reach. These are the real facts that happened in the Bodo Society. The Bodos had to face many hurdles and hardships in demanding separate states. The Government's People, the police and military personnel arrested many youths

claiming that they were underground forces and are against the government. For which there was an abrupt stoppage in the lives of Rakheb, Rwndao, Nabla, and Nerswn. Some of the youth work as a sharecropper. Some went in search of government jobs and lost hope, Rakheb is also trying his level best to find one. He also went to meet BAC^s G.A, E.M in the hope of getting a junior job. He thought to himself that chowkidar and peon jobs will also do. But it did not turn out to what Rakheb hope or desire. Maybe for the financial crisis and loss of hope in his people he has turned out to be against his community. Rwndao from Mwkwnabari village also has lost his Education due to the movement. He along with Nabla took up sharecropping but there is no profit. All the profits went in meeting up the office chowkidars, peons, lower office clerk, officers and fulfilling their demands, and in travelling from home to office and office to home. Meeting up the basic needs of a small family with meager amount Rwndao also breaks down due to the financial crisis. He needed Rs 10,000 to give to the officer to get his job done for the post of a clerk. He took Rakheb as a partnership in sharecropping and asks for Rs.10, 000. To which Rakheb agreed Rakheb sold his land and provided the money to Rwndao. Rwndao collected Rs.40000 and devoted it to the block officer on the return of the appointment letter. It took 4 to 5 hours in getting the appointment letter. The office staff members demanded a tea-party for the new job and it got more lately. When he was coming back home on the way he was murdered by Kasem Ali and his friends. He was unfortunate and fell into the trick of wicked people and lost his life. The Novelist is of the view that

सोमावसारनायाव बारसोमनानै फरायसा जिउखौ खालामनानै लायामोनब्ला जानो हागौ रोन्दावआ दाहालागै बि-ए, एम-ए पास खालामनानै माबेबा गोजौ फरायसालिनि फोरोंगिरि नडाब्ला कलेजनि लेकसारार जाबायनो हागौमोन। जेनथेनैसो सोलिनानै जानो हानाय नखरनि फिसा रोन्दावनि गोसोआबो आंखालजों नाख्रेबजानानै एफा-एनै गाज्जि जालांबाय। (Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing p-56)

English rendering: [If Rwndao did not involve in the Movement he could have gotten B.A, M.A" and by now maybe he could have become a High school

teacher or college lecturer. Coming from a poor family Rwndao due to financial problems lost hope and turn to little bad habits].

That is why he deceived Nabla and Rakheb and wanted to take up a job covertly but it turns out to be just a dream. In the time of movement many Bodo youths had to lose their Education and cannot success their carrier. These are the real facts that happened in the Bodo Society. The Bodos had to face many hurdles and hardships in demanding separate states.

3.4.2.2 Communal conflict:

Communal conflict is one of the greatest problems of the Bodo Society. Till today it is not free from such kinds of conflicts. When we say Communal conflict, it can be rightly referred to as the communal violence between the Bodo Community and Muslim Community. The Bodos and the Muslims have lived together since time immemorial. Due to some uncivilised people, there have always been some misunderstandings among the two communities time and again. Highlighting some characters tries to portray how due to some people's cheap behavior and personal motives, the whole community has to bear the consequence. The novel starts with the story of Lat Beldang Gamba, in whose well the dead cow's head was being thrown into. On the next day when the maid Dhubri went to draw water from the well, she noticed that something was floating in the water. So, she hurriedly informs the wife of Lat Beldang Gamba, Mirati. Then, Mirati asks servant Boy, Bukdao to lift it. When it was brought out from the well, they found out that it was a dead cow's head. The incident spread like a wildfire. All the village people gathered at the house of Lat Beldang Gamba. There were lots of questions in the mind of the people as to who has done it? Or why it was done? After threadbare discussion, one teacher by the name Henda thought that it might be the work of the Muslims, and he said "since time immemorial they have always touched the sentiments of our Religion, unable to bear the atrocities meted out by them our people had to leave their places and migrate to Dwiang, Rengma, Minang, Gohpur, Silaptar, etc. In Dwiang-Rengma they were killed by the Nagas. Still now with the similar trick they are trying to evacuate the Bodo Community.

