

CHAPTER: IV

FESTIVALS OF THE BODOS

The festival is an essential part of any society which is emanated from beliefs and rituals of the ancient communities.¹ The festivals of the Bodos can be studied under the following heads:²

1. *Bwisagu*:

Bwisagu is the New Year of the Bodos which is the most important and popular seasonal festival among them. It is celebrated during the time of spring season i.e. from the 1st to 7th *Bwisak* of Bangla Calendar.³ During the festival, all the Bodos irrespective of age and sex take part with merriments of singing, dancing, feasting, etc.

Kamini Narzary termed *Bwisagu* as *Bwswrni Agu*. *Bwisagu* is a combination of two words i.e. *Bwisa* and *Agu*. *Bwisa* means year and *Agu* means beginning. So according to Narzary *Bwisagu* means beginning of the year.⁴ In Assamese, *Bwisagu* is called Bihu. Dhuparam Basumatary viewed that Bihu is a Bodo word with the combination of two words *Bi + Hu*. *Bi* means to beg something and *Hu* signifies to hand over something to other. As a result, Bihu may be termed as to hand over something what is begged.⁵ Dr. Kameswar Brahma also stated that the *Bwisagu* festival of the Bodos has some specific features. They are as follow:⁶

- (a) *Gwkha-Gwkhwi Janai* (eating bitter and testing sour wild vegetables on the day of *Sangkranthi* or day before the first day of the *Bwisagu*).

- (b) *Mwswo Thukwinai* (cattle rites).
- (c) *Iswrkwo Khulumnai* (worshipping the gods and goddesses).
- (d) *Sigangnikao Gwswkangnai* (remembering or recalling the ancestors)
- (e) *Gwdan Bwswrao Rongjanai* (merry-making during the *Bwisagu*).

Rev. Sidney Endle informed that the celebration of *Bwisagu* was lasted for seven days among the Bodo people of Darrang.⁷ During this period they stopped their work and fully enjoyed by dancing, feasting, etc. They celebrated whole seven days naming differently each of the days which consists of *Mwswo Bwisagu* (for cattle), *Mansi Bwisagu* (for men), *Swima* (for dogs), *Oma* (for swine), *Dao* (for fowl), *Hangsw* (for ducks), *Alasi Linghornai* (receiving or welcome for relatives and friends) and *No Pwsabnai* (cleaning the houses ceremonially).⁸

*Mwswo Bwisagu*⁹ (cattle *Bwisagu*) is observed on the last day of the *Chaitra* month of Bangla Calendar. It is known as *Sangkranti*¹⁰ by the Bodos. In the morning, cattles are decorated with garlands made of slices or raw gourd and brinjals. Their bodies are also spotted with the black mixture colour prepared with mustered oil and black substance of cooking pot with the stem of the *Eri* tree. The horns and hoops are smeared with muster oil mixed with turmeric and the powder of pulses. Then, they are taken to a nearby river or tank for their ritual bath. While taking them for bath the cowherd throws some pieces of gourd and brinjal on the back of the cattle reciting the following words:¹¹

Lao ja panthao ja

Bwswre Bwswre er hanja hanja

Bimani kither Biphani kither

Nwnngswr jagwn halua geder,

Bima gaide badi daja

Bipha bolor badi ja

Bari khonani embu bongla

Nwnngswr ja geder bongla.

Free English Translation:

Eat gourd, eat brinjal

Grow up in your herd in abundance year to year.

In revenge of your mother-father,

You will be large bullocks,

Don't be short size like your mother,

Be large like your father bullock.

The frog of paddy corner

Grow into a huge.

When they reached to the river or tank, cows are given bath with water of river or tank. The cowherds also take bath. Then the cattles are lead to the grazing field beating with a piece of *Dhigilati* (medicinal plants branches) on the back by reciting the following words:¹²

Dhigilati mwswni muli

Dudali jagwn gai kakuli

Dighili laothi kri kri ganthi

Jwngni mwsouya jagwn bolod jathi,

Marka jagwn phalwni behra.

Free English Translation:

Dhigalati has a great medicine of cow

Dighili stick plenty of knots,

Our calf will grow like mighty bull,

No cow will be short, and

All will be mighty bull of the herd.

Premalata Devi asserted that the womenfolk of the family keep busy in washing their clothes; utensils and cleaning the houses with cow-dung while men folk are remain busy with the cattle. In the evening, the head of the family places a pair of earthen lamp at the courtyard, washes the legs of the cattle and replaced the old ropes with new one.¹³ The whole day ends with ceremonial eating of fowl, cooked meat with *Gwkha-Gwkwi* (bitter and sour leaves) which indicates disconnection of old year.¹⁴

The *Mansi Bwisagu* is observed on the 1st of *Bwisak*.¹⁵ On that day, the Bodo people in their particular villages gather in *Bathousali* to worship *Bwrai Bathou* i.e. the Supreme God for their safety, security and good fortune in the *Bwisagu*. In the early morning, the womenfolk clean the houses, cooking utensils, courtyard, the gate of the house, the cowshed, granary, etc. and decoration is done with beautiful flowers binding by the slices of cane.¹⁶ The family members take bath after the completion of the decoration work and proceed to the *Bathousali* (place of worship) for worshipping. The required items of *Bathou* worship are as follows:

- (a) *Thalir Bilai* (banana leaf)
- (b) *Thulsi Bilai* (basil leaf)
- (c) *Thalir Phithai* (banana fruit)
- (d) *Alari Bathi* (an earthen pot for illumination)
- (e) *Mairong* (uncooked rice)
- (f) *Gaiker* (milk)
- (g) *Goi* (areca nuts)
- (h) *Phathwi* (betel leaves)
- (i) *Dhup* (incense stick)
- (j) *Kundung Aowa* (white cotton thread)
- (k) *Thao Gubwi* (mustard oil)

In this ritual, all the villagers irrespective of sex worshiped *Bwrai Bathou* and other traditional gods and goddesses with the help of *Oja* for welcoming of New Year. While offering is made, all the members present used to seat in the position of kneel down and recited the following words along with *Dwori* or *Oja*:¹⁷

Aham,

Oh Apha Bwrai Bathou,

Nujaphwidw Bagosai,

Nwng Apha Swrjigiri,

Mulugni mansikhou udraidw.

Gwthar gsw lananwi

Dhup-dhuna saonanwi

Alari bathi phwjwngna

Baidigabni bibar hwna

Baidisina bauthai hwna

Gabjrihordwng, hangkhraihordwng

Dinwini gwthar

Gwdan bwswr gwdan somao

Onsaihordw nwnng Apha

Nwngni Ose phisakhou

Dong hwnna Sannay jadwng

Oh Apha Bwrai Bathou

Bwr hordw, bwr sarsridw,

Bwswr gwdanni, gwthar somni,

Mulugni Biphang laiphanga

Gwdan mohor ladwng

Biswrnibadi jwngnwbw

Gwdan mohor hwdw.

