

CHAPTER-II

VILLAGE SETTING

The pattern of a village was generally composed of people from like backgrounds who had similar interests, a condition known as homogeneity. The members of the village enjoyed a primary relationship with each other and a strong feeling of community. Such a social organization was oriented toward the achievement of group goals. Each individual took part in the activities of the community. Actions were prescribed by tradition, and attitudes were based upon sentiments.¹

“However, from these fundamental similarities we need not assume that Indian villages have a similar pattern all over the country. They vary greatly in their internal structure and organization, in their ethos and world-view, and in their life-ways and thought-ways, on account of a variety of factors. Among others, the factors of size, population, and land-area, of ethnic composition and caste constitution, of the pattern of land-ownership, of the structure of authority and power-hierarchy, of the degree of isolation from or contact with urban areas, and of local traditions, account for this diversity in their structures”.²

From early times, the village in India have been the backbone of the economic life of the people, that is to say, the people lived a rustic life with agriculture as their main occupation. Rice cultivation was their chief employment, and since it required a co-operation in ploughing irrigation, harvesting and cattle grazing, it necessarily demanded concentration and grouping of dwellings, and so led to the formation of compact villages.³ This compact form was convenient also for defence. Where, however, defence was not an issue, where plant culture was all important, we often find scattered villages. The physical features, soil and climate, have also encouraged the aggregation of social units, apart from the ancient tribal ties or the strong Indian sense of family life which underlies the social organization of all Indian village life.⁴

All over India, the village is a cluster of houses and huts with the fields laying all rounds.⁵ The village is an independent unit, largely, self-sufficient, having its own village assembly. Inside each village each caste lives its own life, though it is dependent on other castes within and without the village. There is also a division along class lines. The untouchables are never wealthy, and they are usually servants and labourers at the houses of the upper castes.⁶ A feature of the village community all over India is the *panchayat* or council of elders which decides disputes between villagers, and discusses matters of common interest such as holding a festival and building a temple or road.⁷ Nobody can fail to be impressed by the isolation and stability of these village communities. Some of the early British administrators have left us their impressions of the village community. Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote in 1832: “The village communities are little republics, having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of any foreign relations. They seem to last where nothing else lasts. Dynasty after dynasty tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution, but the village community remains the same. This union of village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has, I conceive, contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India, through all the revolutions and changes which they have suffered, and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence”.⁸

However, the village pattern of the Bodos is invariably composed of homogenous people, where there is no caste system. The village settlement of the Bodos as a unit of social organization, represents solidarity different from that of the kin, the Caste and the Class, and plays a vital role as an agency of socialization and social control. Each village is distinct entity, has some individual mores and usages and possesses a corporate unity. Different members of the different family group of the same communities inhabiting the village are integrated in its economic, social, and ritual pattern by ties of mutual reciprocal obligations sanctioned and sustained by generally occupied conventions. Inside the village, community life is characterised by economic, social and ritual composition existing among the different groups of family members. Important administrative functions are performed by the village council composed generally of village elders and village officials.

Notwithstanding the existence of groups and factions inside the settlement, people of the village can, and often do, face the outside world as an organized, compact whole.

The most important aspect of the Bodo village is the unity of the village. A body of people living in a restricted area, at some distance from other similar groups, with extremely poor roads between them, the majority of the people being engaged in agricultural activity, all closely dependent upon each other economically and otherwise, and having a vast body of common experience, must have some sense of unity. Secondly, in spite of the fact that communications between villages are still poor and were even poorer in the past, they were far from being self-contained. Intimate links, economic, religious and social, existed between neighbouring villages. It is argued that the many strong ties which existed between villages came in the way of development of a sense of village unity.

The prime economic necessities of the villagers are food and clothing. The majority of members of the typical Bodo village community are, therefore, cultivators and weavers. The subsidiary needs, such as, farming implements and utensils, are provided by the smith. Montgomery Martin has observed in 1838 that the Bodos have “merchants, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, coppersmiths and carpenters, and every woman weaves”.⁹ The simple needs of the villager can be met by these craftsmen. The small trader supplies the other goods which the village does not produce.

The village member shares their prosperity as well as adversity according to prevailing conditions. Their want being limited to bare necessities, the villagers work intently to produce them. Self-sufficiency is more or less a universal feature except in times of natural calamities. The village community of the Bodos thus lives by self-adjustment.

Economic transactions within village are conducted in a simple manner, that is, through barter system. It is only in the British era that money begins to replace the barter system. But in the traditional village economy money served the purpose of wealth by reason of its safe preservation either in the shape of gold and silver ornaments or in safe hoarding. As a medium of exchange, the rupee assumed its vigorous role when the traditional village economy entered its phase of transformation.

In general, the Bodo village communities exhibit four features that help to hold them together:

- (i) The collective learning of survival skills (farming, building, repair etc.) to maintain life in surrounding environment.
- (ii) An equalitarian ethos extending to men and women, children.
- (iii) Group identification developed into something resembling close kinship ties.
- (iv) A new sanctification of life and a sense of purpose. Children are reared in an easy going manner without the tension displaying by parents in trying to make their children amount to something.

Village: Its Meaning and Definition:

The general term of village in Bodo is *gami*, which may have derived from the word *khami* the meaning of which is *jaiga laphwi* i.e., coming to a place for settlement.¹⁰ Medini Choudhury also oppines that in Bodo *kham* means to sit or settle.¹¹ As such the village is a settlement of cluster of houses called *nokhor* and the whole village with its population is termed *raijw*. Although it has come to signify generally a number of residential houses clustered together at a place, yet it cannot be denied that it means something more. It is the custom of the Bodos that they select a site for setting up a village after getting confirmation that there is a facility for agriculture.¹² This shows that a *gami* or village must have cultivable land all round it.

