

## Chapter: 4

### Festival, ceremony and their changes

#### 4. The festival and ceremony:

A festival is an event celebrated by a group of people or community or society and centering on some characteristic aspect of that community or group of the people. In the festival, religious and non religious activities of a community are focused where they enjoyed together. On the other hand, the ceremony is a formal activity conducted on some solemn or important public or state occasion where a formal religious or sacred observance; a solemn rite are focused.

The *Bodos* are agrarian by profession. They observe different festival and ceremony in their day to day life, to enjoy and relax in their hectic schedule of cultivation. According to Premananda Machahary, the main festivals celebrated by the *Bodo* are – *bwisagu*, *domasi*, *khathigasa saonai*, *kherai* and *marai*.<sup>1</sup> They also observed different ceremonies related to life cycle and their day to day life. The changes are found in their religious festivals and ceremonies and even some are eliminated. The festivals observed by the *Bodo* are:

#### 4.1. The festival:

The *Bodos* celebrate different kinds of festivals related to their day to day life in a befitting manner. The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* of the district celebrate *bwisagu*, *amthisua*, *Mainao dikhangnai*, *wngkham gwrlwi janai* and *domasi* as festivals. The celebration of such festivals is quite different from earlier.

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<sup>1</sup>. Machahary, Premanand : Thesis entitled, Socio- Political Life of the Boros in Karbi Anglong District of Assam, Torendra Nath Brahma, 2004, p-59

#### 4.1.1. *Bwisagu*:

The *bwisagu* is a harvest festival of the *Bodos*. In ancient time, they celebrated it in the entire *Bwisag* month and a day. Later, it has been celebrated for seven days only. Within these seven days, the first day was celebrated by them for cattle. According to Laksheswar Brahma, 'they believe cattle are property, wealth and ceres for us, with the help of cattle we are cultivating and having good crops. Unless cattle, it is not possible and the cattle should be treated as wealth.'<sup>2</sup> On the first day, that is the *Chaitro Sankranti*, they let the cattle into the river or pond to bath or wash. The cowshed is cleaned and cattle are not beaten by stick, oil is smeared on the horns and hooves, a garland made of brinjal, bottle gourd, turmeric, and flowers is put on the neck of each cow and later, let them into the open field, putting black spot of *hangar* on the whole body of the cattle. In the evening, they are tied by a new rope. On the next day, they celebrate for man, in this day they bow down at the *Bathou* altar. They beg blessing from the *Bathou Bwrai*, well being of the whole family, later, aged persons are honoured by offering the *bwisagu phali*, the younger are blessed by seniors, on third day for dogs, fourth day for pigs, fifth day for birds, six day for duck or hen or cock etc and on the last day for guest and relatives.

In the *bwisagu*, the people of different ages are grouped each other and visit to the family to family. They begged alms and shared rice beer from the family. The in love couples share their true loves and feelings and *bwisagu phali* in the somewhere corner of the family or orchid. They sang different folk songs relating to the *bwisagu*, their feeling, satiring someone's character and merry making. This type of *bwisagu* is relegating in modern time. The stage system celebration of *Bwisagu* is started in the year 1991 in the *Udalguri* district for the first time at the *Udalguri* College field. Since that time, the stage system *bwisagu* is celebrated in the *Hindu Bodo* villages of the district for a day, for two days or three days colourful programmes. The events, like the *Miss Bwisagi*

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<sup>2</sup>. Boro, Madhuras & others, eds : *Biwsagu Arw Boro Mahari*, Sujunai Bijab, N.L. Publications, 2016, p-18

*Sikhla* competition, folk song competition, folk dance competition in group and single, traditional musical instruments, like the flute, *serja*, *kham*, playing competition are essential part of the *bwisagu* programme. In some village seminar are taken based on the *bwisagu* too.

#### **4.1.2. Amthisua:**

The *Bodos* did not accept as a festival in earlier and observed on 7<sup>th</sup> of *Achar* in every year and praying at the *Bathou* was restricted. They did not work anything on the day. They believed, the land should not be tilled, if tilled; the land and crops become profaned by religion. The crops cannot grow and become *jambrinai*. They cut jungle surrounding to the family and the village road collectively by villagers.

Today, it is celebrated in different ways, on 7<sup>th</sup> *Achar*, the family *Bathou* and the community *Bathou* are cleaned and set fire on earthen lamp. On 11<sup>th</sup> *Achar*, the family members take a bath in the morning, the *Bathou*, granary door, *ising* and other places of the family are cleaned. The top banana leaf, betel nut-leaf, incense stick, earthen lamp, mustard oil, *dhup-dhuna*, rice are made ready. The *douri* of village takes a glass of *dwi gwthar* and sprinkles to the houses of each family and consecrated the village. The *douri* should be honoured by paying Rs 1 or 2 for the performing this *dwi gwthar* springkle to the houses. The paying of money is a symbol of respect and love, which was not available earlier.

As soon as a sprinkling of water is over, the community *Bathou thansali* is decorated by the *on gundwi* and the collected materials and edible items are offered. The family members gather in front of *Bathou* and pray the *Bwrai Bathou* for well being of family and so that they can live peacefully in the years to come.

The fruits for the season, top banana leaf, betel nut-leaf, match box, *awa khundung*, incense stick, earthen lamp, mustard oil, *dhup-dhuna*, rice etc are made ready and offered. The community *Bathou thansali* is decorated by the *on gundwi*, *khangkhla*, *jatراسي*, *mayaje* and the fruits are offered. The *douri*, *dausi*,

*asari* and a few villages take responsibility for offering. According to Suren Boro, ‘the religious flag is unfurled. The *douri*, *dousi* and other villagers prepare for flag. It is unfurled between at 7 A.M to 8 A.M. in the morning.’<sup>3</sup>

The *douri*, *dousi*, *asari*, women, men and children go to the community *Bathou thansali* with traditional *Bodo* dresses. The *douri* and *dousi* put on green colour *gamsa* or *gwmwgrlwi*, yellow shirt and take the *aronai* of the green colour of white or yellow flowers during *Bathou* prayer. The women put on *gwmw gwrlwi (bidun) dokhona*, white blouse and *white phasra*, as a uniform for the women attended in the prayer. The *tharnai*, *sungrinai*, *alap*, *gibi aroj*, *mwnthina aroj raisonnai* and other activities continue to rhythmic tune of harmonium and their traditional musical instruments. In the *amthisua* at the community *Bathou thansali*, some hymns and prayers are sung. For example,

*Stayi:*                    *Ansuli bima ..... bwiswmuthi*  
                               *Najaodw nwnng bima jwngni sibinaikhou*  
                               *Najaodw nwnng bima jwngni khulumnaikhou*

*Sethi antara:*        *Alari phwjwngdwng dhup dhuna saonanwi*  
                               *Bibar barse lananwi*  
                               *Nwngkhou khulumbai awi nwngkhou khulumbai*  
                               *Nwngkhou khulumbai awi nwngkhou khulumbai*

*Nwithi antara:*      *Bima .... jwnwngiri nwnng jwngni*  
                               *Jib jibi khangnainigiri nwnng jwngni*  
                               *Sohaisuli orai ansuli haya baonw haya*  
                               *Nwngni onnaikhou nwnng bimakhou*  
                               *Nwngni onnai onjima gwia/*

*Thamthi antara:*    *Bima.....*  
                               *Gwngw gwthar bibar geolang nwnngni onnaya*  
                               *Biphang laiphang emphou enla*  
                               *Gaswibw nwnngni bikhayao*  
                               *Thayw nwnngw gwrbwao orai gwban.....*  
                               *Boikhoubw bimani onnai hwna.*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> . Informant: Suren Boro, age 55 years

(English rendering: Oh God *Bwswmuthi*, please accept our offering, please accept our bow down. Lighting an earthen lamp, *dhup-dhuna* and offering a flower (we have offered to you and remembered you, God). You are the creator, you have created living things and animals, you care for us, we cannot forget your love and affection, Oh God, and your love has no limit. Oh God, your love is evergreen and true, you have created insects, flora and fauna, all are living in your heart, you take into your bosom heart and give blessings to each and every one.)

After the end of the prayer they share whatever the fruits offered at the *Bathou*, and thus *amthisua* festival or *aosia kherai* comes to an end. This process of offering is not found earlier, which is reformation of *Bathou*. The *Bodos* converted to other religions have completely given up the celebration of *amthisua*.

#### **4.1.3. Mainao dikhangnai:**

The *Mainao dikhangnai* is made during the time of *kherai* festival, *hambai* and *garja* ceremonies. On the day, the *Bathou*, granary door, *ising* and other places of the family are cleaned. *Bathouarian* women of the village gathered at *kherai sali* or *garja sali* or at place where the offering of the village is started in each year. The *oja*, *douris* and a few villagers gathered at the temporary *Bathou thansali*. A *don* containing rice is offered at the temporary *Bathou* altar and the *oja* recites *mantras* for blessings from *Mainao*, so that she will bless to have good crops in future to the villagers. As the praying comes to an end, rice of the *don* is shared among women attended in offering. They take the shared rice at their respective *don*, and taking to anybody is restricted, until it is placed at *maiwendw*.

On the other hand, while a *Mainao borainai* is made from a *garja sali*, a rite of *sigang- un dorja* was performed. The door of *nomano* is blocked by sleeping of two persons. Then a villager asks them,

‘*Nwi nwnswr beyao ma khalamdwnng? Hogar lamaya.*

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<sup>4</sup> . Du. Ba. Go (Suju Afad) : Gwthar Mwikhun, Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2014, p- 163

(What are you doing here? Leave me the way.)