Gwsw khango jwng gwtharwi

Orai nwnng biphakhou.

Swrangni biguma

Swrang hwdw nwnng khwmsikhou.

O Apha swrjigiri

Undoikhou gidir khalamd

Giyan goiyino giyan hwdw

Raha gwthenainw lama hwdw.

Nwnng Apha phaligiri

Bar, Ha, Dwi, Or, Okhrang

Nwngnino swrjithai Apha.

Nwngnw bengra, nwngnw phwjobgra

Mansi dwmsi, emphou, enla

Gaswikhoubw nwngnw swrjinay

Swrangnay, khwmsinay, hanay, barnay

O, Apha nwngninw gelenay.

Ondw, rwikha khalamdw,

Sorang gebeng lama dinthidw

Apha nwngni phisa subung maharinw.

Dohai Apha Gedemaraja Bwrai Bathou.

Free English Translation:

Aham,

Oh father *Bwrai Bathou,*

Come on *Bagosai,*

You are *Anangosai,*

You are *Swrjigiri,*

You are purifier of human beings

With pure mind

Dhup-dhuna and *Alari Bathi*

Offering verities colours of flowers

Giving verities offerings

We call you, we welcome you

To-day's holy *Bwisagu*

On the occasion of New Year, new season

Mercy us, Oh Father

All human beings,

Mercy us, Oh Father

We are your dearest sons

You are here and there

Oh Father *Bwrai Bathou*

For happy new year to day

All things are changed

Give us to new shape

We memoires you with heart and soul

Every time and every where

You are the Lord of the sun

You throw and lighting the dark

Oh Father *Swrjigiri*

Teach us your endless lessons

For knowledge and way of living

You are the preserver

Air, the earth, water, the sun and the ether

All are your creations

You are generator, you are destroyer

Of all human beings and creatures

You are the creator

The dawn and darkness

The rain and the light

All are your creations

All are your games

Love us; give us the right way of living

Oh Father, we are your human beings

Oh Father, king of the king, *Bwrai Bathou*.

As and when the worship is over, the villagers bow to the *Dwori* or *Oja* as a mark of respect. Elderly persons as well as parents are also honoured by young boys and girls for their better life in the coming New Year. Replacing of old *Khobos* (amulet) with the new one is also act upon with the help of *Oja*. Married women also pay respect to their father-in-laws, mother-in-laws and elderly relative members to take blessing from them.¹⁸ After that, *Saha* (tea) and *Muri* (fried rice) are consumed altogether in the name of *Bwisagu*. Then, preparation is made to beg alms from each and every house of the village with the traditional musical instruments like *Kham* (drum), *Siphung* (flute), *Serja* (violin), *Jotha* (cymbal) and *Gongona*. Whatever they receive alms like rice, eggs, vegetables etc. from households are cooked on the last day of the *Bwisagu* and consumed together.¹⁹

By wearing the traditional dresses and using the traditional musical instruments, the Bodo children and youths both the sexes go from door to door for alms which is called *Mairong Maginai* by singing and dancing to beg alms with the following song:²⁰

Hwowapwr:

Hajw koroni hololokha,

Angjwng raijw jagwna nwnghlokha.

Free English translation:

Boys:

Hololokha of the top hill,

You are the only lady who will lead a conjugal life with me.

Hinjaopwr:

Adha hathai saline thao dingrilo nwnng baikha,

Ashan mutha gajang loolo nnwnng dwnkha.

Free English Translation:

Girls:

Brother, you will purchase the oil bottle,

You keep ready only bright bracelets for me.

Again girls sing as follows:

Angkhou langpwi, angkhou langpwi

Ada, jampwi seraoni Shyaram mandar bibar;

Ada, Shyaram mandar bibar;

Angkhou langpwi hangma thagwn,

Ada, Boro mujwng muse hangma

Thagwn ada, Harsa Mujwng muse

Hngma thagwn, ada Shyaram

Mandar bibar; dinwi bwisaguao

Hangma hangsani nwibe palikhaou

Langphwidw nwnng ada, Shyaram

Mandar bibar, ada Shyaram

Mandar bibar.

Free English translation:

You will take me, take me,

Brother, Shyaram *Mandar* flower of Jampaiguri,

If you will not take me, I shall have along grief,

Measuring with a Bodo name

And non-Bodo name

You will take me; during the *Bwisagu* festival

You will receive a *Phali* or scarf

A token of our love, from me,

Brother, Shyaram *Mandar* flower,

Mandar flower!

Each family provides *Jwo Gisi* (rice bear) to the party who come for alms as a mark of kindness and charity. In return, the party equally bless to the member of the family for prosperity in the New Year. Kameswar Brahma advocated that during the time of *Bwisagu* festival, the Bodos are forbidden for fighting each other otherwise they will be punished by god and take birth like cow or dog in the next life. During the time of *Bwisagu*, sitting on the four-legged-tool is also prohibited believing that sitting on the heads of the parents.²¹ The traditional beliefs and customs signified sowing respect to the elder which is the attitude and manner of a civilized society.

2. Domashi:

Domashi is another popular seasonal festival of the Bodos which is celebrated on the first day in the month of *Magh* of the Bangla Calendar. In this festival, new product of the agriculture is made *Pitha* (cake), *Sithao* (ruti made of rice powder), *Laru*, etc. and

offer to the *Bwrai Bathou* and *Mainao Buri*. Relatives, friends, villagers, etc. are also invited to the respective houses for eating *Pitha*, *Sithao* and drinking *Jwo Gisi* (rice-beer). The young boys and girls dance with their traditional instruments and visit each and every house to collect *Pitha*, *Sithao*, *Laru*, etc. as for alms. In between the last day of *Push* and the first day of *Magh* of Bangla Calendar i.e. in the mid night, they burn *Belagur* (elevated heaps of the paddy straw) after taking bath which they have already made for the purpose. The Bodos consider the setting of fire the *Belagur* as a special function of the boys. While burning the *Belagur*, they shout in rejoicing as a mark of victory for the village with the following words:²²

Rongja, rongja, rongja,

Jwng lagwni rongja,

Khwlahani rog biada khwlaha thangthwng,

Sahani rog biadia saha thangthwng,

Sanjahani rog biadia sanjaha thangthwng,

Swnabhani rog biadia Swnabha thangthwng;

Jwngni lagwa maini dwini

Jai jai mwi mwi jathwng;

Jwng lagwni mwsoua ganda badi sakhlo bokhlo gedet bwlw gwra jathwng;

Jai mansia Jwngni mwsoua mai jayablabw

Jadwng hwnnanwi jwngkhou

Bukrub sukруп khalamdwnг

Be mansia nidanni din thangthwng.