The incident slowly reached the Bazar. Some of the Bodo youths physically tortured the Muslim vendors, shopkeepers, meanwhile, the Muslims fled from the Bazar, towards their respective villages. The fight ended, The Muslims no longer came to the market, they did not visit the Mosque situated to the school. There was chaos in the Muslims villages. If they stop coming to the market they have nothing to eat. The small shopkeepers who have built up shops in the market place if they do not do their business and if the farmers do not sell their products how will they run their families. On the other hand, thinking that the Bodo's well captured and dominate the Muslim villages they were frightened. The Muslim men taking indigenous weapons like knives, axe, and stick encourage each other and united themselves and shouted Allah-uh-Akbar, Allah-uh, Akbar. Some of the people who taught deeply tried to advise the situation and its consequences. By citing that it was may there mistake. Because No Bodo's will do such misbehaviors act against there own religion. It is a fact that the Bodo's cannot kill a cow. Although some of the people tried to create a misunderstanding it did not work out. Some of the Muslim leaders like Maulabi Rupik, Ahmed, Teacher Hatem Ali, Matbar Narul sik came as a representative from the Muslim Community and had a peace-talk (peace-treaty). As compensation, they paid Rs.5000/- to Beldang Gambra and as a fine of causing disgrace to the Bodo Community they paid Rs.10,000/-. Gradually the situation calms down and the Muslims were able to come back to the Market place.

Again after a year, there was a communal conflict between the two communities. It started with finding a pig's head at the Mosque situated in the market. This time the Muslim Community was in a rage, they thought that the Bodo's are trying to take revenge upon them of the previous year's incident. In the short period, the news reached every house of the Muslim Community. Due to anger, they chased away the Bodo farmers who were working in the paddy fields near their villages. Hearing such incidents, the Bodos beat up the Muslims whom they met on their way and the Muslims from the market place closed down their shops and went away. Gradually the situations worsen. In the meantime, the dead body of Rwndao was found in the paddy field and it worsens. This time the Bodo's believe and suspected the Muslims. The people felt in the trap of Kasen Ali and

Gopur Ali. The daughter of Gopur Ali, Sahjadi is in love with Beldang Gamra's son Biliphang. Since Gopur Ali does not want to get his daughter married to a Bodo boy, he takes the help of Kasem Ali and plan up an idea and brought out communal conflicts between the two communities. On the other hand, Kasem Ali wanted Sahjadi to be his wife. The Bodo boy Rakheb due to the financial crisis became a drug addict and breaks the social Principles, for which he was also befallen with a bad result. His beloved lover Haphang was rape by Kasem Ali and his friends. During the violence and movement, it was not only Haphang that was being raped but there were uncountable rapes that happen. Many young girls had to lose their virginity in the hands of wicked people. Such kinds of dangerous incidents exist still today. After Hapang was raped situation took a different twist. There were a blunder and mass violence, burning of each other houses by the two communities. Such kind of incidents happens time and again in the Bodo society.

The real picture that happens in the Bodo society is being highlighted in the Novel. Many Bodo youths were involved ardently in the Bodoland Movement. For the movement they sacrifice their studies and Education. To adore and respect the Bodo Community Rakheb also drops himself out from college and joins the movement. Rakheb's friends Rwndao, Nabla also join the movement.

3.4.2.3 Agricultural life:

Since time immemorial the Bodo people accepted agriculture as their source of livelihood. The simple Bodo folk are accustomed to agriculture for their day to day living. The Novelist portrays the beautiful landscape of Bodo villages. Such as the break of dawn cock, crows, farmer's untying oxen and going to paddy fields, coming back home at the noontime and untying the oxen in the cowshed in the evening. After dinner making, jute thread, etc are some of the agricultural associated works. Agriculture is the main source of their livelihood. The Novel highlights the agrarian Bodo society. The agricultural materials such as plough, yoke, leveler are made by the Bodo's themselves.

