CHAPTER-2

WAY OF LIVING AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Bodo people are mainly live in the village. Accordingly, their main source is agriculture. Therefore their way of living is cultivation. Mostly the Bodos festival either religious or non religious are related with the cultivation. Hence the ways of living and social philosophy of the villagers are reflected in the folk literature.

2.2 RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

Bathwu is the supreme god of the Bodos. So, Traditional Bodo religion is *Bathwu*. There are different kinds of religious worship which is empirically observed in diverse seasons and occasions with definite rites and rituals. Among these worships are *Bathwu, Kherai,* and *Garja* etc.

2.2.1 BATHWU WORSHIP

Bodo people are originally *Bathwu* worshipers. Bathwu is the traditional religion of the Bodos. This worship of *Bathwu* is carried out and handed over to the Bodos generation after generation orally without any written form. Hence, till the recent days the religious and the customary laws of *Bathwu* religion were not found in the written form. In general, the meaning of '*Bathwu*' is derived from the two words '*Ba*' (five) and '*Thwu*' (depth of philosophy). Therefore 'five-depth' of the elements of life like '*ha*' (land), '*dwi*' (water), '*bar*' (air), '*or*' (fire) and '*okhrang*' (the sky), which is unfathomable in depth. "*Bathwu Bwrai*" or the God is the owner of all these life elements. "*Bathwu Bwrai*" is addressed as is the Creator, God, *Anan Gosai, Abong Gosai,* and Allah etc. in the world. But, the Bodos, chose the terms like, "*Bwrai Bathwu*", "*Abonglaori*" "*Swrjigiri*" (creator), "*Anan Gosai*", "*Abong Gosai*" to address God among the many terminology used in the world to address him. "*Bwrai Bathwu*" is at the top of all. He is the omniscient, all powerful, omnipresent, all-knowing, formless, unseen, almighty, saviour, pioneer, creator, care-taker, destroyer and greater than all.

There is no limit to the power of "*Apha Bwrai Bathwu*". That's why nobody can fathom or see the power of God "*Bwrai Bathwu*". His power can only be realized through

feeling. In his direction alone everything happens. *Bwrai Bathwu* is the proprietor of the blue sky, the twinkling stars, small and big animals, flora and fauna, hill and plains land, rivers and streams, seas and oceans. Has the expertise in creation of the world, and its sustainance, very much experienced. That is why '*Bwrai*' (old/ ancient) or experienced like a father looks after the children. He is the pioneer and the kind hearted.[1] That is why the Bodo people, from the time immemorial, since the beginning of the civilized society, have been worshipping "*Bathwo Bwrai*" till today. As a symbol of "*Bathwu Bwrai*" the Bodo people plants the "*Sijwu*" (euphorbia plant) tree at a north-east corner of their threshold and worship the "*Bathwu Bwrai*".

The *Bathwu* worship is carried out through two systems or ways. The traditional way of *Bathwu* worship is carried out through animal and bird sacrifice. On the other hand the modified *Bathwu* worshipers are carried through flower and *prasad* offerings. Below given is the "*mantras*" (incantation) used by the modified *Bathwu* worshipers as-

wng hring kling phwd se (5 times)
he! apha swrjigiri Bwrai Bathwu
nwngnw sannigiri sanja
okhrangnigiri okhrang raja
barnigiri barmwdai
dwinigiri dwi khungri
hanigiri bwiswmuthi ha
he! apha anan gosai abonglaori
dinwi jwng nwngni phisaphwra
boibw jo jananwi
dinwini be gwthar bubliao
nwngni namwi alari bathi phwjwngnanwi
duhub saldhuna saophungnanwi
nwngninw swrjinai
dainwisw bibar-bilai-phithai
nwngnw baonanwi
hanthu kherainanwi, akhai khobjobwi
gwsw gwrbwjwng hangkhraidwng
khulumdwng jwng apha, nwng biphakhwu
najaodw nwngw onnanwi
jwngni baonai arw khulumnaikhwu
he! apha swrjigiri
baodwng hwnnanwi da san nwng apha
dabw jwng nwngkhwu baoakhwi
daokhaya phurakhwi, daoboa swmakhwi
aie thwidwng, aiekhwu gardwng
apha thwidwng, aphakhwu gardwng

[1] Hazowary, M. (2005). Bwrai Bathouni Gumur arw Bathouni Gwhw. Kokrajhar: Mainao Publication. p-1

theubw jwng nwngkhwu garakhwi
mwidera gabw odal gudiao
mansia gabw
nwng bipgani serao
he! apha abonglaori ba-raja
nwng jeraokhi thaya manw
alagao dongwbla
alagao thananwi onsaiphwi
phathalao dongwbla
phathalao thananwi onsaiphwi
he! apha anan gosai! Bwrai Bathwu
nwng aphaya onnanwi
nwngni serao jwng maonayao-
dangnayao, sannaiyao-honayao
maophlangnai gwrwnthikhwu
nimaha hwnanwi-
onsaidw nwng jwngkhwu
nwngni angw phisa mohorwi
onnanwi dwidenlangdw, jaikhijaya
nidan-aphwd-khwiphwd
mulugni santrohayi suthurnifrai
rwikha khalamnanwiorai
bwr hwdw nwngw jwngnw thwiso jase
lwmbwr gwia swbwr gwia
aphayao su gwia
khoroao jengsi gwia
alw-alw, greng-greng, ruju-rwmai
raijw mwnjanaini
dohai apha, Bwrai Bathwu!
dwidenlangdw nwng jwngkhwu
nwngni gwjwng alarijwng
orai gwthar, gwthwng arw
gwjwng lamajwng, dohai!.....khulumw.[2]

In English,

wng hring kling phwd se (5 times)
oh! Greater God Bathwu
you are the lord of the Sun, Sun king
lord of the sky, the king of the sky
lord of the wind, “barmwdai”
lord of the water, “dwi khungri”
lord of the land, “bwiswmuthi ha”
oh! omnipotent God “abonglaori”
today, we, your children
are gathered together
at this holly moment
light lamp in your holly name,
to burn incense and frankincense

[2] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. (2006). Bathou Thandwi. Kumarikhata: Bharali Offset Press. Pp-34-36

all your creations
some flowers and fruits
we offer you
kneeling and folding hands
we call upon you from the heart
we bow you father, our father
accept them kindly
our offerings and benedictions
oh! our God creator
don't think that we've forgotten you father
we haven't forgotten you even today
crow hasn't turn white and the crane to black
mother expired, we've forgotten them
father expired, we've forgotten them
but still we haven't forshaken you
elephant trampets at the foot of odal tree
men cries, at your feet o! father
oh! creator God, king of the five life element
wherever you live
if you live in paradise
have mercy on us from paradise
if you live nether world (*phathalao*)
have mercy on us from nether world
oh! lord almighty! *Bwrai Bathwu*,
have mercy on us
in your eyes while we work
while we think
if committed any wrong
forgive us
have mercy on us,
we are your own children
kindly lead us anyway
at the time of fate
amidst the innumerable enemies
protect us always
bless us father eternally
with no illness and fate
no throns in our heels
no troubles and harms on our head
peacefully and blissfully
to lead a happy life
have mercy on us lord Bwrai Bathwu
lead us on oh! God
with your shinning glory
always in holiness and in righteousness
always in right path, oh! God…….

In the same way the incentation used in the worship of "*Bima Mainao*" (goddess of wealth) is given bellow-

he aie!
onsuli bima mainao
mainao guphur
mainao gwswm
mainao gwja
dinwi jwng boibw jo jananwi
apha iswrkhwu sibinai somao
nwngni namwibw alari phwjwngnanwi
nwngninw dainwisw
bibar-bilai-phithai baonanwi
hangkhraidwng, khulumdwng nwngkhwu jwng
hanthu kherainanwi akhai khobjobwi
najaodw nwng aiewi
jwngni khulumnaikhwu
gwsw gwtharwi
he! aiewi bima mainao!
nwngkhwu jwng mablaba
hasibjwng sibphlangbai
athingjwng jwthrwdphlangbai
dwiao phanse, orao phanse
khalamphlangbai
beni thakhai nimaha
hwdw nwng jwngkhwu
dohai aiewi! nwng bimaya
jeblabw mwnsa-khosa
lanw mnnai noga
khunthlai baidi rejeng gwsw lanaga
laothai baidi gwjaolangnaga
bangbur baidi birlangnaga
oraibw onthai baidi
gilir gwsw lananwi
thabai tha nwng aiewi!
jwngni nokhorao
maihendw, mai bakhriao
khangdw-badw nwngw jwngkhwu orai
alw arw rwhw rwhw aiewi,
greng greng ruju rwmai…….dohai.[3]

In English,

oh! mother God
loving mother God "*mainao*"
variety of white, black, red God '*mainao*'
today we gathered together
while worshipping God

[3] Ibid, pp- 37-38

we light limp in your name too
offer some flowers and fruits and
we invoke you and honour you
kneeling and folding our hands
accept oh! mother God
our veneration
with pure heart
oh! mother God '*mainao*'
if sometimes we've disown you with broom
with our feet, or
thrown you on fire or in water,
forgive us for that
have mercy! oh! mother God
don't have grude on us
don't be so light like cotton (*khunthlai*)
don't float away like '*laothai*'
don't fly away like '*bangbur*'
be always like a stone
with strong mind live on mother God
in our home, granary and rice store vessel
take care of us always
tenderly in fruitfulness!
in peace and amity…..have mercy.

The sole source of the survival of the Bodos is the nature. And these natural things are created by someone, who is omniscient and omnipotent God, the "*Bwrai Bathwu*". That is why Bodos worship the "*Bwrai Bathwu*". So, the first fruit of the season are offered to *Bwrai Bathwu* at the very beginning. Accordingly, that the love and care of *Bwrai Bathwu* always remain upon them so as to preserve the life struggle. These incentations or *mantra* reveals the social and cultural pictures of the Bodos- the worshipping, rituals, beliefs and the deep religious philosophy of the Bodos vividly.

Now a days the priest of the modified *Bathwu* worshippers, after reciting the *mantra*s by the priest or the *oza*, the faithful sing the "*Aroj Methai*" or hymns and worship "*Bwrai Bathwu*". Following are some of the religious hymns (*aroj methai*) used during *Bathwu* worship-

phwi apha Bwrai Bathwu……2
phwi…….phwi……
jwngkhwu onsaina apha jwngni serao phwi
jwng baona hwnaikhwu nwng ajao phwi…2
gwthar gwsw lananwi-
akhai pharnwi khobjobna
hanthu kheraina
o' apha –o' apha boinibw bipha

nwngkhwunw hangkhrayw jwng kham, siphung, jotha
serjani dengkhw ringhwna…2
sijwu siri siriba
thaigir khonga khongba
siphung gudung gudungba
mwnsing si bwraini raoa phongba;
subungni asarabw asarba
apha nwngni bandwabw bandwba…2
on gundwi lari-lari
bima bwiswmuthini ali
khangkhla thudwng sari-sari
bona hwdwng jidain phathali
swrang hwdwng jwngthi alari
phwi apha Bwrai Bathwu…..3[4]

In English,

come father *Bwrai Bathwu*..
come oh come….
have pity on us and come
accept our offerings oh' father..
with holy heart
folding our hands
and kneeling….
o' father- o' father, father of all
we invoke you with *kham* (drum), *siphung* (flute), *jotha* (cymbal)
and with the echo of *serja* (a kind of violin)
euphorbia tree has five strips
five folds of chalita
flute has five holes
mwnsing si Bwrai (oldest Bodo man) has five words
the human have five customs
oh' father your have five fence
rows of rice-powder
tiny high land line of mother *Bwiswmuthi's* (the earth/soil)
in line of planting *khangkhla* (a kind of reed plant)
to spread down eighteen kind of *phathali*
(offering given to eighteen kind god and goddes)
to give shinning light
oh come father *Bwrai Bathwu*.

In the same way the hymns used to proclaim the mother God *mainao* is given below-

asu mainao mainao
maisali mainao..2
rwikhagiri mainao aiewi mainao..2
rahanigiri mainao aiewi
onsaigiri mainao
roha dwugra mainao

[4] Ibid, pp-45-46

raha khalam nwng aiewi mainao mainao..2
asu mainao…..aiewi mainao…2
athingjwng jwthrwdphlangbai aiewi
hasibjwng sibgarphlangbai
orao phanse dwiao phanse
khalamphlangbai aiewi
nimaha hwdw jwngkhwu aiewi jwngkhwu….2[5]

In English,

asu mainao mainao
maisali mainao…
savior *mainao*, mother *mainao*
fountain of favour, mother *mainao*
compassionate *mainao*
hel us oh! mother *mainao*
asu mainao……mother *mainao*
if we've disown you with our feet,
if we've disown you with broom
half on fire, half on water
if we've disown mother
forgive us mother…..

Again we find hymns used for asking blessings and forgivness like-

alw gwjwn
ruju-rumu
raijw mwnjathwng
apha abong gosai
onlainai, sohainai
gianjwng daoganw hathwng
apha abong gosai
nidanni somao
rongjanai somao
nwngninw jeblabw modod mwnthwng
apha abong gosai
okha-bangkhayao, dwibana- bangringao
thaorinw hathwng
apha abong gosai
barhungkhayao, sanding gwsayao
nwngninw onnaijwng swrkhinw hathwng
apha abong gosai…
rongja- bajawi, mini khusiwi
thangnanwi thathwng
apha abong gosai..
swithw somaina
abru sabna-hamna
gasibw anjadao uthrinw hathwng
apha abong gosai….[6]

[5] Ibid, pp-53-54

In English,

peace and harmony
blessed plentifully
let us prosper
oh! father *abong gosai*
lovingly, and in patience
with wisdom let us progress
father *abong gosai*..
in times of rain
during floods and earthquake
let us survive
father, *abong gosai*
during thunder storm
during extreme heat of the sunlight
let us in your love persevere
father, *abong gosai*
let us live in peace and harmony
with smile and happiness
let us live thus
father *abong gosai*
truth and beauty
disciplined and sublime
let us pass all the trials and temtations
father, *abong gosai*.

The above discussed hymns are sung during the *Bathwu* worship by the modified *Bathwu* worshippers. To overcome the hardships of the daily life to face the sadness and joy of the day to day life of the Bodo people society. Worship the *Bwrai Bathwu* by offering the heart and soul.

It is to be mentioned here that recently, traditional old process (like animal and bird sacrifice) *Bathwu* worshippers are also worship the *Bathwu* by singing the "*Aroj Methai*" (hymns).

2.2.2 KHERAI WORSHIP

Kherai is a defined religious festival of the Bodos. It defines the identity of the Bodos. The socio-cultural identities of the Bodos find their reflection in the festival or rituals of *Kherai*. Although nowadays the *kherai* is considered as a religious festival, earlier it was observed as a seasonal festival. The Bodos are an agrarian community. The community sustains through agricultural cultivation. They used to find means of survival

[6] Ibid, pp-61-62

through cultivation. So the agricultural community of the Bodos observed the festival of *kherai* praying to the Almighty that they can reap the good harvest.

Since when the Bodos observed the festival of *kherai*, no one can point to a fixed historical timeline till date. But it is believed widely that this festival was observed by the Bodos since ancient times. The Bodos observed the *kherai* for the well being for everyone. But if we trace the main ideal of it, then it comes to the light that it's a festival observed to shield the families of the community from the possible catastrophes.