As regard to the Bodo village, *Boroni Achar Khanti* (Bodo Social Customs), has defined that the family is a basic social unit of society. And when such a social unit settled in a particular place in a group by following the same customs, habits, beliefs and values, the common behaviour patterns which bind them together as a social entity is called *gami* i.e., village in Bodo society.¹³

On the other hand, the usual term for village in India is *grama*,¹⁴ derived from the root *gras* (to swallow, or to eat).¹⁵ Sometimes it is derived from the root *gam* (to go) as well.¹⁶ According to the *Markendeya Purana*, *grama* is a habitat in the centre of land fit for cultivation.¹⁷ The term *grama* however, is not used in the same sense as English word villager but would be correspond more properly to parish. *Grاما* meant, not merely the inhabited locality with its cluster of dwelling houses with gardens attached, but comprised

the whole area within the village boundaries including not only the residential part (*vastubhumi*), but also the cultivable fields (*ksetra*), land under pasturage (*go-cara*), the waste land that remained untilled, streams, canals, cattle paths (*go-marga*), roads and temples.¹⁸

Pran Nath's assertion that 'grama' does not mean a village, but "an estate or survey village which can pay eighteen kinds' of government taxes"¹⁹ does not appear to be quite appropriate. P. V. Kane has rightly objected to this view and observed that "grama ordinarily meant a village in the modern sense and included several hundred acres of land".²⁰

H.S. Maine points out that an Indian village was divided into three parts like the district of the ancient Teutonic Cultivating Community in Germany – the village itself which as the cluster of residential homes, the arable mark or the cultivated area, and the common mark or the village waste.²¹ A.L. Basham²² holds the view that "a small village was a cluster of huts, a small and large often grouped a well or pond near which was a small open space with a few trees". Thus a village in India consisted of the inhabited part as well as all kinds of land attached to it. In a strictly economic sense, the village has been termed the village community. One of the best definitions of the Indian village communities came from Elphinstone who described them in his History of India as "little republics, having nearly everything they can want within themselves".²³

Till the advent of the British, the village of the Bodos was the basis of the rural society as of the rural economy. Its activities were regulated in a way so as to render itself, as far as possible, a self-propelled and self-sufficing existence. Whatever any particular village community could not produce itself, the adjacent village or villages could supply and thus within a reasonable distance, the villages remained autonomous to meet mutual needs. If the needs could not be satisfied within the immediate vicinity, there was a periodical or weekly market of a number of neighbouring villages, where the required commodities could be available at regular intervals. Beyond that there was the annual fair to which the inhabitants of a number of villages eagerly looked forward to commodities of a specialized nature which came from distant centers of production. But generally speaking, the needs of the village community were satisfied within the village or by the neighbouring

villages. Thus, the village is a unique and remarkable socio-economic organisation. From ancient times it has assumed a stable character of its own, with its peculiar but distinct characteristics.

Some idea can be gleaned about the Bodo village life from the account of Hem Barua who remarks on the village of Assam, thus: “The villages in short are a network in Assam; these villages are mostly self sufficient in their economy and simplicity in the social system and patterns of life is their keynote. The peasant ploughs the land and produces his own food; he builds his house with thatches and bamboos collected from the jungles. The women folk rear silk-worms and weave raiments for themselves and their family. The handloom industry as we find here, are so common in south-East Asia and in the hills and the plains of the state, must have originated with the Tibeto-Burman people in this land. The Tibeto-Burman must have got these ideas from ancient China, the world famous home of silk and the art of weaving from here must have spread to Assam and the countries of South-East Asia”.²⁴

Selection for Village Settlement:

The Bodos have a long tradition of idea in the selection of land for making their colonies. Rice being the staple food of the Bodos, paddy cultivation naturally constituted one of the chief economic pursuits of the people. Therefore, they first select a land suitable for good cultivation, and then only they settle in the land. Traditionally, they select the land near the river banks which provide irrigation facilities for rising the crops in more secured way. B. K. Barua has rightly observed that the Bodos, who inhabited the country built their colonies mainly near about streams and therefore most of the names of rivers and places associated with these rivers, are of Bodo origin.²⁵ As such they would seemed to have left traces of this dominion in the nomenclature of some of the physical features of the country, e.g., the Bodo word for water *di* or *doi* apparently forms the first syllable of the names of many of the chief rivers of the province, such as Diputa, Dihong, Dibong, Dibru, Dihing, Dimu, Disang, and to these may be added Dikrang, Diphu, Digaru etc.²⁶

Another most important criterion of the site selection is the condition of soil. They verify the soil with their traditional knowledge by observing some natural condition of the ground. For successful harvesting of agriculture, they consider only the plain or table-land

is suitable for the purpose. This type of soil is called '*hāmā-hā*' (mother of all kinds of soil). They normally do not select the soil called '*khāndinā-hā*' which has only limited suitability for cultivation. Another type of soil is called '*hāsrāo-hā*' and it is not considered suitable for cultivation. Various classes of the land are identified considering the irrigation facility. If the cultivation is possible only by rain water, then the land is called '*shārāb-dāriā*'. On the other hand, the land where cultivation is possible with irrigation, the land is called '*Jamphai-daria-ha*'. This type of land is regarded as the most suitable for cultivation.²⁷ Thus the Bodos traditionally first identify the quality of land, and establish their village.

According to W.W. Hunter, "they prefer hills, forests, or jungle tracts as their places of residence".²⁸ The Bodo people are conscious about the frequent occurrence of flood in Assam. As such they always prefer the site of the high land to escape from danger of the flood.

For the agrarian people cattle are indispensable, as such they also desire to have a grazing field for cattle. The reason for their preference of forests or a jungle as residence is that they can collect easily raw materials for the construction of houses and fuels. The forests also provide them ample scope of hunting wild animals as supplement of food.

Another reason for selecting a site beside the river or a beel is the provisions for the purpose of fishing. Besides this, the river also provides irrigation facilities for cultivation. They arrange irrigation facilities according to their own traditional idea; the people are especially skillful in the construction of irrigation channel and earth-work embankments for diverting water from river heads into their rice fields. If they do not have any one of these facilities, they abandon the place and select another new site for their living.

VILLAGE HABITAT:

(i) Prominent features:

The habitat called *bita* is the land or site of dwelling. It contains several dwelling structures or houses called *no* for family members and domestic animals. There is no specific numbers of families called *nokhor* to constitute a village habitat. Sometimes even seven or eight families can constitute a village habitat.