The Bodo farmers take the help of maid and servants in the agriculture sector. It can be seen that the Bodo women have a dominated role in agriculture.

Beldang Gambra also does farming and he keeps maid and servants. Beldang Gaura always keeps two servants from the beginning of the summer season till its ends. One morning when the servant Bugdao came back after ploughing the field, he saw that the landlady(Mirati) and the maid Dubri were trying to lift something from the well. The wife of Beldang Gambra after noticing Bukdao told him to lift that thing from the well. Bugdao with the help of a crab that is used in lifting the bucket when it falls inside the well takes out that thing which fell in the well. After that, they found out that it was the head of a dead cow. Some enemies must have thrown the head of a dead cow by inserting it in a sack. That incident created the first violence and chaos among the two communities. The dead body of Rwndao was also found in the paddy field of Beldang Gambra. Before the breaking of dawn both the servants took out their yokes and were heading towards the paddy field they came across the dead body of Rwndao.

3.4.2.4 Handicraft:

The Bodo people love to live in an eco-friendly environment. The Bodo community lives in an environment where there is no shortage of rivers and streams favorable for hunting collecting vegetables, herbs, which are important in day to day living. The farmers themselves search the basic things and materials that are necessary for their livelihood. Such as yoke, plough, leveler, etc were made by them. Indigenous the Bodo community uses in their day to day living.

“गावदां अखाफोरा हरनि दुलाराय मुलुगआव सोरां सारफावदों। नखरनि बयबो ओंखाम जाखानायनि उनाव गुवार सिथलानि दाब दाब जायगायाव सोरबाबा खामफ्लाइ लानानै, सोरबाबा बेन्स सायाव जनानै गावबा-गावनि मोदोमखौ थाजिम खालामनो नाजादों। बेल्दां गामब्राया धारा गांसे बना लानानै उन्दुगलांदों। दारानि फारसे खनायाव जनानै मैबारिआ गड़ खावदों। इसुं नखौ सिबसांनानै दुब्रिआबो आखाइआव खामफ्लाइ गंसे लाखाना मैबारिनि इसे सेराव खामफ्लाइखौ बनानै जफैनायसै।“ (Khwmsinifrai Swrangthing P-79)

English rendering: [The fall moon is shining brightly and spreading its light in the darkest corner. The people take rest after dinner in the courtyard spreading a carpet made of Bamboo planks is lying cozily down. His wife sits near him and cutting betel nut. Dhubri also after sweeping the kitchen floor came and sat next to Mirati.]

This story line depicts the beautiful Bodo village picture. The characters of Bukdao, Jwngblao and Haphang are associated with the constant use of, ‘Nangal’⁶³, ‘Jungal’⁶⁴ and Khamphlai. The Novelist tries to showcase the village life.

3.4.2.5 Dahwna arw Ruathi (Servant and maid):

The keeping of servants and maid in the Bodo Society is being practice since older times. The works of a maid are sweeping the courtyard and floors grinding paddy, cooking, etc, from the household, works to working outside the house like planting paddy. One morning, the maid of Beldang Gambra’s Dubri sees something floating in the well and she informs Mirati. Mirati after observing she asks Dhubri to lift but they could not in spite of several attempts. In the meantime, Bukdao reached back from the field after ploughing and Mirati asks him to help them in lifting that thing. Soon after they found out that it was the dead cow's head, and it was the first incident to ignite a communal riot. Beldang Gambra has another servant, he is Jwngdao. Many works are being asked to be done by the maid Dubri.

“नै दुब्रि, आं सुनैनि थेमाखौ लाबोफानो बावगारलायबाय लायो। थां नागिरनानै लायथ।” (Kwmsinifrai Swrangthing P-79)

English rendering: [“Hey, Dhubri I have forgotten to bring line container. Will you search and fetch me”.]

Dhubri obeys each and everything that she is asking of. The Novelist also highlight's the blinking of eyes and merry moments of servants and maid in each other's company. When Bukdao lifts the floating thing from the well they taugth that it was a bomb.