Free English translation:

Glory, glory, glory,

Glory to our village,

Diseases of the south should go towards the south;

Disease of the north should go towards the north,

Disease of the east should go towards the east,

Disease of the west should go towards the west;

Our village may be filled with paddy and rice;

Our cattle may be large and strong like the rhinoceros;

That those person who had beaten us

Even though the cattle

Under our charge had not eaten up

Though beaten by them

Their paddy may suffer long.

After that, they tie straw cords around the areca nuts tree, jack fruit tree, mango tree, etc. of the house early in the morning with the belief that if doing so during the *Domashi* the tree will bear more fruits.

3. *Khathi Gasa Saonai*:

Khathi Gasa Saonai (lightening earthen lamp) is a seasonal festival of the Bodos which is performed in the *Khartik* month of Bangla Calendar. This ceremony is conducted with the aim to harvest more crops. It is one of the seasonal festivals of the Bodos in which lightening of *Alari Bathi* (an earthen pot for illumination) in paddy field is required. While touching on the *Kathi Gasa Saonai*, Binoy Kr. Brahma opined that this ceremony is performed to prevent from the insects which may cause damage to the

crops.²³ But the fact is that *Khathi Gasa Saonai* is one of the important seasonal festivals of the Bodos which has been practiced since long time back. The associated items to *Kathi Gasa Saonai* are given below:

- (a) *Thaigir Phithai* (elephant apple)
- (b) *Sewari* (bamboo branches)
- (c) *Thulsi* (basil)
- (d) *Thaigir Bikhong* (part of elephant apple)
- (e) *Mairong* (uncooked rice)
- (f) *Aowa Khundung* (white thread)
- (g) *Thao Gubwi* (mustard oil).
- (h) *Alari Bathi* (an earthen pot for illumination)

With the above mention items, an elderly married woman of the family used to go in the paddy field in the let afternoon. The *Thaigir Bikhong* (rinds of elephant apple) is used as an *Alari Bathi* which is kept on a bamboo stand. Then some amount of mustard oil is poured into the *Thaigir Bikhong*, there after a *Soltha* (similar to lamp pita) which is made of *Aowa* thread is placed in the *Bikhong* (the hollow scale) to make it a lamp. After this, few uncooked rice and one basil leaf are put into the *Thaigir Bikhong* and the lamp is lighted. During the time of lighting, she kneels down and recites the following in the name of *Mainao*.²⁴

Dwl, dwl khati gasa dwl;

Dohai, Ai bima Mainao,

Nwngnw jahwgra, phwthangna lakhigra,

Gorse khou gornwi khalam nangwn;

Oraibw backhriao thib thib abungwi thakwina ngwn,

Khwifwd afwd-emphou enla mi-junadnw

Jahwjwbnw mwnnai nonga dwi

Aai Bima Mainao nwnngjwngkhou

Fwthangna lakhinangwn; mwnjahwnangwn.

Free English Translation:

Blown, blown the earthen lamp of the *Kathi*

Blessed mother *Mainao* (goddess of wealth)

You are the person who feed, who keep us survived

You are to increase from one to two more;

You ever keep our granary in full

You are to safe our crops from insects, animals

It should not let free to be eaten up

Mother *Mainao* you make live us,

You are to feed us.

After the completion of the ritual in the field, the elderly woman came back to her residence where she also lighted *Alari Bathi* in front of *Noma No* (main house), *Bakri* (granary), *Mwswo Goli* (cow-hut) and *Lama Mwkang* (main gate of the house).

4. *Amthisua*:

Amthisua is also another seasonal festival of the Bodos which is celebrated in the *Ashar* month of Bangla Calendar. It is lasted for a week.²⁵ It is stated that from 1st to 7th i.e. one week of *Ashar* month is regarded as the menstruation period of the Mother Earth.²⁶ As a result of which the Bodos neither perform any agricultural work in the paddy field nor digging of soil, ploughing and entering in the granary during the *Amthisua*. It is believed that if they work in the paddy fields it is regarded as impiety or impious. During this period the Bodos used to eat fruits like jack fruits, mangoes etc. The women folks throw away their old broom and replace by new one on the seventh day of

the *Ashar*. They also plaster the floor and wall of the house with the mud mixed by cow dung.

5. *Phuthuli Haba*:

Phuthuli Haba is observed on the seventh day of *Baisak* month of Bangla Calendar.²⁷ It is also known as doll marriage by other community of Assam. This ceremony is performed in some areas of the Baksa and Udalguri districts of B.T.A.D. and Kamrup district of Assam.²⁸ The dolls of *Deba Bwrai* and *Debi Buri* are made with paddy straw for the purpose of *Phuthuli Haba*. The Bodos believe that *Deba Bwrai* and *Deba Buri* are considered as the grandson and granddaughter of the first man of the Bodos who is called in the name of *Mwnsingsing Bwrai*.²⁹ For the *Phuthuli Haba*, the villagers divided into two groups to carry out the tease marriage of *Deba Bwrai* and *Debi Buri*. The Bodos celebrate this ceremony to satisfy *Deba* and *Debi* for more crops. It is believed among the Bodos that by observing the ceremony there will be sufficient rain for cultivation.

6. *Kherai* Festival:

Among the religious festivals of the Bodos, *Kherai* festival occupied the most important place in Bodo society.³⁰ This festival is celebrated once or twice in a year with the objective of more agricultural production and for the welfare of the villagers. The *Kherai* festival is a kind of worship as well as festival performed for good agriculture product. The main purpose of *Kherai* festival is to take blessing from the *Bwrai Bathou* i.e. Supreme God and *Mainao Buri* (goddess of wealth) for the welfare of the villagers as well as the prosperity of agriculture. So, for the good harvest of crops, after the cultivation the Bodos perform *Kherai* festival.

Dr. K. Brahma³¹ and Dr. A. K. Boro³² stated that there are four kinds of *Kherai* namely i) *Darchan Kherai*, ii) *Umrao Kherai*, iii) *Phalo Kherai* and iv) *Noaoni Kherai*. But, Bhaben Narzi mentioned only three kind of *Kherai Hwnai*- i) *Asu Kherai*, ii) *Sali Kherai* and iii) *Noaoni Kherai*.³³ On the other hand, Binoy Kumar Brahma and Birendra Giri Basumatary mentioned five kinds of *Kherai* which are *Asu Kherai*, *Maisali Kherai*,

*Palw Kherai, Noni Kherai, Daoha Kherai.*³⁴ So, we find that the scholars are not united their opinion about the number of the *Kherai* as a result of which it need to further research and study.

