Veda was discovered by the lower class Hindu. Though they did not declare any work order, yet there are signs of the battling mentality by them. Into the *Kalkinarayan Panchali* the view point of anti-Brahminism could be observed.

The Panchalikar reiterated again and again the agony of Brahmin though he has been worshiping various idol.

"Pasher gramete chillo Bholanath Brahman

Dibanishi griho yuddhe kore krandon

putra nahi dake peeta patni bash noy".5

But though when a Brahmin went into his house to take Prasad and found his cow and calf back even then he was not in a mind to worship the *Kalkinarayan*. Due to the curse of *Kalki* the Brahman again has lost everything. After that with the blessing of Kalkinarayan, the Brahmin found back his cow and calf. His peace was brought back. Then the Brahmin sat on worshiping Kalkinarayan.

"Pujar upachar prachur je anilo Jati gutro niya dwijo pujate boshilo".6

The clarion call of non-brahminism against the Brahmin has given a new lease of life in non-vedic subaltern society.

"Amare pujite kuno barnabhed nai Dhani din nirbiseshe sab ghore jai".⁷

_{Babahar} Thakurer Brata

Babahar Thakur's brata is a remarkable brata in the Barak Valley as a legacy to Sylheti culture. Babahar Thakur is the protector of the cows. He is considered as the alternative to the Shiva that is why ganza or siddhi is the indispensible part of this rite. Calf is born, after the month the brata is organized with the milk of the mother cow. Curd is made by row milk of mother cow for offering Babahar Thakur and before performing the brata curd's milk are collected from mother cow, during the last five days or five shifts. There are convention of paying in the definite day of brata with one pot full of milk is required for performing Babahar Thakur's brata. This brata is performed either in any Monday or in a Friday. The naibadya is prepared with milk, curd, chida, khoi, banana and goor etc. Beside this, like the rites of Karmapurush brata, in Babahar Thakur's brata five types of corn seeds are required with crushed and fried to offer Babahar Thakur. The house women prepared naibadya to take bath and maintain holiness and offer to Babahar Thakur on a definite day at the evening in a pious place. Hence the bratees are mainly male person. Flowers are spread into the worshiping place of Babahar Thakur. Naibadya, dhup, deep along with a little lump of ganza is offered in the name of Baba Thakur. The ganza or siddhi are kept in a chilim which later is

placed for worshiping of Babahar Thakur within a piece of knotted cloths. After that the male bratees start worshiping Babahar Thakur in rejoining the Babahar Thakur's greatness. One kalki ganza is prepared and paid to Babahar Thakur along with burning tikis. One among the bratee starts telling the story on Babahar Thakur and the other listen in utter devotion. Those bratees who are older inhaling ganza when listening brata tale ganza is taken at times those bratee are older. 10

The brata katha (brata tale) are mentioned below in a small village there lived two boy child of a poor Brahmin. On the hope to get his children as matured men, the Brahmin arrived at the door of his Gurudev's house. Before entering into any negotiation, there was a condition from Gurudev that at the end of the education one child will be required to serve him. Out of these two, one might be taken by the Brahmin as his own and the other one will be under his possession when their education in the Gurudev house will be over. The elder son was a little ignorant but the younger one was versatile. After a few years when the education was over, the Gurudev decided to take up the younger one in his own house. But the Brahmin father wished to take the younger one. But when the negotiation was not successful, the Gurudev cursed the two Brahmin's sons. Be the deer shaped, go and live in a jungle.

At the curse of the Gurudev the two boys as deers went roaming in the jungle, the bereaved Brahmin became a mad-like person. On the other hand, the king of the kingdom went for hunting in the jungle and ordered his men, not to let any animal fly out of their own sight. The horse-rider king saw two deer-shaped creature in front of him, the king ordered one of his man to take stalk of the situation there. The dusk set in. The king arranged to pass night at the corner of a jungle along with his companions.

The king's man went, rushing towards the deer and saw light of a lamp. The inquisitive man came to a halt at the leaves made home by an ascetic.

The follower man returned to the king without telling anything to the ascetic. On learning everything the king sent his man with a horse to the ascetic. As the king sent the ascetic the horse as a gift but the honest ascetic did not accept it. With utter request the ascetic directed the kings man to enrope the horse nearby the house.

The king's man informed the king about all these. On learning everything the king ordered to take back the horse from the proud ascetic. "One who ignores the kings gift he or she is not likely to be considered as above achieved."