Village in general appears to be quite open without a surrounding wall or moat. It seems that the open village-site in the midst of cultivated fields are perhaps more advantageous for keeping a close watch over the standing crops. However, in the early days, the wild animals are common in Assam, which swarms with animal life of all kinds. Wild elephants frequently do great damage to the crops and the village residence. It is because of this reason that “the Bodo (Cacharie) village are usually surrounded by a stout fence to keep out wild beasts”.²⁹

The mode of living of the Bodos in compact villages and putting barriers all round the homestead is a common sight to see. This speaks of their sense of privacy and aesthetic beauty in putting up a residential house.³⁰ On this account Rev. S. Endle gives a vivid description- “One prominent feature in the typical Bodo (Kachary) village cannot fail to strike the attention of any casual visitors at first sight. Each house with its granary and other outbuildings is surrounded by a ditch and fence, the latter usually made of *ekra* reed, jungle grass or split bamboos, etc. The ditch, some three or four feet high in depth, surrounds the whole home-stead, the earth taken from it being thrown upon the inner side, i.e., that nearest to the dwelling house; and on the earthworks, some two or three feet in height, so thrown up are firmly inserted the reeds or split-bamboo work forming the fence itself, this later often inclining outwards at a very obtuse angle; so that the ditch and fence are not easily surmounted from the outside by would be intruders”.³¹

The villages are exceedingly picturesque, and have a very prosperous appearance because of its scenic variety. About this W. W. Hunter has described thus: “The villages are remarkable for the most luxuriant vegetation. Large clumps of bamboos and numerous plantain trees hem them in on every side, almost hiding the house from view; while, rising the masses of bright green foliage, are seen graceful betel nut palms, with here and there a few large trees, such as the mango, jack, or pipal”.³²

(ii) Village Names:

Village names of Bodos have an interesting etymology as they follow some peculiar custom in giving to the place or village names. The names of villages are derived from all sorts of things such as Gods, men, birds, beast, nature of the site, markets, temples, water, rivers, fish tanks, bathing ghats, embankments, forest, trees, grass, field products, flowers,

fruits, hills, etc. The Bodo people set up their villages near the trees, rivers and so on. For example - a village, near the *Silikagudi* is named *Silikaguri* > *Siliguri*. Similarly, a village of *Jolphaigudi* - *Jolphaiguri*; a village of *Mwinagudi* - *Mwinaguri*, a village of *Amlaigudi* - *Amlaiguri*, etc. *Gudi* - *guri* is the word with morphological change from *gudi* (meaning - near, adjacent to). The word *gudi* or *guri* is found to be used after the big trees only. But whenever the Bodo people settle near or amidst the small trees or shrubs they add the word *bari* after them. For example - *Goibari*, *Khatribari*, *Narabari*, *Khuntaibari*, *Haldwibari*, *Thasobari*, *Garlabari*, etc. The word *mari* is also used in the villages formed by the Bodo people. For example - *Magurmari*, *Sialmari*, etc. Here it is seen that *mari* is used after animals and fish. The word *gami* is also mostly used in the village formed by the Bodo people. For example - *Khargami*, *Nakhargami*. *Para* or *fara* is also used in the Bodo village. To mean the inhabitants of the particular village, the word *ari* is commonly used by dropping 'i' (ई) spelling of a village. For example - inhabitants of Siliguri - *Siligurari*; inhabitants of Jolphaiguri - *Jolphaigurari*, etc.

Some names of villages are derived from word *hā* and *di*. Names beginning with *hā* (*hā* = Soil, earth); Hājo, Hākāmā, Habung; *di*, (*di*=water, river), Digaru, Diphu, Dikam.³³ Some villages are named after the castes or professions of the people of the area, such as *Sonarigaon*, *Kumargaon*, *Bamungaon* and so on.³⁴ There are also a system of formation of village names by adding *pur* or *puri*, the meaning of which is city or happy dwelling place though the villages having names with *pur* or *puri* are not necessarily city, fortified or large and compact settlements resembling a town. For example - *Lwkipur*, *Bhodranpur*, *Gwjwnpuri*, *Sudempuri* etc. Sometimes the names of village because of its long and large sizes are divided and given separate name of division such *Sha* (north), *Khwla* (south), *Shanja*, middle, etc. For instance, *Sha Maoriagami* (North Maoriagaon), *Khwla Maoriagaon* (South Maoriagaon), *Shanja Maoriagami* (east Maoriagaon), *Gejer Khalugaon* (middle Khalugaon), etc.

(iii) Other Constituents:

(a) Village Pasture:

Pasture is another important constituent of the village area. Almost villages are having pasture. The common term of pasture is *fwthar*. The pasture or *fwthar* lay just

outside but in continuation with the cultivated area extending up to the village boundary and is full of grass, shrubs, bushes, hollowed land, barren tracts, forests and hills. Like the cultivable area, this uncultivable tract lay quite open. Pasture or *fwthar* is used as a grazing ground for the cattle belonging to the whole village. Grazing ground forms an important condition for the settlement of the Bodo village. This type of land is also used as a playground or an open-air area for the whole village, and the area sometimes used for the expansion of the village habitat.

(b) Arable Land:

Village in Assam generally possesses land for rice cultivation. The vast cultivable land which called *dubli* is spread over all round the village habitat. Almost each village is separated by this rice field. The whole area is divided into large and small plots or piece, called *doblai*, each *doblai* is marked out by surrounding ridges, called *ali*. The small fields or plots had ridges no doubt, but they are raised to store water for cultivation in the paddy producing area or demarcate one piece of land from other. Some plots of land have a high or long enclosure called *malari* used as a long embankment for water or preventing floods in the rainy season. In summer season the lush growth of rice plant after plantation, the vast areas of paddy field form a landscape of extreme beauty.

In general there are no enclosures or fences all around the cultivated tract which appear to be quite open. Sometimes arable land also exist the fencing of a few fields here and there and not of the whole cultivated tract. The existence of such fencing are found only of those fields which lay by the side of the paths, rather cattle paths or very close to the village habitat to prevent the cause of injury to crops. Sometimes the arable land is allowed to remain fallow for a portion. The fallow part of the arable land left untilled for a year or more is called *son thanghwnai*.

(c) Cremation Ground:

Almost villages of the Bodos have distinct cremation ground. The cremation ground is situated at a solitary place at some distance outside the habitat generally towards the south of the village. An important consideration for the selection of a cremation site is proximity to water. The persons carrying the dead to the cremation ground and taking part in the rites connected with it are required to take bath outside the village proper just after

the rites are over. Therefore, cremation grounds are generally selected near rivers, big tanks, streams and reservoirs, etc. The place of cremation ground is called *gwithwi-bari*. In the present day village, of course, a little change in the nature of cremation sites is seen because of the land pressure.