6.1. *Kherai Hwnai:*

The Bodo word *Kherai Hwnai* denotes *Kherai* worship. There are two purposes of the *Kherai Hwnai*- one is *Noaoni Kherai Hwnai* (family *Kherai*) and another one is *Gamini Kherai Hwnai* (community *Kherai*). There is no fixed place or permanent temple for the performance of *Kherai Hwnai* of the Bodos. For the purpose of *Kherai Hwnai*, the Bodos used to select suitable place. To execute the *Noaoni Kherai Hwnai* (family *Kherai*), members of the family decided a suitable place for worshiping nearby the house of concerned family. Then the place is cleaned with water properly. A temporary *Bathou* altar is erected according to the traditional custom. Beside *Bathou* altar, the Bodos made *Kangkla Hebnai*³⁵ (Italic fencing of bamboo) towards northern side of the *Bathou* altar. Sixteen *Kangkla Pipang*³⁶ (a kind of reeds used by the Bodos in their religious ceremony) are put up attaching to *Kangkla Hebnai* as seats of worship for sixteen gods and goddesses.

For the performance of *Kherai Hwnai*, there is no fixed day. It is generally celebrated at the end of harvesting. However, *Noaoni Kherai* is performed by the household when the concern family has to ward off jungle gods and goddesses at any time. Following are items for *Kherai Hwnai*:

- (i) *On* (grain rice)
- (ii) *Thalir* (banana)
- (iii) *Mairong* (uncooked rice)
- (iv) *Goi* (areca nut)
- (v) *Phathwi* (betel leaves)
- (vi) *Thalir Bikong* (banana peels)
- (vii) *Thalir Bilai* (banana leaves)
- (viii) *Jwo Gisi* (rice beer)

- (ix) *Daodwi* (egg)
- (x) *Dhub* (incense)
- (xi) *Sika* (sacrificial sword)
- (xii) *Thungri* (sword)
- (xiii) *Dahal* (shield)
- (xiv) *Dwi Gwthar* (holy water)
- (xv) *Thulsi Bijwo* (branch of basil leaves)
- (xvi) *Jathrasi Bijwo* (branch of a kind of tree used in religious activities)
- (xvii) *Thona* (banana peels)
- (xviii) *Alari Bathi* (an earthen pot for illumination))
- (xix) *Owa* (bamboo)
- (xx) *Aowa Khundung* (white thread)
- (xxi) *Gambari Kamplai*
- (xxii) *Oma* (pig)
- (xxiii) *Daosa* (fowl)
- (xxiv) *Bwrma* (goat)
- (xxv) *Parwo* (pigeon)
- (xxvi) *Dao* (chicken)
- (xxvii) *Hangsw* (duck) etc.

The following are the musical instruments and weapons for the *Kherai Hwnai*:

Musical instruments:

- (a) A pair of *Kham* (big wooden drum)
- (b) A pair of *Jotha* (cymbal)
- (c) A pair of *Siphung* (bamboo flute)

Weapons:

- (a) A pair of *Thungri* (sword) and
- (b) A pair of *Dahal* (shield)

In the *Kherai Hwnai*, *Oja*, *Doudini* and *Dwori* are the very important persons.³⁷ In absence of them the *Kherai Hwnai* cannot be carried out. It is the duty of the *Oja* to recite the mantras, *Doudini* to dance for the propitiations of deities and *Dwori* to sacrifice various livestock for gods and goddesses.³⁸ *Doudini* used to dance with music without singing any song.

The following eighteen gods and goddesses are worshipped by the Bodos in *Kherai Hwnai* ceremony:³⁹

- (i) *Songraja (Bathou Bwrai)*
- (ii) *Mainao (Bathou Buri)*
- (iii) *Ailung*
- (iv) *Agrang*
- (v) *Kwila*
- (vi) *Kaji*
- (vii) *Abla Kungur*
- (viii) *Raj Kandra*
- (ix) *Raj Phutra*
- (x) *Bwrai Ali (Bura Ali)*
- (xi) *Sanja Bwrai Ali*
- (xii) *Sari Jumun*
- (xiii) *Bima Dibaoli*
- (xiv) *Bwisumuli Mainao*
- (xv) *Bwrai Sik Raja*
- (xvi) *Mwsa Raja (Bag Raja)*
- (xvii) *Basumuri and*
- (xviii) *Chouduri.*

Before starting the actual ritual of *Kherai Hwnai*, *Doudini* sprinkles holy water around the *Bathou* altar and the present members of the place three times with the help of melodious tune of *Kham* (Drum), *Siphung* (flute) and *Jotha* (cymbal) for the purpose of the purification. After that, the *Doudini* used to seat on a piece of *Gambari Khamphlai*⁴⁰

(a pin less low tool made of *Gambari* wood) in front of the *Bathou* altar. While *Doudini* seats on the *Kamphlai*, the *Oja* recites the following mantras to welcome gods and goddesses and to make *Doudini* hypnotized:⁴¹

Aham,

Khwnasong Khwnasong lamani Mugasong

Sanni giri sanja

Bhumni giri Raja

Apha swrjigiri Bwrai Bathou

Nwng biphaya khwnasong.

Bathoua bandhwba

Sijoua siriba

Thaigira khongba

Siphungni gudunga gudungba

Nwngni acharabw mwnba.

Sana sanwinw dong

Hora horwinw dong

San, okhaphwr, hathorki-hala

Bhumni jib-junath sakhi dwnna.

Hangkhraihorw nwng biphakou.

Daokhaalai phurakhwi

Daoboabw chwmakhwi

Dwimani dwiyabw ultaywi bwhwiakhwi.

Daimani onthaiyabw sayao jakhangakhwi

Nwng biphakhou phwlayakhwi.

Bandwba Bathoua nwngnw

Rangrachi, Mwithahaji, Barigongtham

Nwng saseyanw satham

Apha nwngnw swrjigiri Bwrai Bathou.

Nwngnw swrgw, mwithw, phatalphuriyao

Jeraobw jerwibw akhaphakha

Bar, Dwi, Ha, Or, Okhwrang

Nwngni bwswnao muluga swrangdwng.

Bwiswmuthini bikhayao

Bhog phatali baodwng pari pari

Pathali pathali jido pathali

Mung khari khari baodwng goi phatwi jora khili.

Apha Swrjigiri Bwrai Bathou

Nwngnw mulukni basaigiri swrjigiri.

Mwdai daodaifwra swr swr dong kwnasong

Dhahalgiri, Thungrigiri

Apha Bwrai Ailong Bwrai Agrang dong.

Rugung-rugung Gambari Khamplaiyao

Apha Bwrai Bathou Agrangjwng lwgwse

Swr swr dong kwnasong.

Khwila, Khaji, AblaKhungur, Rajkhandra, Rajputra

Nujafwidw, ajaofwidw bhog phatali khou.

Sariyao jirainanwi bwswngiri

Mwdai mwdaijfwra swr swr dong

Ali burali, Sanja burali

Phwidw Aphafwr nujafwidw

Hangkhrayw nwnswrkhounw.