⁶³ Plough

⁶⁴ yoke

3.4.2.6 Marriage System:

This 'Hathasuni' ritual of marriage system has been highlighted in the Novel. 'Hathasuni' is a traditional marriage and it is celebrated after the coming of the bride in the house of the Bridegroom. During the ritual, the Bride is asked to prepare 'Onla wngkri', a Bodo traditional recipe. Rakheb's mother Teleb and Jwngdao also were married according to Hathasuni ritual. Rakheb also is planning and preparing for the Hathasuni marriage.

Beldang Gambra's son Biliphang and Gopur Ali Khan's daughter were in love when they were studying in school. But there is a strong opposition in their love affairs. Because one is a Bodo Boy and the girl is from the Muslim community. Since they are totally from two different socio-cultural religious backgrounds there is a strong disagreement from both sides. This occurs on the love affair between Biliphang and Sahjadi is the fountain source of major conflicts among the two communities. The father of Sahjadi along with Kasem Ali hitches up tricky circumstances. First of all taking the help of Rakheb Gopur Ali Khan threw a dead cow's head into the well of Beldang Gaura, Secondly, they kept pig's head in the Mosque situated at the market place, thirdly they murder Bodo boy Rwndao. They thought that if they can create conflicts between the two large communities then the love affair between Biliphang and Sahjadi will break. The parents of Biliphang also did not approve of their love affair. That is why when the conflict broke out Biliphang's father got relief and said,

“बाथ्राया जाबाय जॉनि बर आरो मुसलमानफोरनि गेजेराव बेरेखा-बेरेखि जालायनानै
नांलाय-खमलाय जायोब्ला बर आरो मुसलमानफोरनि गेजेराव थांलाय-फैलाय गैयि जागोन।
बेबादियैनो जॉहा बाबु बिलिफां आरो गफुरनि फिसाजोनि गेजेरावबो थांलाय फैलाय गैलायि
बेरेखा बेरेखि जाहैगोन, बियो-बिखौं सैलायि जागोन। थाडै-थाडै बिसोरनि गोसोथोलायनायाव
गुनजेर अरगोन आरो बिसोर नागारलायगोन। अब्ला जॉनि गाहाम जाया होमबा?”

(Kwmsinifrai Swrangthing P-80-81)

English rendering: ["If our Bodo Community is not in good terms with the Muslim Community. Then, there will be fights and there will be no dealings among the two communities. Then there will also be no contact between any son and Gopur Ali

Khan's daughter and they will hate each other lastly their love-affair will come to an end.]

But nobody could break their relationship, on the very day when the riot broke out, both of them elope to a different.

3.4.2.7 Food Habits:

The Bodo Community has its deep-rooted traditional foods. The use of *jou* is shown in the Novel while receiving guests in a weel manner way, marriage, religious related festivals, crops related festivals (Bwisagu), celebration of Nangal Jangkhra is seen in the Bodo Community. While eating and drinking the importance of Beetal nut and betel leaf is to be highlighted. In the Bodo society, many changes have been made to cope up with contemporary society. In the present day tea and some snacks are being served to the guest. In the novel, the use of betel nut and leaf can be seen in the family of Beldang Gambra, when they had finished their dinner. Rakheb also goes into the house of Haphang and asks for betel nut and betel leaf.

3.4.2.8 Hospitality:

Hospitality is one of the most important characters of the Bodo Community. The Bodo's respect and honour are as equal as to God. Both the rich and the poor people host the guests. Even if the family members are in a shortage of food, the guests should be served well. Rakheb also receives as a guest in the house of Haphang. He is an orphan. After the death of his beloved mother and since Rakheb had no relatives he used to stay in the house of Haphang as a guest. Honouring as a guest and serving rice beer and providing food.