(d) Village Shrines:

Another important feature of the Bodo village is the existence of community shrines. Besides the household Gods (*no-ni-mwdai*), the whole village collectively has a separate common place of worship, outside the house, and usually situated near the sacred grove of trees or bamboos, often to be seen some fifteen to twenty yards from the village, and is known as *garja-sali*. It is also called *than-sali* as Bodo usually regarded any place of worship of God as *than-sali*, i.e., place of worship. It is a custom that *garja-sali* be kept pure from any human excretion. The *Brahma dharma* followers, however, have their own *Bharma mondir* or temple of worship in the middle of the village.³⁵ Now-a-days the Christian convert Bodo villages also have their own church.

(e) Bamboo Groves:

Of all the plants that usually grow round the village, the bamboo is the most common and useful woody plant. It is one of the principal articles of produce found in each family house of the village. The houses, furniture, various implements of household and agriculture are entirely or part made of this valuable reed and it is the common fuel. Bamboo trees of different varieties are planted in abundance to the west or north-west side of the household. The cultivation of bamboos by the Bodos is evident from the existence of bamboo-folk, called *owari*. The name of group or clan *owari* originated from the word of *owa* which means bamboo (*owa + ari = owari*). They are belief to have planted bamboos for the first time.³⁶

(f) Kitchen Garden:

The Bodo produces their own agriculture almost everything they require. In the villages every household are having their own kitchen garden. They cultivate all kinds of vegetables which are found in north-east India. They grow chilli, ginger, turmeric, garlic, brinjal, coriander, varieties of gourd, ladies finger, arum, yam, potato and various kinds of green leaves etc. The vegetables, to great extent, supplement their requirement for domestic

consumption and tasteful food. Elderly women spend most of her time in making kitchen garden. Every family has bamboo fencing around the kitchen garden attached to the household which is called *jeora dumnai*.

(g) Orchard of Betel-nuts:

Almost family of the Bodo villages are having betel nut orchard. Betel nut palms are grown to a considerable extent in the neighbourhood of the homestead. Under these orchards they produce different kinds of fruits such as orange, pine-apple, guava, jambu (Sweet apricot), etc. The distant view of the Bodo village looks like the forest because of the luxuriant growth of the betel nut orchard. Betel nuts and betel leaves are inevitable items of Bodo culture. Any offering to Gods and Goddesses without betel nuts and betel leaves is incomplete. Besides, the first item a Bodo host offers to a guest particularly in rural areas is betel nuts and betel leaves. The Bodos have a distinct existence of the areca-folk, *Goyari* or *Goi-bari-ari* (*goi=the areca palm*), who formerly devoted the cultivation of the areca nut.³⁷

(h) Trees:

Each of the families of a village has a plantation of different varieties of fruit trees within the boundary of its homestead garden. The homestead garden where the members of a family live is termed *bari* in Bodo. Various fruit plants such as *thaijou* (Mango), *khantal* (jack fruit), *āmlai* or *āmlakhi* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *seleka* or *haritaki* (myrobalam), *jumbra* or *rabab* (Pamelos), *narengkol* (coconut), *tintlang* or *teteli* (tamarind) are found in every homestead garden. Plantain trees of different species are planted in abundance in the boundary of the garden. From a distance the rows of the houses on both sides of the village streets with protruding fruit bearing trees look nice. Besides the fruit trees, *pakhri* (Banyan, *Ficus Indica*), *dumbru* (fig, *Ficus glomerata*), *khwdwm* (*Nauclea Cadamba*), *sal* (*Shorea robusta*), *sumbli* or cotton tree (*Bombax Malabaricum*), *mandar* or *modar* (*Ethina Indica*), *thaika* or *thekera* (gamboje tree) are found in the villages.

(j) Mwsou Goli and Maihung:

An important feature of Bodo village is the existence of *mwsou goli* or cowshed and *māihung*, i.e., heap of paddy straw kept like a dome almost of each family house. The agriculturist Bodo people rear cattle for their ploughing of land. They erect separate shed

for cow at an appreciable distance to the east side of *bakhri* called *mwsou goli* or cowshed. After threshing the paddy straw is preserved in stacking for the cattle as fodder making heap mounted which is called *Maihung*. In the rainy season when flood inundated the grazing field then the villager used to feed their cattle on this preserved rice straw.

(k) Extent of a Village:

Villages are not of one standard size. Some are small and others are large. A typical Bodo village is not very big in size, which consists of about 50-60 households. The shape of the village is normally long and narrow. Houses are constructed on both sides of the common street.³⁸ In the vicinity of the villages are fertile fields of rice and mustard cultivation.³⁹ As regards the population distribution of the villages, some idea can be gleaned from the British census of former Goalpara and Kamrup districts. Mr. C.F. Margarath's Goalpara district compilation thus classified the villages:- There are 777 villages containing less than two hundred inhabitants; 306 with from two to five hundred; 175 with from five hundred to a thousand; 60 with from one to two thousand; and 3 with from three to four thousands.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the result of the census for former Kamrup district disclosed, the average population of each village is 341, and the average number of inmates in each house is 5 or 4.⁴¹

(l) Village Boundary:

The common term of the village boundary is *sima* or *simna*. The boundary marks, natural or artificial, generally existed at the extreme end of the cultivated tract or the pasture surrounding a village. The village area contains – ponds, tanks, stream, river, ditch, trees, a bamboo clump, cattle path or village streets, a river side landing or bathing place called *dwima gathwn*, etc. The existence of visible signs as stated above becomes to be fixed as boundary marks of the villages. Assam has abundant rivers or streams. But the rivers of Assam do not change their courses often. These rivers are commonly used as a boundary mark of a piece of land or of a village.

(m) Roads, Streets, Tracts and Conveyance:

The villagers construct themselves the common roads outside the habitat but within the village periphery, and the road is called *lama*. Each family of the village is having small path from his habitat leading to the village road or *lama*, and it is called *langwna*. Again

each family erect a gate or private grille, made of bamboo or wood at the end of his path that connect to the village road, called *hwrkla* or *dewna* in order to prevent intruding cattle. There are some roads or tracks, passing through or close to the villages which is well connected with the neighbouring villages. Moreover, there are some roads and paths connecting the villages or particular area with their centrally located mart called *hathai*. But in those days market towns are very uncommon on the roadside. There are very few villages, where periodical markets are held once or twice a week. All these roads are under the management of each villager. These roads are not in a good state of condition. The dusty roads, streets and tracks inside and outside the village habitat must become muddy and altogether impassable on account of frequent heavy rains during the rainy season.