In *kherai* the *Dwudini* pays obeisance to the God and Goddesses by the dancing in the tune of the ringing musical instrument. Although in *kherai*, mainly the rituals or fundamentals of the religious worship appears, but if we observed all the rituals of religious festivals of the Bodos then we find that the dancing form along with joyous carnival is also an undeniable part of them. The same can be said in respect to the festival of *kherai*. If we observe widely the rituals of the North Eastern Mongoloids and the rituals of the Mongoloid race living in India, than we notice dance and carnival as the major part of their religious rituals. This ritual of dance form and joyous carnival is an important ritual in the *Kherai* festival of the Bodos. In *Dwudini's* dance in high leap during *Kherai*, the battles or fights that the Bodos have to engage for living is reflected. As per the community's belief, there is a link between the evolution of *kherai* and the folk theme of *Jara Fagla* searcing for his daughter-in-law *Mongli*. As per the folk belief, *Jara Fagla* is considered as the *Mwnsing sing Bwrai*.[7] And *Mwnsing sing Bwrai* is considered by many as the first man sent by *Bwrai Bathou*. And this *Mwnsing sing Bwrai* is known to have observed the first festival of *Kherai* so far as the folk tales suggest.

There are different kinds of *Kherai* festival. i.e.*Mainao/Lakhi Kherai, Asu Kherai, Phalw Kherai, Gunakhar /Noni Kherai, and Daoha (war) Kherai* etc. But among this festival *Mainao/ Lakhi Kherai* is mostly worshiped. *Kherai* festival has many diverse name but their worship, customs and rituals are alike. But among that *Gunakhar Kherai* is a few different to the sacrifices of God[8]. In *Kherai* festival mainly worship the supreme God *Bwrai Bathou* but along with 16th kind God and Goddess are also worship. These are- *Aileng, Khaji, Ablakhunggur, Agrang, Khwila, Rajphuthur, Rajkhandra, Sanjani Ali Bwrai, Aai Dibaoli, Ai Bima, Mwnasu, Bwlli Buri, Sarini Jwmwn, Bag Raja, Basumuthia,*

[7]Narzaree, Indramalati & Birlang. (2008). Laisini Bikhayao Indramalati. Kokrajhar: Mahamaya Printing Works. p-92

[8]Informant, Basumatary, Ramesh. (Age-55, Bhaolaguri (Kashikotra), Chirang)

Swudri. These God and Goddess is specifically one by one a share of offering given to god and goddess overlapping dancing *Dwudini* is to show their own character. After worship of deities the oldest persons who are worshiper of *Kherai* and they are to pass away his forename to the south of *Kheraisali* a share of offering given them, that is known as offering *sarwn nisla/gwthwi gwthang* (*gwthwi gwthangnw baonai*). Later than worship and offering the deities the *Kherai* worship become concludes. Below following the *Kherai mantras* (chanting) as-

ahem de-
swrgwao dongo
swrgw deu gosai
phathalao dongo tulusi deu
biniphrai raobw gwia
raokhwubw mithia.
khwnasong khwnasong
lama dothani mugasong
angni bathrakhwu ese khwnasong.
sanni giri sanja
mwdaini giri mohaphwrbu
bwrai bathwu maharaja.
bathwu hwnw bandwba
sijwu hwnw siriba,
boro bwraini asarabw phongba;
khwnasong khwnasong
lama dothani mugasong
angni bathrakhwu ese khwnasong.
hajw thikhinini ha gwthar,
dwisa jijirini dwi gwthar,
meru girini ragam ragam
onthai,-
lwithwa bwbwnai
aie mwnaswni dwi
jo khalambai jwng.
phurga onni ali
khangkhla thubai sari sari
mwkhwna gaibai lari lari,
mwkhwna bibara aieni gonthongni bali
laijam bobai sreng sreng
guphur jwngthi orjwng dansrang khalambai.
dhup-dhuna saonanwi mwdwmphru mwdwm hwbai,
ram tulusi, sonani asthamjwng
lahai-luhai khalambai.
aie thwidwng, aiekhwu gardwng,
aphaya thwidwng, aphakhwu gardwng,
theubw bura bathwu moharajakhwu
phujinw garakhwi jwngw.
mwidera gabw odalgudiao

mansia gabw bathwu bwrai
moharajaniao.
khwnasong khwnasong,
lama dothani mugasong
angni bathrakhwu ise khwnasong.
daoboalai swmakhwi;
daokhaalai phurakhwi;
dwima-dwisani onthaia
ulthaywi bwhwiakhwi.
swithwni mwdaia swithwao thanangwu
manni mwdaia manao thanangwu
nwngthangmwnha danilo mwdai noga
orai dinni mwdai.
beba (bwrma) jagranw beba hwgwn
us-us (oma) jagranw us-us hwgwn
dikhura jagranw dikhura hwgwn,
sreng sreng laijamao,
goi-phathwi, thailir hwbai,
arw gangnai ukhwinai
nwi hwbaonwswi jwng.
phwidw phwi, bwrai bathwu maharaja,
mwitha haji, rangrasi, bari gongtham
nwngthanganw jadwng phana phantham.
khwnasong, khwnasong,
lama dothani mugasong,
angni bathrakhwu ese khwnasong.
wjwnghai swr swr dongbaow
lwkkhi garza, asu garza, gao garza
songoe songoe garza, songoe songoe phwrja,
garza sibsin, garza dibsin, maoria garza,
saoria garza, sem semali garza,
dosemali garza, samo ramo garza,
khalo dano garza, nelo-dano garza,
daoang garza, molan garza, thia garza,
gu gu garza, atharo santi garza.
arw swr swr dongbaow.
ailing, agrang, khwila, khaji,
rajphuthur, rajkhandra, songraja,
songrani, alai-khungri, bilai-khungri,
mwnasw, bwrli, bhandari kumara
basmuthi, swudri, rwnphagli,
rwnswndri aie maothansimwn dongo.
he- apha bipha guru bathwu bwrai maharaja!
arw aiephwr aphaphwr,
jwngni khoroni jangsikhwu bwkharlangdw.
phisa phisa jibi-jirad onnanwi lakhidw.
dwhwn-dwulod, rang-khaori
nwngthanganw jabai giria
khobordar! khobordar!! khobordar!!!
dwhwrwmni mwdaia dwhwrwmao thanangwu,

swithwni mwdaia swithwao thanangwu.
he eswr! bathwu bwrai, maharaja,
moha phwrbu![9]
(boibw jowi khulumw)

In English,

in the paradise
are there God *swrgw deu gossai*
in the nether world
are there God *tulusi deu*
from no one is there
no one is known.
Oh' listen! listen! God
in the road side's *mugasong* tree
my words are listen.
the lord of the Sun, Sun king
lord of the God, *mohaprabhu*
you are the lord *bwrai bathwu maharaja*.
the bathwu have five fence
euphorbia tree has five strips
the Boro bwrai has five customs.
Oh' listen! listen! God
in the road side's *mugasong* tree
my words are listen.
holy soil of the top hill's
holy water of the river
big stones from the middle world
the water of river *mwnasu*
which flowing from ocean
we all are combined.
rows of white rice-powder
in line of planting *khangkhla* (a kind of reed plant)
in line of planting *mwkhwna* (a kind of medicinal tree)
the *mwkhwna* flower is mother's *gonthongni bali* (nosering)
to spread down *laijam* in line
to give light with white shinning
make the place aromatic with insence sticks
with *ram tulusi* and gold ring
to get ready.
mother expired, we've forgotten them
father expired, we've forgotten them
but still we haven't forshaken
bura bathwu maharaja.
elephant trampets at the foot of *odal* tree
men cries, at your feet
o' father *bathwu bwrai maharaja*.
Oh' listen! listen! God
in the road side's *mugasong* tree

[9] Narzi, Bhaben. (2014). Boro Kachari Samaj Arw Harimu. Chirang: Oasis Offset Printers. pp- 168-171

my words are listen
crane hasn't turn black and crow to white
the stones of river is not flowing in opposite
the God of truth, live in truth
the God of honour, live in honour
you are not only the deity of now
you are the God of eternity.
you are offered goat to goat eater
pig is offered to pig eater
cock is offered to cock eater
we've offered you betel-leave, betel-nuts
and banana in line of *laijam* (banana leave)
now we've offered you many more.
come oh come, *bwrai bathwu maharaja,*
mwithahaji, rangrasi, barigongtham
you are the three section
oh' listen! listen! God
in the road side's *mugasong* tree
my words are listen
who are there beyond
lakhi garza, asu garza, gao Garza
songoe songoe garza, songoe songoe phwrja,
garza sibsin, garza dibsin, maoria garza,
saoria garza, sem semali garza,
dosemali garza, samo ramo garza,
khalo dano garza, nelo-dano garza,
daoang garza, molan garza, thia garza,
gu gu garza, atharo santi garza.
and who are there-
ailing, agrang, khwila, khaji,
rajphuthur, rajkhandra, songraja,
songrani, alai-khungri, bilai-khungri,
mwnasw, bwrli, bhandari kumara
basmuthi, swudri, rwnphagli,
rwnswndri aie maothansimwn dongo.
Oh' father, lord *bwrai bathwu maharaja*
and God and Goddess
to solve our problems
little little being and objects are
will have to protect kindly
wealth and money
you are the owner all in all
beware! careful! careful!
the God of religion, live in religion,
the God of truth, live in truth.
Oh' lord! *bathwu bwrai, maharaja*
mahaprabhu!

During *Kherai* worship the dance of the *Dwudini* can be classified into three types. These are a) *Phatali/Aidaphari mwsanai* (major dance), b) *Daoten Baonai mwsanai* (sacrifices/offering dance), c) *Aosar/mwsaglangnai mwsanai* (finishing dance).

a) ***Phathali mwsanai* (Major altar dance to the name of deities)**: *Phathali* dance is performed in the first stage of *Kherai* worship. The Bodo term *Phathali* to be able to compared with the position or place. It is arranged north-east of *Bathwu Bitha* over the *Bwisumathani ali*. At the place of *Kherai* altar, there are 16 kinds of *phathali* for deities during worship. The dances those are performed in the name of different deities around the *Kheraisali* (*kherai* altar), it is called "*Phathali mwsanai"*. In the name of each of the *phathalis* various kinds of dances are to be performed.[10] The given names of such dances are as- *dahal sibnai mwsanai, thungri sibnai mwsanai, sa-gwlao bwnai mwsanai* etc.

b) ***Daothen Baonai mwsanai* (Dance by offering to deities):** The process of offering offerings to deities by *Dwudini* is called "*Daothen baonai mwsanai*". The people who offer sacrificial offerings offers the blood of chicken and the recent modified *Bibar Bathwu* worshipers offer flower offerings to deities. In the *Kherai* altar after one *phathali* of every dance this dance is performed by *Dwudini* by drinking blood or offering flowers. In *Bwlli Bathwu,* this process of offering blood to dities is done by taking the blood of the offerings in a "*Bathwi*" (bowl) and then the *Dwudini* drinks the blood by dancing form. This is called the "*Daothwi lwngnai*" or drinking of chicken's blood dance. After each *phathali* dance the *daothen baonai* dance to begin.

c) ***Mwsaglangnai mwsanai* (Finishing/ending dance):** During the Kherai worship, *mwsaglangnai* dance is also a kind of dance which is performed by *Dwudini* after any kind of dances. After every dance of drinking blood or offering flowers, *Dwudini* performed the *Mwsaglangnai* dance.

A. First Part of Kherai Dance

i) Onsranai/ Wlwngikhangnai:

Onsranai or *Wlwngikhangnai* is the beginning dance of Kherai festival. In front of the *Kheraisali* or *kherai* altar at the north-west corner, *Dwudini* sits on the "*Gambari*

[10] Hazowary, Rupashree. (2016). Unpublished Thesis, Folk Performing Arts of the Bodos: A Study in Kokrajhar District. p-56

Khamphlai", *Oza* (*Jana guru*) starts chanting the mantras, the *Dwudini* starts shaking and moving the body. At that very instant the *Oza's* companion and the priests starts clapping rythmatically along with the *kham, siphung, jotha*. Concerning this performance K. Brahma defines, "From the starting of the puja *Doudini* is found to demonstrate three stages of activities. First she is charmed by the formula of the *oja*. This stage of the *Doudini* is called as *Wlwngikhangnai*. In the Second stage she falls into a trance and in the third stage she converts into the spiritual being. In this stage she can tell the tales of the gods and goddesses in their voices. She moves round the *Bathou* and sprinkles holy water from a pot and dances while the drums (*kham*), flutes and cymbals are played on. The worshipers also may join in the circle of dancing with *Doudini*. While *Doudini* dances, she imitates the nature of gods and goddesses. She demonstrates as many as eighteen kinds of different dances.[11]

ii) *Bathwu Tharnai/Phwtharnai Mwsanai*:

The *Dwudini* sprinkles holy water around the *Bathwu* altar through *Lotha* (water pot) in order to purify the people and herself. This is called as *Bathwu Tharnai* or *Phwtharnai*. There after, after sprinkling holy water in the '*Daothub Bikha'* (heart of *Bathou* altar) *Dwudini* starts giving vermillion with her right hand in slow motion dance at first *Bathou* altar and all the musical instruments are used in the worship such as, *kham*(drum), *siphung*(flute), *Jotha*(cymbal) and *serja*(violin) respectively.[12]

iii) *Damju Phwtharnai*:

The traditional musical instruments are known as '*Damju'* in Bodo society. This is very important during *Kherai* worship. If the music is not played with melodious the *Doudini* don't dance she remains constant. It also seen that in the traditional worship they purify all musical instruments with the blood of chicken and welcome the musical player with the pairs of *Bwirathi* from the gate but in the modified *Bathwu* this is purified by *sindur*. *Dwudini* takes the *sindur* from the *Bathwu* altar and put this on the musical instruments used in the *Kherai* worship.[13]

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[11] Brahma, Kameswar. (2015). A Study of Socio-Religious Beliefs, Practices and Ceremonies of the Bodos. Delhi: Asian Offset Printers. Pp- 179-180

[12] Hazowary, Rupashree. (2016). Unpublished Thesis, Folk performing Arts of the Bodos: A Study in Kokrajhar District. p-61

[13] Ibid, pp-61-62

iv) *Buhum Ha Swrjini Solo*:

This is also an important part of *Kherai* dance. Without the telling of story the *Dwudini* do not starts *Kherai* worship. Soon after the consecration and purifying of the musical instruments, the *Dwudini* asks the *oza* to tell the story and start the *Kherai*. Thus, there is a myth in the Bodo society that is the story of earth and how the god and goddesses came in this earth. Story telling starts in front of the *Bathwu* altar, the *oza* starts telling one by one and *Dwudini* follows his story. Thereafter, she takes the sword on her soulder and starts moving around the *Kheraisali*. No dance is performed here and musical instrument *jotha*(cymbal) is only used in this performance.[14]

B. Second Part of Kherai Dance

During *Kherai* worship, along with *Bwrai Bathwu*'s there are sixteen kinds of *pathali* for the deities or god and goddesses of *Bwiswmuthini Ali.* In the name of these Gods and Goddesses, *Dwudini* along with the *Oza'*s mantras and beautiful musical accompaniment, displays the various forms of the gesters and dances. These sixteen forms of *pathali Kherai* dances are discussed below-

1. *Dahal* or *Khophri Sibnai Mwsanai* (Dance of shield wielding):

This is the first *pathali* dance by the *Dwudini* in a *Kherai*. This dance is performed in the name of goddess '*Aileng*'. *Dwudini* holds the *Dahal* (shield) in her left hand and a cane stick in her right hand and dances squatting, to and fro, back and front and turns around the *Bathwu* altar three times. After that '*Daothen*' offering dance is performed. And after this, *mwsaglangnai* or finishing dance is performed and this concludes this *phatali* part. M.S. Hazowary defines, "This dance is also known as "*Khophri Sibnai*" dance. *Khophri* is a large head wear made of bamboo strips and dried leaves. It is put on to protect rain or the heat of the sun. This dance teaches mankind to forebear from or over come the myriad problems and troubles of life. Moreover, being a war dance, it also reminds people of going to war to light the enemies and give protection to themselves".[15] Besides, there is both good and evil in God's creation. In order to live a good life, a sustained pure wisdom is necessary to move on. Because human life is made of *mankhangnai* (sexual desire), *Raga* (anger), *lubwinai* (lust), *muhinai* (attractive), and