The king's man returned again to the ascetic's house. Take back the horse that was given to him;. The ascetic learnt everything from the mouth of the king's man and told 'go and pick up the horse that is enroped here, that belongs to the king'. The bewildered king's man, saw in the horse hub. There are many horses enroped here, which are more beautiful than the king's one. After handing over the horse to the king, the king's man told everything to the king. The king learnt everything and told, "I want to meet him in person and invite the ascetic to my home one day". The king's man again went to the ascetic and told everything, that was directed to him by the king to visit him. The ascetic told, "you were in utter trouble, because you have to come and go again and again so from now on you will clap thrice and all your wishes would be fulfilled". With the blessings, the king's man went again to the king's palace returning from the ascetic with his blessings under the disguise Babahar Thakur. On the specific day the king's man took the invited ascetic to the king's palace and delicious foodings were arranged for ascetic. But the ascetic told, "I don't ^{take} all these; I only drink milk and eat corn seeds with crust and ^{fried, curd, chida, khoi and fruits and also I have required a chilim} ^{0f} siddhi (ganza)".

With this words the ascetic clapped thrice and the foodings as fishes and meat went back to life. Now, the king realized and begged pardon to the ascetic. The ascetic told, worship the Babahar Thakur with milk, sweets and rice with utter devotion then you will be benefitted.

The king again arranged Babahar Thakur's Brata in proper manner. The bereaved Brahmin went here and there and came to the king's palace and wanted to know all these about Babahar Thakur. What happens if any one performs this rites.

Harail dhone ghor looy

Kaatha mathay zoora looy

Nirdhoner dhon hooy

Aputroker putro hooy

Jye jye monobasona kore

Taar basona purno hooy

Satyanarayaner jhestoo bhai

Babahar Thakur hazir.

After that the Brahmin returned home and began worshiping the Babahar Thakur. On the following morning the Brahmin saw his

_{sons} were arriving home across the field. With this, the message of Babahar Thakur spread far and wide.¹¹

At the end of Bahahar Thakur's brata, the words of praise are chanted at the goodness and greatness of Babahar Thakur. At the end of the brata katha everybody takes prasad in utter devotion and the pack of ganza is mixed with Prasad, which was offered to Babahar Thakur along with the other element such as curd, chidda and khoi. The devotee who has received the little packed of ganza which is mixed in Prasad is directed to offer Babahar Thakur brata again, it is a conventional rituals of Babahar Thakur. The ashes out of the burnt ganza is required as pious and it is touched into the forehead of the devotees. This ashes are also touched into the need of the cow-treasure. This ashes known as bibhuti is the blessing of Babahar Thakur. 12

Tinnath Thakurer Brata

Along with the convention of worshipping Tinnath in West Bengal, East Bengal and in the North Bengal Locale, the worshipping of Tinnath is widely populated in the Hindu Bengali peasants Society of Barak Valley. Actually it is agriculture based rite. According to the rural faith Tinnath was the elder brother of Jatpat Thakur. Though Tinnath brata basically is a male brata, but the women of

the family also take part in the arrangement of Tinnath worship.

Actually, Tinnath is the conventional god, the three *tripolar*,

Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar is there in the primordial imaging

of Tinnath. The chronicler have recognised the Tinnath in the

following ways

Brahma Vishnu Mahaswar Hole Ekjon Tinnaath Rupete Prabhu Dile Darshan¹³

Though the *Tinnath brata* is basically is a male *brata* but the women of the family also take part in the arrangement of *Tinnaath* worship. It is believed that, Tinnath Thakur is the very kind and helpful to the poor. The *pnachalikar*, (chronicler) has written in the following words:

Aloka Tilok Bhale Gazamoti Nashamule

Baijanti Mala Dole Gole

Kotitote Paripati, Samujjal Peet Dhoti Tate Raje Ratan Kingkini

Ratul Charanambhuje Madhur Monjir Baje

Madhu Sudhakore Sudha Hasho

Sange Lakshmi Saraswati Navi Padme Prajapati
Rupe Tribhuban Porokash¹⁴

The rites that is prevalent there in the brata of Tinnath Thakur the ganza taking is an indispensible rites also are there. Prafulla Chandra has written that Tinnath Thakur is the deity of ganza, 15 which in to the performance of Tinnath Thakur it is an indispensible. According to the Kamini Kumar Roy Tinnath is the deity of wish fulfilment. He has cited, Tinnath Thakur as the saviour of the cow treasure. Regarding this rites Kamini Kumar has mentioned that, Moping the courtyard, surrounded by canopy, the devotee set water pitcher of Tinnath and offer dhupbati after that every devotees starts singing songs of Tinnath Thakur. 16 In interim period, the bratees inhale ganza and uttered Tinnath story and songs.