Besides, there exist the cattle paths or *mwsou lama*, which appears to be very common in villages. They are not well constructed road; they are simply tracks made on the level ground through constant movement of the cattle in the morning and evening, These tracks or trodden paths connected the village habitat with its pasture, and they are such a prominent feature of the village expanse that they are used as boundary marks of a village or a piece of land. Sometimes these paths connect to the agricultural lands and nearby forest.

Till few years ago, there was no wheel traffic in Assam; people travelled on foot, or on horseback, and conveyance of goods are carried by beast of burden. The villagers used to drive their cart of bullock or buffalo for carrying their loads from one place to another through the tracks. In the rainy season the river form the principal means of communications. The whole country is intersected with rivers and small streams in all direction, all of which are navigable in the rainy season by native boats of two to four tons burden.⁴² When British started their administration in Assam, the country was then totally lack of proper road communication. It sufficed, therefore, to open roads and construction of bridges by them. Along with the development of road communication, sooner or later, wheel traffic as well as machinery boats also introduced. Now-a-days there is a considerable amount of car traffic over any parts of the country. Almost villages are also now connected with this modern communications.

Site Selection for House Construction:

Before constructing a house, much care is taken about the plot of land to be selected for the purpose. There is a tradition among the Bodos by which they examine the plot of land. It is first cleaned with the spade and then plastered with mud and cow dung. A pair of basil leaves (*tulunsi bilai*), a pair of betel nuts and betel leaves, nine grains of rice is placed on a banana leaf (*thailir bilai*) and all these things are covered with a bamboo basket (*don*) and are left for the night. Next morning the things are observed after removing the basket. If the things are alright, i.e., in the same position in which they were left, then the plot is considered suitable for building a house, and if the things are found displaced or otherwise disturbed, then the plot is regarded unfit or inauspicious.

There is another system of selecting the plot. The soil is dug out about one yard deep and then it is tested. If the soil is of sweet taste, then it is suitable for the purpose of house construction. If the soil is of salty or bitter taste, then it is regarded as medium. If the soil is of the sour taste then the plot is regarded as unsuitable for the house construction.⁴³

Housing Pattern:

In a Bodo village except the houses of some well to do families the other houses are almost similar in pattern with variation in sizes. The materials used in the construction of the buildings of all classes consist of bamboo, thatch grass, wood, canes, and reeds. The house of a common villager has high earthen plinth called *usung*, generally the structure is supported on wooded or bamboo posts, and two sloping roof of thatched grass, which is more than a cubic deep on the bamboo framework, on which the thatch is laid, is well compact together on both sides; the middle beam, which supports the thatch, is made of the pith of long bamboo pole called *mandali*; and the floor is raised at least three to five feet from the ground and it is generally filled with sand-gravels to keep the inside floor dry in the rainy season. The common term of roof is called *ukhum* and bamboo frame work is known as *pherai*. The walls are composed of reeds or sometimes split bamboo *jinlab*, usually plastered over with cow dung mixed mud. Instead of string or rope for fastening

posts or rafters together, rottan or split of tender bamboo called *theoywl*, stalk of wild cardamum, jungle creepers *digileoya*, jute rope are used.

The houses almost without windows are common in the village settlement. The high dry westerly winds in summer, heavy downpour sometimes with storm or tempest in the rains, piercing cold wave in winter, and fear of thieves, wild animals and snakes probably explain the construction of such houses. Heavy rains in most parts of north-eastern India may have necessitated the construction of sloping roofs for the outflow of rain-water.

Medini Choudhury opines that “the architecture of the Bodos (Boro-Kachari) house is the most ancient in this part of the country and accordingly to a great majority of scholars, the Bodos (Boro-Kacharis) had brought this along with them from the east. The straight ridge two-roof house with bamboo posts, mud plastered reed wall and high mud plinth are features of the original Bodo (Bodo-Kacharis) style of construction”.⁴⁴

Among Bodos, there are definite regulations as to their house-building and maintaining of their homestead.⁴⁵ A typical Bodo house consists of four house on four sides of a *sitla* (inner yard) and *khanta* i.e, front yard in front of the southern house.

On the north side of the yard facing to the south stands the main house which is called *Nomā No*, i.e., the big house, not because of its size but because of the rank of its occupants.

The big house or main house stretches from the west to the east whose length is about 27 to 33/34 arms length ⁴⁶ including the verandah called *khamsali*, which faces the yard, and which is supported by props of wooden post. The verandah is the parlour or the drawing room of the family. There is no much light on the room, for the thatch of the verandah prevents its admission, while there is but one small window kept on high up wall towards the backside of the house. In the room, there is no furniture like table, chairs, almirah, wardrobe, benches; there is only one in corner a solitary large wooden box to deposit cash, ornaments, clothing, etc. In the sleeping-room there is a lamp called *serega* and lampstand known as *serega athing*, a *kamplai* i.e., low stool or two, a few mats *Dāhrā*. Instead of lampstand, sometimes, the house holder make a shelf at a appreciable high up on wooden post of inside room as well as in the verandah post with mud plastering for the purpose of keeping lamp or *serega* for proper illuminating the compound. The master of the

house sleeps either on a wooden cot, or on a bamboo platform *baisang*. An ordinary husbandman frequently has no furniture at all, and sleeps on a bed of straw; but some have a raised bamboo platform for sleeping on, and a piece of wood or two or a mat to sit on. In one side of the room one horizontal bamboo pole is stuck with two sides of the walls on which clothes are hung, and on which the bedding is put up in the day. It is called *sibba*. It is considered to be very secret of family in Bodo society. In this regard there is an old saying, “*Jisri sia sibbayao, gwswni kwtha gwrbyao*”. The literal meaning of which is, “the ragged cloth is on the horizontal bamboo pole called *sibba*, and the secret word is in core heart”. The sizes of other houses are constructed as per the requirements of the concerned family.