Nwnswrnw giyanni gudi

Hangkraigiri hangkhrayw ang nwnswrkhou

Nwnswr Bima Biphakhou.

Phwidw ajaofwidw bhog phatalikhou.

Hajw hala hagra bongra

Dwima dwisani gaswinibw basaigiri

Bwrai sikhwna Raja, Bag Raja dong

Nujafwidw Aphaphwr angni hangkrainayao.

Jidain Thakhur-Thakhuranifra swr swr dong

Ish Thakhur, Bish Thakhur, Maya Thakhur, Saya Thakhur

Ish Thakhurani, Bish Thakhurini, Maya Thakhurani,

Saya Thakhurani,

Athal Thakhurani, Phatal Thakhurani

Apha Duwaraja, Gonesh Thakhur.

Aiphwr Aphaphwr

Hanghrrayw nwnswr bima biphakhou

Phwidw nujafwidw

Gwsw gwtharwi, gws gwjwnwi

Angni hanghrainayao.

Nwnswrnw jido mwdai mwdaijw

Nwnswrnw mulukni minthigwrwng

Nwnswrnw jib junatni Swrjigiri

Muluk Swrjigiri khangiri.

Barikhonayao apha dhwn Khubir dongswi

Ish Khubir, Bish Khubir, Maya Khubir, Saya Khubir,

Ronga Khubir, Bokla Khubir, Haina Khubir,

Mohakhal Khubir dongswi

Jidain Garjayao

Swr swr dong khwnasong

Apha Swrjigiri Bwrai Bathou maharaja

Sibrai Siburwi Apha Mohadev

Siw raja, Hiw raja dongswi.

Jidain Garjayao swr swr dong khwnasong

Holibwr Garja, Tolibwr Garja, Bhog Garja,

Semali Garja, Thaisou Garja, Sindur Garja,

Bedlao Garja, Haphao Garja, Dura Garja,

Laokhar Gosai dongswi.

Molan Garja, Apha Bwrai Raja,

Sokha Garja, Tiya Garja, Gugu Garja

Tulsing-Mulsing Garja, Narakhai Garja

Daowan Garja, Kaldan Garja dongswi.

Jidain Khungur, Jidain Khungrifra

Swr swr dong Khwnasong

Ish Khungur, Bish Khungur, Maya Khungur

Saya Khungur, Athal Khungur, Pathal Khungur

Jidain Khungrifwr swr swr dongswi khwnasong

Ish Khungri, Bish Khungri, Maya Khungri, Saya Khungri.

Athal Khungri, Pathal Khungri

Sona Khungri, Rupa Khungri, Alai Khungri, Bilai Khungri

Laisari, Mwnsari, Fwnshari dongswi.

Free English Translation:

Oh,

Listen *Mugasong* tree of the way

Owner of sun of the east

King, the owner of earth

Father, creator *Bwrai Bathou*,

Listen you father.

Bathou is of five knots

Sijou is of five ridges

Dillenias Indica fruit is of five rinds.

Bodo flute has five holes

Your spiritual words are also five.

Sun is always sun

Night is always night

Sun, moon, stars

Keeping witness of animals of the world

Welcome you father.

Crow do not turn white

Cranes do not turn black.

Water of the south do not flow towards the north

The stones and rock of the sea do not come up on the water

Not betrayed you father.

You are the five knots of *Bathou*

Heaven, middle and under the surface of the earth, the *Tribhuban*

You are the one of the three.

Father *Bwrai Bathou* you the creator,
 You are in the heaven, surface of the earth, under surface
 Expert in everywhere
 Air, water, earth, fire, sky
 The world is lightening in your advice.
 On the heart of mother earth
 Offered food plate in a row
 There are sixteen plates
 Offered areca nut, betel leaves by calling name.
 Father creator *Bwrai Bathou*
 You are the saver, creator of the world.
 Listen, gods and goddesses who are there
 Owner of shield, owner of sword
 Father *Aileng*, old *Agrang* are there
 In the edge of *Gambari Khamplai*
 Father *Bwrai Bathou* along with *Agrang*
 Listen who are there
Khaila, Khaji, Abla Khungur, Rajkhandra, Rajputra
 Appear and accept your food plate.
 Sitting in a line as adviser
 Gods, goddesses who are there

Ali Burali, Sanja Burali

Come father and appear

Welcome you all.

I invite you all

You father mother

Come and accept your food plate.

Hills, Jungles,

River, stream you the saver of all

Old *Sikhwnaraja, Bagraja* are there

Appear father in my request.

Who are sixteen *Thakhur Thakhurani*

Ish Thakhur, Bish Thakhur, Maya Thakhur, Saya Thakhur

Ish Thakhurani, Bish Thakhurani,

Maya Thakhurani, Saya Thakhurani

Athal Thakhurani, Phatal Thakhurani,

Father *Duaraja, Gonesh Thakhur.*

Heh! Mothers-fathers

Invite you all mothers-fathers

Come and appear to us

With holy and happy mind!

You are the sixteen gods and goddesses

You the knower of the world

You the creator of the animals

You are the creator, saver of the world.

In the corner of the homestead there is father *Dhwn Khubir*

Ish Khubir, Bish Khubir, Maya Khubir, Saya Khubir,

Ronga Khubir, Bokla Khubir, Haina Khubir

Mohakhal Khubir is there.

In the sixteen *Garja*

Listen who are there

Father creator *Bwrai Bathou*

Sibrai, Sibrui father *Mohadeo*

Siw raja, *Hiw* raja is there

Listen who are in eighteen *Garja*

Holibwr Garja, Tolibwr Garja, Bhog Garja

Semali Garja, Thaisou Garja, Sindur Garja,

Bedlao Garja, Haphao Garja, Dura Garja,

Laokhar Gosai are there.

Duari Raja, duari Rani, Gonesh Thakur are there.

Molan Garja father old Raja

Sokha Garja, Tiya Garja, Gugu Garja

Talsing-Mulsing Garja, Narakhai Garja,

Daoyang Garja, Khaldang Garja are there.

Eighteen princes are there.

Listen eighteen princesses who are there

Ish princesses, *Bish* princesses,

Maya princesses, *Saya* princesses

Athal princesses, *Pathal* princesses, *Sona* princesses

Rupa princesses, *Alai* princesses, *Bilai* princesses are there.