[14] Ibid, p-62
[15] Hazowary, M.S. (1997). Unpublished Thesis, The Traditional Boro Festivals: A Critical Study. P-114

dugakhangnai (ego), this five instigating powers controls life. If a person gets overwhelmed by these evil powers, the purpose of existence on earth fails. To reveal this fact, the *Bodo Bwrai*, through this *Kherai's 'phathali*' dance reveals it to the human society. Along with it each and every society tries to preserve its existing belief, customary laws, culture and language and the religion from the hands of their enemies. This very fact is revealed through the practices of *Kherai*'s this *phathali* or the *Kherai* religious practices.[16]

2.*Sa-Gwlao Bwnai Mwsanai* (Dance of tug-of-war):

This dance is performed in the name of '*Khaji*' deity. A long cloth is twisted and held in north-south direction. Then the *Dwudini* leaning tightly held the twisted cloth and dances in twist and turns, rolling right and left with her hair let loose and circlingin the air along with the cloth. At the end the priests place the cloth on a *Gambari Khamphlai***,** and then the *Dwudini* goes to *phathali* and bows. The world is created by God the father '*Abonglaori Bwrai Bathwu'.* Creator is the pillar of joys and sorrows are never permanent in anyone's life. Like the nights after days and days after nights, in everyone's life comes joy after sorrows and sorrows after joys. In every occasion of joys and sorrows we all need to believe in creator God and live the life in a holy manner to attain the salvation of the soul. This is the main teaching of this *phathali* dance.[17] According to M.S Hazowary, "By this dance it is intended to make mankind aware of their experiences, their attachment to the world, their perception of religion etc. The music of this dance is sonorous and has the power if touching the heart".[18]

3.*Khwijima Phonai Mwsanai* (Yellowant moving dance):

This dance is performed in the name of *Abla-Khungur* deity. The priest or *Dwuri* brings a branch of mango tree and ties it like a *Khwijima Baha* or nest of a yellow ant and places it at the place of *Kherai*. Dwudini hold a sword in her right hand and takes a piece of cotony white cloth (*si-busini*) in the left hand and bitting a pipe in the mouth and shows the gester of throwing off the yellow ants from the body, and seems to cut down the mango tree as she dances. At the end of the dance the *Dwudini* cuts off the mango tree. Just like

[16] Borgoyary, Kanteswar (ed). (2011). Kherai (Dularai Bathwu Gwuthum). Kumarikhata: Bharali Offset Press. Pp-17-18
[17] Ibid, p-19
[18] Hazowary, M.S. Op.cit. p-115

the yellow ants that bites when gets opportunity, in the same way the instigating or disturbing force in the human weakens the human soul. With a true wisdom and belief on God, human beings need to avoid the disturbing forces of life and live peacefully. Then only a person can taste the true meaning of existence on earth. This is revealed through this *phatali* dance and the playing of pipe by *Dwudini*.[19] M.S Hazowary's observation, "Formica Rupha (*khwijima*) ants can be compared to enemies to man's mind. The enemies of our mind in the form of the ants always try to over power us while we live in this world. It is a man's formost duty to grapple with these enemies in order to keep them away from us. The dance is indicative of this meaning".[20]

4.*Thungri Sibnai Mwsanai* (Dance of sword wielding):

This dance is performed in the name of *Agrang* deity. The Dwudini holds two sharp swords in her hands and dances swinging the swords, turning around the *Bathwu* altar. The display of the dance is swinging the swords in front and at the backwards, holdi the swords on the shouldiers, bitting the sword by the mouth, etc. At the end, the priests keep the swords in front of the *Bathwu* and the *Dwudini* dances on the sharp edge of the sword. This dance is also called the *Satrali* dance.

To live peacefully, the human being has to defeat the disturbing forces of life and live carefully. Having true wisdom can preserve and protect the life from sword like fates and with the help of God's grace can be victorious. The ancient *Bodo Bwrai* (older people) tells about this through this *phathali Kherai* dance.[21] On the other hand, it is belief that during the time of performing this dance, the *Dwudini* is possessed by *Rwnswndri*, the goddess of battle field. While this dance is performed the *Dwudini* holds one sword in each hand and another in her mouth. With the cadence of the sound of drum, flute and cymbals the *Dwudini* keeps her movements and steps impeccably. As the dance progresses the *Dwudini* spurred by the heat and the sound drum, flute and cymbals, becomes frenzied as if she were a virtual goddess of war and moves around the *Bathwu* hopping and leaping. The blade of a sword has the power to annihilate all. The *Dwudini*'s holding a sword in her mouth indicates her power having the edge of a sword. When a person has the power of

[19] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. OP.cit. Pp-18-19
[20] Hazowary, M.S. Op.cit. p-116
[21] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. Op.cit. p-18

the edge of a sword the enemies, what so ever great they are, can note infliet harm to him. He can over come disasters and win victory over his enemies.[22]

5.*Gandwula Bwnnai Mwsanai* (Dragon-fly trapping dance):

This *pathali* dance is performed in the name of *Khwila* deity. In this dance, the *Dwudini* covers the head with white clothe and moving the fingers, hopping like birds and the dragonfly, the *Dwudini* dances**.** Along with dancers shows the gesture of with the thread of "*somphal*" or fish hook, trying to trap a dragonfly by way of dancing. In every person's life, the disturbing evils and forces, disturbs. Unstable mind, loose behavior, finding the self, highly educated person might sometimes be carried away by the crows and eagles, and be destroyed like the dragonfly and fall deep into the ditch of fate; these issues are revealed through *Kherai*.[23] Regarding this *phathali* dance M.S. Hazowary defines, "The underlying philosophy of this dance can be explained like, pride, arrogance, haughtiness and libertinism is a man's minds are like a quick flitting dragonfly while the conscience has to exercise restraint just as a trapping can capture the dragonfly from the free environment. This dance shows how a man should try to control his in ordinate pride, anger and last".[24]

6.*Dahal-Thungri Sibnai Mwsanai* (Dance of shield and sword wielding):

This *phathali* dance is performed in the name of *Rajputhur* deity. Though this dance is performed the *Dwudini* holds one shield which is most widely used as an amour of the past to protect oneself from sword, lance, arrow, etc. in time of fighting a battle and along with it sword, is absolutely necessary to prepare oneself for the battle. In this dance performance *Dwudini* takes a shield in her left hand and a sword in right and dances advancing ahead as if she were fighting against an enemy in a battle field. According to Toren Narzary, "The meaning of the dance is clear: it teaches mankind to give safe guard to themselves as well as other creature from the onslaught of enemies. The *Dwudini* through this dance show that the plunders and invaders should not indulge in taunting her people as they are aware and well prepared to face the battle".[25]

[22] Hazowary, M.S. Op.cit. p- 116
[23] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. Op.cit. p-21
[24] Hazowary, M. S. Op.cit. p-118
[25] Hazowary, Rupashree. Op.cit. p-64

7.*Khamao Barkhwnai Mwsanai* (Dance performed on the drum):

This dance is performed in the name of *Rajkhandra* deity. *Dwudini* takes the cane-stick, on the neck and with the gesture of reverence bows at the end of the dance. According to M.Hazowary and his observes, "The *Dwudini* holds a cane stick in the right hand and some line chickens by the left and dances around the *Bathwu*. Then the moves close to drum and stands straight on a wooden block laid there. She bows her head to the drum and wrings the neck of the chickens and again bows her head to the drum and drinks the blood of the chickens. In modified *Bibar Bathwu* they are also to offer flowers[26]. Every community or tribes have their own distinctive social customs and religion. Religion is the fountain of their civilization. "*Kham*" is the identity of Bodo culture and wave of cultural emancipation in Bodo society. Wearing the garland of *raigon* (cane stick) or, holding on to their own cultural and social customs, and *Bathwu* religion from the care of heart is the first religion of Bodo people. Because every society's distinctive worshipping norms and religion alone entails the blessings of God. For this, there is no necessity of borrowing someone else religion and cultural practices. The *Bodo Bwrai* has handed down this sacred wisdom through the *Kherai* dances.[27]

8.*Badali/Badamali Birnai Mwsanai* (Dance of bat flying):

This *phathali Kherai* dance is performed in the name of *Ali Bwrai* deity. In this dance *Dwudini* covers pure white cloth on the head and keeps moving looking for something like the flying of Bat or *Badamali*. Bats eat fruits from other's garden secretly. If a person lives like the bat always destroying other's property, the person is hated by the people. So, leaving aside the bad habits, jealously and hatred one needs to cultivate the habbit of simplicity, humility and truthfulness and live in the society peacefully. Through this *phathali* dance *Bodo Bwrai*(old man) teaches about the love and respect among the people.[28]M. S. Hazowary defines as, "Bat is nocturnal creature, and they usually come in block at night and devour a man's labored crops. The Bodos are primarily an agricultural community. Besides workings in the field, they make fruit gardens around their home. They take great care to protect their garden during the time of harvest season. Despite their painstaking measure the neutral thieves such as the bats, pilferes, burglars, etc. come at

[26] Ibid, p-65
[27] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. Op.cit. p-20
[28] Ibid, p-20

night to steel the properties. The *Dwudini* performs this dance so that the deity having been propitiated many give protection to the crops of the worshippers".[29]

9.*Mwisw Gelenai Mwsanai* (Buffalo playing dance):

This dance is performed in the name of goddess *Aie Dibauli*. The *Dwudini* covering the head with clothes and holding the two hands backward takes the posture of a buffalo and dances around in the *Kheraisali* (altar) three rounds. Buffalo is a very strong animal and very rough by nature. But there are stronger animals other than buffalo. Considering himself to be stronger than others if a person indulges himself in the impossible activities, he is bound to be defeated and embarrassed. Elders need to honour and Youngers needs to be loved.[30] Regarding this dance M.S. Hazowary observes, "This dance is a pattern of expressing the sipirit of soul. Over and above this, there is another meaning in it. If we give free rein to our animal sipirit as is shown in the dance there will be disorder and chaos in the society".[31]

10.*Bathwu Gidingnai Mwsanai* (Dance of Bathwu cycling):

This dance is performed in the name of *Aie Bima Mwdai* (mother deity). In this dance the '*Dwudini*' holds one sword in their hand and wears a turban on her head. Other dancers too dance, in consonance with the rhythm of the drum, flute and cymbals, following *Dwudini* in cycling around the *Bathwu* with paced steps. Then the Dwudini lays sword at the altar of the *Bathwu* and kneels down to it. This dance reveals the wandering sipirit of human nature.[32]

11.*Nao Phasainai/Phwjaonai Mwsanai* (Dance of floating of boat):

This dance is dedicated to '*Mwnasu*' deity, a deity of rivers. The *Dwudini* holds a miniature boat made of the shell of a banana tree and goes dancing around the *Bathwu* trailed by a group of male dancers. The underlying philosophy of this dance lies in the explanation that the boat represents the road of God and that the rivers or sea represents

[29] Hazowary, M. S., Op.cit., p-119
[30] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. Op.cit. p-22
[31] Hazowary, M.S. Op.cit., p- 120
[32] Ibid, pp-120-121

the wide world. In this world a man has to travel along the road of God. This road helps a man to renounce evil thought, acts and designs and to acquire truth and peace.[33]

12.*Muphur Gelenai Mwsanai* (Dance imitating the bear's playing):

This dance for '*Burli Burwi*' deity is related with '*Muphur Gelenai*' dance. *Muphur* means bear. Therefore, in this dance *Muphur Gelenai* is performed by the '*Dwudini*' in the nature of a bear and dances around *Kheraisali*. Other dancers also follow and move along with the *Dwudini*. The *Dwudini* jumps alternatively turning of the front and to the back.[34] Therefore, *Dwudini* kneels down and dances like a bear looking for white ants (*uri emphwu khurnai*). Through this bears play dance the message like if a person lives contented with what he possesses. Then only a person can live happily.[35]

13.*Mainao Borainai Mwsanai* (Propitiatory dance of *Mainao* God):

This dance is dedicated to *Sarini Jwmwn* deity. The *Dwudini* herself assumes the form of *Mainao* (lakshmi) deity and in order to collect *mainao* (riches, wealth) from the world she builds a *Mainao* altar in a kitchen corner of village priest. The *Dwudini* performs this dance towards the fag end of the *Kherai* worship and related festival. The *Dwudini* sits on '*Gambari*' wood which is believed to be holy. While she remains seated on the block in front of *Bathwu* altar, the *Oja* (priest) declares that the *Dwudini* has possessed *Mainao.*After some ritualistic propitiation and chanting of mantras the *Dwudini* performs the dance followed by the devotees to the tune of the flute and the beating of the drum and rhythm of the cymbal.[36]

After the end of performance/worship the worshippers symbolically receive '*Mainao*', the Goddess of the wealth from the earth through the *Dwudini*. This is called a '*Mainao Borainai Mwsanai*' (a dance to welcome *mainao* or the Goddesss Lakshmi). Then they pray to the *mainao* (the Goddesss of wealth) to be always with them;

he aie Mainao,
onnanwi thudo no-ao
boraina langnwswi
nwngkhou jwng nwi.[37]

[33] Ibid, p-121
[34] Hazowary, Rupashree. Op.cit. p-66
[35] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. Op.cit. p-22
[36] Hazowary, Rupashree. Op.cit. p-66-67
[37] Ibid, p-70

In English,

oh! mother goddess of wealth
kindly come to our hut
we will welcome you there
we will take you to there.

Hearing this entity, the *Dwudini*, on behalf of the mother goddess of wealth says;

orao garna jagwn nwngswrw
dwiao garna jagwn nwngswrw
thangfin nwngswrw fwinai lamajwng
thangfaya ang nwngswrjwng.[38]

In English,

you will take me throwing half into fire
you will take me throwing half into water
so you go back by the way you have come
I will not go to your home.