The main house *Noma No* has three compartments of unequal size with the provision of a door in the middle room, facing to the south yard and a passage inside from one room to another room. These three rooms are - *Ishing (eaching)*, *okhong* and *khopra*. The eastern most room of the *Noma No* is known as *Ishing (eaching)*, which is meant for cooking and worship. In *eaching* room, there is the altar prepared with earth and it is about two inches high and one and half feet long. In this altar three deities is established – One for *Bathou Maharaja* (Great Father or God-in-chief) in the north-eastern corner, the second for *Ai Khamaikha* (the mother Goddess) just on the west of *Bathou Maharaja*, and the third for *Mainao Maothansri* (the Goddess of Wealth or Fortune) just on the south of the *Bathou Maharaja*.⁴⁷ In the immediate proximity of the altar of the *Maothansri*, a big earthen rice pot known as *Maihendw* is kept where from the day to day requirement of rice is met. In this earthen pot or *Maihendw* two pieces of round stones are kept. They regard the two stones as the symbols of a *Bathou Bwrai* and *Mainao Maothansrii* or *Mainao Buri*.⁴⁸

Another big rice pot known as *Bagcha-Mairong dw* is put near the *Maihendw* where unhusk rice of sufficient quantity is kept ready for rainy season over a bamboo platform called *Baisang*. Near the western wall of the *Ishing (eaching)* the cooking utensils are kept which are never taken out and even washing is done inside.⁴⁹ In the cooking house, a lump of earth is raised over the hearth for purpose of stowing firewood and other article used for culinary purposes, and is termed *daodab*.

The middle room of the *Noma No* is called *okhong* where special guest of the family dine and discuss important family matters. The western most room is *khopra* where the head of the family along with their children used for sleeping purpose.⁵⁰

The Bodos attach sacredness and sanctity to the main house *Noma No*. They believe that the Supreme Being, the creator of all things should be offered first any food before it is taken by themselves. Therefore, in the altar of *Bathou Bwrai* and *Bathou Buri* of the *Ishing* (*eaching*) room, a little quantity of every item of the daily food is offered to the God and Goddess before it is consumed by the members of the family. Besides, the person who engages in the cooking first has to bow the earthen jar by touching it and then takes out the rice *mairong* for cooking from the earthen jar.⁵¹ Any person, who is not a member of the household, is not allowed to enter in to the room *Ishing* (*eaching*). The outsiders, who are not members of the same village or who are non-Bodos are also not allowed to enter into the main house, *Noma No*. It is still believed and practiced by the believers of the traditional faith that the owner of the house is bound to offer a chicken to the *Bathou Bwrai* (*Batho Borai*) if any outsiders enter into the main house *Noma No*. They believed that if the owner does not offer the chicken and keeps silent, without disclosing the incident and does not pray to *Bathou Bwrai*, then there may be some calamity may occur.⁵²

In the *Noma No*, the bamboo horizontal pole below the ridging to which both the roofs are joined is not tied with the posts. The Bodos (Boro-Kacharis) believe that if it is tied, the storm God may consider this as a challenge to his power, get furious and destroy the house. It is also because of this peculiar apprehension that the Bodo houses are normally built low.⁵³

The residence of the well to do family generally consists of an outer apartment, which is constructed on the south in the front of the homestead i.e., the *khanta* where threshing of paddy is done with the help of bullocks. The Bodos call the outer-apartment as *choura no* or *no-suna*. In a room attached to this house live the young men of the family along with the male servants. The outsiders are allowed to sit and discuss matters in this southern house only.⁵⁴

The house on the eastern side of the *Sitla* or courtyard is *bakhri*, i.e, the granary which is constructed on a raised platform and covered with mud with the provision of

narrow door on the high up of the wall of the house. The outside portion of the platform of the granary is extended about two and half feet wide like shelf for stowing various articles of agricultural implements or house hold materials, and is known as *bakri dangur*.

The western house is called *no sa* i.e., small house comprising of a husking room where mortar and pestle are installed with one or two rooms for use of the girls of the family and maid servants attached to it.⁵⁵ It is also used for singing, dancing and merry-making together.⁵⁶

Another important house is the cowshed called *mwsou goli*. The cattle shed is constructed on the east of the *bakhri*. Buffaloes are never kept indoor. The size of *bakhri* and the cattle shed indicates in a way the economic condition of the family. Cattle sheds are not walled but left open on all sides with only two or three horizontal bars.⁵⁷

The importance of a store house and a cowshed for the family is illustrated in the following lines of a folk song sung by a marriageable maiden entreating her father:

Daokha habnai noaolai,
Sila habnai noaolai,
Angkhou dabilai āpha gosai,
Mai bakhri nunaiao,
Mwsou goli nunaiao,
Angkhou bilaihor apha gosai
*Angkhou bilaihor apha gosai*⁵⁸

i.e., Oh my godly father! Do not send me to a house, where the cow and the kite enters; please give me in marriage to a family, where you find a store-house full of grain and a cow shed full of cows.

At the north-east corner of the courtyard and in front of the granary house, parallel to the room *Ishing* (*eaching*) of the main house *Noma No*, an altar about a foot high is built. A little to the south of the *Sijou* tree a basil plant (*tulansi*) is planted,⁵⁹ and a *Jatras* plant is planted to the north of *Sijou* tree. Around the altar there is a fencing of narrow pieces of bamboo-split with nine pairs of small bamboo posts. The narrow pieces of the bamboo splits are twisted five times around the nine pieces of bamboo posts or splits. There is a small passage in front of the altar.⁶⁰ It is known as *Daothu Bikha*. The complete altar is

known as *Bathou*, where the God-in-chief *Bathou Bwrai* is represented by the *Siju* tree while the Goddess-in-chief *Bathou Buri* is represented by the basil *tulansi*.⁶¹ It is to be mentioned that the entire *Bathou* altar of the Bodos remain open in the inner courtyard without any shed on it. In order to maintain sacredness and sanctity of the *Bathou* altar, a sample of *Jatras* plant is planted in the altar which protect from the urination of pet dogs.⁶² An earthen lamp *Gasa* or *Alari bathi* is also kept for lighting with mustard oil and *khundung aowa*, i.e, cotton thread in *Bathou* altar. The members of the family worship the *Bathou Bwrai* and *Bathou Buri* regularly everyday in the evening lighting an earthen lamp *Gasa* on the altar. When they shift to a new house in a new locality they worship *Bathou* and Goddess *Kamaikhya* and a number of junior Gods and Goddesses. And a brace of chickens are also invariably sacrificed in front of the *Noma No* before they open the door of the house. This worship is called '*Hapsa Hatharnai*'.⁶³

The family looms are installed either in the backyard or in the inner yard by the side of the veranda.⁶⁴ It is usually set up on a shady side of the dwelling-house, or, where this is impracticable, a rude structure of thatch and bamboo work is provided to shield the weaver from the sun.⁶⁵ This shed for weaving is known as *Ishansali* or *Shansali*.