Kolite Tinnather Mela

Khoray naache Kanai dekhe

Bobai bole bombhola¹⁷

In Barak Valley Tinnath is mainly, a conventional god out of three, deities, *Chaturanon, Panchanan* and *Narayan*. A common words prevalent of the arrival and puja in the *brata* tale are mention below:

In a certain village, there lived a poor Brahmin. As the worshiping work earning money is not enough for livelihood, so, he used to

graze the cattle. One day his cow has lost, he searched the rock and corner, yet he could not find. A little later the memorised worship of Narayan. A lake was beside there. Brahmin came to determine to commit suicide there. Suddenly there was words upon the sky.

If you (Brahmin) will worship Tinnath Thakur you will get the cattle and riches. You will get things back you will get a few coins beside the pond. You will buy three things with these coins, ganza, betel nut leaves and oil. Brahmin went to purchase these. But there was no container to keep oil. He came to the pond and memorised the Narayan. Once again there was words of good fortune. 'Bastratate Badhiya Toil Koro Anayan. Brahmin did this, but the oil was vanished as the shopkeeper beguiled this, shopkeepers the oil pitcher which was kept hidden. The shopkeeper came to understand this. He scared as if the deity has come here in cloak another. Now the shopkeeper came to perform the rites of Tinnath. By the way, the Tinnath brata was widely populated in the nock and corner of the world.

In the other hand, Dwijo Brahmin was worshiping Tinnath ^{absorbedly}. Suddenly his Gurudev arrived there and wanted to know whose worship is performed here but the Brahmin when making deep concentration of worshiping Tinnath, there were no

reply from the Brahmin side the Guru kicked the *Tinnath ghat*, and had broken it. But as the Gurudev returned to the home he saw that all his sons were dead. With utter shock the Guru wanted to commit suicide. But there were words from the sky 'Khantwa hoi dwijobar nahi tezo praan / Sishya kache / jao sob pabe punorbar'. The guru came to his devotee and beg pardon to the Brahmin, and take brunt of ganza the blessings of *Tinnath* and sprinkle the ashes of burnt ganza upon the dead sons. The dead sons came to alive. 18 If worshiping Tinnath –

Andher chokkhu hoi

Daridrer dhan hoi

Khanjo charan pai

Dhane putre Lakshmi Lov hoi¹⁹

But if ignored

Swobangshe dhangsho hoi Andha hoi khanja hoi Morle noroke jai ²⁰

If any one goes to forest and takes the name of Tinnath he is not eaten by Tiger and is not cut by the snake.

After the Tinnath's worship ganza is distributed as a special Prasad from the Tinnath. A departure song is there.

Bhang Kheye Bibhor Bhula. Bhutgon Sange Nache Byagrha charma poridhan oi khosia poriche.²¹

Aii Mangal

Aii Mangal belongs to the cultural treasury of Barak Valley. Throughout the month of Kartik the peasant boys go door to door in groups and chant the rhymes. The songs and rhymes are basically based upon the childhood of Srikrisna. The songs are sung in order to protect the cow-treasure healthy and secured. The Rakhal (cow boys) boys go door to door of the community and sing the songs and receive the rice, money and other elements. After that the rakhals (cow boys); arrange the Aai Mangal brata, in a certain evening of the month Kartik sankranti with the rice, money and other elements received by them from the household of the specific locale in a field where the cows graze. This brata is the brata of Srikrishna.

Beside this rhymes of *Aai Mangal* brata, there are composition of song belonging to childhood of Sri Krishna and the craving for the protection of cows. These songs and rhymes reflect basically the thoughts of the country locale which is composed by the *Rakhals* (cow boys) as conventional.²²

The group of Rakhals chanting the rhymes of Aai Mangal as -

Baroi Baroi Srikilore / Jhar Jharaia taka pore / egu taka Pailam re, boinor bari gelam re.²³

AAi re AAi guya paan khai / Guya paan khaite lagil chun / Tor Rakhaler boro goon / Boro goone boro hoy / Aiyar ghoro beta hoi / Betar naam rohiya / Jhao khay boiya / Sonar langol rupar ish / Jotoi pare totoi sish.²⁴

The group of Rakhals also sing the song of Aai Mangal which is compassionate picture of Sri Krishna and the mother Jyoshada comes out of such songs.