Anyone of persons who blocks the way cries and says-

*Whw, jwng hogara,*  
*Nwngswr bima Mainaokhou*  
*Ani thani khalamgasinw dong*  
*Dwiao phanse orao phanse khalamgasinw.*

(No, we don't want to let your way, you have not taken care the Goddess Mainao, throwing the rice here and there, in water, in fire.)

A villagers- *Gwrwnthi japhlangbai, nimaha hwdw,*  
*Dinwiniphrai bidi khalamla,*  
*Onnanwi, lamaya hogardw,*  
*Gwrwnthini thakhai nimaha hwdw.*

(We have undone, forgive us, in future we will not repeat the same thing)

Again says-

*Bidibla, jwngnw goijora,*  
*Phathwi jora, thakha jora,*  
*Daodwi jora, jou bothol jora nangwn,*  
*Oblasw jwng hogargwn.*

(Then offer us, a pair of betel nut-leaf, a pair of coin, a pair of egg, a pair of wine's bottle, then we will leave the way)

A villagers- *De bidibla jagwn.*<sup>5</sup>

(Ok, we are agreed)

At present, it is celebrated on the last day of *Achin* or 1<sup>st</sup> day of *Kartik* and regarded as the third festival. On this day, they decorated their gate with the help of planting a pair of banana tree and decorating the gate for two days. In the evening each *dor* of land a pair of earthen lamp is lighted. If a family has more than a *dor*, at each *dor*, they lit a pair of earthen lamp. In evening at *Bathou*, *ising*, *bakhri*, *goli* earthen lamps are set fire. In the morning they offer different items at the family *Bathou* and pray *Bathou Bwrai*. As soon as, the offering of the family *Bathou* comes to an end, the family members go to the community

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<sup>5</sup> . Informant: Gohani Basumatary, age 75 years

*Bathou thansali*. The whole day is celebrated with different religious programme at *thansali*.

The men, women, children of the village sit together and sing different prayers with different rhythmic tunes of traditional musical instruments. The following prayer is essential for this festival, in the modern time,

‘*Stayi:*            *Phwidw phwi*  
                          *Onsuli bima Mainao*  
                          *Onsuli bima Mainao//*

*Sethi antara:* *Asu Mainao Maisali Mainao,*  
                          *Bwrai Bathouni phisajw*  
                          *Bhandari kumara rahagiri*  
                          *Mulugni jibikhou phwthangwra//*

*Nwithi antara:* *Khathi danni dubli bariao*  
                          *Jwngthimathi swrgiding*  
                          *Jwngblao khangnai*  
                          *Bima Mainao bima Mainao//*

*Thamthi antara:* *Khulumw jwng nwnghkou*  
                          *Onsayw jwng*  
                          *Aroj gabna*  
                          *Orai somao|.’<sup>6</sup>*

(English rendering: Come, oh God, lovely God *Mainao*, lovely God *Mainao*, *Asu Mainao*, *Maisali Mainao*, the daughter of the *Bathou Bwrai*, *Bhandari Kumari* savior, you bring up the entire living thing, in the paddy field of *Khathi* month earthen lamps are lighting, oh God *Mainao*, oh God *Mainao*. we offer for you and care for you, pray you and remember you always.)

In the *Mainao borainai* a woman or a girl from each family bring a *dona* containing flower, incense stick, earthen lamp, match box, the two small bowls of brass containing rice and paddy in each. While darkness is appeared, the earthen lamp of the *dona* is lighted. A woman or a girl from each family stands

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<sup>6</sup> . Du. Ba. Go. (suju afad) : Baidasi (Bathou Aroj Methai), Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go, 2013, p-112

in the queue at entrance of the *Bathou thansali*. The *douri* picks up *dona*, with the help of others attended at *thansali* and gives away from the back side. A woman or a girl, who shares the *dona* moves five times anti clock wise rounds of the community *Bathou*, taking the *dona* on head, they proceed to their houses. They keep the bowl of paddy at *bakhri* and the rice at *maiwendw*.

At last, the *Mainao borainai* is made to the family of the *douri*, accompanying with the community singing, dancing and slogan from the community *Bathou thansali* to the *douri's bakhri*. Before putting the *Mainao* to *douri's bakhri*, tree or five times *Bathou gidignai* is made, taken out the paddy of bowl from *sandri-dona*, he keeps at his *bakhri*. The rice kept in bowl is taken out from *sandri-dona* and keeps at *maiwendw* in the kitchen. Then, the *Mainao borainai* festival comes to an end.

#### **4.1.4. Wngkham gwrlwi janai:**

The *wngkham gwrlwi janai* is their traditional agricultural ceremony. In earlier, on this day, different Gods and Goddesses are propitiated by sacrificing chicken, pigeon, pig, and offering, *prasad* as well as rice beer with the help of *oja*. This is called *salami*. The *salami* offering was made in the evening to late night. This is celebrated on any one day of the month of *Aghan*. Until the *wngkham gwrlwi janai* is celebrated, the head of the family does not eat new rice and new betel nut. In the *wngkham gwrlwi janai*, the servants who were engaged in cultivation are invited. A grand sharing of the rice beer, chicken, pork and other non-vegetable items are taken place. The community hunting or fishing was a part of it.

The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* have accepted as a festival and celebrated in a befitting manner, on the 9<sup>th</sup> *Aghan* in the morning at the community *Bathou thansali*. On the day, the community *Bathou thansai* is decorated with different materials and different prayers and agenda are taken as taken in other festivals.

The *Gudi Bathou* followers still offer *salami* on this day and among the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians*, the singing and praying at the community *Bathou thansali* is observed. They sing prayer in the name of *Mainao* as,



'*Stayi:*           *Ayo hai.....*  
                       *Bima Mainao Mainao /*  
                       *Asu Mainao Sali Mainao*  
                       *Bima Maina Mainao '||*

*Sethi antara:* *Saha sanjani ising khonayao*  
                       *Sonani bithayao jwngthi mathi*  
                       *Thaphwidwng nwng jwngni*  
                       *Bima Mainao, Mainao.*'<sup>7</sup>

(English rendering: Oh God, *Mainao*, *Asu Mainao*, *Maisali Mainao*, oh God *Mainao*, at the north east corner, at *ising*, a golden altar is there, where a golden flame is burning and you are staying here, oh God *Mainao*.)

A few *Bodos* converted into other religions have given up tradition of the *wngkham gwrlwi janai*.

#### **4.1.5. *Domasi:***

The *domasi* is the last harvest festival of the *Bodos* which is celebrated on the last day of *Push* and first day of *Magh*. The community dancing, singing, sharing of rice beer, collecting alms from families of the village was a part of *domasi*. On the morning of *Push* the trees of edible fruits are tied across by the *mai jigab durung*. They believed if the trees are tied, the trees bear good fruits in the future. The woman of the family plasters a strip by cow dung to each house and which is a symbol of signifying unity among family members. The male persons of the village grouped into different groups of different ages and visited to each family of the village asking for alms and women are restricted. At the end of festivals, the male persons enjoy together with collected alms. The system is relegated in the district and *belagur* burning is nesting immensely among the *Bodos*.

The celebration of the *magw* was not so much related to the *Bathou*. In the morning only head of the family (woman) set a pair of earthen lamps at

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<sup>7</sup> . Du. Ba. Go. (suju afad) : Baidasi (Bathou Aroj Methai), Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2013, p-108

*Bathou*, *ising*, *bakhri nagan* and *Biswahari than*. The other family members are not participated. Today, it is celebrated as a fifth number *kherai* festival among the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* and every family member is involved in the festival. At the family *Bathou* and community *Bathou thansali* different religious activities are continued, where praying, singing and musical tune are accompanied equally. According to *Dularai Bathou Gouthum*, the prayer mainly sung in the festival is as,

‘*Stayi*:            *Nwi apha swrjigiri...*  
                       *Dinthe hordw khintha hordw*  
                       *Swrang lama..... mwjang raha||*

*Sethi onthora*: *Dwijwng gwjwnbai, barjwng thajimbai*  
                       *O apha gwbana labai ha mohorwi||*  
                       *Nwngni onnaiao...*  
                       *Jib jibi gaswibw alw-gwjwn||*

*Nwithi antara*: *Ghw hordw giyan hordw apha*  
                       *Dukhuaobw gabjrinw*  
                       *Sukhuaobw hangkhainw*  
                       *Nwng iswrkhrou apha||*.<sup>8</sup>

(English rendering: Oh God, creator, give us knowledge and guide us in the right direction, have satisfied with water, have felt pleasure with air, oh God, has accepted as earth, in your affection, all the creatures are living happily. Give us strength and knowledge, oh God, to take your name in distress and to take care for you in peace.)