With the completion of the mantras recited by the *Oja*, the *Doudini* became in the state of unconsciousness which is known as *Alongikhangnai*⁴² in Bodo. When the *Doudini* converted into the spiritual being, she began to say the tales of the gods and goddesses. She makes round the *Bathou* altar with sprinkling holy water. She is dancing with the sound of the musical instruments like *Kham* (drum), *Siphung* (flute) and *Jotha* (cymbal).⁴³ In *Kherai Hwnai* different kinds of dance are performed to please *Bathou Bwrai* and other traditional god and goddesses of the Bodo.⁴⁴

According to Sekhar Brahma, there are eighteen different types of shamanistic *Kherai* dance. Some of the important *Kherai* dances of the Bodos are *Bathou Gidingnai*, *Mwsaglandnai*, *Khwjwma Phonai*, *Gandwola Bwnai*, *Muphur Gelenai*, *Kamao Barkwnai*, *Thungriao Gakwnai*, *Dao Thwi Lwngnai*, *Maoji Membrang Gelenai*, *Mwsakaori Mwsanai*, *Kophri Sihnai*, *Jarapagla Mwsanai*, *Thentamali Mwsanai*, *Nao Jaonai Mwsanai* etc.⁴⁵

Bathou Gidingnai: *Doudini* dances around the altar of the *Kherai* for god *Ai Bima*. She dances slowly with the melodious tune of *Kham* (drum), *Siphung* (flute) and *Jotha* (cymbal).

Khwijma Phonai: *Doudini* dances with sword and display the tactics of god *Abla Khungur* how to kill the enemies in the battle field. This dance is related to the god *Abla Khungur*.

Sagwla Bwnai: This dance is related to the god *Khaji*. *Doudini* show the tactics of god *Khaji* how he throw out the enemies by catching on the waist.

Dhahal Sibnai: *Doudini* dances with a shield. This dance is related to the *Bwrai Aileng*, the bodyguard of the *Bwrai Bathou*. *Doudini* illustrates the tactics of *Bwrai Aileng* how a person can save himself from the enemies in the battle field.

Thungri Gongnwi Sibnai: *Doudini* dances with two swords around the *Bathou* altar of *Kherai Puja* and highlights the war dance how to overcome the enemies in the battle field. This dance is related to the god *Agrang*.

Gandhuala Bwnnai: *Doudini* demonstrates with rope how to bind and destroy the enemies in the battle field. This dance is related to the god *Khwila*.

Dhahal Thungri Sibnai: This dance is related to the god *Rajputra*. *Doudini* dances with a shield and sword demonstrating how to attack and how to save from the enemies in the battle field.

Khamao Barkhwnai: *Doudini* dances and climbs up on the drum (*Kham*). This is related to the *Rajkhandra* god.

Badali Birnai: *Doudini* presents how to attack on the neck of enemies by flying like bat. This dance is related to the *Ali Bwrai*.

Mwisw Gelenai: This is performed by the *Doudini* in the nature of Buffalo. *Doudini* demonstrates how buffalo attack enemy with sharp horn. This dance is related to the *Ai Dibaoli* deity.

Nao Basainai: This dance is related to the god *Munasu*. *Doudini* demonstrates with her dance the expulsion of evil gods from the village with boat.

Mufur Gelenai: *Doudini* dances showing the tactics how *Bulri Buri* attacks enemies in the battle like bear.

Mwsa Gelenai: The *Doudini* dances *Bagh Raja* (king of tiger) has also important place in *Kherai Hwnai*. *Doudini* demonstrates the tactics of *Bag Raja* how he attacks enemies in the battle field.

Gorai Dabrainai: In the form of *Gorai Dabrainai* dance, the *Doudini* show how the god *Basumati* rides the horse and attack enemies.

Nao Jaonai: In the dance of *Nao Jaonai*, *Doudini* dance in the way of god *Chowdhury* showing how the god attacks the enemies with boat.

Mainao Borainai: It is the welcoming of goddess *Mainao* in which the *Doudini* used to seat in front of the *Bathou* altar of *Kherai Puja* where the *Oja* recites the holy hymns to hypnotize *Doudini*. When reciting the holy hymns by the *Oja*, *Kham* (drum), *Siphung* (flute) and *Jotha* (cymbal) are also played with melodious tune. When the *Doudini* is converted into the spiritual being of the goddess *Mainao*, she speaks the following words in the voice of goddess *Mainao*:⁴⁶

Oh Bodo phisapwr,

Nwnswr angkhwo bobea langnw?

Nwnswr danw langwn gabwnnw dwiao phanse, orao phanse khalamnanwi jagwn;

Onagary khalamnanwi jagwn;

Ang thangnai nonga nwnswr je lamajwng phwidwng be lamajwngnw thangphin.

Free English Translation:

Oh Bodo children,

Where will you take me?

If you take me today, you will throw me some quantity at water and at fire,

You will neglect me;

I shall not go; you go back with same way with which you have come here.

Again the *Oja*, on behalf of the worshippers request *Mainao* praying as follows:⁴⁷

Nwng phwitharnangwn Ai Mainao,

Nwng nongabla jwng bwrwi thangnanwi thanw?

Nwngnw jwngni jiu.

Nwng nongabla jwng thangnanwi thanw haya;

nwng phwitharnangwn nongabla phab nangwn,

jwngni khoroni thwi mwnlwngwn;

Dohai Ai, nwng phwithar nangwn.

Free English Translation:

You have to come mother *Mainao*,

How shall we survive without you?

You are the our soul,

We cannot live alive without you,

You have to come mother *Mainao*

If you do not come with us you will be sinner;

You will have to drink the blood of our head;

Oh, mother you must come with us.

The villagers are requested to the goddess *Mainao* to stay at their respective houses. The goddess *Mainao* is agreed to remain in the houses of the villagers who are conducted *Kherai Puja* and speaks the following words:⁴⁸

Thwo phisafwr,

Nwngswr angkhon jwthwnwi lakhi,

Angnw sanfrwmbw pao puja hw,

Nwngswrni dhwn dwolota dinwi ese gabwn ese barailangwn,

Angkhon sanphrambw mwjangwi phujibai tha.

Free English Translation:

Let's go, my children,

Keep me with great care;

Worship me every day;

Your property will increase day by day,

Worship me with heart and soul every day.

In the *Kherai* dance, the *Doudini* demonstrates different forms of dances of the gods and goddesses of Bodos. The villagers also joint in the dance with great joy. During the dance the villagers are made request to the *Doudini* to foretell or predict their futures of the year. After the dance, she tells the fortune of the people, good or bad years of villagers, success or failure of their crops production and for their safeguard from any danger etc.⁴⁹ Then, the *Doudini* holds the two bamboo post at the front of the *Bathou* altar of *Kherai Hwnai* and shakes her head and kneel down at the *Bathou* altar. The *Oja* sprinkles holy water on her to bring in the real sense or normal condition. After a few minutes, *Doudini* regains her real sense and *Kherai Hwnai* comes to an end.

Thus, the *Kherai* festival is regarded as one of the most important religious festivals of the Bodos. In earlier time, it was celebrated for seven consecutive days. But nowadays, it is organized mostly for a day or night only.

