

## CHEPTER-3

### TRANSITION OF BODO SOCIETY AS REFLECTED IN THE BODO LITERATURE

Since the early phase, the Bodo society is transitioning with the impact of different reasons and reformation by taking place in the society. The Bodo literature has different genres i.e. *prose, poetry, short stories, novel and Drama*. These literary genres attempt to reflect the society through what is happening and what has happened in the society. All things of the social problems of transition are reflecting in the genres of literature. The reflection of social transition may be visualised into four aspects: *Socio- cultural, political, and economic and the Socio-religious*.

#### 3.1 Socio- Cultural transition as reflected in the Literary Genres:

The Socio- cultural transition is one of the most remarkable phenomina happened of the Bodos which is hapening in the Bodo society. The Bodo have its own culture to identify them. So to say their identity depends on the culture. The culture is an identified by the Bodos and Bodos are also identified by the culture. The Bodo culture is a different kind and is recognized separately in the society. *These cultures are materials and non materials. The non materials are the living social activities of festivals. On the other side the materials are the using materials and goods of the society*. During the time, due to deferent circumstances and situation the socio- cultural transition of the Bodos has been happening in the society which is reflected in the genres of literature. The transition on the Socio- cultural events of the Bodos as reflected in the literary genres are analysed as follows

**3.1.1 Agriculture:** Traditionally the agriculture is the main way of living source of the Bodos. So, Anil Kr. Brahma in his prose *Boro Hari* has said- *Abadanw Borophwrni thangna Tanaini Gudi Fhungkha Boro houyaphra mwsou aba mwiswjwng hal aouyw arw hinjaopra mai gaiyw. Maini ongaiyaibw besor, soobai sibing phathw arw baidi baidi abad maonanai borophra thangna tanaini raha khalamnanai layw (i.e. agriculture is the main living sourse of the bodos, men are ploughing and women are planting the paddy, except the paddy they produce other cropes)*.<sup>1</sup> The Bodos cultivate session wise the multipurpose crops. Generally, during the time Bodos used to select the two types of land for producing the seasonal crops

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<sup>1</sup> Brahma, Anil Kr. Brahma. *Boro Rao Thunlai Jarimin*. Kokrajhar: N.L. publication, 2017, p.8

i.e. Dolha Ha or Jamphai Daria ha (plot of low land)<sup>2</sup> in summer session for the paddy crops where water provision is available. i.e. Jwsa, Maibra, maisali, swnjwl, mai gwja baouya and maisali (traditional paddy seed) where water can be managed easily (watery plot of paddy field) and Bwri ha (plot of high land) or dried plot of land that is also call Hasrao Ha or Gwran Ha for producing of the Rabi in winter session<sup>3</sup> i.e. Sobai, Sibing, Besor and Phathw (traditional rabi crops).The picture which is reflected in the poem ***Jwngni Jiuya bebadinw bwhaibai tayw*** (our life is going on so) of Dipmoni Boro. He expresses- *beyaonw thaipram-thangpram mai besor arw jiuni rongina sujyw jwng,beyaonw biji phisaphwrni thainai – thangnaini phinnai nagir bayw, beyaonw dahadikharkhou dandies jwthrw dnanai dandies som srai minidlangnw najayw*<sup>4</sup>.This producing both the two of seasonal crops is the ‘*Daijlangni Abad*’ Arw ‘*Mesengni Abad* (summer and winter crops)<sup>5</sup>.So to say producing the paddy is the main yearly source of the Bodos through the traditional method where they are dependent as a living economic source in the society<sup>6</sup>.Hare the Nangle, Junggal, mai beda, hasini bari and pair of bullocks were the main instrument of the cultivation. This picture can be seen in a short story ***Dabla Gariani Songsar*** (family of Dablagariya) of Jonil Kr. Brahma; here wife of Dabla said that, “*maikhou gaiyatai gaiya Hakhoubw malainw Adi phani hwnw takhai railainw rwngla nwnng makhou janw?*”<sup>7</sup>He also expresses –*Besor Pathw Maoyabla, Thadun Thaika gaiyabla raijwkhrou bwrwi janw?*”<sup>8</sup>

But during the time, Bodo cultivators were not conscious on their producing seasonal crops and in any system along with materials. Bodos didn’t follow other developed concept of producing crops in the society. Hence Bodos could not rich up in their agriculture as well as the families too. As a result of this, some families had to face with limitation for whole life and could do nothing throught the tradional cultivating system in the society. The picture is reflecting in a story ***Gari Bigwma*** (owner of car) of Gobinda Basumatary.He expresses by the charecters of *Khortheng and Doli Rani-Beoyaiphwabw be baidi gongse baidwna,hwd simang*

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<sup>2</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma,1998.p.5

<sup>4</sup> Bodo Sahitya Sabha. *Khonthaini Ake bana*. Kokrajhar: Bodo publication Board,2005.p.320

<sup>5</sup> Brahma, Kameswar.*A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*.Gosaigaon:Chiranjib Brahma,1998 P.5

<sup>6</sup>Ibid,p.5

<sup>7</sup>Brahma, Janil kr.*Japanni Swima*. Kokrajhar : Bodo publication Board,2009. pp.78-79

<sup>8</sup>Ibid,p.73

*hamang jwnglai majwng bainwsai khaphalao gaiya nathangkriyaolai,es es hatarw gaosrabw gwswjablalal,ehi ehi hi,nwngrsasw malai gamiyao mai pathw phannw na mella mellanw.* And then he emotionally thought that, *mithiya nama ang manw bainw hayw hya*<sup>9</sup>. (I.e.brother you also buy the car like us, no it is a dream for me how I can buy, no brother you have gote so many productions of crops to buy car).

But today the method of producing crops of the Bodo has come to another alternative method as well as after the birth of socio-agricultural organisation i.e.**DUBBA** and organising of it, their ideas and the new method has come in the place of traditional method and thought regarding the producing of surplus earn in a short and in a minimum plot of low land as well as high land through new method. The people want to use the highbred seed for getting maximum aspect of crops and to learn regarding the scientifically productions and help the people in the society .These aspect of picture, which is reflecting in the **Mr. Highbridni Mwdai Arw Gwlwmdai** of Jumaidala Basumtary.He explains regarding the new technique of cultivation through Jwngblouin his story. *He expresses- Angni targeda abar Tometo,Tometolo nogya,hybriead tometo obinash 2 jai tometoya 10 niphrai 20 kiisim phitai taigwn.Be obinash 2 hibread tometokhou biga 5 gainanai khomaobw 10 lac rang khamaigwn ang, ji lac(i.e. toay my tegate is tometo,or hybread obinash 2 whish is 10 to 20 varieties wil produc.)*<sup>10</sup>.

Now producing of paddy crops through the old method is almost eliminated among Bodo cultivators in every step of producing crops in the society. *'In the early time the Bodo farmers altogether village wise or area wise by grouping prepared the temporary 'Dum' to gate the water in the land for usable paddy crops in the every summer session*<sup>11</sup>.Today the concrete RCC dump and cannel has come in the place of temporary Dum and cannel to provide water easily in the paddy land or field. On the other side, where there is no Dum capacity the farmer is personally boring in the field and uses the Pump set machine to make watery land for the summer crops.

Now the Bodo farmers are more or Less educated. Beside, *the Socio- Cultural/ Agricultural i.e. DUBBA organisation (a socio-agricultural organization) has come in the*

<sup>9</sup> AHSEC. *Sujunai Bijab* .Guwahati: N.L publication, 2011.p.31

<sup>10</sup> . Boro Thunlai Afat.*Solo Bihung*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board,2007.Vol-II, p.310

<sup>11</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. p.6

society. The organisation is inspiring the farmer regarding the technique of cultivation. Infact the inspiration is effective to the Bodo farmer inspires to take the new technique. Like so, presently govt. certified seeds are used in the place of traditional seeds i.e. Forimal, Aijong, and Baiswmuty etc. They also used the readymade scientific fertiliser against the using of *Cow dung and Hatopla (Ash)* to bring growth the crops of the session. During the time, the Bodo farmer only one time used to product the paddy crops in the summer session through the traditional seeds. But today is used to product twice through the help of scientific method and it is going on in the Bodo society.

In the early time when Bodo villagers were planting of paddy crops, they used to help each other which was called the Pala Gainai (work of without remuneration). This picture has reflected in the ***Maidar Muhini*** story of Janil Kr. Brahma (Bijuli Baruah). He expresses- *Mansiphra jo jo jananaï gainai punaiyao hepajab hwlaiyw.*<sup>12</sup> (i.e. the people are helping each other in the planning of the paddy crops). Besides, the rich families were gorgeously producing the crops through the grwm- grwm Saori –Badali, Dahwna Dinggra (more boys' servents) and Ruwaty (man and woman servant) along with more Mwsou Hal (fare of bollok). At those time these system were available in the Bodo society.<sup>13</sup> 'The picture, which reflects in the ***Mwdwi arw Gwlvmdai***<sup>14</sup> (*tears and kham*) short story of Nilkamal Brahma elaborately', ***Gwlvnda Dahwna*** (*servant Gwlvnda*) of Nandeswar Daimary and also reflected in the novel "***Jujaini Or***" of Cittaranjan Muchahary.

But now these all old systems of cultivation, free labour system and using of tools is evolutionally reform in the society and the system of labour is transformed into the remuneration system. Now they don't want to help each other for being rare to get Servents (man /women). The picture is reflecting in the short story ***Dabla Gariyani Songsar*** where he expresses '*Dani mugayao dahwna ruwathikhoubw mwnnw thangliya*'<sup>15</sup> (i.e. in the present moment not able to get the man and women servants). The ironical Nanggwl (plough) has come in the place of wooden Nanggwl (plough) firstly, secondly *Power Tiller* and lastly the *Tractor*, has arrived and is able to plough the more land within short time. Like so, the transition of agricultural system of the Bodo has come in the society. The need of

<sup>12</sup>Brahma, Janil kr. *Maidar Muhini*. Bijni: Sijou publication Board, 2007. P. 86

<sup>13</sup>Swainary, Swarna Prabha. *Boro phaothaini Bijimai*. Kokrajhar: Onsumai Library, 2002 .p.33

<sup>14</sup> AHSEC. *Thunlai Sujubijab*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2006. pp.113-117

<sup>15</sup>Brahma, Janil kr. *Maidar Muhini*. Bijni: Sijou Publication Board, 2007. p.78

Mosou Hal (fair of bullock) and using of the wooden Nangwl to plough is similarly going to eliminate in the Bodo society.

**3.1.2 Food habit:** The rice is the most favourite of the Bodos. Along with the rich, Bodos have some special uncommon traditional food items, curry, drink and vegetable. The items traditionally come from forefather among the Bodos which collected from the nature and occasionally used it in the society. So, Birendra Giri Basumatary has said in his prose *Janai Iwngnai arw Abad mounai* (the food items and cultivation). He said that, *Gwdw gwdaini mansiphra sigang sigang janai besadphwrkho Mithingganiphrai Buthumnaimwn (earlier people collected the food items from the nature)*<sup>16</sup>. The items of food and drink are specially most favour in the occasions, like in Magw- Bwisagw festival (magh & bihu). Wedding ceremony, Saori badali (grouping free working system), and religious festivals and used it for honouring the guest in the society. The use of traditional curry and drink can be seen in *Hinjao Nainw Thangnaiyao of Mangalsing Hazowary, Phangnai Nalengkhor Biphang of Nilkamal Brahma. In this story when Ramwnda is going to see a groom then his sister in-law suggests to him-“Sobai wngkhri hwbla khuraikhou dikhangnanai noyao surubnaibadi dasurub, dalwng”*<sup>17</sup>. Some food and curry are prepared in the special occasion and functions. Sometime if guest comes at home then special food and curry is prepared i.e. ‘Dao Bedorjwng Onla’(chicken with rice powder), Sobaijwng Dao(Pee with chicken), Tarunjwng Dao and Oma Bedor Gwran, Kumbrajwng Dao(chicken with vegetable), Sobaijwng Samu(Pee with snail), Sobaijwng Bedor gwran(Pee with dried meat) Oma Bedorjwng Khumbra(fork with vegetable), Narjaijwng Oma Bedor Gwran( prepared by the dry jut leaf mixing with the dried fork)<sup>18</sup> etc. The picture of this traditional food system where can be seen in the story *Alashi, Dumphaoni Phita*<sup>19</sup> Jonil Kr. Brahma and *Buthuya Thunggri* of Nilkamal Brahma. The Pork and dried Fish is favourite traditional food of the Bodos. Especially Bodos occasionally collect the meat from the jungle i.e. Khusung Bedor, Mwphou Bedor, Neoulai Bedor and Mai Bedor. This meat goes with the Sobai, Ondla and Tarun. So, Bodos keep in stock by drying<sup>20</sup> the Pork and small size fishes and jungle meat for using as

<sup>16</sup> Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 1993 .p.63

<sup>17</sup> Boro Thunlai Afat. *Solo Bihung*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board. 2007. p.95

<sup>18</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. p.9

<sup>19</sup> Brahma, Janil Kr. *Dumphaoni Phita*. Bijni: Sijou publication, 2005. pp.9-16

<sup>20</sup> Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 1993. p.18

their special food in the society which drying system was one culture of the Bodos. Hence there is folk song in the Bodo literature –

Sobaijwng Kuhusung Bedorjwng<sup>21</sup>,

Srublai ada srub,

Ting to ting to

Baro mosola

Na bedor mwnbwla

Khari ondola.

(i.e. ting to ting to sound of pickle mortar, if get the fish and meat with alcohol Kari Ondola)

Sobai khari srub srub<sup>22</sup>

Ma jalu ambu khuga

Bajai Hongle songnai

Mwdwmpuru aounai

Haijeng bedorni mwdwmnai.

(i.e. curry of Sobai (pee) is testy, available to take, prepared of Hongle Sister in-low, pried of ciken, smells of ginger.

There are some special food items, curry and vegetable among the Bodos. These all cultural events and items are peculiar and uncommon to other Aryan cast and communities. The kook was simply only boiling without using the oil and spices. Later used the home made kharai (alcohol). After then use the oil and pried system come in the society.

*'Lai Lapha'* (one kind of traditional green vegetable of the Bodo) is the special vegetable of the Bodo people. The Bodo also used to collect some kinds of jangly vegetable i.e. *Dousrem, Lapha Saikho, Khunkha, Keradapini, Sibru, Tarai etc.* Some time the Bodo are

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<sup>21</sup>Op-cit, p.33

<sup>22</sup>Muchary, Rujab. *Baidi Bithing Baidi Saoraitai*. Guwahat!: Purbayon Publication, 2016. p.88

going to jangle for collecting the vegetables<sup>23</sup>. This picture can be seen the novel *Jujaini Or of Chittaranjan Muchahary*. The 'Napam'<sup>24</sup> (made with dried fish) is the most favourite of the Bodos and used it in the particular time. But the thing is that, this system of cook is very simple. Most of the people prepare by boiling. Any items of curry and vegetables are prepared through the traditionally boil for food without using the oil and *Mosla- Mosli* (spices). In the place of modern spices, the Bodo women used some natural green spices i.e. Gonger Dundia, Calantro Bura Ud and Dundia (coriander leave) in the Bodo curry. Especially Bodos used it as the traditional curry in the society. Now Bodos used the Saomin, sao-sao Momo, Brade along with varieties readymade biscuit at home as light food in the place of Pitha- chitao and maibra wngkham (sticky rich)

During the earlier period the Bodo mostly boiled and used to cook in the *Khanta* (earthen pote) and wooden spoon to mix the curry and rich because, at that time the goods of soil and woods were most useful in the society and made it themselves<sup>25</sup>. The Bodo people like to drink homemade rich bear in the special occasion like *Magw* (mag bihu), *Baisagw* (bohag bihu) and 'Saori –Badali (group of working)' and also used it in the wedding ceremony along with in any social function of the society. The home made vodka is two types i.e. *Jou Gwran*, it is also call *Serep* or *Ukhundai* and *Gisi*. Generally the Bodos used to drink *Jou Pinai* in the *Mag* and *Bohag Bihu* which is specially made from the 'Maibra Rich'<sup>26</sup> (sticky rice). There is one song regarding the Rice bear of the Bodo. The song is express-

Daodai naggou<sup>27</sup>

Daodai-daodai-daodai

Daodai gaiyabla

Esing khonani jou bidai.

(i.e. wanted egg, egg-egg-egg, if no egg than bring the rice bear)

<sup>23</sup> Basumatary, Birendragiri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication,1993 .p.64

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, p. 67

<sup>25</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Laisini Bikhayao Indramalati*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication,1996 .pp.18-19

<sup>26</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chirajib Brahma,1998 .P.8

<sup>27</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication,2010 .p.47

The Bodo used it as medicine for the health. They don't use it all the time but whenever necessary then prepared and used it in the special occasions in the society.

But now the food system along with food preparing system of the Bodos has come into transition in the society. The consciousness has come among the Bodos towards using of liquor in the society. The people have known about the harmful using it and minimising in the society. It is unuseable but tea is the more favourable in the society. Almost the modern system has taken place in the place of traditional system. In the earlier time, the Bodos prepared the *Onla (the curry made of rich powder)*, *Maita and Narjai* curry with the *Kharai* (homemade alcohol)<sup>28</sup> without using any oil and 'Mosla- Mosli (spices). But now use the oil and 'Mosla- Mosli' and Soda instead of the *Kharai which call Khar in Assamese (home prepared alcohol)*. The Bodo people used to boil any food or curry, didn't use the oil. The picture reflecting in the story ***Bihamjw Haibrid*** of Rabin Narzary.