14.*Mwsa Gelenai* (Dance imitating the tiger's playing):

This dance is dedicated to *Bag Raja* (Tiger king). Through the old *Bathwu* worshipers (*Bwrli Khanthi*), during the *Kherai* the priest or the *Kherai* dancers ties up a chicken with the thread of banana tree and drags it in-front of the *Dwudini*. *Dwudini*, covering the head with cloth, kneels down and like a tiger ready to charge, dances around. Now-a-days, the modified '*Bibar Bathwu*' worshippers, dies up a flower and drag it in place of a chicken. After the creation God gave everything to human kind for survival. He gives knowledge and wisdom to mankind for survival. In the same way animals are also given the art of hunting for their survival. Like tiger is given the skill of hunting for survival. So men must live happily contented with what he has got. Excessive desire for anything leads to fate. That is why '*Bodo Bwrai*', through *Kherai*, gives this sacred teaching.[39] According to M.S. Hazowary's observes, "As the music of drum, flute and cymbals flourishes the '*Dwudini*', acting like a tiger, dances around the *Bathou*. Some of the dancers trailing her act like tigers and the others like dogs. While the tiger's group roar and try to attack the dog's party they run away to protect themselves. This dance shows how a tiger is energetic, strong, upright and tough as against a dog. The dog, however, manages the roar and fury of the tiger. In the same way, mankind two should try to protect

[38] Ibid, p-71
[39] Borgoyary, Kanteswar. Op.cit. p-22-23

themselves from the forces of their enemies, no matter how prodigious they are. This is the moral that can be drawn from the dance".[40]

15.*Gorai Dabrainai Mwsanai* (Horse riding dance):

This dance is dedicated to *Basumuthi* God. In this dance *Dwudini* takes the *si-busini*(white cloth) around her head and taking the sword in her hand and a cloth in her another hand, a pipe in her mouth, and then *Dwudini* performed like in the nature of a horse riding and dances around *Kheraisali*. In this dance four or five dancers take a cane stick each and hold the sticks between their legs so as to make they appear as if they were riding horse. There is a belief that God *Basumuthi* is a soldier of *Sibrai*. With a view to propitiating him, the *Dwudini* performs the horse riding dance with strong energy to symbolize the action of the soldiers.[41]

16.*Nao Jaonai Mwsanai* (Boat rowing dance):

This dance is performed in the name of *Swudri* deity. Regarding this *phathali kherai* dance M.S. Hazowary defines, "The *Doudini* takes a sword and holding it like an oar while rowing a boat, moves ahead. A few dancers follow suit as if they were helping her in a boat to sail across a river. The helper, at times, steals out of the dance in order to create amusement among the audience. Then two or three persons from the audience search for the boatman bring him back and make him row the boat again. Crossing a river by boat involves danger and other kinds of troubles. Inspite of this a person can cross rivers by boat safely.

This dance tells us the wide world through which, like a boat in a vast sea, we have to travel with sorrows, miseries and dangers accompanying us. In order to make one's way through these dangers and encumbrances successfully, one has to walk along the path of truth and honesty.[42]

C.Third part of Kherai dance

Besides the above dances, there are some items of *Kherai* dance those are not performed in *phathali* or *asan*. This dance is devoted specially to those people who were

[40] Hazowary, M.S. Op.cit. p-124
[41] Hazowary, Rupashree. Op.cit. p-67
[42] Hazowary, M.S. Op.cit. pp-125-126

closely associated with the *Kherai* festival and is performed in the name of the forefathers, ancestors and well wishers of the society. These names are *Jaraphagla*, *Thenthamali*, *Lanthagurji*, *Dabang Buthua*, *Saoria-Daoria* and many others.[43]

On the other hand, in *Kherai* festival there are some additional dance has found which is not connected with any deities of *phathali*. This additional dance is called in Bodo *uphera mwsanai* or *mwsamu*. This kind of dances is performed by co-dancers of *Dwudini* in leisure time. Such as- *neolai gelenai mwsanai, maoji mengbrang gelenai mwsanai, jaraphagla mwsanai* etc. can be mentioned.

2.2.3 GARZA WORSHIP

Garza worship is also one another religious festival of Bodos. In the village people or area of the villagers are together to worship *Garza*. They worship *Garza* for well being of villagers. After the '*Kherai*' festival the second great religious festival of Bodos is *Garza*. These festivals are ingredient of *Bathou*. Because Bodo people are worship the supreme God of *Bathou*. *Bathou* is all in all of *Bathou* worshiper. The *Oza* (village physician) and *Douri* (priest) are the main role in *Garza* worship. On behalf of the village people the *Douri* offers the offerings to the deity with the help of the *Oza*. *Garza* is worship worshiped by offering animal or bird sacrifice traditionally. However, now-a-days, the modified *Bibar Bathou* worshippers observe '*Garza*' by offering flowers and *Prasad* instead of sacrifice animal or bird like the *Kherai* worship.*Garza* worship in general, sometimes is celebrated four times a year and in many other villages it is celebrated twice a year and even sometimes only once a year.

Types of *Garza* worship-

Based on the *mantras* (chanting) used by the Bodo *Ozas Garza* worship can be classified into eighteen types. The eighteen types of *Garza* mentioned in Joy Narayan Basumatary's book "*Boroni Bathou Dhwrwm*" are- *1Lakhi/lakshmi Garza, 2 Sieu Garza 3 Tulshing-Mulshing Garza 4 Duramari Garza 5 Dawang Garza 6 Sindur Garza 7 Thongtogali Garza 8 Thiya Garza 9 Soka Garza 10 Gu Garza 11 Ihieu Garza 12 Phiew*

[43] Hazowary, Rupashree. Op.cit. p-57

Garza 13 Maya Garza 14 Saya Garza 15 Dhan kubir Garza 16 Bwrai Garza 17 Dano Garza 18 Golakata Garza.[44]

Bellow mentioned is some of the '*mantras'* (chanting) used by the *Ozas* in *Garza* worship –

aham mahadeo, maha phwrbu
phagla thakur aie bormali
phwrzi phwrza sainachi thakur
bung he aiephwr aphaphwr
wjwnghai swr dongbaow
asu mainao dong
bwrai raja zwmwn zwla
zekhai mara khobai mara
gambari, dwhwnshri, mwnshrimwn dong
he aiephwr aphaphwr
nwngswr danilo mwdai noga
orai dinni mwdai nwngswr
dohai de aiephwr aphaphwr
gamini gotho-gothai houa hinjaophwrkhou
sukh bai sukh lakhinangwn
phisa phisoukhou mwjagwi lakhinangwn
hinjaophwra naha mwiha thangwn
beohai sigi-sogo khalamnw mwnnai noga
houaphwra bonha-mwiha thangwn
beohai musa-muphur jananwi
baidi mwiya khalamnw mwnnai noga
dohai de aiephwr aphaphwr
nwngswrnw beba jagranw beba hwnai jayw
dekhra jagranw dekhra hwnai jayw
pharou jagranw pharou hwnai jayw
bedorni akhai zouni phukhri wngkhamni ali
khalamnanwi dhup-dhunajwng mwdwmphru
mwdwm hwnanwi phao-phuja khalamw jwng
laijamao shreng shreng bonanwi goi-phathwi
hwbai jwng
nwngswr jekhou bidwng bekhounw hwdwng jwgw
nwngswrw jekhounw jayw bikhounw hwdwng jwgw
dohai de mahadeo mahaphwrbu! phagla raja
borma raja, sainachi mainao, bwrai raja, zwmwn-zwla
jekhai mara, khobai mara, gambari, dwhwnshri, mwnshri
aiephwr aphaphwr
daoboalai swmakhwi, daokhayalai phurakhwi
swithwni deothaya, swithwao thanangou
manni deothaya mannao thanangou
khobordar! khobordar! khobordar!
aiephwr aphaphwr

[44] Basumatary, Joy Narayan. (1995). Boroni Bathou Dhwrwm. Serfangguri: Sekhar Printing Press. p-20

sahani rog biyadiphwrkhou saha hogarhor
sanjahani rog biyadikhou sanjaha hogarhor
khwlahani rog biyadiphwrkhou khwlaha hogarhor
swnabni rog biyadiphwrkhou swnabha hogarhor
dohai! dohai!! dohai!!!
aiephwr aphaphwr
unniya bunniyakhou dahal jwng the
thoral(toroal) jwng the khalamnangwn
dohai aiephwr aphaphwr
nwngswrnw jeblabw phao phuja hwbai thagwn jwgw.[45]
(boibw gugrub khulumw)

In English,

aham mahadev, maha prabhu
pagla thakur, mother (aie) *barmali*
phwrji-phwrja sainasi thakur
oh! say aiephwr-aphaphwr (dear inhabitants people)
who are there beyond
asu mainao there
*bwrai raja, jwmwn jwla, jekhai mara, khobai mara, gambari, dwhwnshree, mwnshree*are there
oh! dear inhabitants
you are not only the deity of now
you are the God of eternity
forgive! oh' god and goddess
the children, man and woman of the village
you've forgiven and will forgive
will have to protect the children
women go for fishing
don't make them afraid of anything
men folk go for fire-wood collection
camouflageing tiger and bear, don't surprise them
forgive! dear god and goddess
you are offered goat (beba) to goat eater
cock (dekhra) is offered to cock eater
pegion is offered to pegion eater
there are lots of meat, rice-bear, rice
make the place aromatic with insence sticks, we worship so you thus
we've offered you betel-leave and betel-nuts
we've offered you anything you asked for
we've offered you anything you eat
forgive! oh' mahadev mahaprabhu! pagla raja
barama raja, sainasi mainao, bwrai raja
jwmwn jwla, jwkhai mara, khobai mara, gambari,
dwhwnshree- mwnshree, oh! god and goddess
crane has not blackened, crows hasn't whitened
the god of truth, live in truth
the god of honour, live in honour

[45] Narzi, Bhaben. op.cit. pp-156-157

beware! careful! careful!
oh' god and goddess
let go the ailments of north to north
let go the ailments of east to east
let go the ailments of south to south
let go the ailments of west to west
oh' god and goddess
stop the problems and troubles with shield,
and stop with the sword
oh! god and goddess
we shall ever worship and give offerings to you.

In the same way we find other chanting (*mantras*) addressed to the various respective deities. Like-

aham, dekhi khwnasong khwnasong
lama dothani mugasong
Garza gasonni Boro mwdaiphwr khwnasong
angni batraya jaywna jaya khwnasong

aio! aie mainao bima nwngni phisaphralai swr swr dongswi dalai- asu mainao, khorma mainao, sali mainao, basumati mainao, zhul mainao, damuya mainao, borgotiya mainao, baoya mainao, zwsa gwswm, zwsa daothu, maisa mai hwnnanwi dongw, bwthwrni jiradkhou bwthwrao jahwgasinw dongw. Mansi-dumsi, jib-jibikhou khangasinw dongw, aie mainao lakhmi nwng bimaya Prasad mutha, bibar daise jwngnw manao thanangwn.[46] *(khulumw aieywi)*

In English,

listen oh! God, oh! listen
Bodo deities of *Garja* worship listen
my words are right or wrong listen

oh! mother God *Mainao*, who are your children are there- *asu mainao, khorma mainao, sali mainao, basumoti mainao, jhul mainao, damua mainao, borgotiya mainao, baoya mainao, jwsa gwswm, jwsa daothu, maisa mai* call them, season's fruits are provided in due season. Menfolk, animal folks are sustained. Mother lakshmi you are pleased with our *Prasad mutha* and flower offerings.

1) *dekhi khwnasong khwnasong-*

[46] Basumatary, Jay Narayan. Op.cit. pp-19-20

aiephwr aphaphwr! Garza gaswnni mwdaiphwr, swr swr jananwi dongswi nwngswrlai, Lakhmi Garza, Sieu Garza, Thulshing-Mulshing Garza, Duramarai Garza, Daoang Garza, Sindur Garza, Thongthogali Garza, Thiya Garza, Soka Garza, Gu Garza, Ihieu Garza, Phiew Garza, Maya Garza, Saya Garza, Dhwnkubir Garza, Bwrai raja Garza, Dano Garza, Golakata Garza, Garza Garza 18 (adharo) Garza dongswi nwngthangphralai dinwi bwthwrni damalao dhup-dhuna jeoari gasa saonanwi, sari sari bibarni bari baonanwi phuja hwdwngswi. Bibar daise jwngnw manao thanangwn aiephwr aphaphwr.[47] *(khulumw)*

In English,

Listen oh' God, listen

o' inhabitants mother-father! *Garza* worship's deities, who lives ther, *lakshmi garza, sieu garza, thulshing-mulshing garza, duramarai garza, daoang garza, sindur garza, thongthogali garza, thiya garza, soka garza, gu garza, ihieu garza, phieu garza, maya garza, saya garza, dhwnkubir garza, bwrai raja garza, dano garza, golakata garza, Garza Garza* 18 kinds *Garza* are there. You are today, with season's insence and *jewari-gasa*, flower offerings, worshiped by us. With just one flower offering look upon us mother-father God.

2) he! aphaphwr-

San, okhaphwr, daosrigwba, zou-biban, laokhar-biban, alongbar, hathorkhiphwr. Swrgw raijwni mwdaiphwr nwngthangmwnnw jeoari gasa saonanwi laijam bonanwi bibar guphur gwja gwmw hwdwng. Bibar daise jwngnw manao thanangwn.[48] *(khulumw)*

In English,

hei! *Aphaphwr*

The sun, the moon, *daosrigwba, jwu biban, laokhar biban*, *alongbar*, and the stars, deities of heaven we're offering you flowers of red, white and yellow with the insence sticks. Accept our honouring you.

3) dekhi khwnasong khwnasong-

[47] Ibid. p-20
[48] Ibid. pp-20-21

zwmwn buri zwmwn bwrai jananwi nwngthangphwrni phisaphralai swr swr jananwi dongswi, bwraijwng burwijwng gubun jananwi bwisangao khothanwi khalainanwi swiywini dumsolainanwi thanailai. Ongi-onga, khongi-khonga, boba-bobi, thothla-thothli, lengra-lengri, bengura-benguri, danglo-diglo, jambi-jamba, khaon-khaon 18(atharo) khaon phisa phisou dongswi nwngthangphwrni phisaphralai. Nwngthang mwnnwbw phisaphwrnwbw, jeoari gasa saonanwi sari sari bibarni ason hwdwngswi dhup-dhuna Prasad mutha mutha hwnanwi dwi santi sarnanwi hwdwng.[49] *(khulumw)*

In English,

oh! God listen, oh God, *zwmwn buri zwmwn bwrai* who are your children are- husband and wife living seperately due to bad relationship and making two separate rooms.*Ongi-onga, khongi-khonga, boba-bobi, thothla-thothli, lengra-lengri, bengura-benguri, danglo-diglo, jambi-jamba, khaon-khaon 18(atharo) khaon* children are there from you. To you and your children we worship you with *Gasa* and *Jewari* flower offerings and incence offering, Prasad offerings and sprinkling holi-water.

4) aio he! aphaphwr-

khwnasong khwnasong apha bwrai raja jananwi nwngthangni sathuri lungthiphralai swr swr jananwi dongswi dalai. Bwrai soudri nisan dhora, phangkha dhora, mes-mesani, Koch-kochani, rabha-rabhani, hira-hirani, gongar-gongarni dongswi nwngthangphralai. Nwngthangmwnnw dhup-dhupati saonanwi, bibar jora jora baonanwi Prasad mutha mutha hwnanwi dwi santi sarnanwi hwdwngswi- aphaphwr bibar daise jwngnw manao thanangwn.[50] *(khulumw)*

In English,

oh! he, God,

Listen oh listen, being old king, who are yours *sathuri-lungthiphralai* now! *Bwrai soudri nisan dhora, phangkha dhora, mes-mesani, Koch-kochani, rabha-rabhani, hira-hirani, gongar-gongarni*, are there now. We worship you with a pair of flower offerings, insence sticks, offering prasads and sprinkling holy-water, oh! mother and father God accept our veneration.

[49] Ibid. p-21
[50] Ibid. pp-21-22

5) *dekhi, khwnasong khwnasong-*

aiephwr santi khungri jananwilai, alai-khungri, bilai-khungri, iss-khungri, biss-khungri, maya khungri, saya-khungri, dwisa-khungri, dwima-khungri, lwithw-khungri, khungri khungri 18 (atharo) khungri jananwi dongswi bimaphwr nwngswrlai. Nwngthangmwnnwbw atharo phathali baonanwi Prasad mutha dhup-dhuna jeoari gasa saonanwi gwja, gwmw, guphur sari sari bibar baonanwi hwdwngswi aiephwr.[51] *(khulumw)*

In English,

Dekhi, listen oh listen-

Mother God , being *shanti khungri alai-khungri, bilai-khungri, iss-khungri, biss-khungri, maya khungri, saya-khungri, dwisa-khungri, dwima-khungri, lwithw-khungri, khungri khungri* 18 *khungri* are there mothers you are. We build you 18 *phathali* or *asan* and offer you insence sticks, flower offerings of red, yellow and white oh mothers.