3.4.2.9 Religion:

The main religion of the Bodos is 'Bathou', The Bodo Community is an agrarian society. Seeing the dead cow's head in the well is a significant incident to which the reaction of the Bodo's is to be understood. It is a known fact to the Muslim community. That is why Maulasi Rapile Ahmed stated,

“दायाथ जॉनि सोरबा सासेनिनो जानांगौ। मानोना रावबो बर सुबुंआ गाव-हारिनि दोहोरोम बेरेखा खामानि मावनो हाया। बाश्राया जाबाय, गोथां एबा गोथै जिखिआनो जायार्थो मानो बरआ मोसौनि खर दानसनो हाया। ” (Kwmsinifrai Swrangthing,P-37)

English rendering: [Mistake is being made by some of own people maybe because No Bodo's will execute such things which are against their community and religion. The thing is that the Bodos cannot allow to kill the cow.]

After the fight with the Muslims when Rakheb comes back asks for one bucket full of water to wash his legs and hand. He also asks for holy water in a jar.

The Bodos before worshipping the God Bathou cleans themselves with water. Haphang also takes a bath, cleans himself with water and goes inside the house where God Bathou is being kept. She mops the floor of the room and lits up the light of Alaribati⁶⁵ for the evening session prayer and worship. She changes the thread of Alaribati and found new mustard oil into the earther lamp and she unties her hair. When the woman worships the Bathou God it is a traditional ritual that they leave their hair to untie. After that Hapang kneels down and lits up the lamp and closes her eyes and prayed to Bathou God.

“हे आफा बाथौ, आंनि आरजखौ खोनासं। आफा, आंनि जोबथि आलारिनि फारसे नौ अननाइनि मेगनजौ नायहरदो। खैफोर-आफोरनिफ्राय नौ आफाया बिखौ रैखा खालामदो। बे दुखुथिया, खाफाल हावरिया हाफांनि आरजखौ आजावदो आफा बाथौ, आजावदो।” (Kwmsinifrai Swrangthing, P-115)

English rendering: [“Oh father Bathou, listen to my prayers. Look at my earther lamp with love. Protect me from all dangers. Listen to this humble, and simple prayer of Hapang oh Father Bathou, accept if and I pray for my life.]

3.5 Summing up:

The novel Kharlung is a Bodo social novel. Bodo people's customs, rituals, marriage system, servant and maid system are shown in the novel. The Bodo society looks like to a great extent which has been depicted by the author in this novel. This

⁶⁵ An earthen pot for illumination

novel is a total picturisation of a Bodo society. The novel kharlung very skilfully highlights how an agriculture-based Bodo society has its pros and cons. It depicts many relations, hopes and aspirations of the poor farmers. The gaonbura is the main person to solve any kind of problem in the village. It is also nicely depicted in the novel which still takes place in the village of the Bodo society. The importances of social customs, festivals, uses of social materials, food habits, etc. are wonderfully publicized in the novel. Apart from the discussion in the novel, many things do exist in the Bodo society that we come across. House materials are made by themselves as we have seen Ransrem busy all the time with the work of bamboo. This novel will serve its needs to the readers to know a Bodo society.

Hainamuli killed the lives of many people and made them go mad. The power of hainamuli affected the lives of both Rago and Manasi and finally, both lost their lives. Along with, the evil deeds of Udli broke down their family too, Daughters and all the son-in-law who were given hainamuli came and stayed in their house. Baten, son-in-law of Gorgoram too ran with Udli's daughter, Naleb because of Hainamuli. These types of evil deeds are shown to us by the novelist. Besides that, the culture and tradition of Bodo society are depicted in the novel. The truth about today is that the use of hainamuli is no more prevailing. Though the belief of other superstitious things prevailed the hainamuli is not found.

The novel 'Bigrai' arw 'Dwisrai' portrays the true picture of the Bodo society. The novelist portrays, the demand made by the ABSU for a separate state. He depicts all the real happenings in the places of Rowta region and some parts of Assam which he witnesses himself, the heartbreaking incidents. Because of the movement, many Bodo people ruined their lives. Though the movement took place in Ahimsa or non-violence movement, the military force, taking the help of extremists treated Bodo people to such an extreme that they were caught and taken to jail. Because of the movement, Bodo women were left to lose their virginity. All the Bodo men and all those who were involved in the movement lost their lives, and some became handicapped. All the incidents that occur in the lives of the Bodo people and this are so beautifully brought out in the novel 'Bigrai and Dwisrai' by the novelist. Because of the movement, the lives of the Bodo people grew poorer.