But now the Bodos have forgotten the boil system and fried system has come up by using oil, spyces among the Bodos. In the place of Khanta Aluminium utensil has come later used the pressure cooker and lastly automatic electric cooker has used for cooking the food in the society. The picture has reflected in the ***Alashi*** story of Jonil Kr. Brahma where a *guest said that, denang Konse phaibaobla hole taoyai moslayaisongkriyai banluyai mwdwmpu harsani badi songnanai jahw hornw janji khananai takhadw ayong.*<sup>29</sup> Some special natural vegetables have eliminated among the Bodos has taken place the high bride bean, potato, Kerala (bitter guard), Gajor (Carrot), vendee, beat and Chinese radish. The preparing of 'Napam' has become less in the Bodo society which was most favourable of the Bodos. The preparing of Napam is very interesting along with the some long process. But now buy the artificial 'Napam' in the market without any labour.

In the early period the salt tea was usable in the Bodo Society. The salt tea was favourable to all in any occasion. But now the sugar tea is necessarily occupied the place of the salt tea and usable in the society. The tea has accepted to all in any occasion of the society as well as instead of using *Jou (rich bear) tea has favour in the society*. The tea is usable in any occasion and function of the place of jou. But jou is also favourable in the some places though using of it is minimising in the society.

<sup>28</sup>Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 1993. pp.68-69

<sup>29</sup>Brahma, Janil Kr. *Dumphaoni Phita*. Bijni: Sijou Publication, 2005. pp.9-12



The use of the foreign liquor i.e. Rom and Bear was not in the Bodo society. *During the time Bodos didn't use the foreign liquor in any occasion of the society. They used two types of liqueur i.e. Jou Gwthang (homemade beer) and Jou gwran (another type of homemade wine) and papered it them self in the society. Earlier jou was must in the wedding ceremony as well as in any social occasion. But in the present day the using of it has become less and restricted to use it in many places alternately tea is favour in the society.* In the early time Bodos don't use to drink milk but now use to drink it and milk is favourite in any occasion and festivals in the society'<sup>30</sup>. *In the earlier salt red tea was favour among the Bodos, but now milk tea is favour in the Bodo society.*

**3.1.3 Dress & Ornaments:** The Bodo men and women have some dresses and ornaments to use daily life and separately identifying themselves in the society. So Meghnath Mushahary has said in his prose **Gannai Jwmnai**. He expresses that-*Borophwra Gwdw gwdainiphrainw Gaobagaoni Gannai jwmnaijwng Gaoswr harini Juniya sinaithi hwbwdwng arw hwgasinwdong.*<sup>31</sup> *(i.e. from the early time Bodos were giving separate identity of the nation with their dresses and still giving).* Among the dresses and ornaments there are some specialities for using in the occasion of the society. The 'Dokhna' & 'Pasra' is the main dress of the Bodo women. The Dokhna is of two types i.e. (a) Langa Dokhna and (b) Ogrong Dokhna. Mostly the Ogrong Dokhna is used East Bodo women however West Bodo women used the langa Dokhna.<sup>32</sup> At that time women were not wearing the blouse on the body. So Nilkamal expresses in his story **Hagarguduni Mwi**. He expresses- *Gamiyao jwngni Boro hinjaophra dabw toila gijiyao athin gahuyw, mwdwmao gosla swbla meo meo mwnw (i.e. Bodo women are cleaning the leg with rjut bagin the village, if wearing blouse feel un essay).*<sup>33</sup> The men wear Gamsa which is also multi colour and made by the women in the society. Traditionally the Dokhna and Pasra are also multi colour and system of design. Generally the names of colours are- Bidon, Khantal mada Batho gang, Thaosi of red colour and salamata. On the other hand, the names of design are i.e. *Daothu agor, Mufhur apha, Daorai mwkreb, Taigir bibar, Hajw Agor, Farou Megon (design name), Dinkia Agor*<sup>34</sup> and so on. In the Bodo design there were Geo -Metric picture and women were using it for decorating beautifully in the

<sup>30</sup> Goutum Phwrwngiri, Boro Aida. *Pwrwnglai*. Kokrajhar:2015.Vol-XII. P.97

<sup>31</sup> Mushahary, Meghnath. *Boro somajary Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Rajkumar Brahma, 2011.p.22

<sup>32</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010 .p.21

<sup>33</sup> Brahma, Nilkamal. *Hagra Guduni Mwi*. Kokrajhar: Bina Library,1982.p.11

<sup>34</sup> Boro, Anil. *Serja Siphung*. Guwahati: G.B.D.Publishers, 2004. First Edition,p.7

dresses like Dokhna, pasra, aronai and others clothes. In this regard Meghnath Muchahary is expressing with Phagun A folk song name khaphwrni .He expresses –

Phagun okhaphwr

Sandung Rindao rinshi

Shi danaya

Agor Arnaiya

Honai gejerao

Khana nangbai<sup>35</sup>.

(i.e. making the dress and deceiving in the moon of Phagun and hot sun is mistaking)

The women made their dress own self by using some handmade instruments of bamboo and wooden i.e. *Sal Gandai, Sal Kuntha, Swrki (two types i.e. small and big), Pogai, Thaokri and 'Danganata*. The red colour of *Dokhna Thaosi* is one another most popular dress of the Bodo women in the society which is only used by the Bodo women in the special occasion and social function. Hence Manaranjan Lahary is explaining in his Story Dogri. He explained that, the red colour of *Dokhna Thaosi* is specially used in the marriage ceremony and *Kherai Puja* in the time of marriage the groom must wear this dress. On the other hand the *Doudini (Devadani in Assamese)* women wear this dress. Generally the *Dokhna Thaosi* is commonly not useable except the special occasion and function of the society. So, the red colour of '*Dokhna thaosi* has special position and place in the Bodo customs'<sup>36</sup>. In the Bodo marriage both two groups of Bwiraty also used the *Dokna Thaousi*. During the time Bodo women did not wear the blouse to cover the body while except a scarf call Alowan<sup>37</sup>. This picture has reflected in the short story ***Hagraguduni Mwi*** of Nilkamal Brahma. In the story by the character of Swarmila he explains that-*Gamiyao Dabw jwngni Boro hinjaophra Toila gijiyao Athing Gahuyw, Mwdwmao gosla swblameu meu mwnw*.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Mushahary, Meghnath. *Boro Somajary Swdwmstri*. Kokrajhar : Rajkumar Brahmaa, 2011. p.23

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, pp. 53-56

<sup>37</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998 .p.12

<sup>38</sup> Brahma, Nilkamal. *Hagra Guduni Mwi*. Kokrajhar: Bina Library, 1982. p.11

The men also did not wear the shirt, but in the winter they used to wrap the body with a wrapper of cotton or Endi spun woven at home.<sup>39</sup>

But now the Bodo women used the new design and varieties colours in the place of traditional design of the dresses and used of colours in the society. Both the man and women used to wear the blouse, shirt and long pent. The women used the Rolexes mix 'Dokhna and Pasra'. The picture has reflected in the story **Rolexni Dokhna** of Birendra Kr. Brahma. Most of the Bodo women have forgotten to make or give up making the Dokhna and Pasra. They used to buy readymade 'Dokhna and Pasra' (machine made). They buy the import 'Pasra' and used it in the society. *The use of the 'Dokna Thousi' has also become less.* Some don't use the 'Dokna Thousi' but used the other colour of 'Dokna. The 'Bairati' is also seemly used it in the marriage ceremony. The 'Doudini' is also at present used the common 'Dokhna like 'Bidon' or any other colour of 'Dokhna'. *The Bride is also now using malty colour and design of 'Dokhna' at the time of marriage in the society'*<sup>40</sup>. *But earlier Dokna Taousi was unavoidable in the society.* Today women not only use Dokhna but also use the up to date dresses like jeans longpent, T Shirt and Suidar Khamise. These all reflected in the story **Bihamjw Hybrid** of Rabin Narzary.

The Bodo women and girls used the different types of ornaments and it is the most important wealth both of the Bodo women as well as girls. The man don't use the ornaments accept ring at finger which is reflecting in **Abary** story of Ishan Chandra Muchahary. The Bodo women have some traditionally common mentionable used name of ornaments are divided into three parts - (a) for Ear (b) for Nose, and (c) for Neck<sup>41</sup>. Generally women are using the ornaments at marriage ceremony, fare & festival, marry making to look beautiful themselves in the society. There was one folk song regarding the ornaments of the Bodo women. The song expresses-

Yai Gumwi Gumwi

Phorbojorayao bongphang danna

Pwaisa mwnbwla

<sup>39</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998 .p.11

<sup>40</sup> Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social Customs of the Bodos*. Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985. Reprint 1995, 2008, 2015. P.4

<sup>41</sup> Muchahary, Meghnath. *Socio culture of Bodos (part -II)*. Kokrajhar: Rajkumar Brahma, 2019 .p.28

Ashan Khera Lw dwngse

Labw labw gumwi

Phab nangwn hai<sup>42</sup>.

(i.e. after cutting the wood at Phorbojora jungle, if gate the money then bring me a chain and garland of gold)

During the early time women were specially used *'ring at leg and handmade of the silver. They used the small ring at the nose and ear made by the Gold.'*<sup>43</sup> So Bhaben Narzee has said in his prose ***Gannai jwmnai arw Gohena Pathi (wearing dresses and ornaments)***. He said that, *Boro Kochary hinjaopra sona arw ruphajwng gohena banainanai gonthongyao khwmayao gwdwnayao arw akhaiyao ganw. Khaise athingyao ganw.* Except these the women used the 'Nolod' 'Nakhapul' and 'Phulkuri' at the Nose and Ear which also made by the gold. They also used 'Jinjiri/Sondrahala' at the Neck made by the gold. Actually the using of the ornaments, there were no differences between the married and unmarried women in the society. Only the, married women used *the 'Ashan Sangkha'* at the both hand as the sign of married which is a design of sliced made by the *'ivory or sea snail'*. The unmarried women don't use this ornament in the society.

At present, the Bodo women lessly use the ornament. In the early time the women mostly used the Gold in the neck, nose and ear. The using of ornament was mostly gold and silver which most favourable in the society. Now the Bodo women don't use the silver in leg and hand with over size. The gold and silver is used in the nose and ear with small and smooth size. The saint of gold is used in the neck. Now the women are used the *'Payel'* (*design saint of legs made by the silver*) at the leg and mostly used the readymade ornament for using all the time. So the using of gold is now not necessity among the Bodo women but using the verities design of readymade ornaments has become as the fashion in the present society of the Bodo. And also use the ring of gold or silver with valuable design stone at the hands or legs fingers which is now commonly used by the women or genes in the society. Now both the Bodo man and women are learning to design themselves adjusting with the situation in the society.

<sup>42</sup>Narzi, Bhaben. *Boro Kochary Gitmat*. Kokrajhar: Maidangsri Publication, 2010. p.58

<sup>43</sup> Narzi, Bhaben. *Boro Kocharyni Somaj Arw Harimu*. Kajolgaon: Chirang Publication Board, 2003. p. 138

**3.1.4 Performing Art:** The music and art is the one another major part of the Bodo culture. During the time there were many performing art and music i.e. Jatra Gan/Langdang Gan, Actingiya Gan and Serja Gaon among the Bodos<sup>44</sup>. So Dr. Anil Boro has mentioned in his prose ***Boro Harimu: mwse saorainai***. He mentioned that-*Borophwrni gejerao jatragaan dhuliya, Takhri palla, khemta gaon baidi baidi dittiphungnai arw mwsanai musurnaini phosongyan dongmwn*<sup>45</sup>. These were originally derived from the Kemta and Thaokri palla. Bodos learn the jatra gaon /gan in the villages or area wise by inviting the teacher (gan master). This picture has reflected in the story ***Bangkho*** of *Jonil Kr. Brahma*, as well as in the ***Jwnggha Nongamwnbla*** of *Nilkamal Brahma*. These all performing Arts were performed in the open air stages during the time of wedding ceremony, agricultural festivals and in any fair and functions of the Bodo society<sup>46</sup>. In connection with this Dr. Indira Boro has explained in her prose ***Sanaishw Mahagiriphwrkhou Gswkhangnanai***. She explains that-*Gwdwni dinao boroni juli phrbwyao jatra gan nongyablanw jayamwnnw (i.e.earlier jatra gan was the must in any social ceremonies)*<sup>47</sup>.

But Bodos are not conscious towards the own culture. Due to the lack of proper performers, idleness characters and good organizer these are disappearing in the society. that is why, again Dr. Anil Boro has mentioned one more in his prose ***Boro Harimu: Mwse Bijirnai***. He said that-*Be phosongthanphwra da gaila gwmwrlangbai hwnjayw (i.e. So to say at present that institutions have been not seen)*.<sup>48</sup>

So, Brikam is expressing about the Bodo culture in his poem ***Amen***. He expresses that,*Boroni Harimuya taphli nujanai gamsa suri*<sup>49</sup>. But after the born of socio- cultural organisation like, Bithorai Afat and Ansai afat the Bodo culture has come into the focus where Nileswar Brahma, Prasenjit Brahma and other took responsibility to enlarge the culture through the organisation<sup>50</sup>. Ostad Kamini Kr. Basumatary personally took responsibilities to focuss the Bodo Cristy dance<sup>51</sup>. But in the mean time , some socio- educational ,cultural and literary organizations i.e. Ansai Afat, Bithorai Afat and Jewary Afat

<sup>44</sup>Boro, Bhamic Chandra. *Majorni Jothai Bidang*. Kokrajhar: Boro Aida Fwrwnggiri Gouthum. 2006. p. 72

<sup>45</sup> Boro, Anil. *Serja Siphung*. Guwahati: G.B.D. Publisher, 2004. First Edition .p.5

<sup>46</sup> *ibid*, p.72

<sup>47</sup> Boro, Indira. *Harimu Arw Boro Harimu*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 2017. p.129

<sup>48</sup> Boro, Anil. *Serja Siphung*. Guwahaty: G.B.D. publisher, 2004. First Edition. p.5

<sup>49</sup> Boro Sahitya Sabha. *Khonthaini Akhebana*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 2005. p.126

<sup>50</sup> Narzary, Biddasagar. *Borosa*. Ghy: G.B. D. Publishers, 2009. p.31

<sup>51</sup> Basumatary, Dhananjay. *Gswkhangthao Boro Subungphwr*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2011. p.45

come into form among the Bodos along with some courageous personalities also came and took major role and participated with the organisations to bring there-wave of the performing Art in the society through the different process, where the organization and personalities tried to bring the social upliftment by the different role and activities<sup>52</sup>. At the time, the organisation actively participated to develop the Bodo music and art by organizing time to time the playing competition of Dram, Kham, jotha and Serja. The organization has organised the one Bodo tiatre group by the members and playing the drama among the Bodos. The goal of the organization was to bring the modern dramatically spirit among the Bodos for the social upliftment. During the time, after the role or initiative of the Ansai Afat, the Bodo culture i.e. in the ways of death music, art and drama has again stood up and spread more in the Bodo society. After the activities of the organisations, many Jatra Gaon has created and played in the society.

During the time, Nileswar Brahma was the remarkable famous artist and personally expert in the Bodo musical play. He was very interested to focus the culture through the modern technique. Hence Mr, Brahma closely attached with the ***Ansai Afat*** and work on behalf of the organisation. He was personally composing the songs and performs himself. Like so, he was the first Bodo singer who broadcast the Bodo folk song from the Kolkata AIR in 1952. All his songs were social base and connecting with social reform of the Bodos. At the same time, Kamini Basumatary also came forward to improve and focused the Bodo culture. He was personally expert to play music along with Bodo Christy dance. He personally tried to enlarge Bodo traditional Christy dance among the Bodos as well as to abroad. Hence, he moved Bodo concentrated areas and formed the Christi Afat along with teaches the boys and girls to perform Bodo Christi dance .Phwrlang Babaji was also actively predicated to save and enlarge the Bodo music & art in the society<sup>53</sup>. Particularly he actively took role and re-builds the Bodo traditional music i.e. Kham, Jotha, Siphung, Serja and Gongona along with all performing arts of the Bodos.

But today no jatra gaon can be seen among the Bodos, it has almost eliminated from the society. There were Dhulia group of Bodos in the some places of Borpeta district<sup>54</sup>, but it

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<sup>52</sup> Boro, Anil. *Serja Siphung*. Guwahati: G.B.D. Publisher, 2004.p.25 First Edition

<sup>53</sup> Basumatary, Dhananjay. *Gswkhangthao Boro Subungphwr*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2011. pp.111-112

<sup>54</sup> Boro, Bhamic Ch. *Majorni Jothai Bidang*. Kokrajhar: Boro Aida Fwrwnggiri Gaouthum,2006 .p.72

is also now rare to see. After the jatra gaon some countable Bodo theatre has born among the Bodos but it is also now almost death with unpopularity. Presently it is transformed into the influence of scientific i.e. **Cinema, Video, Dish, Audio cascade TV in the society**. Like so, the Diana, first short Bodo film has produced by the Bodo film society. After that, full long of **Alaiyaron, Khwmsini lama** appeared by the initiative and directing of Jwngdao Bodosa. Presently so many Bodo serial and video film have been produced which occupied the place of Jatra gaon in the Bodo society.