6) *dekhi! Aphaphwr khwnasong khwnasong-*

aphaphwr kubir kubir atharo kubir jananwi dongswi nwngthangphralai, bhoot-phetani, bira-birani, pat bira, songkha bira, narthom bira, sithom bira arw iss-kubir, biss-kubir, okhola kubir, bokola kubir, saya kubir, maya kubir, hwthwna kubir, bwtwna kubir, kal kubir, dhwn kubir, langthiya kubir, patal kubir atharo (18) kubir dongswi nwngthangphralai. Nwngthangmwnnw dhup-dhuna jeoari gasa saonanwi Prasad mutha mutha hwnanwi sari sari bibarni ason hwnanwi dabw phujiyw aphaphwr nwngswrkhou.[52] *(khulumw)*

In English,

dekhi! Fathers listen oh listen-

aphaphwr kubir kubir 18 *kubirs,* you have been *bhoot-bhetani, bira-birani, pat bira, songkha bira, narthom bira, sithom bira arw iss-kubir, biss-kubir, okhola kubir, bokola kubir, saya kubir, maya kubir, hwthwna kubir, bwtwna kubir, kal kubir, dhwn kubir, langthiya kubir, patal kubir,* eighteen *kubirs* are there. We worship you with insence sticks

[51] Ibid. p-22
[52] Ibid. p-22

and *jewari-gasa*, offerings and *prasads* and making a throne (altar) of flowers oh! father and mother God.

Through this '*mantras*' the socio-cultural pictures of the Bodo people are revealed. Because the Bodos are belongs to the agrarian society. Therefore, they sustain their life through agriculture and for this the primarily depend on the nature. Hence in being dependent on nature, they recall the names of biotic and abiotic elements of nature and pray for the welfare of the village and the society and celebrate the Garza worship. They sacrifice the naturally available materials to their deities and gods. The village women folk have the tradition of going for collecting vegetables and the men folk goes for hunting. This social and traditional culture exists among Bodos. So, whenever they go for such hunting or vegetable collection activities, the village people pray to the deities so as to protect them from any misfortune during their hunting or vegetable collection activities. Thus, they offer their personal belongings to the respective Garza deities such as a goat is offered to goat eater, a pigeon to a pigeon eater, a cock to a cock eater, to worship the Garza gods and goddesses. By doing this, the people believe, they hope to live in peace and prosperity. For good crops in the village and for the protection from various ailments and to chase away the evil spirits, they practised this Garza worship. Thus, the Bathou worshiper Bodos, worship Garza every year. Now-a-days the modified 'Bibar Bathou' worshiper Bodos are offers flowers instead of animal sacrifices in Garza worship.

2.2.3 PHUTHLI HABA (DOLL MARRIAGE)

Doll marriage is one of the oldest Socio-religious practices of the Bodos. This festival is generally celebrated between *Baisakh* and *Jeth* month (April-May month) of Assamese calendar. Just before the sowing of '*Asu*' paddy or plantation of '*Sali*' paddy, the *Bathwu* religious Bodos observe this '*Phuthli Haba*'or doll marriage. For the peace and prosperity of the village they celebrate this wedding of '*Raona-Raoni*'. According to the folk belives of the Bodos it is said that by symbolically celebrating the marriage of *Raona-Raoni* through doll's marriage, they are blessed with sufficient rainfalls in their life. The crop fields become green with crops. After the doll's marriage the *Raona-Raoni* are floated away in a river. It is believed that in doing so, all the misfortunes such as sickness, dysentery, diarrhoea, cholera etc disappear from the village.

Doll's marriage is celebrated in Darrang, Kamrup, Baksa and Barpeta districts of Assam. First of all a pair of dolls is made for this celebration. Generally aged women of the community, after bathing themselves, make the dolls. They make the Dolls with straw and wind it with red, black and white thread. Dolls are made in resemblance to human anatomy. Fresh and new cloths are worm in bride and bridegroom's attire. The Dolls are garlanded with flower garland. From the time of making dolls onwards the *Gidalis* keep on singing. Dolls marriage ceremony starts in the evening and continues till the sunrise next day. It may be mentioned that the womenfolk takes the lead in this celebration.

In the Doll's wedding, the people gathered, sing and dances in joy. The following song is one of such song sung in Doll's marriage-

haiya hei haiya hei.....
hei, hei, hei, hei.....
nwi gwjahari.....gwswmhari
gwja phaguri hwbai jwng hwbai
khwma nainanwi khwma nainanwi
wngthi jora hwbai jwng hwbai
gwdwna nainanwi gwdwna nainanwi
dhoroni madli (thabis) hwbai jwng hwbai
akhai nainanwi akhai nainanwi
gamkharu hwbai hwbai jwng
janji nainanwi janji nainanwi
dhuti hwbai hwbai jwng
janji nainanwi janji nainanwi
dokhona hwbai hwbai jwng
khoro nainanwi khoro nainanwi
uroni hwbai hwbai jwng.
jwng musukha sajainaya sajainaya
jadwngna jayakhwi naiphwi naiphwi
wi apha iswr...
jadwng jadwng jathardwng
somaidwng somaidwng somaithardwng
hwia hwi hwia hwi hwia hwi
hwi hwi hwi hwi.....[53]

In English,

haiya hei haiya hei....
hei hei hei hei.....
look redfolk.....blackfolk.....
we have given you red turban
we've checked the ear
and worn the earings
we've checked the neck

[53] Informant, Basumatary, Nabin Jibi. (Age-60, Thalkuchi, Baksa)

the neck worn the *dharani madli* (a kind of amulet) on it
we've checked the hands
the hands worn the *gamkharu* (a kind of bangal)
we've checked the waist
the waist and adorned it with *dhoti*
we've checked the waist
the waist worn the *dokhona*
we've checked the head
the head we've adorned it with *uroni*
come and see you all and see
if our decoration of doll is good
oh, almighty god!
it's good, it's good done
haiya hei, haiya hei.....
hei hei hei.....

After this, the dolls of *Raona* and *Raoni* are taken to the place of wedding and are seated on a *bhel* (a kind of float of banana plants) and the ceremony is done. From this song it is clear that the dolls of *Raona-Raoni* are decorated and attired just like the bride and bridegroom.

In the same way the *gidalis* sing to honour and receive the *Raona-Raoni* thus-

aio phaidw nwgwlai
aio phaidw, lanangwn
mwthai lanjai hen thangkhukhou
dinwibw phayw gabwnbw phayw
abwi hai
aio phaidw phaidw wi
makhu hen daba hwnangwn
makhu hen daba lanangwn
aio phaidw lanangwn
ram thulunchi lanangwn
dubri hagra lanangwn
aio phaidw lanangwn
aio phaidw nwngwlai
phab nangwn phaidw wi
phuino mwngwn phaidw wi
hori hei haiya hei hui...[54]

In English,

oh come on, oh you come
you've to take the otter tail like tobacco
you come today and tomorrow
oh! Grandmother,
mother, come mother

[54] Basumatary, Phukan. (2011). Phuthli Haba. Barama: Barama Offset Printers. p-12

give the shuttle- like knife,
take the shuttle- life knife
oh! come and take
the *ram tulunchi* (a holy basil plant)
the *dubri hagra* (a kind of bent grass)
oh! take them
oh come you come
curse on you if don't come
blessings on them, who come
hari he haiya he hui....

Again the *gidali's* sing this song while be sitting the *Raona-Raoni* in the worshiping place-

aio abwi abwi hai
aio phaidw nwgwlai
jonai girikhw johwdw
lanai girikhw lahwdw
phaidw phaidw nwgwlai
jonai jonai bohainai
dwima dwini dwikhwlai
lagwna na laya phaidw wi
haphaochini ha gwdankhw lakhabai
aio phaidw nwgwlai
dwisa dwikhw labaina
bel hena goikhwlai
mwndw na mwna
phaidw wi
bura hena phathwikhou
ladwngna layakhwi
phaidw wi
bwraini goi monaya
mwndw na mwnakhwi
phaidw wi
burwini dao jwlwiyalai
bwrw bwrw phaidw hai
wi phaidw bwrw wi
ro' ro' bwiniphwr
rothomali bwini wi
rotho' rotho abo hai
rotho'mali aboa
dao jwlwi ladwmwn
daomasarni bidwikhw
ladwna laya
phaidw wi
mwndw na mwnakhwi
phaidw wi
hori he haiya he hui...[55]

[55] Ibid. pp-13-14

In English,

oh grandmother, oh grandmother
oh! you come
feed the hungry
make drink the thirsty
come oh you come
make them be-sited
will they drink the river water!
will they take it!
the mud is already taken
come oh mother come
have you taken the water
the betel-nut have you found it?
come oh mother
have you taken the hena like betel leave
come oh mother come
did you find the *hena* like betel leave
did you take it,
oh mother,
did you find the old man's betel nut bag
did you mother,
where is the old lady's hen
where is it
come you all come
wait sisters wait
oh *Rothomali* sister
wait sister wait
Rothomali sister took the hen
had taken the egg?
come sister come
did you find it
come sister come
hari he haiya he hui..

Through these songs the ancient way of worship and cultural practices are seen.

Thus, *Raona-Raoni* is taken to the place of worship and after that the crowd celebrates the occasion by dancing and singing with step by step. Then the *gidalis* sing and dance around. This is one such song where *gidalis* call for the pigs in *Raona-Raoni's* wedding-

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
angni phisou Raona-Raonini
habani omaya boha thangkhw
phwi bunda laphunda
gwimarla nama angni phisou
Raona-Raonini habani omaya

phwi bunda laphunda
arw hwmbaswnw arw hwmbaswnw
oma bundaya oma bundaya
tharai gajwla nwlw gajwla
janw thangdwng
arw hwmbaswnw arw hwmbaswnw
oma bundaya oma bundaya
jeng-jabwr orphai orchi
khoroao rujunna lana phwinaiswinw
bejwngnw saothwng
raijw rajaya angkhou
bidi bungnanwi bidi bungnanwi
oma bundaya oma bundaya
jeng- jabwrkhou dwnnanwi
chid bongwla janaiswinw
haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei....[56]

In English,

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
in my grandchildren's *Raona-Raoni's* wedding
where are the pig gone
come boar (male pig) come
is the pig for the wedding gone
come boar (male pig) come
pig have gone to feed on
the tender reed and *tarai* (reed like plant)
then the boar comes with
the broken branches of trees on it's head
let them burn me with these
saying thus, saying thus,
the boar, the boar
keeps the branches of the trees then it dies
haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei..

Pork is the traditional food offered in every occasion in the Bodo community. Without pork no celebration takes place. Hence the song in *Raona-Raoni'*s wedding reveals the use of pork and pig raring tradition among the Bodos.

Baru (*Barlampha*) presence is a must in *Phuthli* marriage. Offering offerings to *Deba-Debi*, blessing the crowd present and other related ceremonies are done by *Baru*. The *gidalis* sings welcoming *Baru* or *Barlampha* thus-

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei

[56] Informant, Basumatary, Nabin jibi. (Age-60, Thalkuchi, Baksa)

hei hei hei hei hei
o' baru baru
Deba-Debini khathiao jiraiphwi
Deba-Debini phuja hwphwi
o' baru baru
jwngni phisa phisouphwra
Deba-Debikhou khulumgwn
nwng barua barua
jwngni phisa phisouphwrnw
Deba-Debiniphrai
bwr binanwi hwphwi hwphwi
haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei...[57]

In English,

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
oh *baru baru*
come sit near *Deba-Debi*
worship the *Deba-Debi*
oh *baru baru*
our children shall worship
Deba-Debi
Baru oh *baru*
do beseech on behalf of our children
bless them bless them
haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei.

After this *Baru* sits in front of the *Deba-Debi* and worship them. Then the crowd gathered too worship *Deba-Debi* and *Baru* prays for them and bless them. And then the *gidalis* teasing *Baru* sing thus-

o' Baru o' Baru Baru Baru
jwngkhou khulumphwi hai Baru
jouni ali dongw hwnna bungdwngmwn
dalai manw gwiya hai Baru
bedor ali dongw hwnna bungdwngmwn
dalai manw gwiya hai Baru.[58]

In English,

oh Baru oh Baru Baru Baru
come and pay tribute to us
you've said there's plenty of wine
but there is nothing now
you've said there's plenty of meat

[57] Informant, Ibid.
[58] Informant, Ibid.

but there's nothing
there is nothing *Baru*.

From this song it is evident that in the Bodo wedding the role of *Bwirathi* and *Barlamgpha* is very important. So, is in the *phuthli* marriage or doll marriage both are necessary.

After paying tribute to all the crowd gathered their *Barlampha* collects all the materials offered to *Deba-Debi* and wrapping it in a banana leave takes it between his knees and dances. The crowd also accompanies *Barlampha*. After the dance the priest hands over the deity letter to *Barlampha*. Then the *Barlampha* takes it and runs away from the place. This is called "*Baru kharnai*" (runing of *Baru*) in doll marriage. At this moment the children throws "*oppri*" (used up malt) and "*habru*" (mud) on *Barlampha*. They sing this song-

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
phwinai dina baobai
thangnai dina sophwibai
omakhi bariao swimakhi bariao
thaliya thaliya
jwngni jaigayao thangdwni thu
jwngni jaigayao jwngni jaigayao
na khangkhraini amdani
jwngni jaigayao jwngni jaigayao
hangsw raja khong khrong khang khrang dongw
swimakhi bariao omakhi bariao
thaliya thaliya
thu thu thangdwni thu
haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei.[59]

In English,

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
day of arrival is gone
day of departure come
filled with dirt and filth here
shall not stay here longer
in our place there is bounty of fish and crabs
in our place, in our place
plenty of goose and gander
here the place of filth and dirt
shall not stay, not stay

[59] Informant, Ibid.

let's go, let's go..
haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei.

In the Doll's wedding we see "*daokhi sounai*" dance. Here in the name of *Deba-Debi* a chicken is offered. Taking this chicken they turn around *Deba-Debi* dancing and kill the chicken. That is why it is called "*daokhi sounai*" dance. *Gidalis* sing thus-

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
mara mara khunda mara
mara mara aphlai mara
sou dao sou
sou sou sou.[60]

In English,

haiya hei haiya hei haiya hei
hei hei hei hei hei
mara mara khunda mara
mara mara aphlai mara
prick hen prick
prick prick prick.

Thus we find another song called fishing dance-

ali khona khona
na bwthia se rou rou
ma bwigwnhai biyw
ma jekhaijwng na gurlaigwn
nwlw gegrebni khobaijwng
oua jengchini jekhaijwng
haoakha gapha khobaipha
sigang sigang na gurnaya
hathai harao rao
harai baidi.[61]

In English,

in the corner of embankment
shoal of *bwthia* fish (a kind of small mud water fish like eel)
is it an omen of any fate?
0r going to fish with what kind of *jekhai* (a kind of fishing trap)
the *khobai* made of reed (khobai- a kind of taking fish utensil)
and *jekhai* made of bamboo

[60] Informant, Ibid.
[61] Informant, Ibid.

Through this song sang in doll marriage, the cultural tradition of fishing is depicted. *Jekhai* and *khobai* are the material culture of Bodos is revealed here.

In the same way in Doll marriage song sang during boating is seen-

nao bole dholou dhopou baitha bole seo
wi baitha bole seo
o' naoria naoria
par kori diya amak
par kori diya
o' Radha Radha
par kori diya amak
par kori diya
kanor sona diya amak
par kori diyar
oi par kori diyar.[62]

In English,

unstable boat with unstable oar
Oar says *seo* (a kind of noise)
oh sailor oh sailor
cross us beyond
cross us beyond
oh Radha oh Radha
cross us beyond
cross us beyond
give us gold earings
for making you cross
oh for making you cross.