#### **4.1.6. *Kherai*:**

The *kherai* is a great religious festival of the *Bodos*. In this festival, they enjoyed together with drinking, eating, merry making and dancing. They celebrated as *songsari*, *umrao* or *amthi kherai*, *darshan* or *mainao kherai*, *phalw* or *Bathou kherai* and *noni kherai*. There are different causes behind the celebration of these *kherais*. ‘They celebrated *songsari kherai* on the first day or

<sup>8</sup> . Du. Ba. Go (Suju Afad) : Gwthar Mwikhun, Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2014, p- 212

first week of the *Bwisag* to welcome the New Year as well as hopping, well being of the human beings, nature and the things in the world. The *umrao kherai* was celebrated in the month of *Achar* for the blessing of cultivation and to reap good crops as well as well being of human beings. The *darshan* or *Mainao kherai* was celebrated first day of the *Kartik*, hoping for the property and fruits in the earth and so that people would not be starved. The *phalw* or *Bathou kherai* was celebrated at night, on the full moon of the *Magh*. On this night, the devotees beg to the *Bathou Bwrai* such blessings, that the earth is become happy, human beings, animals, insects, trees, flora and fauna each and every one can live happily. The hazard or nature calamities should not be occurred. The *noni kherai* is the last one which was celebrated in the family so that the family can run happily as well as nothing health hazards, disturbances would occur.<sup>9</sup>

In the *kherai* different animals, chicken, pigeons, pig, goat etc are sacrificed and items are offered. But, it is obvious that the celebration of the above type of *kherai* is marginalized. The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* do not worship these *kherais*. They celebrate *bwisagu*, *amthisua*, *mainao dikhangnai*, *wngkham gwrlwi janai* and *domasi*. These five types of celebrations are regarded by the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* as festivals. They celebrate those in a befitting and have termed as *kherai* festivals. The *bwisagu* is termed as *songsari kherai*, *amthisua* as *awasi kherai*, *khathi gasa saonai* as *Mainao kherai*, *gwrlwi janai phwrwbw* and *domasi* as the *Bathou kherai*.

In this way, changes in the festival and type of celebrations are observed. Prafulla Chandra Rajbonshi opines that the *Bodos* celebrated *mo ho ho* festival too. According to him, ‘another festival observed by both the Hindu and tribals known as *mo ho ho* or the mosquito driving festival falls on the full moon day of the month of *Aghrana* in which the village boys and youths sing songs and dance

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<sup>9</sup> . Boro Narzi, Dhireswar: *Kherai Mwsanayao Phaothina Naibijirnai*, Sujunai Bijab, N.L. Publications, 2016, p-68

in different household of their respective villages.’<sup>10</sup> Now celebration of *mo ho ho* festival is not observed among the *Bodos* of the Udalguri district.

#### 4.2. Religious belief, ceremony and their changes:

The *Bodos* have their traditional religion and they worshiped it since the time of immemorial. According to Rev. Sidney Endle, ‘the religion of the *Kachari* race is distinctly of the type commonly known as animistic and its underlying principle is characteristically one of fear and dread.’<sup>11</sup> They have strong faith in animism and did not worshiped idol or *musukha*. They believed that there are thousands of Gods and Goddesses, who are taking different roles in creating the world and can be divided into the family deities and non-family or the *Bodo* deities and Non-*Bodo*. Thus in the *Gudi Bathou*, while offering, the names of different Gods and Goddesses are taken in offering as,

‘*Wjwnghai swr dongswi hwnba*  
*Khouti khouti devota (iswr) donswi*  
*Nwnghswrnibw baonai japhabai*  
*Bathou Bwrai-Bathou Buri, Laokhar Gosai*  
*Bima Biswahari, Ganesh thakur.*’<sup>12</sup>

(English rendering: Who are here? Thousands of Gods and Goddesses are there, we have offered for all of you, (names of the Gods and Goddesses) the *Bathou Bwrai-Bathou Buri, Laokhar Gosai, Bima Biswahari, Ganesh thakur.*)

They offered different items to those Gods and Goddesses. Animals’ sacrifices are an indispensable part of worship. Those items are offered at banana plantains, along with the green *manua* banana, *alua* soaked rice, cut green betel nut-leaf and grams. They believed deceiving to people is against to the *Bathou* religion, people should not eat beef, tiger, cat, vulture, snake, dog or other restricted foods, should not have illicit sexual relation, should not cut cow,

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<sup>10</sup> . Rajbonshi, Prafulla Chandra : Thesis entitled, Change and Continuity Among the Bodos of Udalguri in Darrang district of Assam, G .U.(un-published), 1990, p-66

<sup>11</sup> . Endle, Rev. Sidney : The *Kacharis* (reprint), Venture of Low Price Publication, 1990, p-33

<sup>12</sup> . Informant: Gohani Basumatary, age 75 years

should not beat elders or parents. If anybody does such crime, he should have pardoned from elders and the religious consecration should be made. Otherwise, he will be punished by *Bathou Bwrai*, the punishment is in such way, he may die, may meet an accident, suffering from the disease.

Nowadays, due to the occurrences of different religions, changes in religious belief and ceremony are found. The *Gudi Bathou* is reformed to the *Phwsabnai Bathou* (since 1970) and spread almost entire villages of *Udalguri* district within 1990-1993. According to Protul Bhobra, ‘Oliver Kuttar established a Baptist mission station at Gauhati in 1846 they opened a boarding house in which a number of the *Bodo* students were accommodated. And a twelve year student, a boarder of the hostel from Jhargaon village of North Kamrup, Apinta Kachari was baptized in Christianity in 1849. He was the first *Bodo* to be baptized into Christianity.’<sup>13</sup> In later 1943 a missionary named *Sirus Barkar* came to Tezpur for two months and stayed in the *Bodo* village and Christianised the *Bodos* of *Udalguri*. Mahini Mahan Brahma opines, ‘Kalicharan Brahma believed, the *Brahma* religion will be the best religion for us. He went to Kolkata and adopted Brahma religion from *Shiv Paramhangsa* in 1906 (1312 Bangla).’<sup>14</sup> The *Vaishnav* and *Satsangi Dharma* are also found among the *Bodos*.

#### 4.2.1. Religion:

The religion helps moral order and concentration of the people during their way of life where Gods and Goddesses are worshipped. Based on the worship of Gods and Goddesses, it can be divided as, monotheism and polytheism. The monotheism means worship of only one Gods and the polytheism means worship of different Gods and Goddesses. In *Bodos* is *Bathou* religion, the nature of polytheism is observed. It is one of the oldest religions of the world. According to Rajenda Kumar Basumatary, ‘*Bathou* is a combination

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<sup>13</sup> . Bhobra , Protul K. : Darrang Jilar Boro Kochari Hokolor Majot Khristiyo Dhormor Agomon, Souvenir, Jesus Krista Jayanti, Jubilee Shabha. Hathorkhi, 2000, p-55

<sup>14</sup>. Narzaree, Bhupen & others, eds : Samaj phwsabgiri Gurudeb Kalicharan Brahma, Gwdan khonsai bidang, Assam state text book production and distribution limited, 2016, p-5

of two syllables 'ba' and 'thou'. *Ba* means five and *thou* means deep. So, philosophical thought of *Bathou* means five principles of deep philosophical significances.<sup>15</sup> At present, the *Bathou* can be divided into *Gudi Bathou*, *Phwsabnai Bathou*, *Swrjigiri Bathou*, *Dubai Bathou*, *Thiya Bathou*, *Jangkhrao Bathou*, *Srimuthi Bathou* and *Rupamoni Bathou*.

#### **4.2.1.1. Gudi Bathou:**

The *Gudi Bathou* is one in which *oja* and *douri* play a vital role in offering. There is no date and year regarding the origin of this religion. It can be ascertained that the religion is originated while people are civilized and they started to know about their sins and Gods and Goddess. They learned to afraid of Gods and Goddess. To propitiate, the Gods and Goddess as well as to purify themselves from mistakes and sins, the *Bodos* accepted this religion since the time immemorial. The people of the district worshipped it dividing into two, like *noni mwdai* and *gamini mwdai*.

They sacrificed animals at the *Bathou* based on occasions and time as well as, as per their convenience too. The sacrifices which are prepared by them at their home to propitiate different Gods and Goddesses are known as *noni baonai*. The Gods and Goddesses which are given places in the worship of *noni baonai* is known as *noni mwdai*. The *Bodos'* *noni mwdai* (house hold deities) are found as, the *Bathou Bwrai*, *Mainao*, *Asu Mainao*, *Sali Mainao*, *Song Raja*, *Song Bwrai*, *Mwsa Raja*, *Biswahari*, *Ganesh* etc.

The worship of Gods and Goddesses, other than in the family premises or in the village compound too; it may be isolated from the village, in the centre of village, to the end of village, at the entrance road of village, to the bank of streams or river. The Gods and Goddesses, which are given place in this offering is called *gamini mwdai* (village deities). The *gamini mwdai* as worshipped by the *Bodos* are *Mero Raja*, *Bura Mahadeo*, *Bura Gosai*, *Jal Kuber*, *Thal Kuber*, *Than*

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<sup>15</sup>. Basumatary, Rajendra Kumar : Thesis entitled, Gibi Bithai and the Bodo Oral Tradition, G.U. (Unpublished), 2010, p-85

*Kuber, Bis Kuber, Kuber Bwrai, Kuber Burwi, Sila Rai* etc. Today, in offering only less numbers of animals are sacrificed and other animals are set free.

#### **4.2.1.2. Phwsabnai Bathou:**

The *Phwsabnai Bathou* is developed in the district since 1977 and a first community *Bathou thansali* is established in 1970 at the *Borobazar* in Udalguri district. In *Phwsabnai Bathou*, the religious belief is same as *Gudi Bathou* in which the philosophy of five is involved. According to Liladhar Brahma, ‘these five spiritual elements are *wng, hring, khling, phwt* and *se*.’<sup>16</sup> In the *Phwsabnai Bathou* animals sacrifices are not found. They believe in place of animals anything, like the flower and fruit can be offered in the names of Gods and Goddesses. The *Phwsabnai Bathou* is maintaining the rituals and ceremonies as well as festivals of the *Gudi Bathou*, but in the form of reformed. The traditional musical instruments and *Bodo* dances have got a tremendous position in the *Phwsabnai Bathou*.