**3.1.5 Cottage Industry:** *The Bodos are rich in cottage industry which homely made goods and domestically usable in the society*<sup>55</sup>. The homely made domestic goods are usable for different angles and different items and how the goods have been made of, it has classified into some part i.e. 1. Made of Bamboo, 2. Wood, 3. Raidwng or Garla and both the 4. Wood and Bamboo.

On the other side according to the using of the homemade materials, it has divided into the some parts i.e. A. generally using at home, B. Agriculture, C. Hunting, D. fishing, E. Handloom, F. Musical instrument, G. Marriage ceremony.

1. **The materials of bamboo** are Khada, Jekai Kobai Sen, Kopri, Sandri, Songrai, Sandagga, Polo, (bamboo), Darha, Gorkha, Swrkhi, Sifhung' (flute), Mai Hangkhur, Bwrla Tir, Je and Jong.  
 2. **The wooden** is Hata, Gambari khamplai<sup>56</sup>, Sal Gandai, Uwal, Gaihen (mortar-pestle). Kham' (dram), 'Sherja'' (wooden guitar).  
 5. **The made of Raidwng** is-Janta.  
 4. **The both made of bamboo and wooden** is Nanggwl, Junggal, Beda, Hasini Bari.

The cottage materials are 1. **Generally using at home**-Songrai Sandri, darha, Khada, Sandangga, Don, Ouwani khanjong, Gisib (made of bamboo) and Uwal, Gaihen, Khamplai (these are wooden and Khamplai is two types i.e. big and small). 2. **Tools of Agriculture**-Nanggwl (wooden) Junggal, Mai Beda, Hatura, Laothi, Hasinibary. 3. **Tools of Handloom Textile**-Sal Khunta, Sal Gandai, Dangayanata (wooden), Swrkhi (two types i.e. Size of big and small), Gorkha (made of bamboo). 4. **Tools of Fishing**-Polo, Jekhai, Khobai, Khoka, Khakhi, Sen (verities types) (all is made of bamboo). 5. **Musical Instrument**-Serja (wooden which call Boro violin), Kham (wooden drum), Siphung (flute), Torkha, Gongona (gogona), Jhota

<sup>55</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. Narzary, Birlang. *Laisini Bikhayao Indramalati*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication. pp.17-18

<sup>56</sup> Narzary, Indramalati, *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar : N.L. Publication. 2010 .p.19

(chymbal).6. **Ceremonial Tools**-Hata (wooden), Don, Sandri and Gisib (bamboo made). Especially black colour of wooden Hata is only usable in the Hatasuni Haba (traditional type of Bodo marriage) of the Bodos in the society. In respect to it; the Hata is most important and have special position in the society<sup>57</sup>. 7. **Tools of Hunting**- Bwrla, Tir, Je and Jhong are the main traditional hunting tools of the Bodos.

Generally whenever the materials were in need, Bodos prepared to produce any tools of wooden, Bomboo and Raidwng themselves according to their need in the society and identified as healthy cottage industry as well as to save the own culture. But now the work culture is going to be paralysed among the Bodos in the society. Because of that, some usable things or goods are becoming less among the Bodos. The Bodo people used their domestic goods but don't make it themselves, most of time they collect from the market and some of goods are given up to use and rare to see in the society. In connection with this Dharnidhar Owary has expressed in his Novel **Maihur** for reforming work culture of the Bodos in the society. Hence he expresses in his novel that, - *Dwyao jou songra Borophra Dw danw rwngya, hagra bongr aousrangra Borophra sikha ruwakhoubw danw rwngya (i.e. Bodos are looking at tup but don't know how to made it, Bodos are cleaning the jungle by the Sikha (common cutting instrument) and axes but don't know how to construct it).*<sup>58</sup>

The using of 'Uwal' (mortar) and 'Gaihen (pestle)' among the Bodo has become less in the society. Instead of that, people used the rich machine to prepare rich for food. The chilli powder and turmeric powder is also prepared by the machine in the place of the Uwal in the society. Like so, Janil Kr. Brahma expresses in his story **Uwal**. He expresses regarding the Uwal through the character of **Sompla mahajwn** of the story. He expresses -*Dani jugao ha hu tananaibw dahwna ruwati mwnliya, uwal gaihen tanaaibw Boroni gamiyao mai sounani swdwb khwnanw mwnliya*<sup>59</sup>. The using of 'Thousi' (made of wooden) for preparing the pickle is also rare, but come the readymade ironical 'Thousi' is take place in the place of wooden 'Thousi' in the society. The Nowdra (one wooden goods) was another most popular material of the bodos. During the time Bodos used it for giving food to the pig. But now Bodos are not used it in the society. So Dr. Indramalati Narzary has mentioned in his prose

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<sup>57</sup> Op-cit.p.18

<sup>58</sup> Owary, Dharanidhar. *Mwihur*. Kokrajhar :Bodo Publication Board,1980 .p.31

<sup>59</sup>Brahma, Jani Kr. *Dumphaouni Pitha*. Bijni: Sijou Publication Board, 2005.p.85



***Borophwrni rangkhanthi joutanayao junar phsinai.*** He mentioned that, *Omanw adar hwnwbw donphangni dannai naodraoma gondrayao takhaywmwn Nathai daniya sarai gwbai, thou gwbai phwraoswadar hwsai (i.e.during the time Bodos used the Naodra for giving the food to pig but now used the broken bucket and utensil).*<sup>60</sup>

The Bodo women used the ‘*Sal Khunta, Sal Gandai, Swrkhi, Pogai and Daganata*’ to make the *Dokhna Pasra (man and women dress) and Gamsa’ (man dress)*. But now the women used the machine in the society instead of handmade wooden goods ‘*Salkhunta and Sal Gandai*. Likes others goods also buy in the market without any preparing themselves at home .Earlier Bodo women used the bamboo made comb<sup>61</sup> and men also used to play with the *Gogona*. During the time Bodos were using the new bamboo comb for combing the bride in the wedding ceremony and it was permanent system of the Bodo in the society<sup>62</sup>. Regarding the using of bamboo comb there is one folk song and expressing it that,

*Twkhw mwkhw*<sup>63</sup>

*Ouwani khanjou khanai khankw*

*Gwdwni Dina bwjwng tangkhw.*

*(i.e. the smartness, the hair styling with bamboo comb with the, earlier time where have gone.)*

These are now not seen and rare to get and used in the society. But instead of this comes the plastic comb and *Gogona* is eliminated from the society.

**3.1.6 Hunting:** The hunting system is the traditional system of the Bodos. This system is oldest system of the Bodos and it has supposed to be thought influence of the ***Tibbetan civilization*** to the Bodos society<sup>64</sup>. According to the ***Anthropologist and Archeologist***, during the early period of human civilization the hunting was the main way of living<sup>65</sup>. At that period the human being hunted and collected the meat for food as tradition for their living.

<sup>60</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bjjirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L.Publication, 2010. p.46

<sup>61</sup> Muchahary, Premananda. *Burlung Buyhurni Hayenao Boroni Swdwmsri*. Guwahati: N.L.Publication, 1996 p.108

<sup>62</sup> Ibid, pp.108-109

<sup>63</sup> Boro, Indira. *Harimu Arw Boro Harimu*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 2017. p.203

<sup>64</sup> Narzi, Bhaben. *Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu*. Kajolgaon: Chirang Publication Board, 2003 .p.103

<sup>65</sup> Ibid, p. 103

Hence, it is also thought the Bodos hunting system is race of it. After then, it has transformed in to the culture of the Bodos in the society which is coming from the forefathers and derived generation to generation in the society. But hunting of the Bodos is not the ways of life. It is only for the time being food or love of enjoyed food which has done occasionally and during the free time. So Dr. Premananda Mushahary has mentioned in his Prose *Boro Harimu*. He mentioned that, some time they hunted single and some time groupies. It is the system of social unity of the Bodos. In connection with the hunting of Bodos *Jwhlwao Nileswar Brahma* is expressing in his **folk song**. He expresses -*mwibw Gaola, Bibari Mwnbari, nwngni omakounw, huku huku hwnjase gaounswi ang (i.e. won't want to firing the birds and dear of forest but I am going to firing your pig)*.<sup>66</sup> The hunting of the Bodos is two types i.e. I. **Hagrayao** Mawihur Khalamnai' (hunting in the jungle II. **Daiyao** Maihur Khalamnai (hunting in the Water)

Generally the man is hunt in the jungle and collect the flesh of Mwi (deer), Oma (pig), Shesa (rabbit), Jahamalai, Khusung, Mwphou and whatever is found in the hunting by using the handmade instrument, like Bwrla (bow), *Tir or Jilir (arrow)* (Dhanu and car in Assamese) *Jong (one kind of ironical knife with handle)* and *Jhe (handmade net of jut)*. The Bodos are very fond of meat and flesh. After collecting the meat it is dried to preserve to eat for long time and used it as traditional food when they are busy with seasonal agricultural works.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, the women hunt in the water and collect varieties of fishes by using the '*Jekhai, Khobai* (fishing equipment of the woman). The women also hunt singly or some time with grouping in the lake, canal and river. The picture has reflected story **Hajwni Sikiri Hayenni Bibar** of Janil Kr. Brahma he expresses that, *Sanphrambw phung belase na gurphaiyw Boro aijwphra be dwisayao (every morning ad day Bodo women are fishing in this rivulet)*.<sup>68</sup> The man hunt in the water by using the '*Sen Khoka*' (fishing trades) and '*Jhong*' (like an iron of arrow).

In the early time, traditionally the men hunt season wise by observing or analysing the weather i.e. in every new month of the year. During the winter and after the rainfall which is through the marry making by grouping'. During the time, Bodo hunt with group by using the

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<sup>66</sup>Basumatary, Birendrgiri. *Boro Harimuni Mahor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 1993. p.29

<sup>67</sup>Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosagaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998 .p.9

<sup>68</sup> Brahma, JanilKr. *Japanni Saima*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board. 2009. p.92

above said instrument and did not hunt singly<sup>69</sup>. According to Endle, the Bodos group wise hunting system was one kind of day of holiday of the society.<sup>70</sup>Endle-But later singly hunting come among the Bodos by using the gun whom is known the Sikary (Hunter) in the Bodo society. The Sikari are of two types i.e. (a) temporary Sikary (hunter) who just to fulfil his food interest. On the other side, (b) another is profetional Sikharies (hunter) who maintain his family through the hunting activities. The sikhary are of want to fulfil their crisis for maintaining the family and later hunting has become profetional in the society. In this respect, the picture has reflected in the novel ***Maihur*** of *Dharanidhar Owary*, where Golo personally involves with hunting long to maintain life in the society. Hence Golo said that, *Ma khalamnw Dodere. Bekhou ang garwbla da bwrai buraikhounw phisinw hanai nogya (i.e. what to do Dodere? if I give up this work than my mother would not alive)*<sup>71</sup>. In the *Maihur* novel, where *Golo (hero of the story) becomes a professional hunter from the simple hunter in the society for maintaining family with his widow mother. So Dharnidhar Owary has said in his maihur through the Golo the hero of the plot. He said that-* earlier Bodos collected the meat from the jungle by hunting, but today no hunting system in the jungle, it has decreased or somewhere completely has illuminated in the society. Bodos are fond of meat. Hence now they keep the bird, goat, and pig for food in the society<sup>72</sup>.

After a long time the Bodo people have stopped hunting but not using with *Jhe and Jhong*, Sen Kokha, pholo used the Bwrla (bow) and Tir (arrow). Latter this is also rare but used the *powerful Gun, Rifle in the place of traditional hunting tools*. The Bodos collect the fish and dry it for using as food and store it for using long. The water hunting is two types in the society i.e. Thoule and Gwthou (deep and non deep) *Dwiyao sikhar khalamnai*. The Jhe and Pholo are used for deep water. Alternately they used the Sen, Kokha, and Kakhi in the short deepness water in the society.

But today's the hunting system is decreased; man didn't want to go for hunting anywhere. Women are also not eager to hunt in the water. There is less used of the Bwrla (bow) and *Tir* (arrow) among the Bodos. Some families keep it as the traditional hunting instrument but not for hunting in the society. The people become educated as well as try to

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<sup>69</sup>Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mahor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication,1993.p.18

<sup>70</sup> Boro, Anil. *Serja Siphung*. Guwahati: G.B.D. Publichers, 2004 First Edition.p.22

<sup>71</sup> Owary, Dharanidha. *Mwihur*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 1980. p.27

<sup>72</sup>Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mahor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication,1993.pp.63-64

understand the govt. restriction and try to follow the advice of the learned person against to hunt in the jungle along with the use of restricted tools and weapon. Like Nilkamal Brahma has expressed in his story Butua Thunggri. He expresses that, *Nwngswr da jerai thangnai dong be adob hudakhou nagarabla, garnw najayabla bobeba mwnse somao boro hariya jariminjwng baoujagwn (i.e.now you are so living, if don't want give up this habit of activities than some day bodos will be left day the history)*<sup>73</sup>. The men and women are naturally hunted near about but not hard and fast. *So, the hunting system has become eliminated in the present day society of the Bodos'*. There is hunting system among the women, but it is also become less in the society.

**3.1.7 Agricultural festivals:** The Bodos are agriculturist .As the agriculturist they have agricultural festivals which is from beginning to end the festivals has observed in the society'<sup>74</sup>. The traditionally agricultural observed festivals of the Bodos are-

**a. Haloujennai or Hal huronjennai (starting of plough):** The starting of plough of the session, Bodos were earlier observing by selecting with the good day and time. The first plough festival, Bodos are observed in the any Saturday and Tuesday of the month. In this festival no any marry making and eating but It is just begins and the ends without any arranging it.

But today the Bodo fermar don't want to follow the traditional method of plough in the society.Now the concept of the bodo fermers has changed and only thing to save as well as good production.Hence they as opportunity start to plough for their any cultivation.

**b. The Hal Jangkhra (last day of plough or last day of paddy planning):** This festival is observed in the last day of the plough of the producing paddy crops of summer session. This festival is observed no longer days. This festival is also observed by selecting the good day and time i.e. mostly in the day of Thursday or Tuesday. It is observed with less enjoy where eating along with drink is arranged and ended in a day.In this regard Janil kr. Brahma is explaining in his story Bijuli Barua. He explained that, *Be dinao boinibw nokhorao gamini mansiphra jo jo jananaï gainai phunaiyao hepajab hwlaiyw (i.e. in this day every family of*

<sup>73</sup> AHSEC. *Sujunai Bijab*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2010. p.40

<sup>74</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosagaon: Chiranjib Brahma,1998 .P.11

villagers help each other in the plantation of paddy).<sup>75</sup> But now so many bodo families have been getting forgotten the hal jangkhra celebration .Some families are observed but just homely enjoy within the member of the families with community eating.

**c. Khati *Gasha*'(lighting candle festival):**This festival is the most favour of the Bodo agriculturists. This festival is interesting and observed at the eve time by lighting in the paddy field by the man. Bodos are observing it in the month of 1<sup>st</sup> Khati<sup>76</sup>. The light is lighting on the Taigir Bikhong (one kind of fruit) and sing a song i.e. *Khati gasa dwl dwl, malaini abada Lwrbang lwrbang Jwngni maiya grwm grwm*<sup>77</sup>. No eating and drinking is done here. But now women are also lighting light in the paddy field. At the same time some women are touching the paddy plan with master oil.During the time, in the Khati Gasha, the Bodo farmers only used for lighting the light on the Taigir Bikhong but today use the jeouyary too.

**d. Ag Lainai or Mainao lainai (Bringing Lakshmi from the paddy field to the house):** The Ag Lainai is one another agricultural festival of the Bodos. This festival is only observed by the women in the month of Phu and Aghan in any good day of the month<sup>78</sup>. It is not the gorgeous festival. It is observed when first cutting the fruitful paddy crops of the year. The women have cut the paddy and bring the small bundle of paddy by carrying on head and keep it in the granary house. But today this celebration is also found to have eliminated in the bodo society. There is some places but the system is dissimilarities like; in the some places where women do this celebration on the other side men just do the cuthing system.

**e. Wngkham Gwrlai janai (new rich eating ceremony):** The next staring of taking the new of the new paddy crop is calling the '*Wngkham Gwrlai Janai*' (taking of producing new rich). In this festival the family invite the relatives and villagers to take the new rich. During the early time the rich families were showing the Bodo Jatra gaon in the open air stage or *serja gaon* (play of folk story) like as the fair or puja in the seasonal festivals<sup>79</sup>. But now this system has become rare in the bodo society. The few families are observed this festival and

<sup>75</sup> Brama, Janil Kr. *Mwider Muhini*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 1980. p.86

<sup>76</sup> Mwshahary, Meghnath. *Socio-Culture of Bodos*. Kokrajhar: Rajkumar Brahma, 2019. p.77

<sup>77</sup> Brahma, Binay Kr. *Boroni Subung Harimu*. Kokrajhar: N.L.Publication,2009 p.8

<sup>78</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A Study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosagaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. pp.141-142

<sup>79</sup> Boro, Indira. *Harimu Arw Boro Harimu*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 2017. p.203

some are just simply observe the festival but trend of showing Jatra Gaon has completely eliminated in the society, because people have become economists and giving value of time.