Through this song it is visible that the process of communication was not that good at that time. Boat was the only means to Crossing River then. These issues are reflected through these songs.

Playing on *Serja* (violin) is one of the cultural practices of Bodos. People of the ancient times played on *Serja* and sang song to forget sorrows and celebrate joy. Tunes of *Serja* are closely associated with the "*kherai*". Thus playing *Serja* in Doll marriage is the cultural traditions of the Bodos. Thus use of cultural traditional instruments is seen in "*Phuthli haba*" or Doll marriage. Along with it the practices of Bathouism is also reflected in this song such as-

aiya thwidwng aikhou gardwng

[62] Informant, Ibid.

aphaya thwidwng aphakhou gardwng
theobw theobw
diba bwrai dibi burwikhou
phujinw garakhwi garakhwi
raijw rajakhou
mwjagwi lakhinangwn
phisa phisoukhou
mwjagwi lakhinangwn
lakhinangwn
he apha iswr
he apha iswr.[63]

In English,

mother died and is cremated
father died and is cremated
still, still,
we've not forgotten to worship the
diba bwrai and dibi burwi
the community we've to keep it sound
the grandchildren
rare them properly
keep them properly
oh god father
oh god father.

Then after the end of the wedding of *Raona-Raoni*, the people lift the *Raona-Raoni* in a *Bhel* (a float of banana plants) and float it on the river. At this time the *gidalis* pray so that all the ailments, sickness, like dysentery, diarrhoea, and cholera etc. disappear from the village. Like-

wi abou thangdw
wi abwi sonali thangdw
salbari salthao
jwngni akhama gwthao
wi abwi sonali
jawi lwgwi thangdw
thanw nangla jwngni swimakhi bari
amakhi bariyao
wi abwi abou thangdw
gaswibw udwi sanai khinai
hasunai langjub nangwn abwi
wi abwi langjubnangwn
wi abou langjubnangwn
wi abou dhole-magorwi dana horbai jwngw
akhai gwiwikhw akhai banaibai
atheng gwiwikhw atheng banaibai

[63] Informant, Ibid.

wi abou-abwi
thangdw nwngswr bhelao sore sore
thangdw abou
thangdw abwi
hori he haiya he hui.[64]

In English,

oh grandpa go away
oh grandma sonali go
salbari salthao
our rice is tasty
oh grandma
after eating and drinking go
do not stay in our filthy village
dirty with pigs dung
go away oh grandpa and grandma
all the ailments like diarrhoea, dysentery
take them away
oh grandma take away
oh grandpa take away
oh grandpa with full of joy we've made and send you
handless we've made you hands
legless we've made you legs
oh grandma oh grandpa
go with the bhel by and by
go away grandpa
go away grandma
hori he haiya he hui..

2.3 SEASONAL FESTIVAL

There are many seasonal festivals of the Bodos. The major seasonal and agricultural festival is Bwisagu, Magw/Domasi and Katigasa. Among these festivals the Bwisagu festival is the greatest seasonal and agricultural festival of the Bodo society.

2.3.1.*BWISAGU* FESTIVAL (SPRING TIME FESTIVAL)

Bwisagu is a spring time festival of the Bodos. This is the greatest seasonal and agricultural festival having joy and marry-making, singing and dancing.

The festival is celebrated in the New Year of Bengali/Assamese calendar as well as welcome of the New Year. It starts on the last day of the month of *Chaitra*; known as *Sankranti* (end of the month/ year) and continues in seven days. During these days the

[64] Basumatary, Phukan. op.cit. pp-39-40

villagers observe rituals like- purifying the house, offering worship before *Bathou Bwrai*, the supreme God of the Bodos, offering prayer to the deceased person, prayer for fever person, bathing the cattle etc. In *Sankranti* or on the first day of *Bwisagu* the Bodos are observed 'cattle rites', in Bodo it is called "*Mwsouni Bwisagu*". The cattle are the part and parcel of the cultivators. So, they pray to the God for the welfare of cattle. Bhaben Narzi once observed, the Bodos celebrate the *Bwisagu* festival in two parts. First part is the cattle rites and the other part is the human rights.

During the *Bwisagu* festival the villagers engage themselves for getting spontaneous joy and merry-making with various songs and dancing; they go for enjoy door to door and have ethno-food and local liquor which are part of the festival. Along with the songs and dancing they perform musical instruments to thrive the echo of the heart. It may be observed that there are reflection of beautiful nature, youthful exuberance and pang of love, rites and rituals, social behaviour and as a whole way of living of the cultivators. So Bwisagu is not only the festival of the Bodos; but a hub of the way of living and the spirit of the society.

Following some types of Bwisagu songs-

I. Festival beginning songs
II. Cattle bathing songs
III. Cultivators songs
IV. Love songs
V. Weaving songs
VI. Songs of sorrow
VII. Joking songs

I.Festival beginning songs: The traditional livelihood of the Bodos is based on the nature. When nature is growing up, the new buds are growing up in the trees and looking incredible that the enjoying waves are entered in their minds. And songs are coming from their core of hearts. The song indicates emerging of the joyful season:

swuphwilaibai sath mulugni
lwithw barnanwi
rindao rinshi
bwthwr baoaliya swuphwilaibai

bwi bwthwra swuphwilaibai.[65]

In English,

here it comes crossing
oceans and rivers of seven countries,
here arrives unstability season of mind
thumble after year by year
that seasons here arrives.

In another song it may be observed,

okhaphwr bwisakhni
okhadwijwng honwi
jwmwi naigdao naigdao
daobw laigwu honwi
juli laywi laywi na khursa
na khursa agwi
Mwinagurini Sewari jiuli sona.[66]

In English,

the rain water of *bwisakh* month
here comes the small fishes
with pairs
looking up the clouds
Mwinaguri's darling *Sewari*.

II.Cattle Bathing songs: The Bodo people take their cattle to the pond or river for bathing the cattle; the day before they collect some natural things which are used in rituals of bathing the cattle. The villagers awake up in the early morning and begin to prepare some ritualistic substance that need to adorn the cattle with a dead charcoal of utensil or turmeric powder. All the things are mixed up with mustard oil and make spot of colours with the pieces of *nwlw* (a kind of plant) or castor oil plant or bamboo. Some of the people smear the mustard oil only in the horn and hoof of the cattle; and then taking the cattle to the pond side or river side for bathing of cattle. Villagers go together singing the song as mentioned in below. At the time of bathing people throw pieces of gourd, brinjal, turmeric and various things as needed in rituals which are collected from jungle. Following songs is as-

lao ja phanthao ja
bwswr bwswr er hanja hanja
bimani khither biphani khither
nwngswr jagwn halua geder

[65] Narzaree, Indramalati. (2005). Boro Harimu arw Thunlai Bijirnai. Guwahati: Narzaree Publications. p-40
[66] Brahma, Nileswar. (1993). Balabganwi Boroni Khonthai. Kokrajhar: Aronai Press. p-13

bima gaide badi daja
bipha bolod badi ja
bari khonayao embu bongola
be baidi ja geder jangila.[67]

In English,

eat long gourd, eat brinjal
increase yearly in groups
revenge of parents
you all will be strong ox
don't be like tiny mother
be like strong father
toad in the corner of orchard
be like a toad big and strong.

And another song is to be mentioned:

diglilithia mwswuni muli
dudali jagwn gai jwkhili
diglilithi laothi, khri khri ganthi
jwngni mwswua jagwn bolod jathi
janai noga gaide thephra
markha jagwn phalwni berha.[68]

In English,

diglilithi is the medicine of cow
dudali will be calf
diglilithi stick is of knots
our cow will be of strong community
not to be like tiny and short
markha will be leader of group.

The above mentioned songs reflect the social customs, rituals and traditional behaviour of the Bodo society.

III.Cultivators songs: During the festival when go for dancing door to door the dancing group sing together which reflect life of the cultivators and their planning for cultivation. These kinds of songs reflect way of living of the villagers. The song goes as follow:

hinjao hwua boibw
khwuse jananwi halao thangni
hadankhwu siphai tharnangwu
aaio maibra, jwsa golai mwnder

[67] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-179
[68] Ibid. p- 179

gasibw gaijwb tharnangwu
aaio gaijwb tharnangwu.[69]

In English-

both men and women
Let's work together
and plough the new plot of land
and plant summer crops
like *maibra*(a species of paddy) and *jwsa*(a kind of fragrant fine rice)
plant all the varieties
oh friends plant all the varieties.

Some of the songs reflect the picture of vegetable gathering by the village girls which is commonly seen in the present day village society during the festival.

phwi hai lwgwphwr
Nakhathi hajwao
olodor mwigong, sibru mwigong
khanw thangni.[70]

In English,

hey, dear friends
let us go to *Nakhathi* hill
to collect *olodor* (a kindof esculent arum) and
sibru (a kind of thorny arum) vegitable.

IV.Love songs: Most of the songs which are sung by the *Bwisagu* festival are love songs. Youthful boys and girls express their fillings with the singing of songs. Not only the young boy and girl but also old men and women are also enjoying with sing songs.

Sengra- *agwilwi gami jwbtharnaini gwswmwi swmjwrw*
nwngkhwu nuabwla gwswa khamgliyw dwhw dwhw

Sikhla- *adahai guphurwi jangila nainwlai dela mala*
mabla langnw angkhwu manwthw ala gola.[71]

In English,

Boys- o! at the end of the village, black beauty dear
my heart burns if not see you

Girls- hey! fair and bold dear/ brother looks like well dressed
why so foolish while you will marry me.

[69] Boro, Anil. (2010). Folk Literature of Bodos. Guwahati: Mahamaya Graphics. p-111
[70] Chainary, Swarna Prabha. (2011). Thunlaini Phithikha. Baganpara: Nilima Prakashani. p-72
[71] Narzaree, Indramalati &Birlang. Op.cit. pp-85-86

And another song is to be mentioned:

sengra- *hajw khoroni hololokha*
angjwng raijw jagwna nwnglokha

sikhla- *ada hathaisalini*
thao dingrilo nwng baikha
asan mutha gwjwng-jwnglo nwng baikha.[72]

In English,

Boys- *hololokha* of the hills top
you are the only one
to stay in my whole life.

Girls- o! dear, only keep the oil dram ready
only keep a bunch of bangles ready from market.

The above mentioned songs reflect the pangs of love and joy of youthful excitement. Both of them expressed their spontaneous love.

V.Weaving songs: Loom and weaving system are the most important of the Bodo human being. So, weaving is also reflecting in the Bwisagu songs. The song goes as follow:

thang khal thang sal gabnai
habab ada
nwngkhuo gwsw khangnanwi
agor ernaiasw khana nangbai.[73]

In English-
tiktok tiktok sounds
of the loom oh dear
as I remember you
I forget to weave the beautiful design.

In another song it may be observed,

dwi jiri jiri samu khingkhiri
Sanani jinjiri,
agwi sanani jinjiri
o lwi agwi danw rwnga rwnga
hwnnaia,
lunw rwnga rwnga hwnaia,
musra gorsejwngnw dalaibai

[72] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-183
[73] Brahma, Lakheswar. (2007). Bwisagu arw Harimu. Kokrajhar: Mahamaya Printing Works. p-30

endisi gangsea.[74]

In English,

streams gurgling coiled snail
gold chain
o! dear gold chain
saying that don't know to weave
don't know to build
but now o! dear with a single tread bare weave silk cloth.

The above song reflects the social custom of the Bodo people; and extensively identify while Bodo women are expert in weaving.

VI.Songs of sorrow: If young boys and girls are unable to intimate with their own lovers they feel sorrow. This state of mind is also found in the festive songs of the *Bwisagu* that expresses sorrow and pangs of the heart. The following song indicates the meaning.

hangma thabai, hangma thabai ada
jamphwigurini Sayaram mandar bibar
ada! Sayaram mandar bibar
Boro mujwng muse hangma thabai ada!
harsa mujwng muse hangma thabai
bikhayao daodab thabai.[75]

In English,

regret! o' my dear brother
*jamphwiguri'*s Sayaram handsome
o! dear Sayaram handsome
wounded hearth regret with the scale of Boro
regret with the scale of other than Boros.

In another song it may be observed,

sal gabnaikhwu khwnabwla
nwgkhwu gwswkhangswi anglai
makhu gabnaikhwu khwnabwla
nwgkhwusw phwidwng nongswi
agwi, bibar sari-sari, goi sari-sari
minisri ragolangnai.[76]

In English,

I remember you
while I heard the sound of weavers loom
I thought you dear have come

[74] Brahma, M.M. (2011). Boroni khuga Methai. Kokrajhar: Mahamaya Printing Works. p-54
[75] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-183
[76] Brahma, Lakheswar. Op.cit. p-29

when I heard the sound of thread bare holder
series of flowers, series of betel nut trees
o! aged minisri.

VII.Joking songs: Most of songs are sung in the context of Bwisagu festival. There are so many sub branches we have found. Young boy and girl or all classes of people sing joking songs at Bwisagu festival. Such as, brother-in-laws sing song like:

wi bibwnang godai agwi,
Mwnbari Bibari
phwi mwsani sonaphwr
boibw sari sari.[77]

In English,

hey, dear younger sister-in-low
lets dance Mwnbari Bibari darling
all in a queue.

In another song it may be mentioned:

burbulia, burbulia
bwisagu bwthwrao
nwngjamadwi phwidwngmwn
jwu dongna gwilia?[78]

In English,

burbulia, burbulia (a kind of insect)
in bwisagu festival
your son-in-law had come
is their rice bear or not?

The above songs reflect the joy and merry-making of the Bodo society.

2.3.2 MAGW/DOMACHI

Magw or *Domachi* is the second largest seasonal festival. This festival is primarily associated with the agriculture. This is post harvest festival. This festival is generally celebrated primarily on the last night of the '*Push*' month (according to Assamese calendar) and continues to the next four to five days of '*Magh*' month, i.e., usually from 14th to 19th January. The Bodo people celebrate this *Magw/Domachi* mostly indulging in eating and drinking. This is the season of abundance of food. In Bodo it is said "*jouni*

[77] Nileswar Brahma. Op.cit. p-14
[78] Brahma, Lakheswar. Op.cit. p-43

phukhri, wngkhamni ali, bedorni akhai, janaini phari". In everybody's house there is abundance of food. A saying goes for the season as "rice stuck at the tail of the dogs". In this festival every family has plenty of *sitao, entap laru, sourai,* rice-beer, meat etc. to feast on.[79] The Bodos celebrate this *Magw*festival as per the traditional norms handed over to the society through the ages. Throughout the month of *Aghon* the Bodos remain busy with harvesting paddy, thrashing and collecting the paddy to their barn. After taking a good rest in the month of '*Push*' they prepare for the *Magw-Domachi* by the end of the '*Push*' month, the winter season. After celebrating the *Magw/ Domachi* by eating and drinking the Bodo farmers again get ready for the next cultivation. During this time in every farmer's family, there is plenty of paddy, sesame, beans, vegetables, and fish in the pond. There is no scarcity of anything in this season. That is why there is no difficulty in celebrating this *Magw/Domachi*. By the end of the '*Push*'month Bodo women get ready with the "*on gundwi*" (rice-powder). According to the traditional folk belief of the Bodos grinding "*on gundwi*" (rice powder) on the last day of '*Push*' month is equal to the hitting the cowboy's head with the stick. So, Bodo women don't grind '*on-gundwi*' on the last day of the '*Push*' month. They prepare it in advance. In the same way Bodo women don't prepare the steamed cake or "*thinkhli phitha*" in a pitcher's mouth, which usually is prepared thus in other occasions. If "*thinkhli phitha*" is prepared in a pitcher's mouth during *Magw/Domachi*, then the ox suffers from a sickness named "*dumalu*", an extended gland.[80]

One significant mention worthy aspect of *Magw phwrbw* is cleaning of the barn and kitchen a moping them with fresh cow dung. Trees are tied with *tharai* leaves in this festival. All these activities are accomplished just before the dusk of *Sankranti*as well as the last day of '*Push'* month. The women in the family, early in the morning take bath and before the rise of the crows and hawks, mop the kitchen and the barn. Such moping prevents the goddess *Mainao* (goddess of wealth) from going out. After this day the Bodos don't touch the rice in the barn for a whole month.[81] Thus Binay kr. Brahma in his, "*Boroni Subung Harimu*" book tells that the 'kitchen' is the dwelling place of 'lakhi/laxmi' and the barn is the store house of goddess laxmi or lakhi. That's why the moping of the house is done to retain the goddess lakhi and the wealth of the house. The Bodos don't take out the rice from the barn from the month of *Magh* to *Bwisagw*.