7. *Garja Hwnai*:

This festival is performed to expel the evil spirit with the endeavor not to harm and not to give troubles to all living creatures. It is believed by the Bodos that the evil spirits create problems to the living beings by way of epidemic, disease, other natural calamities etc.⁵⁰ So, the Bodos perform *Garja Hwnai* for the expulsion of the evil spirit. For performance of *Garja* there is no any fixed day or date. It is done according to the convenience and wishes of the villagers who are intended to perform *Garja Hwnai*. The following are gods and goddesses of *Garja*:⁵¹

- (i) *Mainao Garja*
- (ii) *Asu Garja*
- (iii) *Dhwn Garja*
- (iv) *Maoria Garja*
- (v) *Tia Garja*
- (vi) *Seo Seo Garja*
- (vii) *Daoyang Garja*
- (viii) *Tong Tongyali Garja*
- (ix) *Gao Garja*
- (x) *Gu Gu Garja*
- (xi) *Seo Seo Fwrja*
- (xii) *Garja Sibsins*
- (xiii) *Saoria Garja*
- (xiv) *Samsemali Garja*
- (xv) *Dosomali Garja*
- (xvi) *Samorama Garja*
- (xvii) *Kolodano Garja*
- (xviii) *Nelodano Garja*

(xix) *Molan Garja and*

(xx) *Ataro Garia.*

Some of the gods and goddesses of the *Garja* are considered as kindhearted, gentles and goods. For example- *Mainao Garja, Asu Garja, Dhwn Garja* and *Bwrai Raja Garja*.⁵² It is also believed that there are some evil design gods in the *Garja*.

Garja Hwnai indicates *Garja* worship. It is a community ceremony which is performed in *Garja Sali* i.e. the place of the *Garja* gods and goddesses. Every Bodo village has *Garja Sali* to carry out *Garja Hwnai*. When a new village is founded, a suitable place is selected for *Garja Sali* with the help of *Doudini*. Once site is chosen, it remained forever.⁵³ On previous day of actual *Garja Hwnai*, *Garja Sali* is cleaned properly. Small huts are also build for other deities to take rest in *Garja Hwnai* where due respect is also given to those deities. Nowadays, it is also seen that place of *Harisa Mwdai* (non-Bodo gods) is also keep nearby the *Garja Sali* for worship. However, Indramalati Narzari rejected about the survival of non-Bodos *Garja* gods or *Harisa Mwdai* (Aryan gods) mentioned by Kameswar Brahma and Bhaben Narzi.⁵⁴ During the time of *Garja Hwnai*, followers of traditional *Bathou* religion used to worship non-Bodos gods and goddesses. When and how the Bodos started worshipping of gods and goddesses of other religion is unknown.

Bathou Bwrai, Maotanshri, Akaishri, Jwmwn Jwla, Bormali, Sainasi, Budaru, Jekai Bwrai, Kobai Bwrai, Gambari, Mwnshri etc. are the gods and goddesses of the Bodos of *Garja Hwnai*. Whereas *Harisa Mwdai* (non-Bodo gods and goddesses) are *Mahadeva, Muslim god Bismilla or Pir Saheb, Gonesh, Baro Gopal,, Mahamaya* etc. But in *Garja Hwnai* major and minor gods and goddesses are varied from region to region and place to place. But the major gods and goddesses are found in *Garja Hwnai* where the traditional followers are being settled.

Udrainai (purification) or *Salami* ceremony is performed one day ahead of the *Garja Hwnai* ceremony. It is the purification ceremony which is performed in the evening where all the village and villagers are purified by sprinkling holy water.⁵⁵ *Oja* or

Dwori takes a major part in the ceremony. The items required in *Garja Hwnai* ceremony are as follow:

- (a) *Thalir* (banana)
- (b) *Mairong* (uncooked rice)
- (c) *Goi Phithai* (areca nut)
- (d) *Phathwi* (betel leaves)
- (e) *Jwo Gisi* (rice beer)
- (f) *Daodwi* (egg)
- (g) *Dhub* (incense sticks)
- (h) *Dwi Gwthar* (holy water)
- (i) *Thulsi Bijwo* (branch of basil leaves)
- (j) *Jathrasi Bijwo* (branch of a kind of tree used in religious activities)
- (k) *Alari Bathi* (an earthen pot for illumination)
- (l) *Daosa* (fowl)
- (m) *Bwrma* (goat)
- (n) *Dao* (chicken)
- (o) *Parwo* (pigeon)
- (p) *Oma* (pig) etc.

Above items are offered to the *Garja* gods and goddesses in *Garja Sali*. *Daosa* (fowl), *Bwrma* (goat), *Dao* (chicken), *Parwo* (pigeon), *Oma* (pig) etc. are sacrificed by the *Oja*. In the process of sacrifice, *Oja* chanting the following mantras:⁵⁶

Aham Mohadeo, Moha Prabhu

Pagla Thakur, Mao Bwrmani

Pwrja-Pwrji, Soinasi Thakur,

Dohai de Apapwr Aipwr,

Ojwng hai dongbaoyw,

Budaru Raja dong Sali Mainao

Asu Mainao dong Bwrai Raja
Jwnwm Raja, Jakaimara, Khoilamara
Gambari, Dwhwnsri Mwnsri dong,
He Aipwr-Aphapwr
Nwnngswr danilo Mwdai nonga
Orai dinni Mwdai.
Dohai He Aipwr-Aphapwr,
Gamini Ai Aphapwrkwo sukywi Sukh
Kalamnanwi phisa-phiswa mwjangwi laki nangwn;
Hinjaopwra naha-mwiha tangwn,
Bikawo nidan apwr kalamnw mwnnai nonga;
Hwoya pwra bonha-mwiha tangwn,
Biswrkwo nidan aphwr kalamnw mwnnai nonga;
Dohaide Aiphwr-Aphapwr,
Nwnngswrnw bwrma Jagranw bwrma hwnanwi,
Dao jagranw dao hwnanwi,
Pharwo jagranw pharwo hwnanwi
Bwli hwnai jabai,
Dohai Mohadeo Moha Prabhu,
Pagla Raja Bwrma Raja, Asu Mainao,
Bwrai Raja Jwnwm Jol, Jakhai Mara

Khoilamara, Gambari, Dwhwnsri, Mwnsri

Unnia Bunniakhwo Dahal Jananwi Torowal

Jananwi, kobodar Aiphwr-Aphapwr rog-biadwi

Dante hornangwn, dohai Aphapwr dohai.

Free English Translation:

Oh, Lord god *Mohadeo*,

Oh, *Phagla Thakur* (god) *Bwrmani*,

Prajaphati, Saynasi Thakur,

Oh, you mother and father,

Who are here in this place!

There is *Budaru Raja, Sali Lakshmi*,

Asu Lakshmi, Bwrai Raja;

Also there is *Jwnwm jola, Jakhaimara, Khoilamara*

Gambari, Dhnsri, Mwnsri.