**F. Magw Domasi (Magh Bihu):** The Bwisagw is the major and most popular two agricultural festivals of the Bodo which marry making are observed in the society except other festivals'. The 'Magw' is observed after the end of crops (January 14<sup>th</sup> -17<sup>th</sup>) or at the time of harvesting season which festival is also called food festivals for producing new crops of the Bodos<sup>80</sup>. In the 'Magh Bihu' festival, the every family prepare different types of cakes and invites relatives and friend to share the cakes. The fire-rite is important part of this festival. This eating festival continues up to more than three or four days.

**g. 'Bwisagu/Baisagw' (Bohag Bihu):** The Bwisagu is the greatest main agricultural festival of the Bodos. It is observed after the 'Magh Bihu (April 14<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup>)' which is before the beginning of new crops of the summer session. In the 'Bwisagw', the Bodo boys and girls as well as old and young are playing merry making with tune of i.e. Kham, siphung, Jota serja musical instrument and every man, woman enjoy with drink. Especially in this festival the Maibrani Jou phinai is most favourable which is more or less taken it along with participation of girls and boys to dance with singing the Bwisagw song. So, Dr. Indira Boro in her prose **Boroyao Bwisagw Methai** is expressed regarding the bwisagw with the song. He expresses-

Hajw khoroni holo lokha<sup>81</sup>

Angjwng Raijw jagwna nwng lokha (Boys).

Ada hathai salini thao dinggrilo nwng baikha

Ashan mutha gwjwng khoulou nwng dwnkha.

Ada nwng dwnkha (girls).

(i.e. hololokha of the top hill, you are the only lady will lead a conjugal life with me(boys), brother you purchase the oil bottle from the market and keep it ready, brother you keep it for me(girls).

<sup>80</sup>Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social customs of the Bodos*. Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985. Reprint 1995, 2008. p.46

<sup>81</sup>Boro, Indira. *Harimu Arw Boro Harimu*. Kokrajhar : Bodo Publication Board, 2017. p.34

During the time 'the 'Bohag Bihu' has observed *long 7<sup>th</sup> days through the whol day ang night marry making at from one family to the other family*<sup>82</sup> and bagging door to door. So, hare is one song of Dr. Indira Boro which explains in her prose literature. She expresses- *But now, in the place of 7<sup>th</sup> days, only the three or four days have been observed through the singing and dancing*'. Presents this is going on in the Bodo society, bagging and moving door to door<sup>83</sup>.

Now it is observed the Bwisagw/Bwisagu for one month within the month of Bwisagh or Bohag. There is no bagging system. The modern song also takes place along with the modern musical instrument in the place of traditional song and instrument. The Bwisagu ('Bihu) is observed at the stage was not coming up but now one month is observed at the stage .The Bodo observes 3 or 4 days in the society on the stage. On the otherside some are observing within the month of Bohag. The dancing competition is also arranged by inviting the groups in the Bwisagw time where price money is given along with the designed trophy.

**3.1.8 Living style.** In general the Bodo people are simple and normal .The character of the Bodos is also normal and obedient in comparison to others. 'The people are normal and helpful each other no complexist is found in the society. They do not know the selfish and stooped mind in the society. That is why their living system or maintaining of living style is also normal and very simple. Generally Bodo are living in the simple houses. *But they are expert for arranging to build their houses and construct themselves. They have social system to construct the necessities houses. Bodos always select the good position of land for building the houses. The houses are mainly –Noma no (main house), Bakri (granary) and Goli (cow sad).*The Noma no (main houses) is three parts these are ***Ishing, Akhong, Kopra***<sup>84</sup>particularly it has constructed in the side of north and west. The Bakri (grenary) is in the side of east. The cow sad is kept in the side of south. The construntion Gradery and cow sad is very important of Bodos and it is a good sign in the society.So, there was one folk song regarding expressing of it in the society. The song is-

Daokha habnai noyaolai

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<sup>82</sup>Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social customs of the Bodos*.Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985.Reprint 1995,2008,2015 pp.49-50

<sup>83</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai* .Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010.p.31

<sup>84</sup>Narzi, Bhoben. *Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu*.Kajolgaon: Chirang Publication Board, 2000. p.25

Sila habnai noyaolai  
 Angkhou dabilai afha  
 Mai bakhri nunaiyao  
 Mwsou goli nonaiyao  
 Angkhou bilaihor apha<sup>85</sup>

(i.e. in the crow intering house, in the egle intering house, don't give marriage me father, in the by seing of granary, in by seing of cow sad giving me marriage father.)

The most of the houses are made with *bamboo and 'Thury jigab'* (strew i.e. woolu in Assamese). The floor is non Pakha i.e. only soil. The construction of the houses, there is in through the system. There should be '*Ishing, Akhong*' in the north side; '*Kopra*' should be in the east –south. The 'Bakri' (granary) and Bathou (place of pray according to the Bathou religion) should be in the side of west. The cow shade should be in the south along with the toilet and wale in the south. The Bodo family used the some goods to maintain their family i.e. Sikha, Ruwa, Khodal, Uwal Gaihen, Silpata, Khamplai, Daihu, Thwrsi- Iota-Khurai (pital in Assamese), Thou Tosla (utensils) etc.

But today's Bodos don't want to follow the old system. The Bodo people now don't want to construct the **Thuri jigabni** No (House of strew) as well as not seen in the Bodo villages. Now it is used to construct with the teen path (teen sheet) in the place of strew. In the Bodo village have been seen RCC Houses and used to live in the concrete Building. Hence Dr. Anil Boro has said in his prose *Boro Harimu: Mwense Saorainai* (Boro culture: an analysis). He said that, *Athikhalao thwri arw ouwani noya gaibangliyasai, Beni jaigayakhou aogriphaibai Assam type arw RCC noya (i.e. presently rare to see the house of strew and bombo, Instead of that the Assam type and R.C.C building has come and taken place.)*<sup>86</sup>

In the early time, Bodo used to cook in the goods of Khanta (made of the soil). They used the big sized of Daihung<sup>87</sup> (over size tap and made of soil) to store the water and rice as well as used the sil patha (made of stone) to prepare the any kind of pickle and used the Pitle Twrchi, Lota Kurai (utensils)' and later used the silver. But these are now completely unused by the Bodo in the society. But now it has replaced the goods of stand less steal

<sup>85</sup> Brahma, Binoy Kr. *Boroni Subumg Harimu*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2009. p.91

<sup>86</sup> Boro, Anil. *Serja Siphung*. Guwahati. G.B. D. Publishers, 2004. p.8 First Edition

<sup>87</sup> Narzary, Indramalati, *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010. p.18



among the Bodos. Now the Bodo completely use the electronic goods to make essayer and comfortable than before in their living style i.e. Ironical or steel's Thousi, Refrigerator (freeze), Gas, Pressure Cooker, Radio, TV, Whit maker, Iron machine; Motor pump power, Water tank, Tube Well, Bath room, Cycle, Motor Cycle, Car, Table chair, Dining Table etc. in the place of the traditional goods in the Bodo society.

During the period, Bodos used to sit on the Uwal (mortar) and Kamply (lowplint) (wooden)<sup>88</sup>. The Camplai is three types i.e. Low, middle and high<sup>89</sup>. Both the two things were most popular among the Bodos. One another Camplai is *Gambari Camplai* (gamary wooden lowplint). This kind of lowplint is most popular and occasionally used in the Bodo society. When some guests come or any respective one comes then used the Uwal to sit where can found in the novel *Jujaini Or* of Chittaranjan Muchahary. He expresses -*when Ajoy comes to Aly house, then Aly give him to sit on the Uwal*. After that, the Camplai takes place instead of Uwal in the society. Still the Camplai is used but not for respective person, it is for normally used at the home. Now the Bodo people use the readymade plastic, chair, branches and use the decorated sofa arm chair and tea table in the common room. At that time, Bodos used to take tea and water with Kurai (a pot for curry). Bodos take the red tea which was prepared by the salt and they didn't use to drink the milk at home as well as in the society<sup>90</sup>. But now it is used the cup-plate and steel Gilash or galosh of glass or steal to take tea is and water instead of Kurai. The tea also prepared by the sugar not by the salt.

**3.1.9 Society and Social law:** The Bodo society is the patriarchal in character .According to the system; father is the sole authority or sole guardian of the family. The men are the owner of the property .After the death of the father son is the next inheritor of the father properties in the society. The daughters have no right on the father's properties.

Although the social structure of the Bodos is based on the patriarchal system, the polygamy system too and the place of the women is high in the society. On the other part the women has no good position in the social occasion or function. If there is no a son or a male child in a family then daughter will gate the properties equally and can enjoy after their marriage. On the other side, there is one acceptance system in the society. According

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<sup>88</sup> Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social customs of the Bodos*. Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985. P.46

<sup>89</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai* .Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010 .p.19

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, P.45

to this system family keep the last daughter after his marriage to take care the father, mother and entire properties of the father which is the husband of the daughter is called Gwrjia Lakhinai<sup>91</sup> in the Bodo society. But today, although the patriarchal system most of the family are more or less distributed the fathers properties amongst the sons and daughter. The daughters also wanted to stay at home along with her husband. Because of that, the relation with the husbands' family becomes distance.

During the early period there are division of social group among the Bodos. At that time the Bodo people in group wise had separate responsibilities and did the own duty whenever any occasion had come in the society. The Bodo people suppose to be thought the Mwnsingsing Bwrai (chief of god of the Bodos)<sup>92</sup> has divided the social group and distributed the duties among the Bodos. The divided group are- Bassumatory, Daimary, Goyary, Moshary or Mushahary, Owary, Lahary, Hazowary or Hajwary, Narzee, Narzinary or Narzary, Phadangary, Sibingary, Sahary, Chainary, Kherkatary, Mohilary, Ramchiary, Iswary, Sampramary, Khakhlary, Swargiary, Bargoyary, Ganljerary<sup>93</sup>.

Accordingly the division of the group, the people duties are inequality and identity is also alike one. As their identity, the people take part and participated in any social functions of the society. As per believes- The Basumatory is the mother of earth i.e. Bwisumuty in Bodo or owner of the earth. The Swargiary are the top of all group, call Swgwyary, and means the heaven. So Swargiary are the worshiper of god which is called Deories in Bodo. The Narzarie's duty is collecting Narjai Gwran (dry jut leave) and supplied in the time of funeral ceremony or any social functions. The group of Muchahary has related to the tiger. When they get information about the killing of a tiger, then they have to clean the house for purification. So their duties are the leading of hunting in the jungle<sup>94</sup>.

The duties of the *Goyary* is collecting areca nuts and distributing it in the social ceremonies especially in the wedding. The group of *Owary* is the owner of the Bamboo and collecting it during the ceremonies. The duty of the *Kakhlary* group is collector of the Kangkla plant in the Kherai festival of the Bodos. The *Daimary* group are living in the river

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<sup>91</sup> Brahma, Dr. K. *Aspect of Social Customs of the Bodos*. Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985. p,14

<sup>92</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. p.15

<sup>93</sup> Ibid, p.16

<sup>94</sup> Ibid, pp.15-25

bank. They are fishing group. So their duty is collecting the fishes and supplied whenever need in any functions of the society<sup>95</sup>. The duty of the *Lahary* clan is requiring huge number of quantities of leaves as well as banana especially in the Kherai festival. The group of *Hazowary* are the hill dwellers and no separate duty is provide to this group. This group is only identified as the Bodo hill duellers. The *Kerkatary* is the collector of strew in the festival. The *Sibingary* is the collector or supplier of the sesame. The group of *Sobaiary* is the first producers of pulse. The group of *Mahilary* is the owner of the fishery tanks. The *Ramsiary* are the dweller of the Ramsa place. In the Karbi language Ramsa means Kachary (Boro kochary people)<sup>96</sup>. Like so remaining the other group is also provided separate duties as above mentioned.

But today there is no any division of group system for doing the duty among the Bodos in the social function or any social function. This group are now completely eliminated in the society. Now a day's deferent in participating in any ceremonies. Every one can take part equally in the religious festivals or social ceremonies. As for example- *any title of Bodo people can participate as Bwiraty in the wedding ceremony. Every Bodo people can collect fishes for food and can collect the banana leaves and dried jut leaves in the religious festivals or social occasion. But today a variety of religions is entered among the Bodos. Inflect of that, sometime groupies is try to come in the society. As for example – due to inequalities of religions, like and dislike in eating and drinking appear among the Bodos.*

The Bodos have social law to maintain the society through this law which was coming from the forth father. The social system is called the Bad system by the Bodos. This bad system was five. These five Bads wer- ***Agarbad, Phongslabad, Daokhibad, Khaolibad, Khoulbwbr.***<sup>97</sup>Each Bad has separate rules i.e. *Four in Agarbad, two in the Phongslabad, five in the Daokhibad, two in khaolibad and no any fix rules in the Khoulbwbr Bad.*<sup>98</sup> Bodos were used it for purifying the guilty person in the society. The Bad system is reflected in the drama ***Sandw Baodia*** of Surat Narzary, ***Agu Nerswn*** a short story of Siken Brahma. Daring the time Bodos believed the Daina & Dainy and Suwa suti in the society. In connection with this jugging of gulty the giving punishment were two types i.e.Physical punishment with fine

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<sup>95</sup>Op-cit, pp.19-20

<sup>96</sup>Ibid,p.23

<sup>97</sup>Narzi, Bhaben. *Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu*.Kajolgaaon: Chirang Publication Board, 2003. pp.88-89

<sup>98</sup>Ibid,p.89

and mentally toucher with disconnecting or separation from the society. According to the system of the society more or less the consideration of punishment has been given to women. In this regard, Siken Brahma is expressing in his story *Agu Nwrswn* through the character of Royati and Aowaram. He expresses that, *Khaiseya angkhon arw khaiseya royatikhon Beni takhai dai hwyw. Unao sanainibw daiya soman hwnnani angha sangse arw Royatiya taiba khom hwnanai udrainaini bantha mwnnai janaisai (i.e. Some one is giving me or some is giving the guilty to Royati. Later after judging impose us to equal guilty and i have needed to give 100 Rs fine and Royati has needed to give 5 rupees less as the guilty)*<sup>99</sup>. The main thing is that, those who have done the guilty, if guilty is considerable then society free him with fine after purification. But if the guilty is inconsiderable like Murderer and believes of Daina & Dainy, then his punishment is beggar then fine. The society disconnect and keep separate from the village, he must stay alone without connection with the villagers.

Today Bodos don't follow the bad system but instead of that just do the purification system is replaced in the society. But the Bodo people follow whenever need through the religion wise in the society. The Bathouary follow with their Bathou religion and Brahmawary are also follow their Brahma religion and some are not used the bad system in the society. Except the purification religion wise conscious people go to the police station as well as go to the court for solving or giving punishment to the guilty Person. Today, people want to give dead punishment to the guilty person i.e. those who are known as *Diana*. But earlier instead of that, society disconnected them and kept them distance from the village. If someone connects with guilty person then he must pay the fine of fee according to the fix low of the society.<sup>100</sup> In connection with this Dr. Indramalati Narzary has said in his Prose *Borophwrni Somajari nemkhanthi arw ayen*. He said that, *Swrba mansiya gajri montrani takhai bisarao dainigiri khalam jaywblabikhon sigun khi jahwnanai bini ntrokhon khatiyai khalamw agaminiprai hwkhar horw (i.e. if someone guilty by the judge involving with the charms than take to eat him cowdung along with madung with mixing and outed from the village)*.<sup>101</sup> But now it is also constitutionally guilty.

<sup>99</sup> AHSEC. *Thunlai Suju Bijab*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2006. pp.51-52

<sup>100</sup> Narzi, Bhaben. *Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu*. Kajolgaon: Chirang Publication Board, 2003. p.91

<sup>101</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. Narzary, Birlang. *Laisini Bikhayao Indaramalati*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 1996. p.15

Today Bodos have become educated. Hence, they are conscious towards constitutional rules except own social law. Presently many Bodo social organizations come into existence among the Bodos and the organizations are actively taking role to uplift the people, where presently both the student and literary organization are tremendously taking role in the society.

**3.1.10 Birth:** When the child is born, at a home then Bodos are maintaining through the traditional social systems. When the child is born, the nerve is cut with a sharp-edged slip of green bamboo skin with the help of Makhu (wooden handloom equipment) by the expert aged village women where guardians of the home is called the three or four villagers for helping the mother in the born time where is one folk song has sung by the aged women. *This song is-*

*Oi gotho? Nwngba gwdw mamwn,<sup>102</sup>*

*Bangalmwn Na jungal,*

*Garo Na Gongar,*

*Harsa Na Mephalmwn?*

*Dinainiphrai Boro jabai.*

*(i.e.earlier whoever you were, whether you were a Muslim, a Garo, a Bhutia or Asomia (Harsa) or Nepali, from today you have become a Bodo)*

There were some social systems for cutting the nerve among the Bodos. These two systems were - 'If the born baby is girl then cut the nerve and tied seven on the other hand if the baby is boy then nerve has been tied with in five'<sup>103</sup>. There was one folk believe among the Bodos i.e. bitter hand women is allowed to cut the child nerve. But not it is allowed of cutting sweet hand women. They believe that, if cut with bitter hand then, curses fast or dried the nerve but if cut with sweet hand than the nerve needed must time to cure<sup>104</sup>. The womb of the mother his buried in the door of the *Main House (Noma no) After the two or three weeks*, when the cutting and tied nerve of the child has completely dried and cure,

<sup>102</sup> Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social customs of the Bodos*.Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985.p. 5

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, P.4

<sup>104</sup> Brahma, Kameswar, *A study in cultural Heritage of the Boros*.Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998.p.4

then guardian of the family observed one most important ceremony i.e. call *Dwai Sarnai* (*whose guilty*)<sup>105</sup>, this ceremony has gorgeously observed where specially invited the villager aged men and women those who helps the mother in the time of birth baby and by honouring them arranged the eating and drinking. At the same time the name of the child is also fixed. During the time of earlier these all system had observed and followed in the Bodo society.