[79] Narzary, Rabin. (2012). Sa-Sanjayari Subung Phwrbw. Guwahati: Gumur Publication. p-9
[80] Narzi, Bhaben. (2010). Boro Kocharini Khuga Methai. Kokrajhar: Dwimary D.T.P. p-2
[81] Narzary, Rabin. Op.cit. p-10

According to the age old belief the goddess of wealth lakhi gets disturbed if the rice is taken out from the barn in these months. Hence for these months rice is taken out from the barn before the month of *Magw* and set aside for the daily use.[82] In the same way other family members of the family lies the blooming fruit trees with the rope made from '*tharai*' previously used to tie up the bundles of harvested paddy while bringing home. These days they tie the tress with the rice-straw. There is a tradition of carrying a baby child on their back while tying the straw. It is believed that if done so there would be a bumper croft and plenty of fruits blooming on it, and at the same time the child earns the longevity of that of the tress.[83] According to the traditional belief it seems the tress and the plants go on a sojourn in this month and forget to bloom as a result. Hence the symbolic tying of the tress is meant to prevent the blooming fruit tress going on a journey for a guest.[84]

At the dawn of the *sankranti* after taking bath the Bodo women prepare all the eatable things such as "*phitha, sithao, enthab, sobai gwran eunai* (fried rice), *sibing, sobai*" mixed together at first spreads them in the cowshed in the name of cows. Some do in Bwisagw too. Besides these "*phitha, sithao, enthab, sourai,* baww, *sibing, sobai* (bean), *dali"* are mixed together and boiled and offered to the cows and bulls first. Because it was with the help of these domestic animals so, that the crop of the season is gathered.[85] After feeding the cows alone the eating things are served to the children and other members. During *Magw* the eatable things are also offered to those ancestors who are dead and gone. They offer the food to dead people in the open field.

In *Magw* or *Domachi* the cow herd burns the "*belagur* or *meji*". On the last day of the '*puch*' month they collect the rice, vegetables etc and gather themselves near the river or somewhere in the paddy-field prepare the "*belagur* (meji)" and enjoy the "*laokhar wngkham janai* (picnic)". They enjoy a lot celebrating the *Magw*. They sing and dance whole night. After merry making the cowboys eat a meal late night. This eating of meal late night is described as 'cowboy farewell meal or *laokhar engarnai wngkham*'. After this meal they are no longer called as *laokhar* or cowboy.[86] After that at the dawn of the first day of '*Magw*' month burn the '*belagur*'. In some places '*belagur*' is burned on the

[82] Brahma, Binay kr. (2009). Boroni Subung Harimu. Kokrajhar: Mahamaya Printing Works. pp-10-11
[83] Ibid. p-9
[84] Informant, Basumatary, Ronchai. (Age-35, Soraikhonsra, Chirang)
[85] Narzary, Rabin. Op.cit. p-9
[86] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-2

'*Sankranti*' day itself. *Belagur* is prepared usually, near a river or a pond. It is because according to the folk belief of the Bodos they need to take bath before the sunrise and before the hawks and crows are awake. If seen by the hawks and the crows people become lazy and ringworm infects them. That is why the youngsters after lighting the *belagur* take bath early in the morning before the awake of the hawks and the crows. Then they sit by the fire with their wet cloth. And then they curse those owners who scolded and talked ill of them when they were employed as cowboys taking the fire as witness. So, that those bad owners or employers are be punished for scolding the cowboys badly.[87] However, warming near the *belagur* fire in the jaw-shaking cold of '*Magw*' month is believed to strengthen the weak and cure them of the itchy ringworm they are affected by. That is why the practice of taking bath before the sunrise or before the rise of the animals and birds still exists among the Bodos.

Here's one example of cowboy's song sung during the lighting of *belagur* at the dawn of the *Magw/Domachi-*

jwi jwi jwi
jwngni lagwni jwi
khwlahani rog-biyadiya khwlaha thangthwng;
swnabhani rog-biyadiya swnabha thangthwng;
sahani rog-biyadiya saha thangthwng;
sanjahani rog-biyadiya sanjaha thangthwng;
jwngni lagwa maiywi-dwiywi
jwi-jwi, mwi-mwi jathwng;
jwngni lagwni mwsoua ganda phisabadi
sokhlo bokhlo geder bwlwgwra jathwng,
jai mansia jwngni mwsoua mai jayablabw
jadwng hwnnanwi jwngkhou
bukhrub sukhrub khalamdwngmwn
bi mansia nidanwi din thangthwng.[88]

In English,

jwi jwi jwi
long live our village
let the disease of south depart to south
the disease of west depart to west
the disease of north depart to north
the disease of east depart to east
let our village prosper with paddy and wealth
let there be happiness in our village
let our cows be like the rhinoceros

[87] Ibid. p-2
[88] Ibid. p-3

let them be fleshy and strong
those who blamed us of our cows eating their paddy
and beat us with false accusation
let fate come upon those people.

Thus, early in the morning, after taking bath and lighting the *belagur* they go to their home. Thus from that day on, the Bodos celebrate the '*Magw*' festival for next three to four days. They freely enjoy and visit the houses and meet family and friends eating and drinking. These days are some of the most enjoyable days for the people. They after '*phitha, sithao, sourai, enthab*' to everyone whoever visits the family. As a result such celebration helps them to inculcate the sense of togetherness and brotherhood. The bond of unity becomes very strong through '*Magw*' festival.[89]

In the same way there is a folk song relating to a son-in-law, visiting his father-in-laws house in this '*Magw*' festival that faces the teasing behaviour of his in-laws. Fearing the cold some of the in-laws don't take bath before the sunrise and at the same time the elders of the family are busy with the preparation of *'phitha* and *sithao*' etc. At that moment when the son-in-law arrives begging for '*phitha* and *sithao*' during *Magw* in bitter cold, the sister-in-laws in the family tease the brother-in-law by singing the song given below-

Sister-in-laws sings-

ukhum besani khangkhoma
he dwhwrwm!
Aai lingrikhousw langwn khwma?[90]

In English,

cockroach of the roof
oh god!
Are you gonna take lame mother?

And Brother-in-laws replying-

swi swi swima daduri ri ri
dor phangthe phangthe khona lawi lawi
saliphra undu gaduri
saliphra undu gaduri.[91]

[89] Basumatary, Birendra Giri. (2009). Boro Harimuni Mohor Mushri. Guwahati: Mahamaya Graphics. p-35
[90] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-4
[91] Ibid. p-4

In English,

swi swi wormed bitch
my-in-laws are good only in sleeping
oh, so lazy only sleeping.

The sister-in-laws thus sings and embarrasses that during *Magw*, acting like a beggar, he might take away their lame mother, so as to send their brother-in-law off of their lawn. Because if he comes to know about them that they had not taken bath early in the morning, he might spread the news and that they will be embarrassed very badly. But brother-in-law too is not to be defeated so easily. So, he sings back teasing them too. Just like the worm affected dog always busy with chasing flies, so are his in-laws who are lazy and busy only in sleeping.

Thus during *Magw/ Domachi* we find quite a many folk song sung while eating '*phitha* and *sourai*' as celebrate the occasion. However there is not so much of colourful celebration during this season like the '*Bwisagw'*. This festival is known for eating and drinking.

2.3.3 KATIGASA FESTIVAL

Among the Bodo folk festivals, *Katigasa* festival is note-worthy. Although this festival is not celebrated with pomp and glory, it still is observed regularly by the Bodos. This folk festival is celebrated on the last evening of the month of '*Asin*' month (according to Assamese calendar). Not much of eating and drinking is entertained in this festival as there is scarcity of food during this season. During this '*Asin*', '*Kartik*' month the lash of green paddy fills the field. This budding green paddy brings a lot of hope among the Bodo farmers. Gradually this green field turns into a golden field by the month of October and November and along with the family strengthens the nation. In remembrance of this hope, the Bodos worship the Goddess of wealth, Lakshmi. The budding paddy might be protected from all calamities; with this intention the Bodo people worship and pray to Goddess Lakshmi during Kati festival. And before the fox howls in the evening, the Bodo farmers light the *Gasa* (earthen lamp). They pray to God to protect their crops from insects or other pests. *Thaigir bikhong* (fold's of chalita fruit), *thalirni dona* (bowl made from banana tree), earthen bowl, etc are used to burn the *Gasa* (light) filled with mustard oil. The twinkling of the *Gasa* in the evening really enhances beauty of the evening. Besides

paddy fields *Gasa* is lighted at the foot of '*Bathou*', near the 'Barn', 'cowshed', and the 'kitchen'. There is scientific reasons also of lighting (or burning) the *Gasa*. Because there are many pests and insects are burnt in the *Gasa*.[92] On the first day of the *Kartik* or *Kati* month *Gasa* is burnt in the evening as a festival. So the Bodos called it "*Katigasa Saonai*" (or burning of the *Gasa*). In some part of Assam the Bodo women go to the paddy field taking along with them the instruments used in their weaving activity such as, '*Sewari*'/ '*Baleb*' etc. '*Sewari*' is nicely rubbed with the mustard oil and then the paddy is rubbed gently by the '*Sewari*'. As per the folk beliefs of the Bodos such doings enhances the stalk of the paddy to its length and bumper production.[93]

The day of the *Katigasa* festival is holy. Hence, in many places, on this day people plant new "*thulunsi* tree" (basil ocimum sanctum) and "*jewari*" (an open oil lamp) is burnt and worshipped with offerings.

In this way Goddess of wealth *Lakhi* (Lakshmi) is worshipped by burning the '*Gasa*' in the paddy fields by the peasants. They chant and sing thus-

ada dwl dwl gaji
malaini maiphra baji
ada dwl dwl gaji
malaini maiphra lethi-phethi
jwngni maia gotha-gothi
jwngni maia khumra jathi.[94]

In English,

brother *dwl dwl* (plenty of) sprouts
others paddy is compet
brother plenty of sprouts
others paddy is thin and unhealthy
our paddy is thick and healthy
our paddy is of good quality.

Thus, after burning the *Gasa* at the cow-shed they sing-

dwl dwl
malaini mwsoua nereng-phetheng
jwngni mwsoua behera behera.[95]

In English,

[92] Basumatary, Birendra Giri. Op.cit. p-33
[93] Narzary, Rabin. Op.cit. pp-20-21
[94] Narzy, Dhireswar Baro. (2011). Subung Harimuni Rifithai. Barama: Barama Offset Printers. pp-120-121
[95] Basumatary, Birendra Giri. Op.cit. p-34

dwl dwl
others bulls are lean and thin
our bulls are mighty and strong.

Again after burning the *Gasa* in the vegetable garden they sing-

jwngni bariya gwm gwm
mwigong-thaigong glab glab
malaini bariya mirou jirou.[96]

In English,

our garden is thick and prosperous
our vegetables healthy
others garden is unhealthy.

After burning the *Gasa* at the barn they sing-

dwl dwl
jwngni bakriya jwbwd geder
malaini bakriya lera-phera.[97]

In English,

dwl dwl
our barn is very big
others is very small.

Through these folk songs it is revealed that the Bodos are originally an agrarian tribe. That's why the Bodos being agrarian express their joys and sorrows associated with the agriculture through "*Katigasa*" festival and also offers prayers for healthy and good crops to God on this holy day of "*Katigasa*". Reminding and co-memorising the joys and sorrows of the cultivation they sing the above mentioned folk songs which reveals the many social practices of the Bodos such as making fun and witticism, taking pride on their cultivations, merry making etc.

2.4 MARRIAGE SONG

Human being lives in a society. Community based co-existence gave birth to the present day human civilization. Marriage was one such important institution through which ancient people propagated human civilization. It was also a mode of maintaining friendly co-existence among different groups of people. In *Manu Sanghita*, "Marriage is a

[96] Brahma, Binay kr. Op.cit. p-8
[97] Informant, Basumatary, Lakshmi. (Age-32, Jalah, Boroppara, Baksa)

social institution for the regulation of proper relation between the two sexes."[98] Social unity is strengthened through the institution of marriage. According to Bhaben Narzi, "Marriage is an important experience of an individual. Besides pro-creation and peaceful conjugal lives, the human beings are attached closely with the society. Thus the marriage institution is an important social system for the welfare and discipline of the human society."[99] Consequently human beings, in collaboration of marriage system, have differentiated themselves from the other animals. Through the institution of marriage, the so called civilized society came into being. Marriage is not only a celebration of mankind but also loneliness life transformed into family.[100] After marriage man becomes conscious of his social responsibilities. This social ceremony of marriage is very important in life cycle of the Bodos, the Marriage is called 'Haba', meaning 'Ha' means 'soil' or 'earth' and 'Ba' means 'to bear somthing' or 'soil on the back'. In otherwords 'Haba' or the 'Marriage' imposes the responsibility of carring the earth or the process of civilization. It is quite interesting that the *Sanskrit* word for marriage "bibaha" also has a similar etymological meaning.[101] So the marriage system is one of the best democratic institutions for the progress and propagation of civilized human society.

There are six marriage systems in Bodo society. This are-

i) Haba gwlao/ swngnanwi lainai haba (arranged marriage)
ii) Gwrzia lakhinai haba (rendering service through marriage)
iii) Kharsonnai haba
iv) Dongkha habnai haba (marrying a widow and stays in her home)
v) Bwnanwi lainai haba (marriage through stealing a bride)
vi) Dwnkhar lainanwi lanai haba (elopment)

Among this six marriage system only i) and ii) are celebrated with pomp and show, full of joy, singing and dancing. The rest four are not celebrated with full participation.

There are so many marriage songs extant among the Bodos. But its use in the Bodo society is seen decreasing today, perhaps due to the influence of modern cultural adaptations. The marriage songs reflect the socio-cultural aspects of the Bodo community.

[98] Quted from, Narzaree, Indramalati and Birlang. Op.cit. p-33
[99] Quited from, Boro, Indira. (2015). Marriage songs of the Bodos: A Brief Discussion, (Research Journal, Vol.:II, Deptt. of Bodo). p-1
[100] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-60
[101] Boro, Indira. Op.cit. p-1

The social folk customs of the Bodo marriage system differ among the *Bathwu* and the *Brahma* or other religious groups of the Bodo society. Traditionally existing "*Hathasuni haba*" is perhaps one of the oldest and simple marriage forms. In front of the *Bathwu (bitha*), along with the bride and bridegroom, the *Oza* or *Douri* chants the mantras and blesses them. In this *hathasuni* marriage the bride offers the meal to bridegroom and other villages. In the *hathasuni* marriage the bride cooks the curry called "*Ondla Wngkri* (curry)". This *Ondla* curry is cooked without spice, turmeric and *kharwi* (a kind of soda or ash water). Traditionally "*Ondla*" was cooked by bride alone. However these days other women are seen helping the bride in the preparation of the "*Ondla*" offered in "*hathasuni*".