Oh, you mother and father

You are not gods of today,

You are the gods of forever.

Dohai, oh fathers and mothers,

Keep the villagers happily

To keep the children safe,

The villagers may go for fishing

Keep them safe from all harms;

When the men folk go for hunting

Keep the safe from all dangers;

Oh, mothers and fathers,

Goat is given who consume goat,

Chicken is given who consume chicken

Pigeon is given who consume pigeon

All are sacrificed.

Dohai, Oh, god Mohadeo

Pagla Raja, mother Bwrma, Asu Lakshmi,

Bwrai raja Jwnwm jol, Jakhai Mara

Khoilamara, Gambari, Dwhwnsri, Mwnsri

Cut to pieces all dangers and diseases,

With the help of your sword and shield,

We are wholly depending on you.

There are two types of *Oja* in *Garja Hwnai*. One is Bodo *Oja* for Bodo gods and goddesses and another one is *Harisa Oja* for non-Bodo gods and goddesses. Women are debarred from participating during the entire process of *Garja Hwnai*. However, they are permitted to go to the *Garja Sali* when *Garja Hwnai* is performed in the name of *Mainao Garja, Asu Garja* etc.⁵⁷ The *Garja Hwnai* ceremony comes to an end in the evening. The sacrifice items are cooked for community consumption or for the villagers of the particular village.

Endnotes

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- ¹ Dutt Birendra Nath, Sharma Nabin Chandra, Das Prabin Chandra, *A Handbook of Folklore Material of North-East India*, Guwahati, 1994, p. 151.
- ² Interview with Sameswar Brahma, Age- 67, Occupation- Cultivator, Vill- Boragari, P.O.- Dotma, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 16/04/2016.
- ³ Devi Premalata, *Social and Religious Institutions of Bodos*, Geophil Publishing House, Guwahati, 2007, p. 108.
- ⁴ Brahma Dr. K., *Aspect of Social Customs of the Bodos*, Bina Library, Guwahati, Assam, 2008, p. 47.
- ⁵ Basumatary Dupa Ram, *Boro-Kacharir Samaj Aru Kinsit Abhas*, 1955, p. 21.
- ⁶ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *A Study of Socio-Religious Beliefs Practices and Ceremonies of the Bodos*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 2nd Ed. 2015, p. 105.
- ⁷ Endle Rev. Sydney, *The Kacharis*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1911, p. 50.
- ⁸ Brahma Dr. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 49-50.
- ⁹ Devi Premalata, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 108.
- ¹¹ Narzi Bhaben, *Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu*, Chirang Publication Board, Kajalgaon, 2nd Ed. 2006, p. 179.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ Devi Premalata, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
- ¹⁴ Interview with Pardha Brahma Karzee, Age- 54, Occupation- Housewife, Vill- Kwdwmtola, P.O.- Dotma, Dist- Kkrajhar, BTC, Assam on 24/03/2015.
- ¹⁵ Interview with Tunu Basumatary, Age- 58, Occupation- Housewife, Vill- Baganshali, W/N- 7, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 12/03/2015.

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- ¹⁶ Hazowary Mangal Singh, *The Traditional Boro Festivals: A Critical Study*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Submitted to Guwahati University, 1997, p. 154.
- ¹⁷ *Gwthar Mwikhun* (Ed.), Vol. 1, 3rd Ed. 1992, p. 187.
- ¹⁸ Khaklary Miss Nilima, *A Glimpse of Bodo Culture*, Dwithum an Annual Mouth piece of Baganpara Anchalik Committee ABSU. p. 50.
- ¹⁹ Interview with Manaj Basumatary, Age- 64, Occupation- Retired Teacher, Voll-Baganshali, W/N- 7, P.O.- Kokrajhar, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 24/03/2015.
- ²⁰ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *A Study of Cultural Herritage of the Boros*, Bina Library, Guwahati, Assam, 2nd Ed. 2009, p. 5.
- ²¹ Narzi Bhaben, *op cit.*, p. 181.
- ²² Brahma Dr. K, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
- ²³ Brahma Binoy Kumar, *Boroni Subung Harimu*, N. L. Publication Kokrajhar, BTC, 2009, p. 8.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
- ²⁶ Interview with Manik Narzary, Age- 47, Occupation- Asstt. Professor, Department of Bodo, Vill- Aminkhata, P.O.- Tulshibil, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 27/02/2016.
- ²⁷ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Basumatary Baneswar, *Bathouism- The Oldest Religion*, Rangrachi souvenir, the 19th Seminar, (ABRU) Bodo Bazar (Bijini).
- ³⁰ Basurnatary Rupnath, "*Kherai, in Arjinai*, A Souvenir of 100 years Centenary Festival of Shyamgaon Village, Edited by Robin Bargayary, Kokrajhar, 2007, p. 87.
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- ³³ Narzi Bhaben, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- ³⁴ Basumatary Birendra Giri, *Boro Harimuni Mohor Mushree*, N. L. Publications, Guwahati, 1993, p. 37.
- ³⁵ Italic fencing of bamboo.
- ³⁶ A kind of reeds used by the Bodos in their religious ceremony.
- ³⁷ Basumatary Birendra Giri, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
- ³⁸ Nath D., *Religion and Society in North East India*, DBS Publications, Guwahati, 2011, p. 180.
- ³⁹ Brahma Sekhar, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
- ⁴⁰ A pin less low tool made of *gambari* wood.
- ⁴¹ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *op. cit.*, p. 190.
- ⁴² *Ibid.* p. 179.
- ⁴³ Interview with Jatindra Brahma, Age- 59, Occupation- Teacher, Vill.- Ouguri, Dist. Chirang, BTC, Assam on 23/05/2016.
- ⁴⁴ Basumatary Rupnath, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- ⁴⁵ Brahma Sekhar, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- ⁴⁶ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ Interview with Dharani Kanta Narzary, Age- 67, Occupation- Priest, Vill- Laokriguri, P.O.- Serfanguri, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 22/07/2015.
- ⁵⁰ Binay Kumar Brahma, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 31.

⁵² Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*, Bina Library, Guwahati, Assam, 1998, p. 129.

⁵³ Interview with Prajit Narzary, Age- 54, Occupation- Priest, Vill- Nepalpara, P.O.- Serfanguri, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 15/03/2016.

⁵⁴ Narzary Indramalati, *Boro Harimu Arw Tunlai Bijirnai*, Kokrajhr 1st Ed. 2005, 2nd Ed. 2010, p. 23.

⁵⁵ Brahma Dr. Kameswar, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 210-211.

⁵⁷ Interview with Dandeswar Brahma, Age- 54, Occupation- Farmer, Vill- Fakiragram, P.O.- Fakiragram, Dist- Kokrajhar, BTC, Assam on 27/11/2015.