But now a day's most of the Bodo people don't observe these days and don't follow the old system in the time and after the child birth in the society. In the early time Bodo family kept and stayed the pregnant mother at home and giving birth the child by kneeling with the help of Uwal and observed the all process at home of the society. The family called the aged women along with the Charms to co-operate the mother without any concerning the Doctor. The picture has reflected in the short story **UWAL**(*wooden mortar*) of Janil Kr. Brahma where he said that, *Jwngni Boro bimaya mablaba ,soma be ualaonw bwlw hwtab hwtab gwatabnanaai nwngrwrkhou jwnwm hwbwyakhai nama? Bidibla gotho .jwnwm hwnai habayakhi Boro somajni harimu nogya nama? bung bung guma bifa be uwala ma dai dong?(Than giving bornd you by the help of this Uwal is not the culture of Bodos ? refly Gumas father , what hapend this mortar)*<sup>106</sup>. Hence, during the time the Uwal is most important and popular in the Bodo society. Impact of that, the mother has to get trouble and fall in the incident.

But now instead of that, the families are concerned with the Doctor from first to last and giving to birth the child at the hospital. Due to this condition many system of the society are not followed by the family. But except others, just follow and observe the '*Dai Sarnai*' (*ceremony after the one month of child birth*). Hare is prepared the item of foods and the family invite the village aged man, women along with the relatives by respecting to take the prepared food. The invitees come and participate in this ceremony gorgeously. The ceremony end in a day. During the time there were no birth day celebration among the Bodos. But today the birth day celebration has come among the Bodos and become common in the society. The Bodo have own culture to identify themselves. So to say their identity depends on the culture. The culture is identified by the Bodos and Bodos are also identified

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<sup>105</sup> Op-cit, p.4

<sup>106</sup> Brahma, Janil Kr. *Dumphaoni Pita*. Bijni : Sijou Publication Board, 2005.p.89

by the culture. Hence which culture is known by the Bodos than this culture is known to be the Bodo culture. The Bodo culture is deferent kind and recognized separately in the society. These cultures are material and non materials. The non materials are the social law to festivals. On the other side the materials is the using of the materials and goods in the society.

There were name giving system among the Bodos and that is another peculiar culture of the Bodos. At that time, the guardian was not conscious for giving good name of the child. Hence, when child is born the parent or someone aged people are seeing his / her **save, size** and appearance giving the name On the other hand, some of child name has been given by the **school teacher** adjusting with other cast name. But after that, by the influence of the Aryan cast the name is given relating to the name of God and Goddesses. After then, name giving came relating through the own religion. But today conscious guardians are giving the Bodonization along with western name and some guardians give through the **Astrologer** which is currently going on in the society.

So, this ceremony is called the first ceremony of the men. *In the early time, the people were giving name of the child by looking his or her safe and size in that ceremony*<sup>107</sup>. But today, the giving name of the child by concerning through the '*jotisi (Astrologer)*' or '*Ponjikha (Horoscope)* along with the writing of the *Kushti (women fortune taller)*' by adjusting the meaningful word on the name.

**3.1.11 Marriage:** The Hatasuni system of haba is the oldest traditional and most popular marriage system (earliest form of marriage system) of the Bodos in the society<sup>108</sup>. This system is also known the Haba Gwlao. *The Hatasuni is completed trough the Batou Aroj in the Bathou by the Douri or Oja.* The role of '*Bairati*<sup>109</sup> and *Barlangfha*' is most important in the Bodo marriage. Traditionally Bodos marriage system was 6<sup>th</sup> in the society. The six (6<sup>th</sup>) different types of marriage are i.e. <sup>110</sup>.

#### 1. *Swngnanai lainai Haba (the marriage according to standard practice)*

<sup>107</sup> Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social customs of the Bodos.* Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985, p.6

<sup>108</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai* .Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010. p.34

<sup>109</sup> Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati. N.L. Publication, 1993. p.100

<sup>110</sup> Narzi, Bhaben. *Boro Kocharini Somaj Arw Harimu.* Kajolgaon: Chirang Publication Board, 2003. P.61

2. *Gwrjia lakhinai Haba (the bride marriage by serving at the house of groom).*
3. *Kharsonnai Haba (marriage by interring the bride at the house of groom)*
4. *Bwnanai lainai Haba (marriage by forcefully)*
5. *Dongkha habnai Haba (widow marriage)*
6. *Dwnkharlangnai Haba (marriage by elopement).*

The **Bairathi** have major role for distributing the battle- nut along with helping the groom in the marriage day. He wears **Dokna Thaosi** (traditionally red colour of Dokna) and Pasra. Generally the *Bairati* is two group i.e. one group is both the married and another one is both the unmarried young girls. The **Baralampha**<sup>111</sup> is also one another part of the Bodo marriage like the *Bairathi*. The Barlangpha is single one and he should be unmarried young boy. He wears only the Gamsa and Genjee along with handling the garland of flower in the neck. His role is only backing with some arranged goods like, sugar, banana, betelnut, milk and welcoming the bride and groom by dancing in the marriage time. In the early time the *Barlangpha was dancing with backing soil along with the head of pig in the marriage.*

But now Bodos are only the four types of marriage is followed or considered in the society except the other system of marriage type. In the early time the Bodo were only did the marriage accordingly Hatasuni Haba (Hatasuni Biva) through their social customs and tradition in the society. But after the arrival of the Brahma religion among the Bodo then split the marriage in to the two systems. Only the Bathouary Bodo (followers of Bathou Religious) has done the '*Hatasuni Haba*' (earliest form of marriage system) in the society by using the Hata (one kind of wooden dish) which is popular in the traditional marriage system of the Bodos. The followers of the Brahma religious are doing the marriage with the Yogya Ahuty in the society.

But the Brahmawary Bodo (followers of Brahma religious) has done the '*Brahma Biva*' (modern form of marriage system) through the *Joygya Ahuty*. After then the '*Brahma Biva*' is now popularly going on among the Bodo as the modified marriage system in the society. 'In

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<sup>111</sup>Narjary, Indramalalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010.Reprint 2014 p.28



the early time Bodo were doing the marriage at the night time by tuning of the 'Kham, Jotha, Siphung and Serja with marry making<sup>112</sup>.

But now at the day time also do the marriage and Bem party (musical group) has come in to the place of 'Kham, Jota, Siphung and Serja (like a violin) musical tune in the Bodo society. At present one interesting thinks is that, most of the Bodo are do the marriage with Brahma Bibhah in the society. In this regards some families want to say that, the Brahma marriage system is more gorgeous than the Bothou marriage. So, today follower of Bathou religious is also wanted to follow the Brahma Bibhah in the society.

On the other hand Bodo are neither 'Hatasuni' nor the '*Brahma Bibha* but completed the marriage in the temple or in any 'Mandir' at the day time .After the eight days of the marriage day the Bride and groom compulsory to step in the house of Bride. It is calling the *Athmongla*<sup>113</sup> in the Bodo society. But now after the next day or through the opportunity selecting the any other day can do the function of *Athmongla* which takes place in the society. There is 'Biban Langnai' and the taking major role of the '*Bairathi*' in the Bodo marriage. But the role of the '*Baralampha*' is mostly not seen at the present day society of the Bodos.

**3.1.12 Death:** The Bodos before taking the dead body in the crematory place followed some rules and system of the society. The people replaced the dead body in the middle of the court-yard. And then the family or villagers offered the *water by the leaf of Banyan*' (Indian big tree), prepared rich, cook chicken and flower or garland of flower with honour. Including the relatives the other present people also offer the coin to the dead body for crossing the river (according to the social traditional believe of the Bodos).After completion all system the body is carried to the crematory place with a *Seren or Sangra*, a kind of trill is made of a raw bamboo and lastly buried through the Bodo customs.'

In the early period the Bodos had no permanent place to keep the dead body. Infact Bodos used to keep the dead body in the open field or flow on the river. There were no any fixed place to or crematory place to keep the dead body in the Bodo society .Hence, the people kept the dead body in anywhere distance open place. So Birendra giri Basumatary

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<sup>112</sup> Brahma, K. *Aspect of Social customs of the Bodos*.Guwahati: Bina Library, 1985 .P.110

<sup>113</sup> Beahma, Kameswar. *A study in cultural Heritage of the Boros* .Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. P.90

has said in his prose *Harimu*. He said that- *Gwthaikhou saonwbw layw aba hagrayer lothong khalamnanaibwgarbwnwbw arw dwiyao fhwjaohornwbw hagou. Gwthaikhou pobwbla arw saoywbla houyakhou khoglubnanai arew hinjaoukhou khanggrangna lakhibwyw*<sup>114</sup>. (i.e. there was provision to funeral or may be kept with the death body in the open field). The dead body and then the foxes and eagles, crows are completely ate up the dead body in the place. Here was one traditional believe among the Bodos that ,if the dead body has been eaten up by the animals and birds then the dead man was good, on the other hand if the dead man has not been eaten then the dead man was not holy or good in the society.<sup>115</sup>

But later only few men kept the dead body in the open field and majority are buried the dead Body in the particular crematory place. However later all the Bodos buried in the crematory place .Now after arrival or influence of the Brahma religion among the Bodos, the dead body is burnt too in the society. So, now a day the Bodos do both buried and burnt the dead body in the present society<sup>116</sup>. Presently some of families buried or burn the dead body near the house or own domestic garden and build the memory tomb for the name of death in front of the houses gate. But it is seen Bodo Christian buried the dead body now.

After the thirteenth or eleventh days from the day of the death, the family must hold a ceremony relating to the death person accordingly customs of the Bodo society i.e. call the *Saradhu or Sradhajuli (funeral ceremony)*. But there is one provision or option in the society that, economically backward family can do the ‘*Saradhu*’ in the day of death where the family just simply preparing with the Sha- Mury (simply tea with dried rice) along with Jou gwan and Gisi to the villager those who are helping to carry the death body in the crematory place as per the system of the society. This system is calling the ‘*Gwan Saradhu/bhose (driedfuneral ceremony)*’<sup>117</sup>.

In the early time, there was no *Daha Kungnai* <sup>118</sup>(*Assamese Doha system*) system and making the Head *Lanta* (bald head) system in the Bodo society. When the ceremony is held, in the morning time the relatives some items of food, fruit, tea and varieties of cloth to

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<sup>114</sup> Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati.N.L Publication, 1993 .p .19-20

<sup>115</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib,1998 .op-cit, p.9

<sup>116</sup> Ibid, pp.10-11

<sup>117</sup> ibid, p.12

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, p. 13

death soul, and then in the same day held and complete the funeral ceremony by community eating where all relatives as well as invitees are present as their opportunities.

But later the offering function to the name of dead person is doing within 12<sup>th</sup> days and the just next day hold the main ceremony. But now comes and replaces the *Daha garnai* (*Doha in Assamese*) along with the relatives are making the *hate Naira/lanta* (bold shaving head) system after the 10<sup>th</sup> days from the death. In the day of the offering function is complete and in the 13<sup>th</sup> days held the *Saradhu* with gorgeously by community eating and drinking. Now some familys' observed the ceremony by the vast meal.

On the other side, now presently after the *Daha* ceremony as far opportunity some families arrange the funeral ceremony after one month or after the one year later. If the father has two sons then observed ceremony two times and if three then three times observed in every dead year. As for example, if the dead man had two sons than celebrated two or if three than three will be celebrated. This system is commonly going on in the Bodo society. That is happening in the Bodo society. The ceremonies are also observed gorgeously. During the time there was no decoration but at present the there is found no deference between the funeral ceremony and wedding ceremonies.

### **3.2 Socio- political transition as reflected in the literary genres.**

The Socio-Political transition has also taken place in the Bodo society as reflected in the literary genres. Earlier the Bodos politically not conscious until 1929. Because of that, they were deprived from everything side in their livelihood, they could not fulfil their eagerness of equal constitutional rights and equal status. Hence, the agitation and movement has come in the Bodo society for demanding their rights, exploitation and for removing unsociability through born different the burned deferent Bodo social organizations and associations or students and literary organizations. After that the socio- political transition has came in the society by the role of the association and organizations as reflected in the literature. These transitions is mentioned as follows-

**3.2.1 Establishment of the Society and Educational reform movement:** During the early period of 20<sup>th</sup> century Bodos educationally very backward and ideologically very poor, unconscious in their survival. Socially the Bodo were not developed. The Bodo society was

so backward that, they could not identify as the society. The Bodo were involving with the 'force marriage, child marriage'<sup>119</sup>, second marriage, in the name of religion drinking more liquor, quarrelling each other involving with blind faith and anti social activities like- illegally gambling in the fair and festivals. At that time no social law is coming up to stop the anti social activities in the Bodo society. So to say during the period the Bodo society is fulfilling with the ugliness anti social activities. Hence, other conscious enamouring aryan people has got opportunity to hate the Bodo people by neglecting to identify as the lower cast (as the tribal) and no respond anywhere. The Bodos are exploited anywhere, lost their equal status and deprive from their facilities i.e. communication, medical, education along with constitutional rights .Even at the time, Bodo had no right to move freely in the market, soap or any places. Besides, they compel to change the religion of the Bodo and assimilate to their cast. They tried to use as labourer and misbehaved. In the other hand, once Bodo did not have rights to touch their well, used the banana leave for serving rice in the Baranda or court yard to the Bodo people when worked at their home. So Brajendra Kr. Brahma is expressing in his poem ***Okrang Gonse Nangou***. He expresses-

Jariminni bai di brwai Borno

Beni mugaithao gubun mohor,

Beni swdwbthini gwrwnthi sannai.<sup>120</sup>

(i.e.that is the four colours in history, its unsociability another safe, its thought of wrong meaning)

On the other hand during the time many Muslim cast came from the Bengal to Assam and entered in the Bodo tribal areas. After that, they tried to disturb by involving the rubbery and thief activities through handling the innocent Bodo people. But after doing the activities many illiterate innocence Bodos had arrested except the other cast<sup>121</sup>. Hence, the British administrator was anger on the Bodo cast and also tried to identify the Bodo people

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<sup>119</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Thunlai Baidi Baidi*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2009. p.86

<sup>120</sup> Narjary, Dr. Bhupen. *Thunlai Jothai*. Guwahati: N.L.Publication, 2011. p.22

<sup>121</sup> Narzary, Biddasagar. *Swrangni Lamajwng*. Bongaigaon: Bodosa Publication, 2003 .p. 88

as the criminal cast<sup>122</sup>. In the census of India Bodos are not shown separate cast as the other cast of Assam.

But it was dismissed by hard work of the 'Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma'. He also brought the Bodo society in the way of good through the 'Bodo Maha Sonmilony<sup>123</sup>'. After that, Bodo Chatra Sonmiloni forms under the advice of Kalicharan Brahma to uplift the society. After that, by the initiative of the Sonmiloni, some Bodo social organisation has come into form in the Bodo society. as the result , Bodo social low has tidily place and eliminate the anti social activities .from the society which is reflected in the prose Bodo literature of Brajendra Kr. Brahma, He expresses in his Dubri Bilai poem. Madhu Ram Boro, Manaranjan Lahary are also expressing in the poetry. In this regard Bisnu joyti Kochary has expresses in his poem **Sangrema Jiou**. He expresses-

*Bwndwng breo breo*

*Swr jakhw abou nai biswr?*

*Beyao da*

*Ombashi hornidakha khwmshj<sup>124</sup>*

*(i.e. bwndwng breo breo who are they? Hare is now midnight)*

**3.2.2 Demand for creating of Bodo Regiment:** During the Second World War the British Govt. created the Ghurkha regiment in India to use as the soldier in the war. At that time among the Ghurkha the many Bodo youths joined in regiment and maximum soldier were the Bodo in the regiment .In this regiment Bodo youths were the maximum than Gurkha youth.Hence Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma was demanding the nomenclature of regiment as the Bodo regiment instead of Gurkha regiment. He expresses in his momerendum to the British Govt.which Biddasagar Narzary is expressing in his prose **Simon Commission Danai**.He mentioned here that- *The Bodos were originally a warrior class and large number of them joined the military service, but they are generally style and classed as Gorkha regimiment .To our opinion, they should be designated by their name, as the Kochary, the*

<sup>122</sup> Op-cit, p.88

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.,pp.44-45

<sup>124</sup>Boro, Bhoumik Ch. *Mejorni Jothai Bidang*.Kokrajhar: Boro Aida Fwrwnggiri Gouthum, 2006. p.27

*Bodo Regiment, so that their ancient heroic memories may be maintained.*<sup>125</sup> In this regard Brajendra kr. Brahma has also mentioned in his prose ***Naiji jouthaini gibi bahagwyao Boro mahari***. He mentioned that- *Gurkhaphwrni Takhai Gurkha Regiment thanai badi borophwrni takhaibw Boro regiment Khulinaggou*<sup>126</sup>. But in the second world war so many Bodo soldiers were dead. So, the British govt. asked to Kalicharan for fulfilling the gaps by placing 200 youths then the name of the regiment would be changed as the Bodo regiment. But parents didn't agree to send the son as the request of Kalichan that is why Kalichan Brahma could not fulfil as asked British by for Bodo youth in the regiment. Later, the name of the regiment kept ascetics. But the demand of the propose regiment has still remained among the Bodos as a way of forwardness in the society.