Burning down of the houses, taking away their animals, birds, money, gold and whatever they found made their lives worse. Disunity among themselves and the advantages the enemies took upon are seen in the novel. The novelist mentioned the words of Modon, who was taken as jwlwini hangar. The novelist portrait the worse problem faced by the Bodo people and that was because of the disunity among themselves.

'Deobari' novel is one of those social novels that present the socio-economic picture of the Bodo society. This novel beautifully depicts the simple rural life of Bodo people, their economic, political conditions and everything that prevailed. In the novel, Theklo and Deobari are put as hardworking and trustworthy persons. Husband and wife working together in the field, taking care of their poultry, weaving, etc. They managed to make money by working hard. If they don't find suitable to survive in their birthplace or if there are any other unbearable environment in the village, they would leave their land or village and shift to another place. Deobari and Theklo too moved from their birthplace Goalpara district to Darang district. They went and cleared the unreserved land near Rowta, a village called Dwisagwran, but when they discovered that the place did not give them good vegetation, they again shifted to another place. That new place served them well from which they earn a lot of money.

The novelist also portrays the hardships they faced while shifting to new places. New lands are located in the dense forest. For they lived near the forest, the wild animals brought them much destruction and loss, at times elephants would come and destroy their houses, sometimes Tigers would kill and eat their hens, goats, etc. and sometimes to crops and even to humans. In the village, Dwisagwran Theklo lost his ox and many other villagers lost their hens, pigs, buffaloes, and goats. The novelist also depicts another problem faced by the person that is when they are sick, it was a problem for them to reach to doctors because in the dense forest no hospitals could be set-up. To travel a long way and reach the hospital was very difficult, for which Thekhlo's elder son passed away because of that condition. The novelist also shows their income after shifting to a new land. Because of the

fertile land, crops grew plenty and their economic life improved. Deobari, Thekhlo, Omakhi, Thophsa, Khaphal all of them led a prosperous life.

Besides, life spent at the new land, the novelist depicted the traditional religion of the Bodos and also about those who have gone away from that religion because of some reasons. Deobari's brother Naodra did not like the religion of Bathou because of its rites of offering (offering of animals) and followed the other religion call Onukul. All these events are traced in the novel. Also, the various types of marriage like by Dwnkharlangnai, Haba gwlaol, Gwrjia system of Marriage are depicted in the novel.

In the first place keeping in view the Sanmwkhangari lamajwng novel, the beautiful scene of the Bodo village can be traced. The lifestyle of the Bodo people's happiness–sadness, problems, and dangers are depicted. The novelist has highlighted the Bodo villages, living style and painted a picture of Bodo traditions. Folk festivals, marriage systems, fishing, collecting vegetables, etc. are portrayed in the novel. Through the characters of Gwmsar, Saikhong, Gwmbwr group has portrayed the childhood playfulness nature of the children playing around; making fun merrily can be traced. The childhood characters such as stealing lemon, bamboo stick and banana, etc. reminds the childish behaviour and brings flashback memories of childhood. The novelist also showcases the Bodo society's sowing and preparation of paddy bed, planting paddy, harvesting, community works, cultivation of vegetables, etc. can be traced in the novel. The Bodo village's traditional way of punishing the culprit is also highlighted in the novel. Thus, it could be said that with this novel, the full picture of the Bodo society has been depicted.

The Bodo-Muslim conflict is depicted in this novel 'Khwmsinifrai swrangthing'. This novel is based on real incidents of society. The communal conflict persists. The demand for the separate state of Bodoland by the Bodos has been shown in this novel. It gives a lucid picture of the Bodo society through their way of cultivation, farming, their habits, hospitality, servants and religion. Hence this novel is a vivid depiction of the Bodo society at large.