As a rule separate building is provided for the pigs, goats etc. at an appreciable distance from the family dwelling house.⁶⁶ The shed constructed for keeping pigs is called *oma gondra* i.e., pig-stay; the small shed for keeping cocks and hens is called *dao gogra* (poultry pen), *bwrma gondra* for goats, and *hangsw gogra* a shed for ducks.

During the winter there is a fire in the inner courtyard round which family members gather for a warming up along with one or two close neighbours in the cold morning and in the evening. For the purpose a rude structure of shed called *mwsa galgap no* is provided on the top to shield the sitters from dew in the cold morning and evening.

In the villages almost Bodo households have gate or barrier in their passage to the front yard of *khanta* called *Deona* or *hwrkhla* as well as to the backyard of their kitchen garden also they have same provision. It is an indigenous device of bamboo or wood for checking unauthorized entry of persons or animals to the interior of the households.

During the summer, the entire family is out on the courtyard for sitting or having cool bridge till late evening. Villagers gather at such times in the courtyard of the most

accommodative family just for a smoke or gossip or idle jokes. Some bring along with their unfinished handiwork to carry on the work while chitchatting.⁶⁷ This courtyard also served as a center of learning in which the elderly person used to tell folk tales or stories to their children or younger in the evening.

Formerly the Bodos used a part of the main house *Noma No* for cooking, but now-a-days they have an extra house to be used as kitchen. In the cook-house, a platform is raised over the hearth for the purpose of stowing firewood and other articles used for culinary purposes. The Bodos who still strictly adhere to the traditional beliefs and practices use the main house (*Noma No*) as the kitchen as well as the house of the altar of the God-in-chief *Bathou Bwrai* and Goddess-in-chief, *Bathou Buri* or *Mainao Buri*.

A special feature of the Bodo dwellings is that almost all the households erect strong fencing encircling their households called *Sekhor-Dumnai* which enhances the grace and dressing of the locality.⁶⁸ The house hold fences are about six feet high made of bamboo split.

Though the traditional housing pattern is commonly seen in the villages, recent deviations in the housing pattern and materials used in them are also simultaneously seen especially among well-to-do sections.⁶⁹ Now-a-days many families have replaced the traditional thatch roof with C.I. sheet. Besides, mud plastered wall of split bamboo or reed are almost disappeared and new type wall of cement erected on wooden frame have taken the new shape. The traditional bamboo frame roof of the house also replaced with wooden frame. In the earlier day's construction of houses are generally done by the same village community. But now the work of construction of houses is done by the hired carpenters.

Huousehold Objects:

Various articles are required for day to day use all over the villagers. The household items used by the Bodos comprised of the following:-

- i. *Jumai Dala* – Bamboo mat used for keeping cooked rice for preparing rice beer.
- ii. *Dumsu* – a wooden pot used for filtration of rice beer.
- iii. *Jantha* – a bamboo strainer for rice beer.
- iv. *Laothai* – a ladle used for drawing rice-beer from the *Dumsu* and is made of bamboo.

- v. *Phaila* – an earthen pot with pours around used for distillation of rice-beer called *jou-gwran* or *fithika*.
- vi. *Laothai thokra* – an emptied shell of a gourd used for keeping salt.
- vii. *Kherkha* – a brass bowl with pour around for washing rice meant for cooking.
- viii. *Songrai* – a winnowing fan of bamboo.
- ix. *Sandri* – Sieves of bamboo.
- x. *Sandaangga* – a large size sieves of bamboo used for cleaning chaff of paddy after threshing.
- xi. *Don* – an indigenous weighmen for paddy which is made of bamboo.
- xii. *Khada* – a large bamboo basket.
- xiii. *Mwigong khada* or *Abwidangi* – a bamboo bowl for washing vegetables.
- xiv. *Chikini kho* – a small conical bamboo bowl for stewing sticky rice called *Maibra*.
- xv. *Dao-Kho* or *Khata kho* – an ordinary bamboo bowl for laying eggs by the hen.
- xvi. *Mwsou-kho* – a small bamboo mask used to cover mouth of cow while threshing the paddy.
- xvii. *Dahra* – a bamboo mat used for various purposes.
- xviii. *Gissib* – a bamboo made hand fan.
- xix. *Owa hasib* – a broom made of bamboo split.
- xx. *Hasib* – a broom made of thatch called *Thuri*.
- xxi. *Ual* – a wooden mortar.
- xxii. *Gaihen* – a pestle generally made of *sal* tree.
- xxiii. *Khamplai* – a wooden stool.
- xxiv. *Khamplai Gidir* – a big wooden stool usually meant for elderly persons of some social status.
- xxv. *Gasa* or *Jeowari* – an earthen lamp.
- xxvi. *Serega* or *Bathi* – a lamp used for lighting.
- xxvii. *Festa* – paddy-straw binded together and placed to form a circle and placed below the earthen water jars to prevent them from falling all on a sudden.

- xxviii. *Jigab Buntha* – Paddy-straw twisted together about two and half inches radius and two arms length used for preserving fire.
- xxix. *Paga* – a jute rope used to tie cattle.
- xxx. *Durrung* – a jute rope used for different purposes.
- xxxi. *Khadou* – a bamboo made spatula- used for mixing or spreading various substances.
- xxxii. *Shagong* – a bamboo made whisk.
- xxxiii. *Garba* or *khwrsl* – a ladle made of brass or copper.
- xxxiv. *Hongkha* – an indigenous pipe for smoking tobacco.
- xxxv. *Silim* – a small earthen pipe about six inches long for smoking tobacco.
- xxxvi. *Singkhai* – a knotted rope where load of basket is placed for carrying on a bar over the shoulder.
- xxxvii. *Dwihu* – a medium size earthen jar for storing water.
- xxxviii. *Maldang* – a large earthen jar for storing rice bear.
- xxxix. *Thinkhli* – a small earthen jar for steaming rice cake *phita*.
 - xl. *Gahra* – a brass metal jar for storing water.
 - xli. *Gambla* – a medium size brass metal bowl.
 - xl.ii. *Dw* or *Tou* or *Baslai* – a brass metal cooking pot.
 - xl.iii. *Tamjang* – a brass metal pot of large size used for cooking on ceremonial occasions.
 - xl. iv. *Thwrsl* – a dish made of brass metal.
 - xl. v. *Khurwi* – a small bowl for carrying curry.
 - xl. vi. *Lota* – a drinking glass of brass metal.
 - xl. vii. *Sarai* – an iron frying pan.
 - xl. viii. *Janthi* – three legged iron stand for holding rice cooker while cooking.
 - xl. ix. *Dwihu bwisang* – a bamboo platform raised by bamboo poles to the height of a meter to keep water pots and jars.
 - 1. *Imfi* – Long sacrificial sword.