#### **4.2.1.3. Swrjigiri Bathou:**

The *Swrjigiri Bathou* is founded in the year 1955 after a *kherai* dance competition was conducted at the *Bijni Buthuabari* to take part in the folk dance competition on the 26<sup>th</sup> January 1955 at New Delhi. According to *Dularai Bathou Gouthum* of *Jwiswrjigi Bathou*, ‘after that in 1955, father Sri *Jwisat Basumatary* prepared his one *bigha* vegetable field (*bari*) as a hillock and established an altar to worship and later constructed a small house.’<sup>17</sup> The *Jwi Swrjigiri Bathou* is spread in some parts of *Kokrajhar* district, like *Bathabari, Gwthwibari, Tiniali* and in other places in *Chirang* district, like *Asrabari, Dhunabari, Khakhlingbari, Thakampur, Lwkhwnabari*, in the *Sivasagar* *Bengkwnabari*, in *Goalpara Joyra Khumsi* and other places. In *Udalguri* it was

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<sup>16</sup> . Brahma, Liladhar : Religion and Dances of the Bodos, Onsumoi Library (Reprint), 2003, p-1

<sup>17</sup> . Du. Ba. Go. (Suju Afad) : Jwi Swrjigiri Aroj, Miru Bathou Dhwrwmari Afad, 2011, p- XI

spread at the Balichia of Rowta and a few villages of Kalaigaon area. In the offering *dhyān* (*tapasya*) is found.

They remained, a day or two days or six days or a month fasting. They have classified among them, a *dikha* group, who are responsible for spreading *Jwi Swrjigiri* religion. But in the district the *Jwi Swrjigiri Bathou* is relegated due to the advent of the *Phwsabnai Bathou*.

#### **4.2.1.4. Thiya Bathou:**

In this *Bathou* is to be offered, only incense stick or earthen lamp. A small altar is made to the east side of yard where the *jogya ahuti* is offered. This *jogya ahuti* altar is worshipped by them and offering of flowers or any items are restricted. In every occasion or ceremony that is to be observed in the family, like new rice eating, *domasi*, *bwisagu* or other festivals of the *Bodos*, a *jogya ahuti* is to be offered. If it is small, a small *jogya* is performed by any one head of family and in big offering of the family; a priest of the *Thiya Bathou* is invited. In small *jogya* less than eight inch length of firewood is kept in pyre and *jogya* is performed. In big more than twelve inch length of firewood is required. This type of *Bathou* is available in Chirang district of Assam.

#### **4.2.1.5. Dubai Bathou:**

The *Dubai Bathou* is a type of *Bathou* in which *trisul*, *tulsi*, *jatrasi* and a flag of white colour, bow and arrow, a sun spoke are installed just to the east of *Bathou* altar. According to Lalitha Brahma ‘the founder of *Dubai Bathou* is *Santhiram Guru Sanhari Brahmacharya*. He founded this *Bathou* when *Brahma* religion appeared among the *Bodos*. So the animal sacrifices and *kherai* offering as well as the *jogya ahuti* are found.’<sup>18</sup> The *Bathou* fencing is made as *Gudi Bathou* and up to the two feet the fencing is filled up with soil. In this *Bathou* offering is made with the help of flowers, fruits and betel nuts-leaves. According to Arun Brahma, ‘the worship is made on Sunday, Monday, Thursday and any

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<sup>18</sup> . Informant: Lalitha Brahma, age 50 years



other occasions, like the *Durgapuja*, *Lakhi Puja* and *Purnima* as well as, like the Aryans.’<sup>19</sup>

At the *Bathou* altar, always a pair of betel nut- leaf and Rs 5 should be kept. A trisul is installed at the *Bathou*; two small flags of white and red cloths are installed. At *bakhri nagan* a trisul is installed and an altar is made. At the gate a big flag is always unfurled as a symbol of the *Parbothi* to take care for family members who have gone out side for working. During March a *kherai* is also offered in this *religion*. The animals and items are offered, as offered in the *Gudi Bathou*. Today, sacrifices are not made; the animals are offered and these are set free. As soon as offering comes to an end, a *jogya ahuti* is performed to consecrate family. The Gods and Goddesses of this *Bathou* are the *Narayan*, *Parbati*, *Lapthang-Khapthang*, *Dasarath*, *Ram Laxman*, *Sita*, *Parboti*, *Bagraja*, *Manasa*, *Ganesh*, *Khuber* and others. This type of *Bathou* is found less in numbers in the Udalguri district.

#### **4.2.1.6. Srimuthi Bathou:**

The *Srimuthi Bathou* is just like the *Phwsabnai Bathou* where animal sacrifice is not made. But, like the tradition of the *Gudi Bathou*, the offering is made during the time of the *Bwisag*, *wngkham gwrlwi janai*, *domasi* or in some other occasions or any other functions as well as to be observed in the family due to some problems. In the *Srimuthi Bathou*, *sijou*, *jatras*, *tulsi*, two *trisul* and two iron lamps are installed. The fencing is made as the *Gudi Bathou*.

#### **4.2.1.7. Jangkhras Bathou:**

In the *Jangkhras Bathou*, stone or concreted cement is made an altar. A *trisul*, a flag of red cloth are made with the help of a bamboo pole. The pole is installed just near to the stone. The follower of this religion put on *andur mala* on the neck. The worship is made offering flowers, *prasad* and nothing sacrifices

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<sup>19</sup> . Informant: Aruna Brahma, age 60 years

are made. The worshiper of this religion concentrated in *dhyan* and shouted loudly the names of Gods and Goddesses.

#### **4.2.1.8. Rupamoni Bathou:**

In the religion *Rupamoni Bathou* altars are made near to each other to the north east corner of the yard. The two small altars are made attached to each other facing towards the east. In both the altar a *tulsi*, *sijou* and a *jatras* plant are planted in line to the north to south. The *Bathou* fencing is not made as the *Gudi* or *Phwsabnai Bathou*, but 4 X 7 feet or a bit difference in size is fenced by the *mayaje* with the help of bamboo.

In the offering nothing sacrifices are made and the flower, betel-nut leaf, *dhup-dhuna* are offered. The *thitis*, like the *akadosi*, *dadosi*, *puernima*, *omabaishya* etc. are followed and based on *thiti* the followers remained vegetarians. At least two times Prasad in a week and one time *jogya* in a month are to be offered in the *Rupamoni Bathou*.

#### **4.2.2. Philosophy:**

They believe the *Bathou* has five deep philosophies behind it. They worship, the *Bathou* as a symbol of different Gods and Goddesses. They believe, the universe is under the control of *Bathou Bwrai* and he can do everything. He is owner of the *bar* (air), *ha* (earth), *dwi* (water) or (fire) and *okhrang* (ether). The *Bathou* is a combination of two words as *ba* and *thou*. The *ba* means *mwnba* (five) and *thou* mean *gwthou* (deep). According to Bihuram Boro, 'in *ba* it is included five philosophies, like the *bar*, *ha*, *dwi*, *or* and *okhrang*. Earlier, the *Bodos* called *dwi* as *thi*, *ha* as *a*, *or* as *o* and *okhrang* as *nukhong*. Taking the letters like, *b* from *bar*, *a* from *ha*, *th* from *dwi* *o* from *or* *u* from *nukhong* the word *Bathou* is formed<sup>20</sup>. They respect and take care for the *bar*, *ha*, *dwi*, *or* and *okhrang* as the God. They never spite and urinate to the fire and water.

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<sup>20</sup> . Boro, Bihuram : Gibi Bithai (Bekheothai), Lalita Boro, 1984, p- kh

But along with the above philosophies, the *Dularai Bathou Gouthum* has accepted a *bis mwnthwr* as ‘*aham, wng, hring, khling, phwt, se.*’<sup>21</sup> They utter it before the time of offering. They believe, the *wng* sound helped the God to create sky, *hring* has helped to create sun (fire or heat), *khling* has helped to create air (breath), *phwt* has helped to create water (blood) and *se* to create earth (world). They regarded *Bathou Bwrai* has not any form, is unseen, is omnificent, evergreen, all in all and boundless and has no limit, in which five deep philosophies are included. The philosophy as considered by them is ‘all in all, no visibility but is omnipresent.

#### 4.2.3. Gods and Goddesses:

The occurrence of the names of different Gods and Goddesses are also found due to conversion into different religions and religious reformation. According to Rev. Sidney Endle, they worshipped the *Bathou* dividing the Gods and Goddesses in to ‘*noni mwdai* (house hold deities) and *gamini mwdai* (village Gods).’<sup>22</sup> The *noni mwdai* (house hold deities) are the *Bathou bwrai, Bathou Bwrai, Mainao, Song Raja, Asu Mainao, Sali Mainao, Mwsa Raja, Biswahari, Ganesh, Aileng, etc.*

The *Bodos’gamini mwdai* are, the *Mero Raja, Bura Mahadeo, bura gosai, Jal Kuber, Thal Kuber* etc. Rather than the above, they propitiate some Gods and Goddesses outside the family, to have blessings from them. The main Gods and Goddesses propitiate in *kherai* are, *Khwria Bwrai, Khwria Burwi, Aileng, Agrang, Khwila, Kharji, Abla Khungur, Rajphutur, Raj Khandra, Song Rani, Alai Khungri, Bilai Khungri, Mwnsing Sing, Rwnswndri, Bhandari, Khumari, Basamuthi, Bwlli Bwrai, Bwlli Buri, Laokhar Gosai* and etc.