**3.2.3. Demand for creating of Sub-Division:** *In 4th January of 1929 British government brought the Simon Commission to enquire into the working of the system of Government. Sir John A Simon (president of the commission) along with other six British members was leading the commission*<sup>127</sup>. During the time, Gurudev Kalichan Brahma was leading the Bodo delegation to Indian Statuary Commission in Shillong for giving a memorandum where some of political demands were mentioned for fulfilling the political crisis of Bodos<sup>128</sup>. In this memorandum one remarkable demand was demanding for creating of Sub-Division office either at Kokrajhar or at Holtugaon including other demands. Where demand of Sub-division office is expressed by Brajendra Kumar Brahma in his prose ***Mahukhuma, jilla ,BAC, BTC, Bodolandsim aar besw gwjan***. He has mentioned that-*"We also desire to put it you that there should be a sub-division office either at Kokrajhar or at Holtogaon."* Again in this prose he mention about the other included demands. He mention that – 1. *Jeraibw gwglaiswnai borophwrkhrou tokhoyai alada hari hisabaigonainanai joutanaini junia khabu hwnanggou (Give the political right to the Bodos in the Indian constitution). The Bodo were not mentioning separately in Indian census report .So he mentioned in the memorandum-There should be a separate category as the Bodos in the census Report. 2. Lokhel concilao borophwrniphrai ala da thandai dwithai hornaini khabu hwnanggou. (Put the Bodo delegate in the Local council). 3. Swlwnghthaiyao gwglaiswnanai thanai borophwrni takhai miru ayen*

<sup>125</sup> Narzary, Biddasagar. *Swrangni Lamajwng*. Bongaigaon: Bodosa Publication, 2003. p.87

<sup>126</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Thunlai Baidi Baidi*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2009 .pp.94-94

<sup>127</sup> Narzary, Biddasagar. *Swrangni Lamajwng*. Bongaigaon: Bodosa Publication, 2003 .p.84

<sup>128</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Saosabpanai Gwdan Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2015 .pp.62-83

*afadao mwense masi thinanai dwonnangou, (There should be **separate director** for Bodos in the Bijni, Bilashi para, Kokrajhar, Dhubri under the Dhubri local board as Muslim). There should be reserve site for Bodos in the Dhubri and Goalpara local board.<sup>129</sup> Brajendra kr Brahma has again mentioned in his prose **Naiji jouthaini gibi khaose bahadwyao Boro mahary** on the same matter. He mentioned that-4. Miru Ayen Afatyao Borophwrni TakhaiMwense masi thinanai dwonnangou (There should be one reserve site for the Bodos in a centre law union). 5. Bai somao goyalpara jillani jomidar arw phalangiphwra mwense afat dananai goyalpara jillakhou swanab bengojwng samil khalamnw sorkharkhou narsindwngmwn.Aseyaonw bekhon mitinanai ojod khalamw arw derhasadbw jayw.<sup>130</sup> (During the time **Jomidary and Businessmen** were closely connected with the Calcutta. That is why the all Zomiders and business of Gowalpara has form the one union (Zomidar association) and the association ask to the British govt. for combining the Goalpara district to the west Bengal. And then Kalicharan Brahma has strongly opposed it to govt, and demand has success.)*

But the demanding dream and hope for sub-division of Kalicharan Brahma is not failed. It is though lately impact of the long standing demand. Lastly it has come in true after the independent. The Kokrajhar has recognised as the *Sub-Division in 1957* who's Bishnuram Medhi Chief Minister of Assam has inaugurated. Next comes and recognised as the District whose Ranendra Narayan Basumatary of the Flood and WPT (welfare of Plain tribal) minister has inuegarated in 1983.<sup>131</sup>

After that, the terming point of revolutionary ideologies has come among the Bodos and other tribal people of Assam. And then under the guide of some tribal leadership the PTCA Political party has been formed in 1967 for demanding of constitutional rights of the inhabitant bodos and other Tribles of Assam as well as for fulfilling the political crisis. On the other side, in the same year the All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) has also been formed and come into the same platform to make the aim of the PTCA,<sup>132</sup> in imediate action.

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<sup>129</sup>Op-cit.pp.82-83

<sup>130</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr.*Thunlai Baidi Baidi*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2009 .p.94

<sup>131</sup>Brahma, Brajendra Kr.*Saosabpanai Gwdan Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2015. p.83

<sup>132</sup>Ibid,,pp.83-84

**3.2.3 The Udayachal Movement:** The Bodos were politically not improved, due to lack of political improvements the Bodos were exploited by the others and completely deprived from the political and constitutional rights in their existence. 'They have also needed to lose their opportunities and existence of the Bodo or identity has become milieu in Assam as well as in India.

But after a long time, luckily '*Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma*' has come forward among the Bodos and took responsibility for improving the political crisis<sup>133</sup> of the Bodos for the development of their existence and well establishments in Assam as well as in India. During the time of East India Company, the British wanted to identify the Bodo people as the criminal cast<sup>134</sup>. But British have windrowed the adopted resolution by respecting apple of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma. The words of appeal which Bidda Sagar Narzary has explained in his prose *Rajkhanti Arw Gurudev*. He expresses-*Boropra jwbwt gwthwng arw gwthar gswni mansi .Gubun harini ohaio phandainaiyaosw makhase boro phwra sikhao –dakhati maogra jadwng. He also said that Sikhao dakatiyaw Bangalphwr raijw janai jaigayaosw bangsin jadwng, borophwr raijw janai jaigayao apha – anaillo jadwng (i.e. Bodos are straid and very hearh soultege people .By the politics of the other Bodos involves in the tiefe and robarry activities. He also added that, the activities of thief and robarry has affected in the areas of Muslim community wheres only few have affected in the Bodo duelling areas)*<sup>135</sup>.

One time British took plan of more texes on the Bodo people. But this resolution was also windrow on request of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma. Kalicharan Brahma demanded *the Kochugaon as the Mahukuma (sub-division) for the greater interest of the Bodos*. But in his live it had not come in light, but as a result the Kokrajhar District has been created after his death in 1967. He met the Simon commission in Shillong and gave application in respecting some genuine demand for the development of the Bodo. Amongst the list of demands, demanding to create the Bodo regiments one of the most remarkable demands.

After the initiative of Kalicharan Brahma, which is PTCA political party has come in existence among the Bodo tribal in 1967 which political party was demanding long time for

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<sup>133</sup>Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Nwjwr Arw Swrji*. Kokrajhar : B.A.C,1994 .pp.11-12

<sup>134</sup> Narzary, Biddasagar. *Swrangni Lamajwng*. Bongaigaon: Bodosa Publication, 2003 .P.81

<sup>135</sup> Ibid,p.81



creating namely the '*Udayachal*'<sup>136</sup> separate State to abolish the political problems of the Bodo tribal in the plain Assam. In this regard Surat Narzary expressed in his poem *Gangse Lajam: Bijay Baglarinw*. He expresses -

Be hayenao ma ma nanggou nwnwnw-

Ma, lubaidwng gwdanai swrjinai

Udayachal eba sabiram namni sarani

Gwjam jaoliya hadabao

Greng greng rajiw janw?<sup>137</sup>

(I.e. what do you want in this land, what was newly created, Udayachal or name of sarani, in the jouliya old land)

But such after a long time, launching the movement has not come in true for the Bodos due to lack of proper guidance and disunity among the political leadership.

After than the students organisation of the Bodo has taken responsibility for solution the political problems of the Bodos. 'The organisation has also demanded constitutional rights to give separate identity of the Bodo by demanding a state in Assam as well as in India'<sup>138</sup>. But it has not ended, but in these regard the organisation is taking vital role through the various steps which is still running by launching movement. The picture where can found inth novel **Bigrai arw Dwsrai** of Thiren Boro (the socio- political novel).

**3.2.4 Movement for the development of Language & Literature:** The Bodos were not educated until the independent of India. During the post Independence only few man of the family took education through the Bengali medium but most of the people didn't have education in the society. After the Independence of India the rate of literacy lesely increases among the Bodo by the medium of **Bengali** along with the **Assamese**<sup>139</sup>, although it was countable in the society. After the long gaps of Independence India, the illiteracy rate of the Bodo has lessly increases up to the 1963 in the society through the above mentioned

<sup>136</sup> Swagiary, Khatindra. *Boroni Jarimin Arw Swmaosarnai. Guwahati*: Binod Nath Bookland, 1992. p.138

<sup>137</sup> Boro Sahitya Sabha. *Khontaini Akhebana*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Pblcation Board, 2005. p.117

<sup>138</sup> *ibid*, pp.200-201

<sup>139</sup> Boro, Madhuram. *The History of the Bodo Literature*. Hajo: Priodini Press, 1990.p.3

medium of instruction. After the year of 1974-75 the literacy rate of the Bodo has more increased than earlier to till today. Now a day where some of Bodo educated has established in the society. It has needed to be mentioned that from the free Independence of India to the post Independence Bodo were educationally not developed. There were some cause and reason behind the backwardness of the education in the society. In this respect, *there were not only social problems among the Bodos but there was also the political conspiracy towards the Bodo as well as towards the society*<sup>140</sup>. This are-

- 1 *During the time the Govt was not interested for giving the education to the Bodo people.*
2. *The communication of the Bodo cogenerate area were most backward. The Govt. was too not looking back towards the communication of the Bodos. During the time no proper constructed road to communicate easily one place to another place*
3. *There were no available schools to have education in the Bodo dominated areas. So far distant there was countable school in the areas. The economically weak Bodo were due to backwardness of communication could not take the education.*
4. *The Bodo would not get changed to take education through own language as the medium of instruction.*
5. *The Bodos were needed to have the education by the other language in the school.*

So, it is needed to be mentioned that, the govt. of India as well as the Assam govt. politically dominated the Bodo people in every way of the development along with in the field of educational system. The govt. was a not in the favour for rising of the Bodo people through the education i.e. language and literature. Hence, during the time Bodo could not come up in the language along with literature in the society. 'Only the missionaries could think for the development of the Bodos as well as the society by establishing the schools and teachers among the Bodos'<sup>141</sup>. 'They gave interest to enlarge the educational environment in the Bodo concentrate areas. They tried to establish the Bodo language and literature through the medium of instruction in the school' for the existence of the Bodo nation in India as well as in Assam.

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<sup>140</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Saosabpanai Gwdan Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2015. pp.23-24

<sup>141</sup> Basumatary, Dinanath. *Boro Rao Thunlaiyao Christian Missionarini Bihwma*. Bongaigaon: Dodere Publication, 2012. pp.81-83

The missionaries published the books of primary level and some religious books for the education of the Bodos. In this regards, the missionaries were the great for the Bodos. Now after coming the social organisations and literary organisations the Bodo literature has got medium of instruction for taking the education. Many Bodo medium schools have got teacher job in the state. Now each Bodo village has one primary school and each area has high and ME school for opportunity to take the education. There are higher secondary and colleges to develop the higher education in the areas. Like so, at present Bodos are developing and in the way is developed by the initiative of the Bodo social organisations but in every steps the Bodos need to have movement and agitation for fulfilling the educational backwardness in the society.

**3.2.5 The Script movement:** The language which uses to talk and communicates each other in the Bodo society, this language is the language of the Bodo. *This Bodo language was during the early time only for oral or vocal among the Bodo society.* The Bodo didn't have own script to write and read from the free and post 'Independence' of India. *During the time of kingdom there were supposed to be thought that Bodo had 'Deodai' Script' to write & read*<sup>142</sup>. As an evidence of the Deodai script can found in the 'Royal gate of Kochary Kindom' in Dimapur (now in Nagaland), 'Maibong' (Cachar of Assam) Broken stone plate in the 'Oghnigar' of Tezpur and also found written on a piece stone plate in the **Pulmati Ashrom** of Khuntaibari at Bijni<sup>143</sup>. But due to lack of clear evidence and system of used it has been not identified among the Bodos. The social organisation tried to identify and introduced this script for the Bodos, but the govt. politically has not giving change to bring among the Bodos.

And then, after a long time, when the missionaries came, and entered among the Bodo society, the Bodo language even than was not a written language; it was only the oral language. But the missionaries were as their capacities establish the Bodo language as the written language from vocal language trough publishing the Bodo book of the primary level, some religious books and the magazine by the modified Roman scripts. They heartily analysed the language and published the book of Bodo grammar with Darrang Dialect in

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<sup>142</sup> Brahma, Kameswar. *A Study in Cultural Heritage of the Boros*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. pp.3-4

<sup>143</sup> Boro, Madharam. *The History of the Bodo Literature*. Hajo: Priodini Press, 1990 .p.2

1884<sup>144</sup>. The name of Grammar was 'An outline grammar of Boro Kochary' of rev. Sidney Endle. Like so, at the time, the Missionaries were stand and identified the Bodo language with their tried best.

But after the independence the Bodo language had again come in defang neither oral nor written. The govt. has not taken any step to develop the Bodo language. No school no education among the Bodos. The countable schools in long distance where no communication of facilities. That is why those who want to take education then he must stay near about the school. So, many Bodo children need to stay without schooling to have education for their economic backwardness. Impact of that Bodos is long time deprived from the education. Hence, the Bodos faces, with the illiteracy problem in the society and later Bodos need to have education with *Bengali as well as parerally with the Assamese medium of instruction*.

But after forming the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, the Bodo language recognise as the language of the primary school level in 1963<sup>145</sup>. After that, took place to middle primary, high school, college level as MIL Subject with the Assamese script. But after a long march by the initiative of Bodo Sahitya Sabha the Roman script movement was launched in 1974-75 to get as own script of the Bodos for writing and reading. The agitation was against Govt which had widely spread among the Bodos till one year where more than 15<sup>th</sup> innocent Bodo people had to die in the hand of Assam police force. The picture of movement where reflected in the Drama *Roman Hangkhw Binw Thangnaiyayo* of Mongalsing Hazowary. Through the character of Upen, Sayaram and Mayasry he expresses that,

**Upen**—*Sabgou, Jebw Mititarabla bekhoulou mithina ladw – nwngsalja Chayarama thangnai Roman hangkhwni Swmangsarnaiyao CRPF jwng Gaokhrob jadwng*<sup>146</sup>. (i.e. Upen, yes if no noyhing than know it that- your son Sayaram has ownded by the CRPF in the movment of Romascript).

**Mayasri**—*Raga jwngnw? Ma bungnw? Roman hangkhw binw thanggwn swmaosargwn Jwngkhou julum khalamgwn. Barabla nwngbw sayaramjwng lwgwse noniphrai huran*

<sup>144</sup>Brahma, Riju Kr. *Boro Thunlaini Jarimin Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: Onsumai Library, 2007. p.49

<sup>145</sup> Lahary, Manaranjan. *Boro Thunlaini Jarimin*. Kokrajhar: Alaiyaron Publication, 1991. pp. 89-90

<sup>146</sup> Hazowary, Mangalsing. *Siman*. Bodo Publication Board, 1994. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition .p.89

jagwnhai mithika.<sup>147</sup>(i.e. Mayasri-angrying? what to say? involve with roman script movment and disturb to us.Otherwise you also need to runway along with Chayaram).

But after the Roman script movement, the script of Devanagari has come and took place of assamese script for education of the bodos permanently and the language literature her came into another tarning point.The language became the official language in 1984.Now the Bodo language has establish as the written as well as official language in Assam and also accepted by the *Cilland Sahitya Academy* as the researchable language and *now Bodo language is established as the constitutional language of India in 1993*. At present the Bodo language is established written constitutional language and the second largest majority language of Assam. In every step the Bodo needed to lead agitation to save and develop in the society.

**3.2.6 Movement for Bodoland Statehood:** The Bodos have own language, culture and religion to identifie themselves separately in the country. Like so the Bodo were maintaining their language, culture and religion long time and identified as the great Bodo nation from the free history to post history. But ‘after the reign of Bodo Kingdom, all Bodo families became disappeared and so weak that was never came back to their original identity’<sup>148</sup>which reflecting in the drama ***Raja Iragdao*** of *Kamal Kr. Brahma*.He expresses through Belsri and Iragdao. *Iragdao- Nwnggou Belsri. Nathai Boroni ondoraobw Iragdaoya tanw gwhw gaiya.dinai Iragdaoya rajablabw rajiw gwmajanai rajkhanti thunggi janai Engrajni gwsu suphungra baikhanai bandabwlo*<sup>149</sup>. ( i.e. *But in the capital of Boro, Iragdao has no power to stay.Today iragdao may be king but the king of politically looser of state just like arbour stump of the Enlish*).The Bodo lost their strangth to existence in every field in the society. Due to the unconscious and characterisation of idleness situation, Bodos did not think of their social and nationality crisis.The picture can bee seen in the story ***Rwnao Pagla*** of Haribhusan Brahma. He expresses- *Rwnaoya Nirmalnao swngdwng, Nirmal phongbai nwnng mithigou nama Borohabw hador dongmwn hwnnanai, dongmwnbla manw*

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<sup>147</sup>op-cit,p.92

<sup>148</sup> Boro Thunlai Afat. *Raithai Bihung*.Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 2007.P. 2

<sup>149</sup> Brahma, Kamal Kr.*Raja Iragdao*. Kokrajhar: Onsumai Library, 1978. p.72

*fwblangkhw?<sup>150</sup>(Rwnao ask to Nirmal Brother Nirmal do you believe that, Bodo had a state. If a state than why destroyed?).*

*Nirmala gusungyai rwnaonism pindwngmwn, - dongmwn hwnnai khwnayw Rwnaoda, Dimaphurkhounw hadorni nerswn hwnnanai bungyw.fwblangnaini jahwnphwrkhoubw bara mitiya.gaojwng gao phwtaikebsoni habakhounw gudi arw gwnang jahwn hwnnani bungyw mansipra<sup>151</sup>.(i.e.Rwnao has shortly replied to Rwnao, Yes I have hered brother Rwnao, the capital of Dimaphur is the sign of it, welly don't know about the reason of rain , people said that, due to lack of co-operation and misunderstanding work of each other was the genuine causes of it). Bodos were not serious towards the own burning issues of problems. Infact of that, others enamouring serious cast had got chance to suppress and got chance to exploit against the Bodo people<sup>152</sup>. Others compel to change their own and have to take and assimilated with them to their society.*

Because of that, many Bodo people accepted other religion language and culture and also assimilated to their society. Due to that, reason Bodo could not develop the social, education, culture and economic backwardness in their existence. During the time, due to unconscious situation so many Bodo people were converted to the other religion culture and accepted language<sup>153</sup>. During the time many Bodo families lost in the Bodo society. But after a long back, Bodo students came forward among the Bodo to gear up the Bodo people in the society. The students took responsibility for fulfilling the nationality crisis of the Bodos. In this regard, the students created some students and literary organizations for building the great Bodo nationality. The organisations took vital role through their tremendous activities for the changing of the Bodo society.