It is to be noted that household utensils used by them are all brass. The Bodos used a common term *Gubwi* for all utensils made from brass, for example *thwrsi gubwi*, *lotā gubwi*, *khurwi gubwi*, etc.

In later days, the well-to-do family has furnished new amenities that began to flow from outside with the development of communication. Now-a-days they have furniture like chair, table, bench etc. Besides the above stated articles, there are other household objects relating to fishing implements, weaving appliances and agricultural implements.

Endnotes:

¹ E.W. Stewart & J.A.Glynn, *Introduction to Sociology*, Tata McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1981, pp. 214-215.

² S.C. Dube, "A Deccan Village", in Srinivas, M.N., (ed.), *Indias Villages*, Media Promoters & Publishers, Bombay, 1985, p. 202.

³ R. Mookerji, *Man and His Habitat*, p.64, cited in Barua, B.K, *A Cultural History of Assam, Vol. 1*, 1986, Bina Library, Guwahati, p.74.

⁴ B. K.Barua, *A Cultural History Of Assam, Vol. 1*, 1986, Bina Library, Ghy, p.74.

⁵ M. N.Srinivas, "The Social Structure of a Mysore Village", in *Indias Villages*, Media Promoters & Publishers, Bombay,1985, p.23.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 35.

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 23.

⁸ Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1832, Vol, 111, Appendix 84, p.331

⁹ Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India, Vol.V*, Cosmo publications, 1976, p.550.

¹⁰ P.C. Brahma, (compiled), *A Bodo-English-Hindi Dictionary*, 1996, p. 117

¹¹ M.Choudhury, *The Boro-Dimasas of Assam*, 1988, p.2

¹² K. Brahma, *A study of Socio-Religious Beliefs, Practices and Ceremonies of the Bodos*, 2010, p. 51.

¹³ Goalpara Jilla Boro Barodol Maothi Afat, *Boroni Achar Khanti* (Customs of the Bodos), 2004, p. 1.

¹⁴ The word grama first occurs in Rg Veda., 1.44.10, 1.114.1, 2.12.7.)

¹⁵ A.K. Choudhary, *Early Medieval village In North-Eastern India*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1971, p.32.

¹⁶ *Ibid*. p.32.

¹⁷ Jivanand Vidysagar, (ed.), *Markendeya Purana*, Calcutta, 1879. p. 49.47

¹⁸ B.K. Barua, *A Cultural History Of Assam, Vol. 1*, Bina Library, Ghy, 1986, p.76.

¹⁹ P. Nath, *A Study in the Economic Condition of Ancient India*, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1929, p.26.

-
- ²⁰ P.V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, vol. III, 1946, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, p. 140, fn. 182), cited in Choudhury, A.K., *Early Medieval Village in North-eastern India*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1971, p.32.
- ²¹ H.S. Maine, *Village communities in the East and West*, London, 1871, pp.78 and 103-128, cited in Choudhury, A.K., *Early Medieval Village in North-Eastern India*, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1971, p. 32.
- ²² A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, Rupa & Co., 1987, p.192.
- ²³ P.N. Chopra, B.N. Puri and M.N. Das, *A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India*, Vol. III, Macmillan India, 2005 Reprint, p.141.
- ²⁴ H. Baruah, *The Red River and the Blue Hill*, Layers Book Stall, 1962, p. 87.
- ²⁵ B.K. Barua, *A Cultural History of Assam*, Vol.1, Bina Library, Guwahati, 1986, p.76.
- ²⁶ Sidney Endle, *The Kacharis*, 1995, Cosmo Publications, p.4.
- ²⁷ K. Brahma, *Op. Cit.*, p.50
- ²⁸ W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Accounts of Assam, Vol.-II*, Spectrum Publiation, Guwahati, 1998, p.36.
- ²⁹ *Ibid*, p.25.
- ³⁰ M.C. Saikia, *The Bodo-Kacharis*, in Bordoloi, B.N., edited, *Tribes of Assam*, part.II. 1987, p.3.
- ³¹ Sidney Endle, *op. cit.*, pp.11-12.
- ³² W.W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p.108.
- ³³ S.N. Sarma, *A Socio-economic and Cultural History of Medieval Assam*, 2001, p. 81.
- ³⁴ *Ibid*. p. 81.
- ³⁵ K. Brahma, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.
- ³⁷ Sidney Endle, *op. cit.*, p.26.
- ³⁸ K. Brahma, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- ³⁹ W.W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p.48.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 26.
- ⁴² *Ibid*, p.109.
- ⁴³ K. Brahma, *op. cit.*, pp.45-46.
- ⁴⁴ M. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
- ⁴⁵ P.C. Bhattacharya, *A Descriptive Analysis of the Boro Language*, 1977, p.16.
- ⁴⁶ B. Narzi, "Boro-Kachari", in Bhattacharya, P.C., edited *Asamar Janajati*, 1991, p.62.
- ⁴⁷ B. Narzi, *op. cit.*, p.31.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p.32.
- ⁴⁹ M. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p.45.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid*. p. 45

-
- ⁵¹ B. Narzi, *op. cit.*, p.32.
- ⁵² K. Brahma, *op. cit.*, pp.48-49.
- ⁵³ M. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p.46.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp.45-46.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.45.
- ⁵⁶ K.Brahma, *op. cit.*, p.47.
- ⁵⁷ B. Narzi, *op. cit.*, p.25.
- ⁵⁸ B. Narzi, *op. cit.*, p.26.
- ⁵⁹ K. Brahma, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 47-48.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid*, p.48.
- ⁶² Surjya Narayan Bargayary, Vill. - Dokhin Sijuguri, P.O. – Kakormari, Dist. - Kokrajhar date of interview 11/02/2013.
- ⁶³ B. Narzi, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ⁶⁴ M. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 20-21.
- ⁶⁶ Sidney Endle, *op. cit.*, p.12.
- ⁶⁷ M. Choudhury, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Nazi, B., *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- ⁶⁸ G. C. Sharma Thakur and M.C. Saikia, “Report on the Impact of Enforcing Liquor Prohibition among the Bodo Kacharis in a Rural Setting: A Case Study”, in *Bulletin*, Vol. I., No.II, 1984, p.11.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 11.