But at present, the *Bodos* worship different symbols and Gods and Goddesses as well as *Gurus*. The *Christian Bodos* worship Jesus; the *Satsangis Bodos* worship *Thakur*, the *Vashnavis Bodos* worship *Krishna, Parboti, Ganesh,*

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<sup>21</sup> . Du. Ba. Go (Suju Afad) : Gwthar Mwikhun, Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2014, p- 5

<sup>22</sup> . Endle, Rev. Sidney : The Kacharis, Venture of Low Price Publication (Reprint), 1990, p-36

etc., the *Brahma* religious *Bodos* worship, *Brahma*, *Bishu*, *Maheswar*, *Ganesh*, *Kartik* and *Laxmi*.

The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* worship the *Mwnsin Si Bwrai*, *Mwnsin Si Burwi*, *Si Bwrai Si Burwi*, *Ihihiu Bwrai Ihihiu Burwi*, *Haphao Bwrai Haphao Burwi*, *Khwriya Bwrai Khwriya Burwi*, *Mahela Bwrai Mahela Burwi*, *Bwrli Bwrai Bwrli Burwi*, *Song Bwrai Song Burwi*, *Khwila Bwrai Khwila Burwi*, *Agrang Bwrai Agrang Bwrwi*, *Joumwn Bwrai Ihihiu Burwi*, *Hajw Bwrai Hajw Bwrwi*, *Gongar Bwrai Gongar Bwrwi*, *Rojong Bwrai Rojong Burwi*, *Hasung Bwrai Hasung Bwrwi*, *Amao Bwrai Amao Bwrwi* and *Aham Bwrai Aham Bwrwi*.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.2.4. Installation of the *Bathou* altar:

The *Bathou* altar is installed to the north east corner of the main yard and parallel to *nomano* is mandatory. This mandatory is become flexible today and they install at where they feel suitable.

In the *Gudi Bathou*, *Bathou* altar is made only one. It is fenced by 18<sup>th</sup> split bamboo post and five times round. A *sijou*, *jatrasi* and *tulsi* are planted. But in the *Phwsabnai Bathou*, it is fenced by eighteen pairs of split post and five times round. Each split post is cut into *pherenga lanjai* and slightly separated from each pairs. In the *Phwsabnai Bathou*, the *Bathou* altar is made into three, one for *Ba Raja* and another for *Bathou* and the last one for the *Mainao*. The *Bathou* altar is made 6 inch high and 2 ½ diameters by the soil. The *Mainao* altar is placed 3 feet far from the *Bathou* and is made 6 inch high and 7 inch diameter. The *Ba Raja* altar is made 1 ½ feet far from *Bathou* altar to the south and 6 inch high and 1 ½ diameter.

In the *Gudi Bathou*, the community *Bathou thansali* is not constructed. In the *Phwsabnai Bathou* each and every locality or area must have a community *Bathou thansali*. They pray and sing together on Tuesday and in some other occasions, the villagers and localities are also gathered and worshipped.

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<sup>23</sup> . Du. Ba. Go (Suju Afad) : Gwthar Mwikhun, Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2014, p- 22

#### 4.2.5. Role of the *sijou*:

The *Bodos* believe *sijou* is a tree which is first originated in the world. As per their religious viewpoint, the earth was open, no tree, plant, animal, insect are available. In those moments, the *sijou* tree originated at the stone of Mount Everest which are covered by *badamali hagra*. The *gurus* took shelter under it and acquired different knowledge. The *sijou* tree has five lines of thorns and the *Bathou* religion has also five deep principles. Thus the *Bathouarians* take the *sijou* as a religious tree which has five deep principles. In this regard Basantha Swargiary opines, ‘the main religious symbol of the *Bodo* is *sijou*. The real meaning of *sijou* is *si* which means life or soul, *jou* means high or supreme. Thus thus *si + gwjou = sijou* (high life) > *sijou*.<sup>24</sup>

*Phwsabnai Bathou* has divided the *sijou* into five divisions, the root, bottom, tree, and branches, leaves-flowers and pair thorns. The *sijou* roots are rooted inside the ground and help standing of the tree. The human beings do not see it in surface. If it is investigated by digging out the soil, ultimately it will be obvious about the structure of roots. In the same way, if it is investigated the clues of the *Bathou Bwrai* and existence of his spiritual power can be observed.

The *sijou* tree grows up to three to four feet without having any branches. This part of tree is balancing the branches, leafy branches and flowers, which signify the existence only and one greatest God *Bathou Bwrai* who is controlling the created objects on earth. The branches, leaves and flowers of the *sijou* make the beauty of its bottom. The only and one the greatest God *Bathou Bwrai* has made the earth beauty by creating different biotic-abiotic objects. To live in the earth different living things gather their foods with the help of different parts of its body. In the same way the *Bathou* has given the *sijou* leaves and flowers for this purpose. The pairs of thorns signify the nature of male and female.

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<sup>24</sup> . Swargiary, Basantha : *Bathou Dwhrwm Arw Sijouni Gumur, Bathou Raithai Bidang*, 2011, p-98

#### 4.2.6. Religious flag:

According to Maneswar Basumatary, ‘the *Bathou Maha Sobha* is formed in 1992 of the 16<sup>th</sup> May.’<sup>25</sup> since its formation, the *Bathou Moha Sobha* has adopted the religious flag. The multi colour religious flag has red, sky blue, white, light yellow and green colours. The red colour signifies strength and power, sky blue signifies, open like earth, reality and united, white colour signifies truth sacred life and soul, light yellow signifies offering and endurance and the last one green colour signifies clue of peacefulness, happy as well as development. The *Bodos* of different religions use different religious flags in modern time and unfurl it in the different religious programme. The *Phwsabnai Bathouarian* also unfurls its big religious flag in their community *Bathou thansali* and other religious programmes.

#### 4.2.7. Mantras and prayer:

The *Bodos* perform different religious rites and rituals, where they recited different mantras and prayers. The *Bodos mantras* can be divided into different types, ‘the mantras use in religious purpose, to get rid from various problems, for the *muhuni*, for the business or lively hood, to use against enemies, betrayers and to lost directions.’<sup>26</sup>

The *Gudi Bathouarians* offer at *Bathou* in the month of *bwisag* hopping for family welfare in entire coming year with the help of an *oja*. In these offerings, they recited *mantras*, for example,

‘*Aham*,

*Mwideragabw odal gudiao*

*Mansia gabw Bathou gudiao*

*Nwi nwi khwnasong khwnasong*

*Apha bwrai Bathou maharaja khwnasong*

*Wjwnghai swr donswi hwnba*

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<sup>25</sup> . Brahma, Indrajit & others, eds : *Bathou Dwrwm Arw Bekhou Gwsar Hwnayao Jwngni Biban*, Bijni Duwarni Rounia, Central ABSU, 2016, p-155

<sup>26</sup> . Informant: Haphram Oja, age 75 years

*Thakuraja, Thakurani, Rajkumar, Rajphuthur dongswi*  
*Nwi dinwi, .....(name of guardian) gothiya*  
*Gwdan bwswrao nokhorni gahamnithakhai*  
*Nwngrkhou gswkhangdwng*  
*Dao jagranw dao hwdwng*  
*Daodwi jagranw daodwi hwdwng*  
*Prasad jagranw prasad hwdwng*  
*Boinwbw jagra hwdwng*  
*Gwdan bwswrao nokhorni gaham hamblainanwi*  
*Gswkhangdwng jaiga hwdwng*  
*Gswkhangdwng jaiga hwdwng*  
*Baonayao sabinayao gwrwnthi jaywbla*  
*Nimaha hwnangwn gaoni phisaphwr sanna*

*Aham,*

*Switho switho thini switho*  
*Thogainw mwnnai nonga apha nokhorkhou*  
*Gahamwi gaham lakhinangwn*  
*Raokhoubw khwiphwd aphwdao khwkhwinw mwnnai nonga*  
*Aham apha bwrai Bathou.*<sup>27</sup>

(English rendering: The elephant cries at *odal* tree, human beings pray at *Bathou*, oh God *Bathou Bwrai*, please listen to us, who are here? There are *Thakuraja, Thakurani, Rajkumar, Rajphuthur*, oh God, today .....(name of guardian) is remembering you, he has offered everything to everyone as per their food, on new year for the well being of the family he has remembered all of you, kindly bless him. In offering if something is left out, please don't mind and forgive him. Nobody should not be fallen into trouble, oh God *Bwrai Bathou*.)

However, the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* do not recite *mantras*, but collectively; they sing and recite prayers from their religious book *Gwthar Mwikhun, Bwidasi, Bamwn, Aroj Bidang* and some other religious books.

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<sup>27</sup> . Informant: Haphram Oja, age 75 years

They believe the existence of a ghost, *Bis Khuber*. The *Bis Khuber* creates sufferings and disturbances of family members. So to get him out, the *oja* recite a *mantra*, as follows,

*‘Jol Khuber Khala Khuber  
Nol Khuber Guphur Khuber  
Nwngswrni phisa gakhwdwng phisou gakhwdwng  
Nwngswr biswrkhou ajay bujai khalamnangwn  
Dohai nwngswr amwkhikhou amwkhakhou bujai ajai khalamnangwn  
Denang gabla phao phuja hwgwn ang.’*<sup>28</sup>

(English rendering: ‘*Jol Khuber Khala Khuber, Nol Khuber Gupur Khuber*, your children are disturbing us, you have to control them, Oh God, you have to control .....*amwkh*i (name)..... *amwkh*a (name), in future, if we relieve from diseases we will offer for all of you.)