Here the following chants made by *Oza* or *Douri* to introduce bride to the god and goddesses are given as follows-

ehem de sanni giri sanja
mwdainigiri bwrai bathou maharaja,
dainigiriya dai khalamwbla
nimahani giri nwng.
jwngni mwjang gajri
nidan-aphwd, rog-biyadinifrai
phwthangraya nwngnw.
nwi dinwi bipha guru,
amwkhaya amwkhikhou bihamjw labwbai,
dinwi bininw nwngnw akhai-laru
wngkham-wngkhri hwnai jabai,
najaodw apha nwng bipha guru.
bihamjwni muga amwkhi
sanphrwmbw sukh bai sukh lakhi
apha nwngnw phao-phuja mwnbai thagwn,
dinwi hathasunini phao-phuja hwdwng
apha nwngthaga mini-khusi najaonanwi
bwr-asirbad hwdw.
dohai apha bipha guru!
jwnghalai swr dongbaow
nailo jalo nwng bipha gurulo
gole gole khulumw jwng. (gugurub khulumw)[102]

In English,

oh Lord of the Sun
lord of gods *Bwrai Bathou*
if trespassers do trespass
you are the forgiver
virtue and vices of ours
fate and misfortunes and aillments

[102] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-77

you are the saviour
oh today our lord
so and so has brought daughter-in-law
today for this offer you *akhai-laru*
rice and curry is offered
accept this father and our lord
name of daughter-in-law is.....
always keep them in happiness
father you will always be worshipped
today worship of *hathasuni* is offered
accept it happily
shower your blessing s
oh! Lord our father
we have none but you
the only god our father
again and again we worship you.

After worshipping the gods and goddesses, the *Oza* or *Douri* advises the bride and the bridegroom about the responsibilities of caring their family and the society in their everyday life. After this the bride offers the food to all the villagers present there. The food offering ceremony starts with the offering of food first to the bridegroom. Then the food is offered to the other people.

Thus, the Bodos celebrate the marriage ceremony by singing, dancing along with the musical instruments like, *Kham* (drum), *Siphung* (flute), *Jotha* (cymbal), *Gongwna*, *Khaoang* (another kind of cymbal) etc. Bhaben Narzi has discussed about the marriage songs of the Bodos in his book "Boro-Kacharis Geet-Mat". In this book the Bodo marriage songs is divided in some branches such as, season of marriage, merry-making, advices norms and good looking.[103] There are such songs of marriage that can be divided as follows-

Since the time immemorial, the Bodos have been philosophically, accepting the autumn season as the best and the most suitable time for marriage. They basically organize the marriage ceremony at the time of autumn season. Such songs are-

haba jenglab jenglab
o' aawi jenglab
sanba gwlaoni dinao
o' aawi dinao.[104]

[103] Narzi, Bhaben. (1983). Boro-kacharir Geet-Mat. Guwahati: Choudhury Enterprise. p-43
[104] Ibid. p-43

In English,

wedding *jenglab jenglab*
o' mother, *jenglab*
on the long day
o' mother.

The Bodos prepares or arranges the marriage ceremony for better execution in the month of '*Phagun*'. Because they considers the month of *phagun* is as longest day and the better. So, the Bodos organises the marriage in the month of *phagun*.

Bodo marriages are like festivals. The customs or traditions followed in the oldest *Bathou* religion is the best represented marriage customs of the Bodos. Bodo marriage involves full of entertaining, drinking and eating meat, singing heartily and dancing etc. According to the Bodo tradition marriages lasted for seven days and seven nights, eating and drinking, singing and dancing formally. During merry-making, enjoying, the past memories are reiterated and commemorated. This song is one such example,

ouani khanjong khanai khakhw
gwdwni dina bwjwng thangkhw?
bedorni akhai jouni phukhriya
gwilialwi bajwi gwilia.[105]

In English,

lock with bamboo comb
where are the old days
abundance of meat and rice-beer
no more sister-in-law.

These folk songs reflect the old cherished traditions and human conditions of the days gone by. Folk songs are the result of day to day encounter of the people down the ages.

During the marriage ceremony the party of the bride sometimes sings to reveal the tasteless food in a teasing manner. Like-

ukhum besani silimala,
o' awi! silimala
wi, houa mwjang
nwngni habani joualai
melema, melema
o' awi melema.[106]

[105] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-73
[106] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-44

In English,

centipede of the thatch roof
o' mother! centipede
oi' handsome bridegroom
rice-beer of your wedding
tasteless, tasteless
o' tasteless.

From this folk song it is revealed that the rice-beer is commonly used traditional drink among the Bodos. Rice-beer is used commonly during marriage ceremony, *Bwisagu, Magw/Domasi, Saori-badali* etc. If sometimes during marriage ceremony the rice-beer becomes insufficient, sour and watery. Then the bride's party sings-

injur mukhani gwmwthing,
nwngni joualai khwithing thing,
khwithing thing.
ukhum mudani silimala,
nwngni joualai melema.
dabkha khibuni habru,
nwngni joualai dwibru bru.[107]

In English,

cricket(insect) of door edge
your rice-beer is sour, sour
centipede of the thatch roof
your rice-beer is tasteless
mud of the rice-beer pitcher
your rice-beer is watery, watery.

Likewise, there is another song sang during marriage ceremony when the pork becomes insufficient. The bride's party sings teasing the groom's party through the following song-

se selekha dokha,
houa gwdanni oma bainaya jokha,
jokha aiwi jokha.
dorse jablabw sambram
dornwi jablabw sambram
sambram aiwi sambram.[108]

In English,

se selekha dokha
bridegroom's bought pork
is limited o' mother limited.

[107] Brahma, M.M. Op.cit. p-33
[108] Ibid. p-35

one piece but a onion
two piece only onion
only onion.

Therefore, in Bodo social system along with *Barlangpha*, a *Bwirathi* (a woman attendent) of bride and bridegroom in a marriage plays very important role. Without *bwirathi* a Bodo wedding becomes meaningless. All the marriage related issues in Bodo society is borne by a *Barlangpha* and *Bwirathi*. In the Bodo society four *Bwirathi* serves in a marriage ceremony. Two of them are married women and the other two are unmarried girl. The married *Bwirathi* are called "*gor*" and the unmarried two are called "*aitha*" (literary virgin). If the *Bwirathi's* become late in distributing betel nut and betel leaf, then the bride's party sings the following song-

wi bwirathi lolia
khaonw babangsin goi khaonaikhuo
jwnglai jalia.[109]

In English,

oh *bwirathi* lolia
reluctantly cutting the betel
we won't eat.

The betel nut and betel leaf are used to show great honour and respect to the guests in Bodo society. It is used in marriage ceremony, worship, *saori-badali* etc. etc. Betel nut and betel leaf is used as a symbol of great honour and respect. In special occasions like wedding ceremony or any meeting a pair of betel nut and betel leaf is offered in front of the gathered community to show great honour and respect. If the betel nut and betel leaf is not offered to the bride's party in due time then they sings thus-

goi bira bira phathwi bira bira hwabwla
nwi hinjao gwdankhuo langfinnwswi langfinnwswi.[110]

In English,

if a chunk of betel nut and betel leaf is not offered
we are gonna take back our bride.

Thus, when the *bwirathi's* distribution of betel nut and betel leaf satisfies the bride's party, they sing-

wi jeth-asarni reo-reoa

[109] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-66
[110] Boro, M.R. (1995). Boro Loko-Sahitya Geet-Pot. Hajo: Priyadini Printing Press. p-60

o' aiwi reo-reoa
jaowisw lagwni goi-phathwikhuo
jawi jawinw
hathaiasw meolai langbai.[111]

In English,

oh, *jeth-asarni* (assamese calendar's month) sicada of
o' mother sicada
son-in-law's betel leaf and betel nut
eating tine and again.

In ancient times *Barlangpha* played an important role in Bodo marriage ceremonies. It was mandatory on the part of bridegroom's party to take *Barlangpha* while they went to get bride along with them. *Barlangpha,* symbolically was a pathfinder or a leader of the bridegroom. *Barlangpha* had to carry all the required materials of the bridegroom's party to the bride's house. Besides distributing betel nut and betel leaves to the honored guests present there. He usually had to entertain the bride's guest through his humour, playful jokes, songs and witticism, thereby explaining the main purpose of marriage knot. In ancient day's *Barlangpha* used to carry the head of a pig or '*ha*' (a piece of soil/earth) on his back, symbolic representation of social and conjugal responsibilities. He sings "look children, just as I have carried the '*ha*' (soil/earth) on my back, so shall you carry the world". Therefore, you bride and bridegroom have to unanimously agree to participate in pro-creation of human civilization, upholding and propagation of humanity.[112]

Thus, on their way back womenfolk made *barlangpha* dance and sing. They also dance along with him. Like as-

oma ogorong phen phen
zaha chamaya(zamaya) zokhai thaisekhuonw zen then
ada! Phwia(lw) phwia
mwkhang saikho kho.[113]

In English,

a pigsty with plenty of piglets
our son-in-law is unable to finish
just a pitcher of rice-beer
brother (*barlangpha*) is not helping to finish
bridgroom's countenance fell.

[111] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-66
[112] Narzaree, Indramalati Narzaree & Birlang. Op.cit. p-36
[113] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-45

This song reveals the tradition of the Bodo Kacharis during marriage celebrations. Mother-in-law out of love offers a full pitcher of rice-beer to her son-in-law. Son-in-law is expected to drink it up alone whole. But he is unable to drink it up alone and his countenance fell out of shyness. He seeks the help of *Barlangpha*, be does not help him. According to the Bodo Kachari traditional custom if a full pitcher of rice-beer is offered to son-in-law, he has to drink it up until its taste fades.[114]

In the same way *Bwirathi* and *Barlangpha* distributes the betel-nut and betel-leaves among the people present in the wedding. Besides they also entertain the people by dancing and singing the following song,

nwngni thaigir phithai baidi lathim luthim mwkhanga
okhamwflamnai baidi khonse flam
mwflamnanwi minikhwire khalamnanwi,
nwngni meoa khithabadi adwia
laswi barod burod phwinanwi
nwngni mwzlai zanzi badi zanzia
loler loler swmaonanwi,
don khaorai khanaikhuo zangkhri zangkhri
nwngni thalir phoslabadi akhanthia
sibdo sibdo sibnanwi,
nwngni thoblo denthabadi asijwng
goia randw agwi bwirathi lolia,
da laji da laji
mwkhanga khwmsi daja,
jwmwikhuo khathiao da labw.[115]

In English,

your face like a woodapple fruit
like a lightening
a flash of smile you give
like a bamboo shoot your calves are
slowly coming hopping
your waist is like that of an ant
shaking rythmatically
distribute the betel sister *Bwirathi*
don't be shy
don't pale your face
don't bring the cloud.

Looks of the face or the relationships are being sung in the Bodo folk songs. Like the older women of the bride sings praising the relatives of the bride. Like-

[114] Ibid. p-46
[115] Brahma, M.M. Op.cit. pp-35-36

daoboni gang daokhani gang
lang jaoai lang
angni phisaya jwlwi mwjang.[116]

In English,

wings of crane and wings of crow
take son-in-law
my daughter is of good seed.

In the same way the elder women of the bridegroom's party sings praising the bridegroom's family. Like-

singphring khalai mwsalai
jaha adaya delai lai.[117]

In English,

dancing along plucking *singphring* fruits
our brother is handsome.

Thus after the singing and dancing and concluding the ceremonial rites the bridegroom's party brings home the bride. When the bride is reluctant to leave on the thought of leaving behind her parents and brothers and sisters then the women of bridegroom's party sings the following-

he aio! he ehe aio hom!
swrni habamwn? he aio hom
jaha agwini jaha sonani
haba hai
he ehe aio he aio hom.[118]

In English,

he.. oh! he oh to hold
whose marriage? he oh to hold
our young sister's, our dearest's marriage
he eh oh he oh to hold.

Likewise when the bride is handed over to the family of bridegroom, the bride cries unable to leave behind her home, parents and brothers and sisters. Then the elders of the village advices her and sings-

dagabswi awi dagabswi, dagabswi,
oma gidira baro khurmani,
phisa hinjaoa malaini
dagabswi awi dagabswi

[116] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-47
[117] Ibid. p-47
[118] Ibid. p-48

gabbla khublabw nwma-nwmphakhuo mwnliya
mephal, gongarnw horakhwi
boroni asar, boroni bisarjwng
boro harinw hordwng, hordwng raijw janwsw
gabnai khunaikhuo nagarnanwi
anan gossai binan gossaikhuo
athing gajob akhai narjob khalamnanwi
rongja-bajawi, maowi-dangwi, raijw jadw.[119]

In English,

don't cry oh dear don't cry,
big pig is of others
daughters are of other's family
don't cry child don't cry
even if you cry you won't get your parent's
we haven't given you to Nepalese, Bhutanese
with the *bodo's* rites and rituals
we have given you to bodos to propagate the family
stop crying
remember god
folding hands and kneeling
be happy, working, lead the life.

This folk song reveals that the Bodos love their culture very much and they don't encourage their sons and daughters to the people of other caste or community. The Bodos have their own social customs and norms, and the love to follow their own existing social norms and lives in complete discipline and promotes these social norms to their next generation.

The song sang during marriage ceremony is very rich in terms of promoting social values. Slip of tongue and slip of legs brings fate to one's life. This message is being taught to the young generation through some social songs during marriage celebrations. The bride is advised her not to slip her tongue in her mother-in-laws house. She is advised to be humble and mild to promote peace and harmony in her mother-in-laws house. This song being sang by the elders is very relevant-

athing gajwb, hathai orjwb
akhaini phaoa jayakhwi
athingni phaoa jayakhwi
baijw phathalkhuo jahwidw aiwi jahwidw.[120]

In English,

firm legs and firm teeth

[119] Brahma, M.M. Op.cit. p-41
[120] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-73

the gester of your hand
rythm/gester of your leg is not ok
live there happily daughter.

This song warms the bride to be careful, because conjugal life is not that easy to thread on. To live happily in married life one needs to be firm, teeth implies to control one's tongue and behaviour. She is advised not to pick quarrel with anybody or break peace of her neighbours. So, another song says-

khwijwma thwbw khudwijwng
mansia thayw gogiyathijwng
dagabswi aiwi! dagabswi
o' aiwi! dagabswi
nwma nwmphaya dao-oma badi
homna horbai-
laothi gongse phaga dwngse gothai khabai
dagabswi aiwi! dagabswi
harsa hwuanw horakhwi horakhwi.[121]

In English,

ants built nest with spittle
men lives with kids and kin
don't cry daughter
o', daughter don't cry
parents married you off
married you off
a rope and a stick is offered
don't cry daughter
you are not married to other caste.

This song reveals that a man cannot live alone. He lives in a society, this is nature's law. Parents have already entrusted the responsibility of managing family and protecting them. Thus singing the song of such encouraging and value based message, the elders of the society calms the bride.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this above chapter study was dealt with how were the ways of living and social philosophy is reflecting in the Bodo folk songs. In this chapter discussion was done by three categories as- religious festivals, seasonal festivals and marriage ceremony's songs. Among these previous two chapters is also divided into sub-branch. Fishing, weaving, vegetable collecting etc. is an interesting social hobby of the Bodo people.

[121] Narzi, Bhaben. Op.cit. p-73