After the initiative of the students, some students and social organisation has come into form among the Bodos. The organisation gear up the Bodo people in everything sides for the development of the Bodo nation. The PTCA was born in 1967 among the Bodo tribal under the leader ship of Chamar Brahma Choudhuri, Charan Narzary and Bhimbar Deory.

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<sup>150</sup> AHSEC. *Thunlai Suju Bijab*, Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2006 .p.124

<sup>151</sup> *ibid*, p.124

<sup>152</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Nwjwr Arw Swrji*. Kokrajhar: B.A.C., 1994.p.8

<sup>153</sup> *ibid*, p.9

*The aims of the political party were to create the 'Udayachal' state for the Bodo tribal in Assam*<sup>154</sup>.

At the time, the Bodo student organisation also supported the political party and to do the work for the greater interest of the great 'UDAYACHAL'. Bodo tribal had no political freedom in the Assam. Because of that, the Bodo tribal created the 'PTCA' among the Bodos and demanded the separate state to bring the political rights. But the political party could do nothing. *The party became defang and spliced in to the two groups because of the divide and rule policy of the govt*<sup>155</sup>. After the political party the student organisation (ABSU), a non political party has taken the responsibility to demand the constitutional rights for the Bodos. The student organisation took vital role and tried hard long time for fulfilling the political & constitutional rights of the Bodos through the various steps and plan policies. Like so by the initiative of ABSU at the very beginning govt, created the BAC in 1993 and later created the BTC in 2003 under the Indian flag which still the BTC is going on. But though the movement of statehood is continuing. Because, BTC is not the final political solution of the Bodos. So Bodos are crying through different plans and policies for the Bodoland statehood. But govt. didn't respond and eager on the issue of the organisation. Even the govt. is dominating and playing with their political role on the organisation and also tried to use divide and rule policy against the demand of the organisation. Hence, still the aims of the organisation are hanging in respect of the Bodo nationality as well as the society. Like so, the organisation is standing on their demand and policy is running and demanding the state for Bodo nation to fulfil the political and constitutional rights of the Bodos and to stand separate identity in India as well as in the world. The picture which is reflected in the novel *Bigrai arw Daisrai of Thoren Boro*.

### **3.3 Socio- Economic transition as reflected in the literary genres.**

The Socio –Economic transition has also come in the Bodo society as reflected in the literary genres. The Bodo people are the rural people, mostly they stay in the village. They produce crops and do the farm of the pigs, hen, pigeon and other domestic animals. But they are not business minded. Their product of crops and any other producing farm is not for sale

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<sup>154</sup> Swargiary, Khatindra. *Boroni Jarimin Arw Swmaosarnai*. Guwahati: Binod Nath Bookland, 1992. pp.110-111

<sup>155</sup> Ibid, pp.118-119

or business purpose, which is only for domestic use earlier. The man and women don't come forward in the business, even then they feel shame. They do not want to maintain or manage their live the hard work of business. But now, the transition has come in the field of Business and socio- transition has come in the Bodo society. These transitions are discuss as follows.

**3.3.1 Sale the surplus agricultural producing crops:** The agriculture is the main living source of the Bodos<sup>156</sup>. Hence Anil Kr. Brahma has said in his prose *Boro Hari (Bodo nation)*. He said that, *Abadanw Borophwrni thangna thanainigudi fhunkha*. They produce seasonally different kinds of crops. The time of agriculture is mainly two season i.e summer and winter. The paddy cultivation is the main crops of low land of the summer session. Another important producing crops are *Pathw (jute), Sobai, Sibing and Beswor( seat of oil) of the winter session*<sup>157</sup> is also main seasonal crops for their living . Generally the paddy crops is produced in the watery place where water is able to gate available in the field. On the other side the winter rabbi crops is done in the dry and high places which is call Hasrao Ha by the Bodos. Any way Bodos produce the varieties of crops through the season wise as their capacity in the society.

The Bodo people are economically not sound. They are not business minded for future planning. Hence, they do not think about the earning source for existence in the society. Impact of that, Bodos donot sale any surplus items of goods in the market. But used surplus as well as eat more in any occasion or ceremony of the society. During the time, there were no Bodo milkman, fisherman, and Barber and cow seller in the Bodo society. Hence Dharnidhar owary is expressing in his novel *Mwihur (the hunt)*. He expresses- *Bungnw thangywbla Khanai singrphwrkhoubw Biharniphraisw labwnangsigwn .Bephrkou mugainanai aba maounw bananai raobw swlwngnw najaya. (i.e. so to say the barbar should be brought from the Bihar. Dislikeing it Bodos don't want to learn it)*<sup>158</sup>. According to the law of the society Bodo can not sell and buy the milk, cow and fish along with no one can do the barber activities in the society. If someone wants to do this activity than people wanted to condemn and need to purify with fine. But later by the inspiration of the Bodo

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<sup>156</sup> Brahma, Anil Kr. *Boro Rao- Thunlaini Jarimin. Kokrajhar: N.L.Publication,2017 .p.8*

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, p.8

<sup>158</sup> Owary, Dharanidhar. *Maihur*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 1980.p.31



social organisations the Bodo people have become conscious on their economic condition take place in business in the society. And then man or women come into expert on the selling and buying of any their producing crops, domestics' goods in the market as well as at the home.

During the time, Bodos were not educated in the society. Hence they had no any proper knowledge about business in their existence. They feel same to do business; hence they don't want to sale any surplus goods, materials and vegetable to others. There were Howlat system and offering to poor family without benefits system was in the Bodo society.

But later by the influence of the other cast learned to sale and try to understand business work in the society. After than, Bodos try to sale the producing surplus crops and vegetables along with any items of goods to maintain the family. And then Bodo man or women learn the buying and sailing activities in the domestic places and now take place in the market. Earlier Bodo kept the earning money with self don't think about the bank .but later think regarding the bank. But today everybody knows the bank as well as deposited to the bank balance for saving of money. The reflected picture can be seen in the short story *Mr. Hibrini Mwdai Arw Gwlwmdai* of Jumai Dala Basumatary.

**3.3.2 Wood cutter/Badary system:** The wood cutting and sailing was the one anther most closely connected with the living economic source of the Bodos as well as many cultural events were connected in the society. In connection with this, there is one folk song i.e -

Porbot jora jharao

Dongfang dannw tangywbla

Sal jora makhu jora

Labw gumai labw laru Bandaru<sup>159</sup>

(i.e. when you will go to cut wood in the porbod jora forest then bring me sal jora makhu jora oh dearest brother in-low Laru Bandaru.)

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<sup>159</sup>Boro, Indira. *Harimu Arw Boro Harimu*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board ,2017.p.151

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century most of the Bodos lived near the deep forest areas. There were available varieties of trees in the Bodo living forest areas. There was forest department but not hard restricted. Hence many Bodos cut the woods and sold it as their economic source. On the other side, some rich Bodos took the *donfangni Kook* from the forest department and export the woods to abroad. Hence Janak Jhangkhar Narzary has explained in his drama *Mwnabilini Hangma* through the character of Balen. He explains- *Balen, maba biyai. Dongfhangni khub ladwng. Sobthayao santham sanbrai rijabao thahaiyw (I.e. Brother, taking of the contract of wood and three or four days staed in forest)*. During the time there were good opportunities to earn the economic sources. But Bodos were economically weak, so such types of businessmen were rare to get, only few rich Bodos had done the business in the society. So, at that time some Bodo businessman unittingly formed a firm i.e., Brahma Company(1912),<sup>160</sup> under the guidance of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma and giving the loan to the Bodo youth in a low rate of interest for doing the wood business to develop the economic system of the Bodos.

But today this Bada system is completely eliminated in the society. On the other side after the govt, restriction the Dongfhangni kook lanai system (system of wood contract) is also eliminated and rare to get. Instead of that, now illegally wood cutting and selling system takes place in the society. People are engaged in varieties type of business. The contract system has come in the society. The villagers open the fund to give loan in high percentage.

**3.3.3 Money earning source through the domestic animal and birds.** Particularly the Bodo women are rearing the Hens, duck, cow, goat and pig at home. During time the rearing of these domestic animals and birds are only for food. Bodos were favour of meat except the beef. During the time business was secondary. But food was fast, hence along with using at home if the any relative or guest come then used food as honouring them. The picture has reflected in the short story *Porboot jorani Bihamjw (sister in-law of Porbot jora) of Janil kr Bramha*.

But at the present time, the rearing of the domestic animals becomes the money earning source of a Bodo community. Here not only the women are involved but man also

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<sup>160</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Saosabpanai Gwdan Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2015. p.23

involved in keeping of the domestic animals. Because, *it has become one kind of the family maintaining source. This picture is reflected in a short story name **Dumphaoni phita** of Janil Kr. Brahma. Where Dumphao firstly sale the hen in the market and bring the looms for Dokna. Secondly sale and brought the rice and open the rice Cake and tea soap later she open the tailoring oap where some unemployed Bodo youth were engaged. After becoming the economically sound she donates 5000 Rs. of his benefit to the Bodo youth for building the martyrs tomb of roman script movement.*<sup>161</sup> Now the woman sells the Hans, Duck<sup>162</sup> and Pigs for maintaining their needs. The women are earning their gold, dresses like Gosla, Dokhna by selling the hen duck etc. *Except these the women are kept the female pig and products huge number of Oma Fisha (piglet) to sale*<sup>163</sup>. Like so, they earn bank balance by selling the domestic animals. During the time Bodos were restricted to sale the milk but now milk selling is a source of the Bodos in the society. The rearing of domestic animal is the sign of the Bodo society and it was during the early time only for earning food of the every family in the society. But it is now not only for food, it has become the earning source of the women as well as of the family which is reflected in the Short story of *Janil kr. Brahma* i.e. **Dumphaoni Phita(story)**<sup>164</sup>.

**3.3.4 Handloom & textile:** The Bodo women are wearing '*Dokhna*' and *Pasra*', (main wear dresses of the Bodo women) the men are wearing *Gamsa* (dress of the men). During the early time, the Bodo women only made the '*Dokhna*' and '*Gamsa*' to fulfil their need of the personal necessity of dress. They were not business minded. Their making both of the dresses is only for maintaining their need but not for selling. The Indi see (Indi silk) was the most popular among the Bodo society which '*Indi Silk*'<sup>165</sup> was made by the Bodo women for both the wearing clothes of the men and women. In the early time this Indi Shee/ji (clothe) was not for sell but made only for the personal need or to use personal dress in the society. One another a popular wearing design clothes is called '*Aronai*' (traditional design prestigious Bodo cloth) in the Bodo society which was also made by the Bodo women. Generally this cloth is useable only for prestigious place in the society.

<sup>161</sup>Brahma, Janil Kr. *Dumphaoni Phita*. Bijni: Sijou Publication Board, 2005. p.6

<sup>162</sup> Narazary, Indramalati, *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L.Publication, 2010 .p.46

<sup>163</sup>Ibid,p.46

<sup>164</sup> AHSEC, *Sujunai Bijab*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication, 2010. p.54

<sup>165</sup> Narzary, Nareswar. *Angni nwjwr Arw Bijirti*. Udalguri :Bodo Publication Board, 2015.pp.5-6

Educationally backward Bodo women were economically deprived in the society. That is why, in 1925 Kalicharan Brahma established a weaving training centre to develop the Bodo women handlooms & textile and inspire to sell it for the development of the economic sound of the women in the society<sup>166</sup>. Like so, today women are formed the self help group and opened the weaving centre to produce huge number of cloths by involving the literate or illiterate Bodo girls along with achieving the financial assistance of government. Presently the men are also involved in the handloom & textile task as their carrier of life in the society. The picture can be seen in the Short story **Mwdwi Arw Gwlwmdai** of Nilkamal Brahma through *Gwmbwr* the hero of the story. Anyhow by the inspiration of *Mahila Somity* (women social organisation), now women are conscious towards economic sources on handlooms. Hence they prepared varieties of Dokhna, Pasra, Aronai and sell it in the market. The industry of the Dokhna Pasra, Gamsa and Aronai also open by the Bodo women as well as men. The varieties of the Indi and Muga<sup>167</sup> silk have import to the other country and popularly sell in high prices. Now proportionally made the Dokhna and Pasra to maintain the personal life.

**3.3.5 The use of liquor:** The use of the liquor is like a culture of the Bodos. The using of the liquor is traditionally coming among the Bodos which is called the 'jou'. This Jou has become common to every family and it is usable in the every occasion as well as social functions of the society. *Generally the jou is two types i.e. Gwran and Gisi<sup>168</sup>/Ukhundai and Jou Gwthang (dried and wide wine)*. The Gwran (dry) is product juice from the boiling cook rice and the Gisi (wade) is product juice from the fermented cook rice. The Bodo people made the Jou only for using in a social and the religious function along with using at home. Their production is, not for the commercial purpose<sup>169</sup>. But now using of 'Jou' is not generalised in the society it has become less and some of the family want to divert from the using of Jou. On the other hand, the Bodo along with using the Jou, *they have become commercial; they produce it for selling purposes. Like so some of family maintaining their family by selling the Jou (home prepared wine) without any disturbance in the society.*

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<sup>166</sup>Narzary, Biddasagar. *Swrangni Lamajwng*. Bongaibaon: Bodosa Publication, 2003. p.64

<sup>167</sup>Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010.p.13

<sup>168</sup> Brahma, Dr. Kameswar. *A Cultural Heritage of the bodos*. Gosaigaon: Chiranjib Brahma, 1998. pp.5-6

<sup>169</sup>Basumatary, Birendra Giri. *Boro Harimuni Mohor Musri*. Guwahati: N.L. Publication. 1993 .pp.69-70

**3.3.6 Economy.** In the early period Bodo was not economical in their daily life. They don't know about to safe of earning money for future. That is why the Bodo were economically not developed in the society. The Bodos are most of the time passed with the drinking and eating as well as unnecessarily pass with the enjoyed in the any observe of the festivals in the society. They are over expendable without any limitation of the budget. The Bodo had no limitation in any eating, food, along with in any expenditure in their maintaining daily life. The Bodo were not past, they did not know how to maintain the time in their existence.

But at the present time it has changed the society. The Bodo have limitation in using any kind of materials in the society. They tried to maintain time and used limitation in every stape of work, like eating in every function, using kinds in every function of the daily life. Now they keep in stoke the surplus goods and again used it in need. During the time the measuring system was Don, Basket and Drum of Tin. After than come Falla or Daga Falla. The money counting system was i.e. Ana (Anase, Ananai, Anatham etc). Later comes into Ak Ana, Due Ana, and Thin Ana etc along with Akkrui, Duekrui, and Thinikrui. After that come Taise Tainai Thaitham so on. Now by the influence of other Bodos are use to count Dosh Takha (ten rupies), Bish Takha (twenty rupies) and so on and which is going on in the society.)