After *mantras* a red cock is moved over the head of a patient and kept it until patient recover. This offering and recitation of *mantra* is not found in modern time. The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* offer at *Bathou* of the patient as well as community *thansali* and sing and pray with rhythmic tunes of *kham*, *jotha*, *serja*, *siphung* and harmonium. They pray as,

Stayi- *Wi anangosai, wi swrjigiri...*  
*Raha hordw raha giri //*  
*Akhai pharnwi khobjobna*  
*Anthu kherainanwi*  
*Khulumw jwng apha nena dongo jwng*  
*Sijou gudiao jwng nwngkhou, sijou gudiao*  
*Gwdao swrao khalamnanga*  
*Agwrmwnwi khalam nanga*  
*Jwngkhou songsarao*  
*Gabjri horw kharao marao dukhuni pharao //*  
*Onnw rwngwi sannw rwngwi, gsw onagari*  
*Dukhuthiya khophothiya raga duga khwikha gsw*

<sup>28</sup> . Narji, Bhaben: Boro Kacharini Samaj Arw Harimu, Chirang Publications (Translated), 2011, p- 190



*Hwnw nanga jwngni gwrbwao ..... gosai*  
*Dinthi hordw swrang lama*  
*Surhwnanga dukhuni hangma||.*'<sup>29</sup>

(English rendering: Oh God, oh creator, give us guidance, you are the guide of all, we are offering for you at the *Bathou*, in this world give us a clue, give us guide, please don't make us at a lost, we are remembering you in this world. Give us the strength of human beings, guide us as a human beings, but not just like the animals, give us way of knowledge and don't let us towards distress.)

The *Bodos* believe on *hainamuli* which was very common among the *Bodos*. The *Bodos muhuni* can be classified as – *mwider muhuni*, *daorai muhuni*, *khwira muhuni*, *raj muhuni*, and *somai muhuni*. The use of these *muhunis* can change human mind into different nature, like the *mwider muhuni* transformed human nature as elephant, *daorai* means peacock, and *khwira* means a kind of bird, if the *daorai* and *khwira muhuni* are used, the human characters are transformed as the nature of these two birds. If somebody is in distress or unhappiness, to make him happy, free from tension and to live happily, a *raj muhuni* is used. The *somai* means beauty or attractive. Thus the *somai muhuni* is used in the time of performing drama. In the preparation of these *muhunis* the *oja* recited *mantras*. But uses of these *muhunis* are not available today.

This is due to the development of education, development in health infrastructure and conversion of people into different religions. As per their religion, nowadays, they recite different prayers. The *Vaishnav* religious *Bodos* recite prayers in front of the *Khrishna* and *Radha's* idol or photos. The Christianise *Bodos* pray to Jesus as per the prayer written in the Bible. The *Satsangi*, *Swrjigiri Bathou* and *Brahma* religious *Bodos* also recite as per their religious rites.

The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* sing and recite different prayers relating to their religious festivals and ceremonies in the consecration of the family. They sing, prayer family to family during the *Bwisag*, for example,

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<sup>29</sup> . Du. Ba. Go. (Suju Afad): Baidasi (Bathou Aroj Methai), Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2013, p-6

'*Stayi-*            *Nwngninw thinnayao*  
                       *Nwngninw onnayao*  
                       *Bwisagu Bwisau o..... apha*  
                       *Swrjigiri Bathou bwrai //*

*Sethi antara:* *Bwthwr gwjama thanglaibai*  
                       *Khwndw khwndw ..... halw dwilw*  
                       *Bwthwr gwdan phwilaibai*  
                       *Khwndw khwndw .....halw dwilw||*

*Nwithi antara:* *Mulug songsara gwdan mohor labai*  
                       *Mithinga bikhayao*  
                       *Bar dwi sikhla mwsaphwibai*  
                       *Dao khouou gabphwibai //*

*Thamthi antara:* *Mansi dumsi jiu junar*  
                       *Daosin daoma dwima dwisa*  
                       *Biphang laiphangabw rongjakhangbai //*

*Brwithi antara:* *Bwr bidwng O.....apha*  
                       *Bwr hwdw O .....apha||.<sup>30</sup>*

(English rendering: In your suggestion, in your love, oh God, oh God *Bathou Bwrai bwisagu* is..... Old year has silently left us and the New Year is silently entering. The nature is becoming beautiful, the *Bardwi Sikhla* is dancing, the cuckoo is crying, human beings, birds, animals, trees as well as flora and fauna are enjoying. We are asking for blessings, oh God.)

To beg pardon from mistake, they also sing; pray to the *Bathou Bwrai* with the rhythmic tunes of musical instruments as,

'*Stayi:*            *Nwi apha Bwrai Bathou*  
                       *Swrjigiri apha obong laori //*  
                       *Bathouni giri apha nwngnw dwrwmni bipha*  
                       *Gwhwni giri apha nwngnw mulugni bipha*  
                       *Nwngnw anan gosai obong gosai*

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<sup>30</sup> . Borobazar A. C. Du. Ba. Mo. (Suju Afad) : Aroj Bidang, Borobazar Anchalik Committee, All Bathou Mahasabha, 2016, p- 54

*Swrjigiri apha obong laori*

*Nwng dewrhasargra mithisargra nuathari*

*Apha rwikhagiri //*

*Sethi antara: Nwngnw rang rasi, mwitha hasi, bari gongtham*

*Nwng phanseanw phana phamtham apha*

*Harsingwi satham, nwngnw swrjidwng*

*Nwngnw khangdwng badwng, nwngw dwidendwng //*

*Nwngnw gele hwdwng, nwjwr hordwng boikhoubw*

*Phwjwbsrangdwng||*

*Nwithi antara: Dinwini be gwthar sanni gwthar bubliao*

*Jwngni gsw mwdwm jiu baobai*

*Nwng apha nao//*

*Nwngni onnai nwngni bwr sarsrinai*

*Nwngni phwrwngnai gwrbwjwng ajaonw*

*Jwng nwngni sigangaon somai labai ||.<sup>31</sup>*

(English rendering: Oh God, oh creator *Bathou Bwrai*, you are the owner of *Bathou*, you are the religion, you are the light, you are the strength, you are all in all. You are the stock of knowledge; you are the omnipotent and savour. You are generator, operator and destroyer, you have created everything, you have guided everything, you are operating, you are observing, all the created objects and destroying. Today, on this sacred day, all of us whole heartedly, we have promised to accept your guide, your love and your suggestion.)

#### **4.2.8. Items offered:**

The *Bodos* offer and sacrifice different animals and items in the worship of different Gods and Goddesses. They sacrificed for the *Bathou Bwrai* a red cock (without having another color), outside the family a black he-goat (without having another color) or a pig along with betel leaf, betel nut, *mairong*, *gwhang thalir* and cow's milk (but not buffalo), for the *Mainao* a hen or an egg along with betel leaf, betel nut, *mairong*, *gwhang thalir*, for the both, *Song Raja* and

<sup>31</sup> . Du. Ba. Go. (Suju Afad) : Baidasi, Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2014, p- 57

*Song Burwi* a chicken to each of them, for the *Mwsa Raja* a pig along with a pair of pigeon, for *Biswahari* a pair of pigeon, for the *Ganesh, prasad*, a shelf of ripe banana are offered and a pair of pigeon is set free. Today, this offering is minimized in the district and a few villages, like the *Khanthalguri, Goraibari, Chandana, Gelagaon, Nimaipur* and *Khomabari* are still following. The *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* do not sacrifice animals and offer flowers, betel leaves, betel nuts, rice and *prasad*.

#### 4.2.9. Process of the worship:

The process of worship is different from religion to religion among the *Bodos*. The *Brahma* religious *Bodos* worship Gods and Goddesses with the help of *jogya ahuti*, the *Satsangi Bodos* worship with the help of singing and praying, the Christianise *Bodos* worship singing and praying. The *Gudi Bathouarians* worship Gods and Goddesses reciting *mantras* with the help of an *oja*. The *oja* recites the *mantra* as given below,

‘*Aham* .....|

*Khwnasong khwnasong lama dothani mugasong/*

*Angni bathraya jayw jaya khwnasong, khwnasong khwnasong/*

*Anan gosai binangosai, swithw jugni gosai*

*Danilo mwdai nonga nwngrswr/*

*Gwdw gwdaini thakhw thakhw bwthwr bwthwrni mwdai/*

*Aiphwr /*

*Bari gongtham, rangrasi, gwhwrasi, mwithahaji /*

*Bibar jora lananwi khulumw khusi khusi /*

*(khulumw aphaphwr)*

*He apha/*

*Bwrai Bathou maharaja*

*Sanni giri sanja//*

*Buhumniu giri raja /*

*Jiuni giri sijou/*

*Jib jibi mansi dumsini jiu/*

(*khulumw apha*)

*Dohai aiphwr aphaphwr /*

*Swrgwao dongo san-okhphwr baiborondo/*

*Phathalao dongo thulunsi, jatراسي gwdw gwdw //*

(*khulumw aiphwr aphaphwr*).<sup>32</sup>

(English rendering: Oh God, please listen to us, what I am calling you, whether I am in wrong or not. Oh God you are not God of this age, only you are here since the time immemorial. You are the generator, operator and the destroyer, taking three flowers at hand, we are offering for you. The *Bathou Bwrai*, you are all in all. There are sun and stars in heaven, in Hel *tulsi* and *jatراسي*, we offer for you oh God.)

In the *Gudi Bathou*, only male persons took greater responsibility. At present in *Phwsabnai Bathou* both men and women took equal responsibility in offering. On every Tuesday and on some others occasions, both the men and women gather and take equal responsibility at the community *Bathou thansali* and pray to the *Bathou Bwrai*, *Mainao* and *Ba Raja*. They sing different prayers with the rhythmic tune of *kham*, *jotha* and *serja*.

#### 4.2.10. Holy water preparation:

In the old tradition in the preparation of holy water the *Bodos* used the materials, like the brass pot, a copper coin, rice (not broken), *tulsi*, *jatراسي* and *dubri* grass. They prepared it for religious purpose and consecration of the family. A *douri* takes a glass of water, adulterated with *awa gaikker* (un-boil milk) and *oja* recite as the following *mantra*,

*'Aham*

*Khwnasong khwnasong*

*Lama dothani mugasong*

*Angni bathraya jaywna jaya/*

*Santhi bimaya khwnasong//*

<sup>32</sup> . Bargoyary , Khanteswar : Kherai, Dularai Bathou Dhwrwmari Gouthum,2011, p- 10

*Aiphwr dwima dwisa santhiphwr/  
 Dinwi .....(amwkha) gothiya  
 Bini thakhai hangkhainai jadwng  
 Ai Bima Santhi, Mwnasu Santhi, Tharong Santhi  
 Sabkhatha Santhi.....  
 (as many as names of waters are mentioned)  
 Santhi santhi 18 santhi bimaphwr  
 Amwkha gothi khou santhi khalamdw.<sup>33</sup>*

(English rendering: Oh God, please listen to us, what I am calling you, whether I am in wrong or not. The Goddess of consecrator, please listen to us, Oh Goddess of *santhi*..... (names of water). Today.....(name of person) is looking for holy water for profane, for that oh God *ai bima Santhi, Mwnasu Santhi, Tharong Santhi, Sabkhatha Santhi* (as many as names of the waters are mentioned) holy water, holy water for 18, please consecrated your son .....

In the *Phwsabnai Bathou*, *dwisanthi* is used for domestic and religious purpose. In the preparation of holy water they use, a brass pot, a copper coin, rice, a pair of flower, a branch of *tulsi*, a branch of *jatras*, a bunch of *dubri hagra*. These items are bounded by a cotton thread. The holy water is prepared in two ways by the *douri*, one is at the family *Bathou* and another is at the community *Bathou thansali*. The *Dularai Bathou Gouthum* has adopted the prayer as given below,

*'Aham  
 Wng, hring, khling, phwd, se  
 Wng, hring, khling, phwd, se  
 Wng, hring, khling, phwd, se  
 Nwi apha mulug swrjigi  
 Nuathari bwrai Bathou,  
 Nwngnw bar ha dwi or okhrangni bigwma  
 Nwngnw swrjigiri, phaligiri phwthwigiri*

<sup>33</sup> . Bargoyary, Khanteswar : Kherai, Dularai Bathou Dhwrwmari Gouthum, 2011, p- 9

*Nwngnw nimahanigiri, rahagiri*  
*Nwngnw jwb rwngwi ghwani bwr bansajwng*  
*Nwibe dwi gwthar banai somao*  
*Gwthar bwr sarsri hornanwi*  
*Be dwi gwtharjwng dinwi be*  
*Gaswi baonai thinai,*  
*Mansi dumsi*  
*Sua suthi phwtharnw*  
*Hanai ghwani bwr sarsri hordw| dohai|. <sup>34</sup>*

(English rendering: (wng, hring, khling, phwd, se) <sup>three times</sup> Oh God, creator of the world, unseen God *Bathou Bwrai*, you are living in water, earth, air, fire, sky and in the everywhere. You are the generator, operator and the destroyer; you are savour, you are the guide. In the preparation of holy water, please bless us and consecrate us, the people attended here and in every offering.)

Thus it is observed; in case of *Gudi Bathou dwi santhi* is prepared by an *oja*, where a *hoikhari* is needed. In *Phwsabnai Bathou* a *douri* prepares the *dwi santhi*.

#### 4.2.11. Use of holy water:

The *Bodos* have a traditional faith of profaned by the religion. So, for the consecration, they use holy water in the offering at the *Bathou thansali* and for the people attended in offering. The cooking is restricted, until the profane is consecrated in the family.

They believe, if a person visits to the family of someone, who has blessed by a newly born baby, he and the family members become profane. Again, if, someone visit to a family where someone's family member is dead, if had rice to the family of other than *Hindu*, if visited to the burial ground in disposal of dead body, to consecrate family or himself, he has to make an offer. In this case holy water is used. The use of holy water is found in almost all religions of the *Bodos*.

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<sup>34</sup> . Du. Ba. Go (Suju Afad) : Gwthar Mwikhun, Odalguri, District Committee, Du. Ba. Go., 2014, p- 71

### 4.3. Religious ceremonies:

The ceremony is a ritual with religious significance. In the other word, a formal act or ritual often set by custom or tradition, performed in observation of an event or anniversary which is a part of social or religious occasion. The *Bodos* have also their religious ceremonies which they observed in a befitting manner. The *Bodos* religious ceremonies are:

#### 4.3.1. *Bathou baonai* (offering):

The *Bathou baonai* was a part and parcel of their tradition. They celebrate this ceremony minimum twice in a year in a family, like in the month of *Bwisag* for the well being of the family and in the month of *Aghon* i.e. during the time of new rice eating, if frequently family unhappiness or suffering of someone in the family occurred. If they face financial problem, a nominal offering is made and promised to the *Bathou* to offer in future in a particular month, while they will be financially sound.

Today, in *Phwsabnai Bathou* there is no any animal sacrifice. In every Tuesday morning, they offer flower, lighting earthen lamp, *dhup dhuna* etc. and takes vegetarian items. In the evening, they gather at the community *Bathou thansali* and offer at the *Bathou*, *Mainao* and *Ba Raja*. The community praying and singing are accompanied by the rhythmic tune of *kham*, *jotha*, *serja*, *siphung* and harmonium.

Again in the *Phwsabnai Bathou*, a community praying and singing take place, while a family falls into distress or suffering from the disease. On this day, a family member makes ready for *prasad*, *dhup dhuna* and other items those are to be offered. The *Bathou* is cleaned, plastered with mud, decorated by the *on gundwi*. Later, a *douri* is invited and he consecrates the family.

#### 4.3.2. *Garja*:

The *garja* is a seasonal religious ceremony of the *Bodos*. They also termed it as *lwkhi garja*. This ceremony is celebrated by the *Gudi Bathouarians* in the month of *Achin* and *Kartik* while the paddy stuff grows up outside the



village under a tree or in an open field. In this offering, the Gods and Goddesses are divided into the *Harsa* and *Bodo*. The *oja*, *hoikhari*, *harsa douri* and *Bodo douri* take a major role in this offering. Different folk games, like the *daodwi gelenai*, *angthi gelenai*, *bwrla gaonai* and story telling are a part of *garja* offering. As soon as, the offering comes to an end, the *Mainao Borainai* is performed. The women of each family gathered at the *garja sali* and receive *athum ganwi mairong* from the *Harsa douri*. They bring the *athum ganwi mairong* to the family and keep at the *maiwendw*.

The system of *garja* offering is minimised among the *Bodos* of the *Udalguri* district. In place of the *garja*, the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* celebrate the *Mainao dikhangnai phwrbw*. The *daodwi gelenai*, *angthi gelenai*, *bwrla gaonai*, etc. folk games, which are a part of *garja* worship are becoming obsolete in *Phwsabnai Bathou* and among the *Bodos* converted into another religion.

### 4.3.3. *Hambai*:

The *Bodos* believe that in the month of *Jeth*, different evil spirits shelter in the village. These spirits create different, diseases, sudden stomach pain, suddenly died of someone and unhappiness. If such evil spirits are not chased from the village, the villagers suffer from different problems. So, to get rid from problems and chase the evil spirits, they offered to the river bank, to southern side of village in the names of different Gods and Goddesses. This type of offering is known as *hambai*. In the *hambai*, they also divide, the Gods and Goddesses into as *Harsa* and *Bodo*, like the division of the *garja*. The aged male persons are allowed to go in the *hambai* offering, the children and women are restricted. The *oja* recites *mantra* as,

*'Aham,*

*Mwideragabw odal gudiao*

*Mansia gabw Bathou gudiao*

*Nwi nwi khwnasong khwnasong*

*Apha bwrai Bathou maharaja khwnasong /*

*Wjwngchai swr donswi hwnba*

*Thakuraja, Thakurani, Rajkumar, Rajphuthur dongswi*  
*Nwi dinwi, .....(name of village ) phwra*  
*Gwdan bswrao gamini gahamnithakhai*  
*Nwngswrkhou gswkhangdwng//*  
*Dao jaganw dao hwdwng*  
*Pharwo jaganw pharwo hwdwng,*  
*Gwmwn jaganw gwmwn hwdwng*  
*Prasad jaganw prasad hwdwng/*  
*Baonaiao sbinayao mabaphwr*  
*Gwrwnthi jaywbla nimaha hwnanggwn aiphwr aphaphwr//*  
*Dinwi Jeth danni ..... Khalarao*  
*Nwngthangmwnkhou gsw khangdwng*  
*Gamiyao khila hasula ..... (names of problems)*  
*Khalamhwnw mwnnai nonga. Etc.*<sup>35</sup>

(English rendering: The elephant cries at *odal* tree, human beings pray at the *Bathou*, oh God, the *Bathou Bwrai*, please listen to us, who are here? There are *Thakuraja, Thakurani, Rajkumar, Rajphuthur*, oh God, today .....(name villager) is remembering you, they have offered everything to everyone as per their food, on new year for the well being of villagers, they have remembered all of you, kindly bless them. In offering if something is left out, please don't mind and forgive them. Today on ..... (date of the month) they have remembered and offered, please protect the villagers from diarrhea, fever and other incidences.)