**3.3.7 Self employer:** In the early time no self employers among the Bodos to stand himself as well as to maintain the family. The Bodo youth or eligibility aged man and women did not want to follow the living style of others through the self employment. Most of the time the literate and illiterate youth stayed and moved freely. They are dependent on the easy money and easily want to earn pocket expenditure. They felt shame to stand self by doing the hart work. Due to these circumstances some time the youth needed to face with self crisis, create violence and involve with the anti social activities in the society<sup>170</sup>. So, Madaram express in his poem *Garang Serjani Nasina*. He expresses-

Dabwnw unduna tabwla hama jagwn nwngrwrha

Khangrangwn nangnanai mansini fhao

(i.e. if you aere stil sleeping, then you would be neglected by the man)

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<sup>170</sup> Narzary, Indramalati. *Boro Harimu Arw Thunlai Bijirnai*.Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2010 .pp.45-46

But now engage in self employee like many *Bodo youth boys and Girls have opened cattle farm cow, goat, pigs' broiler hen and plantations like tea plan*. Rubbert plantation and some are engage in business, like hotel bar soaps etc. The women are also engage in self employee like open the weaving centre, embroidery soap, Indi firm open the soap of handloom & textile etc. Like so the Bodo youth are engage as the self employer in the society to maintain owns self which has reflected in the story ***Dumphaoni Phita*** of Janil Kr. *Brahma where Dumpao firstly jast open the tea and cack soup after then open the tailoring to fulfil the economic crisis and engage some Bodo youth*<sup>171</sup>. *After that he donates the 500 Rs to Sonam for constrcting the myrtyas Tomp.*

**3.3.8 Engage in the Govt. Job and private job:** During the early time most of the Bodo people did not want to engage in the govt. job. Only few men were engaged in the teacher job but not in other high rank job except defence. The reason is they had huge number of property at home. Hence, youth were not interested to engage in jobs. *When govt. forcefully asks to join in any job, then youth don't respond and keep way from the places. The Parents also protected their son or daughter to join in any jobs and ask to stay at home with them to maintain the home properties.* That is why Satish Chandra Basumatary is expressing in his *poem Bima Fisha*. He expresses-

*Siyam jananaï Gorse kamaiyabla*

*Jalalakar jagwn gwswyao lakha*<sup>172</sup>

*(i.e. if not earn after learnd than may be face with crisis)*

But now, that sense has completely come into change in the Bodo society. The Bodo youth are engaged in any jobs which may be central or state, in the high or low rank. Now the Bodo youths are joining in job through the reservation sit and some join through the merit basis. Now the Bodo youths are available in jobs from the low to top rank in any department and spread out in other places also except the own state. Today's people only think about the govt. job to maintain the family. So Nilkamal Brahma expresses in his story name ***Silingkhar*** through the car driver named Obhinash Muchahary. He explains that, *graduate nogyamwnbla hotel boyphwr jananaiblabw gaoni udai thaiseni adarkhou*

<sup>171</sup> Brahma, Janil Kr. *Dumpaoni Pitha*. Bijini: Sijou Publication Board, 2005. p.6

<sup>172</sup> Boro Thunlai Afat. *Khontaini Akhebana*. Kokrajhar: Bodo Publication Board, 2005. p.8

*buthumnw hagoumwn. (If not a graduate than doing the hotel boy could manage the one life)*<sup>173</sup>, who is looking for job heartily in life to maintain the family, but he could not get the job, infact lastly suicided.

### 3.4 The Socio- Religious transition as reflected in the literary genres.

The Bathou religion is the oldest and main religion of the Bodos. Bodos when did accept the Bathou religion this is out of record. But only through that time immemorial this religion is worshiped by the Bodos and enlarging in the society. So Anil Kr Brahma has mentioned in his prose ***Boro Hari (the Bodo nation)***. He mentioned that, *Boro harini gudi dwhwrwma Bathou .Gwdw gwdaini beseba jug sigangniphrainw Borophra Bathou dwhwrwm dwinanai bathou sibigasiniw (i.e The bathou was thw main and origin religion of the Bodos.(From the encine time bodos orchiping the Bathou)*<sup>174</sup>. Before the arrival of British there were no another religion except the Bathou. During the time Bathou was the only religion among the Bodos. No other religion could affect in the Bodo society. The Bathou religion has maintained the society and social system. Any social function and festivals are depended on the Bathou religion which has been coming since the Bodos started worshipping. The bathou Bwrai or Sibwrai was the ship of Bathou religion. Hence Bodos were trained to maintain their life by praying to the Bathou Bwrai in the society. Hence Anil Kr Brahma has again mentioned in his prose. He mentioned that, *Bekhainw bathou bwraini santhoukhon saithwni lama, subung maharani jiu khungnai arw thangna thanaini lama hwnna Borophra phwtaiyw (i.e.therefore Bodos were believing that, the philosophy of the Bathou is the maintaining the ways of life).*<sup>175</sup>

But after a long time due to the backwardness of education as well as lack of self conciouness so many social problem has arrisen among the Bodos. After then, society has become loose and imbalance along with the religion. Infact of that, from early part of 20th century to till now Bathou is not only the religion among the Bodos. Now accept the Bathou other religions i.e. *Shangkary, Sarania of Hinduism (Hinduism) and Cristianity are also arrived and spreading up in the society*<sup>176</sup>. The unconscious, socially and educationally

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<sup>173</sup> Brahma, Anil Kr. *Silingkhar*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2009. p.4

<sup>174</sup> Brahma, Anil Kr. *Boro- Rao Thunlaini Jarimin*. Kokrajhar: N.L. Publication, 2017. p.6

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, p.7

<sup>176</sup> Ibid, p.7

backward many Bodos were converted to the above said religions and lost their self identity and assimilated with their society. Hence regarding these Madaram Brahma has explained in his poem ***Dani Boro Fisha*** (today's son of Bodo). He expresses -

Jatrobai Harsa Jatrabai sorniya

Jatrabai Bangyal Jonggal jatrobai Krestan,<sup>177</sup>

So at that time, Rupnath Brahma appealed to the Bodo people through his poem ***Methai*** to save own and not to be converted to other religion by losing their own language, religion and culture .He expresses-

Danagar danagar Aphaphwr Aipwr

Nwngswr gaonikhou danagar.

Dathang malainaonwngswr

Gaonikou nagar nagar.<sup>178</sup>

(i.e don't give up father own your.Don't go into others by giving up your). Rupnath Brahma has again expresses regarding the own religion to safe the ideology of Bathou religion among the Bodos. So he apealed the Bodo people with his Methai i.e.

Naidw sannanai boibw

sijouni gumurkhou

rakhi naggwn nwngswr

Bathouni haramutkhou

(i.e. see and thing about the secrate meaning of the Sijou plan,have needed to save the culture of the Bathou.)<sup>179</sup>

At the time, Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma has come among the Bodos to save the separate identity of the Bodos and reform the backward Bodo society as well as the people

<sup>177</sup> Basumatary, Phukan Chandra.*Khontai Jothai*. Baganpara: Nilima Prakasani,2012.p.23

<sup>178</sup>Hazoary, Mangalsing.*Rupnath Brahmani Khonthi Methaini Ser ser*. Guwahati: Kitap Samalaya, 2013. p.12

<sup>179</sup> Basumatary, Phukan Ch. *Naizi Jouthaini Boro Khontai*. Rongia: Pratit Prakasan,2003 .p.10



through the Brahma religion. So Brajendra Kr. Brahma has mentioned in his Prose **Kalicharan-Mech, Brahma, and Gurudev**. He mentioned that, *Borophwrni akhol akhu gwgw khalamnw arw mwjang ashar khanti maninanai swlihwnw takhai Kalicharan Brahmaya Brahma dhwrwm Phwsaodwngmwn (i.e to make the pure manner and to systemise the rules of the society of the Bodos, Kalicharan focus the Brahamma religion).*<sup>180</sup> During the crucial time of the Bodos, by the role of Kalicharan Brahma emergently the socio-religious and educational reform, ovement has taken place in the society where the religion has got good respond by the Bodos. So to say, Gurudev Kalicharn Brahma brought the Brahma religion among the Bodos for the unsocabilities problem. During the time conscious Bodos were fearing up towards the Brahma religion. But as fear of the poeole, Brahma religion did not do so, however brought the renaissance in the society. So Brajendra Kr Brahma has said in his prose **Boro thuniaiyao mahariyari badw gwbwrlangnaini Saogari**. He said that, *Brahma dwhwhwrwmyari Borophra Dinaisim gao harini Rao, asrkhanthi arw harimukhou gwbananai dong (i.e. Stil the followers of Brahma religion are accepting their own culture, language custom s in the society.)*<sup>181</sup>

After launching the Brahma religion of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma another next Hindus branch religion took place in the Bodo society i.e. the Shatsongha of Bihar, Jangkrao, Ruphamoni and Vaishnaism. Today people are commercialized, multiperposised and the scientific as well as ideologist are not equal to each othr. Following indifferent based on the religion to religion of its own believe and judgment. Now it is seen excepting the Bathou, Christian and Brahma religions and other Hindus branch i.e. the Shatsongha of Bihar, Jangkrao, Ruphamoni religions are arrive and deeply rooted among the Bodos which currently going on in the society and taking major role for the upliftment of the society. The background of the religious transition is as follows

**3.4.1 The Christianity.** The Christian religion has come and taken place on the Bodo society since 1984. During the Kochary kingdom the British east India company had entered in the Cachar where after the end of Kochary kingdom the British occupied the Cachar by the rule of Doctrine of laps<sup>182</sup>. like so British ruled the Cacher from 1932 up to Independent of India

<sup>180</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Saosabphanai Gwdan Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2015. p.22

<sup>181</sup> Brahma, Brajendra Kr. *Thunia Arw Thunlai*. kokrajhar: Onsumai Library, 2004. pp.80-81

<sup>182</sup> Brahma, Kamal Kr. *Raja Iragdao*. Kokrajhar: Onsumai Library, 1978. p.81

where Swmdwn (a Bodo hero) fought against the British rule. During the time no Christian religion has impact among the son of Chacher but after the independents of India the missionaries' entering among the Bodo concentrate areas, after then the Christian religion has properly taken place and spraying out in the Bodo society. During the time of missionaries the Bathou religious Bodo were very backward in the society. Bodos have own Bathou religion but it was looser due to lack of systematically proper worshipers. Hence, many conscious bodo families were converted to the Christian religion to maintain their future. The causes of conversion to the Christian religion are as follows.

1. Education: During the time no education among the bodos. No any schooling system to take education in the bodo cogenerate areas

2. Socially conscious: During the time bodos were socially not conscious in their daily life. Bodos were fully bounded with the blind faith and involve with the antisocial activities. Hence the bodos were society become unbalance.

3. Bodo literature has created: Bodos had no literature until the arrival of missionaries. Bodos has literature but not in properly it was in oral till the arrival of the Missionaries.

4. Living style has changed: Bodos were not hygienic in their living in the society until the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

5. Conscious in the science and technology: During the period Bodos didn't know regarding the knowledge of sciences and technology to develop the life in the society. Hence Bodos could not forward in their existence in the society.

**3.4.2 Brahmanism.** The Brahma religion came into existance since 1906<sup>183</sup> among the Bodos and established by the initiative of Gurudev Klicharan Brahma in the society. Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma brought the religious reform movement among the Bodo. After announcing his religious movement, the Brahma religion has established in the Bodo society. Before the arrival of Brahma religion, the Bathou religious Bodos were very backward in every angle.

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<sup>183</sup> Brahma, Braendra Kr. *Saosabpanai Gwdan Swdwmsri*. Kokrajhar: Pioneer Printers, 2015.p.21

Bodos were religiously not conscious until the 1906 as well as educationally, economically, socially, culturally and politically loser very backward in the society. During the time Bodos were not giving interest towards need of education in the society. Due to the socially backwardness Bodos were involved with the blind faith along with anti social activities. Impact of that future identity of the Bodos was gloomy. During the time Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma has felt and seen all the causes of backwardness of the Bodos, hence he brought the Brahma religion on focus among the Bodos for reforming the society where he got good respond by the Bodos .As a result change has come among the Bodos as well as in the society<sup>184</sup>. But after a long time due to the misunderstanding on the ideology and philosophy, now Brahma religion has come into another faction i.e. **Tiya** Brahma and Rupamoni Brahma. The praying system of the Tiyaya Brahma is not so far different with origin Brahma of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma, only modified the system of the Yoyga but philosophy is same.

The religious ideology is same with the Brahma religion. This religion is not much influenced in the Bodo society but now more or lessly rotted among the Bodos. the followers of the religion is similarity with the Brahma. They pray with yoyga ahuti but song of pray are alike. This religion is newly created religion with their own worshiping religious rule in the Bodo society. The follower of the religion is vegetarian and against the use of wine and any drugs. The aim is to make the man healthy for reforming the society.

**3.4.3 Bibar Bathou and Bwrli Bathou.** The bibar Bathou is the latest branch of the main Bathou religion of the Bodos. During the time, the Bathou was not in group but later people ideology has changed, and then some of Bathou followers have become dislike the assassinating of animals' birds in the name of God. Because, assassinating animal is the sin and expended, gave up the Jou in the religious festival, they are agaist of it but used the tea in the place of Jou. So the philosophy of the Bibar Bathou is to clean up the religion without losing the other life in the name of God and reform the society.

**5. Joiguru.** The Hinduism Shotsong joiguru religion is born in Bihar of india. That is why this religion is call shortly Shot Shong Bihar in Assam. This religion is more or lessly spreading among the Bodos . The ideology of the religion is to make healthy through hygenique and

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<sup>184</sup> Narzary, Biddasagr. *Swrangni Lamajwng*. Bongaibaon: Bodosa Publication, 2003 pp.23-24

limitation in any food as well as drink. Most of the followers of the religion is vege and against used of Onion and liquor. The aim of the religion is make healthy the man and bring the sonsker among the people as well as the society.

**6. Vaishnab (Aksaran):** The aksaran religion is call Vaishnab religion in Assam .Srimanta Sankardev was the founder of this religion.During the time, due to the inbalance of Bathou religion and looser of the society some Bodo conscious converted to the Vaishnab religion and educationally backward illiterate also took asraran under Sankardev and converted to the Baisnab religion by losing their own. At that time after taking the aksaran religion so many Bodos were completely assimilated with Assamese culture like Sarania Kochary of Assam. The Bodo but some families took the religion but did not derail from the original nature. During the time except the Bodo other cast like Rabha, garo santal were also converting to the Baisnab Today there is more or Less the Baisnab religion is deeply rooted in the society.The baisnab religion is against use of liquor, assassinating of animal, birds in the name of god but pray with flowers and Kirthon prayer song.

On the other hand, the above mentioned religions, presently there is some commercial religions that come and take place in the Bodo society but these religions have no Guru.Some of them personally created and some of them created depending with the dream.Those who created such type religion , they have no social vision , no good activities but earning money by saling the ayurvedic medicine.That type of religion is emotionally try to influence among the innocent Bodo people without any positive vision of the society.

But now Bodos have become educated and try to think up their own and try to follow the role as well as activities of the Bodo social organisation in the society where the organisation created literature are taking role to uplft the Bodo society.

**Finding:** After the emergence creation of the literature and flourishing of the educational reform movement among the Bodos, than the Bodos become conscious towards their survival in the society .The spreading of education through the creation of literature make the people alert in the every field of their existence. The ideology of the people has changed by flourishing the literature.

During the time when the people illiterate and innocent then they were stable, habits and character were traditionalised. Hence they never could think of their development in the society. But at the time, some Bodo social- organizations come into existence to eliminate the problems of the society as well as to gearing up the Bodos along in the society. In this regards the organizations were actively work hard in the every field of the Bodo for bringing the reformation of the society. After that, by the role of the organisations and by the influence of the science and technology the change has come. The change came in the field of the *Socio- cultural, economic and political*.

In the field of socio- cultural transition has come to the agricultural system, food habit & drink, dresses & ornaments, material culture, smoking, hunting ,agricultural festivals, living style and the social system i.e. birth , marriage and death of the Bodos.

In the field of the socio- political transition has come to the society, education, language, culture, political, religion, nationality and movement for political rights of the Bodos.

In the field of socio economic transition has come into the place of sale the surplus crops ,money earning source, handloom and textile of the women, used of liquor, economy, self employer and engage in the govt job.

These all transitions of the Bodo society is reflected in the genres of the Bodo literature i.e. poetries, short stories, novels, dramas and prose.

During the early time Bodos has vested through the traditional method .the wooden plough, goods of bamboo along with the two fair of oxen were the main tools of their agriculture.They used the natural fertilizer for the crops. The seeds are natural and prepared the temporary Dum for the provisions of water in the field.

But later come to use the iron plough then Tractor is place along with the use of scientific seeds and fertiliser. The concrete dump and boring system has come up in the Bodo society.

The food system of the Bodos was very simple and these like to take naturally gifted vegetables. Generally they boil the food, no fried system with the spices and used to cook

with homemade base (Karai). But today use the oil and species. The use of soda and modern food system is taken place in the society. The people used to build the pucca RCC house in the place of Kaccha house along with used the TV, Radio, Fan, cooker, Gas in cooking etc. and also used so many cosmetic goods in the society.

During the time Bodos were not conscious in the political treatment towards the own nationality development. Infact of that, Bodos are sufferer to upgrade the society, education, language, culture and the political. But later the conscious has come to the Bodos regarding the politically exploitation in the society. As an example- Bodos were not getting to take education trough their own language.

But after 1963, Bodos get chance to take education from the primary level to Degree to University by strong agitation or movement of the organisation. The script of education has started from the Modified Roman, Bengali, Assamese and Devonagary where now Devonagary is rooted in the society. Like so, in the ground of culture and the political transition has come in the society.

At the same time Bodos were also economically not conscious in maintaining himself in the society. Every poor of rich Bodo families were traditionally maintain their economic system in the society. During the period there was available free labour system (saori-badali) to work gorgeously when river one family is needed and invited the people are helpful to each other in the nick of time. But after becoming the conscious on the economic system people become serious and try to understand about the value of time as well as value of money. .Hence, the free labour giving donation and helpful to each other without remuneration system is eliminate in the society as well as the transform into the earning money for self interest to conduct easy life in the society.

Now the Bodo people think about how to earn in a short period along with how to save earnig money for future. Without money none can get the best life in the society that mentality has come into among the people. Like so, today Bodo people gradually try to give their traditionally economic system and adopted the economic system for their batter life in the society.