But, this offering is changed among the *Bodos* of the district. In the month of the *Bwisag* and *Jeth*, they take prayer programme in each family of the village by offering flower, *prasad*, betel nut-leaf and fruit of the season.

#### **4.3.4. Basani:**

This offering is made in late night, so that the fewer villagers can see. If they feel an evil spirit is infected in the family, to chase out evil spirits, they

<sup>35</sup> . Informant: Joy dhan Oja, age 65 years

offer *basani*. In a village or in a family if someone is facing problems, like the suffering of someone, sudden death of a family member, the *basani* is offered. In *basani oja* takes a major role in a family along with guardian and a few villagers. A boat, roofing of plantain is made for the offering. The boat is decorated with vermilion, red flowers and yellow flowers. The decorated boat is placed, east and west, facing the north. Different edible and non edible items, a chicken, a pair of pigeons, a pair of betel-nut leaf, flower, *prasad*, etc are offered.

The *oja* recited, different *mantras* facing south in front of the boat for the well being of the family and to protect family members from different incidences and problems. The recitation is basically recited based on the name of a guardian as well as its members who have offered the offering.

As soon as the offering is coming to an end, the family members remain inside the room shutting out the door. They should not see the carrying or displacing of the plantain boat. The villagers also should not see, if someone somehow seen, the evil spirit may *sabphayw* (react same problem to his/her family). The plantain boat is flown away at the water to the southern side of the village. If there is not any river or stream in the village, it is kept at drain of the same side of the village.

Today, *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* do not perform this rite. If problems occur in the family, they take *aroj* or praying.

#### **4.3.5. Doudini mwsanai:**

The *doudini* is a central figure of kherai festival of the *Bodos* and she dances various forms of dances one after another. The *doudini mwsanai* is a part of the *Bodo khera*, where the forms of ‘*thandob*’ and ‘*lasya*’ of Indian classical dances are observed. The *dhuodhini* presents, the dances as a symbolic dance of *Ihihiu Gugu*. ‘In the *kherai* dance, eighteen forms of dances are essential part of the *kherai* offering. But, based on the dances, it can be classified into five main forms and again, which can be subdivided into other subforms. These are, related with physique with mind, like the *gandoula bwinnai*, *bathou gidning nai*, *ultha bathou gidningnai*, *gorai dabrainai*, *dao thwi lwngnai*, or *mononai* and *sa gwlaio*

*bwnai*, for the self defence, like the *dhal thungri sibnai*, *thungri ganai*, *khwijwma phonai* and *raidwng sibnai*, for the offering or respect, like the *kherai gwlaol*, *khamao barkhwnai*, *Mainao borainai*, *nao bwnai* and *kherai gusung*, for the dances of animals, like the *mwisw soulainai*, *mwsa gelenai*, *muphur gelenai*, *neolai gelenai*, *badamali gelenai* and *swima geleglangnai* as well as the *mwsaglangnai* (simple dance), like marriage dance, *bwisagu* dances and others.<sup>36</sup> These dances are performed at the *kheraisali*.

During the time of *kherai* offering, *doudini* is *wlwngi khangw* by the *mantras* of *oja* and presents different types of dances. These *doudini* dances are having different deep meanings and philosophies. Still the *Bodos*, follower of the *Gudi Bathou* perform the *kherai* dances in *kherai* offering. But, the *Bodos* of *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* do not present this dance at the *kherai sali* and do not worship the *kherai* as earlier. They present such dances in religious programme and not as earlier. According to Chitramali Basumatary, ‘the *thungri ganai* dance is presented, remaining fasting for six to seven days and not visiting to the neighbours as well as taking the name of *Bathou Bwrai*. In the religious function, where this dance will be presented; the place is cleaned and surrounded by a rope. Nobody is allowed to enter within this place except, *douri* and *asari*. The place is consecrated by the *dwisanthi*.<sup>37</sup>

#### **4.3.6. Salami:**

The offering at the *Bathou* in the family is known as *salami*, where a red cock (without having another color) is sacrificed, in outside offering, sometimes a black he-goat (without having another color) or a pig is sacrificed. The betel leaf, betel nut, rice, *gwithang thalir* and cow’s milk (but not buffalo) are offered. They offered *salami* during the time of the *wngkham gwrlwi janai* and after a long gap of offering as well as if family faces certain problem.

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<sup>36</sup> . Boro, Labin & Mushahary, Uddab : *Kherai Mwsanaini Sathou*, Phwrmailu Publications, 1982, p-9

<sup>37</sup> . Informant: Chitramali Basumatary, age 65 years

Today, the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* as well as the *Bodos* converted into other religions do not offer *salami*. *Phwsabnai Bathouarians* take *aroj* in the family, if the family faces certain problem.

#### **4.4. Social offence and stratification in the village:**

They followed the strict social stratifications, which are called by them as *bad*. They adopt a *bad* system very strictly. If a person does offence, particularly concern to some deed, which is not accepted by the *Bodo* society, they follow it. At present, the *bad* system and rituals are becoming less frequencies of use. Their *bad* systems are of five kinds. These are,

##### **4.4.1. Agar bad:**

*Agar bad* is performed, if a person haves illicit sexual relation between related person, if a person assaults one's own mother, father, grandfather or grandmother and if a person kills a cow. In this regard, there is mentioned that, 'the male is fined Rs, 25/- and expenditure for consecration, and the female is fined Rs, 10/- to the society for breaking the social norms. If rapes someone he is fined for Rs, 12/-.'<sup>38</sup> In this *bad*, a person shoots out nine arrows by religious ritual and then becomes sacred, they believe. The animal's sacrifices are made at *bari* or field or to the river bank. To consecrate, the people from these profanes they constructed a small hut to the bank of river. The offenders are put inside the hut and set fire. As soon as fire burns they ought to jump into the river.

The shoot out of nine arrows is still performed and animal's sacrifices are not made among the *Phwsabnai Bathouarians*. It is also noticed that, the financial punishment is given more than earlier. The people who fall in this *bad* remain without religious consecration are also found.

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<sup>38</sup> . Brahma Chakramani & others, eds : Boro Samajik Bidhan, Sansodhit Aru Paribardwit, Kokrajhar Jilla Boro Samaj, 1980, p-14

#### **4.4.2. *Phongsloth bad:***

The *phongsloth bad* is performed, if somebody touches the body of a young girl of any caste, if a person cuts the tail or leg of a cow. Such person is fined Rs, 12.50/- and the expenditure for consecration. Seven arrows are shooting out to consecrate. As per the rite, still seven arrows are to be shot out and animal's sacrifices are not made among the *Phwsabnai Bathou* and by sprinkling *dwisanthi* they believe they are profaneless.

Today, the strictness is not found. The change in this aspect is due to the change in the attitude of the people, development of education as well as religious reformation.

#### **4.4.3. *Daokhi bad:***

The *daokhi bad* is performed, if a person eats meat eaten by a tiger or a vulture, if a person exchanges pig, goat, cock, hen, pigeon with a cow, if a person eats beef, takes money for cutting the hair of someone, does the trading of earthen pot, fish, skin of the animals, takes food prepared by other than a *Hindu* person. If anyone falls in this *bad*, he is fined for Rs, 12/- by society and expenditure for consecration. To consecrate five arrows are shooting out in this *bad* and animals' sacrifices are made.

Today, such strictness of society is not observed and they have food other than Hindu people.

#### **4.4.4. *Khawali bad:***

This *bad* is performed while, a person uses the coin and utensil given with dead body, a person sells out bull or cow before it becomes one year from the date of purchase. For the religious consecration, three arrows are shooting out. The persons are allowed to put on *sandal* and string on the neck and to move round the locality. The Rs, 5/- was fined to him and if repeated same act he is fined up to Rs, 25/- to the society.

There is no hard and fast as earlier in modern time. The people can buy and sale things as they like.

#### 4.4.5. *Khoulwbwd bad*:

The last system of *bad* followed by the *Bodos* to consecrate a person's misdeed is *khoulwbwd bad*. They perform, if a person deliberately accuses somebody and puts blames on some others without any cause. In this *bad* a person who does, the crime is fined Rs, 5/- and if repeated the same act he is fined up to Rs, 25/- by the *Bodo* society.

However, nowadays, in case of the *bad* system, the different *Hindu* villages of the district charges different fines from guilty person. In the *Rowta* Teacher Colony, it is fined as, 'Rs, 101 + 3001/- in the *agar bad*, Rs, 1001/- in the *daokhi bad*, Rs, 501/- in the *khoulwbwd bad*, Rs, 2001/- in the *phonslod bad*, Rs, 301/- in the *khawali bad*.<sup>39</sup> Today, the frequencies of abided by the society are becoming less. It is become just like a rule of the society. It is because of the globalization, development in education, changes in the attitudes of people, religious reformation and conversion.

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<sup>39</sup> . Mabel Narzary, ed : Teacher Colony (Nijwmpuri) Gamini Samajni Gangse Sangbijir, Teacher Colony Village Committee, 2012, p-18