"Nanda gela batane, Jyoshada gela jole
Sunya griha paia bachai noni churi kore
Ke khaise, ke khaise Noni Nandarani bole
Gopale uthia bole ami na khaiachi
Bolai dadai khaise noni ami taha jani
Hoste bari Nandarani gelore khedaia
Lomfo dia uthe baacha kadamdal baiya

Mother Nandarani was at a loss. She urged Gopal come out of the branches,

Namo Namo namore bacha Paria Dimu Phul Gaach thaki porile bacha janaibai Gokul Then the little Gopal urged his mother Jashoda not to act against him -

Age satya koro maago maa piche nami ami Amar pita Nanda Ghash baap dakibai tumi.²⁵

The end of the song of Aai Mangal, Rakhals are sing and chanting rhymes as - Cholo re Rakhal bhai anya bari jai / Oi barir goru mohish re bor diya jai.²⁶

Baghai Brata

The Baghai (tiger) brata is a common rite in the villages of Barak Valley. Though it is largely worshipped in different Hindu caste, yet it is more prevalent among the *Koibarta* Society. All the devotes here are male. Mainly the *Rakhals* cow-boys are the devotees of this rites. Right from the *Magh Maash's Protipad* upto *Chaturdashi*, the cow-boys go door to door, *enmass* and beg alms with the cloak of Radhakrishna and Tigers chanting rhymes related to the tiger. Beside this many tales about Krishna is sung along with cymbal and bells and collect bucks. They collect also rice and grains.²⁷ The song they sing door to door in the language 'Batti Jalao, Bou didi goo, darja khulo chai, daraja khulia dekho loker shima nai' and 'Bagha ailo re boro bari chaia. Baro barir baro

dhaan, Baro paibar ashai'.²⁸ Beside the Krisha cult is song in their presentation.

In general, Baghai brata ceremony is observed into the day of purnima in the month of Magha. This brata is performed with the things collected from the household. Baghai has no idol. Sometimes it is made of soil and again the idol, sometimes is made of lock dartal from the banana plants with coloured paper. And around this a surrogate woods is made with the trees, plants and its branches.

In Baghai brata, there is no hymns, the cow-boys performed this puja without any *purohit* and there is no *mandap*, this rite is performed in any open space or any open field. In front of the Baghai deity *noibadya* is arranged with *Kshichari*, *payesa*, *chida* and curd etc., with lightening candle lamps and scanted sticks.

The cow-boys observed this rites, to protect their cow-treasure mainly. A resemblance to this is found with *Badsha* of Barak Valley. Because *Badsha* is the god is the protector of woods forests and animal treasure. A remarkable historian, Dr. Sujit Choudhury of this locale written a unique essay entitle 'The cult of *Badsha*: the Interaction Between Cultural Pluralism and Ground Realities', it is known career of *Badsha* is tiger. He moves everywhere.

Because he is the domain of the Tiger-cult. So, before the chopping of woods he has to be worshipped, the first fruit of the tree, has to be given to him, the boatman prays to him for a safe journey. The noibidya is arranged with the first milk of mother cow, and offered to the Badshah to protect the cows and cattles from the clutches of the tiger. Because "He is the Malik or lord of the entire region, where his cult prevails. He is the fountain of power and prosperity". According to Dr. Sujit Choudhury, this Badshah sometime is similar to the Bagai tiger and sometime to the Lord Shiva.²⁹

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CONCLUSION

Into the greater periphery of this world, Bengalis hold a spatial significance in Barak Valley as a part of Sylhet Legacy. Though partition has separated the Bengali race geographically, yet it could not segregate them culturally. The greater community of Barak Valley belongs to the marginalised others as farmers, fisherman and labourers, due to the urbanization and social transformation, most of their profession has been constantly changing. Yet Bengali community of Barak Valley hold their cultural identity with heart and soul. Like the greater Bengali community, the Bengalis of Barak Valley too entails their foodhabits, life-style, clothings and social recognition, it is the same. The beginning of 'life to the death' is expressed and practiced in ritual of Sylheti culture in the Barak Valley and also women folk are held significant respect in the social strata.

As a racial identity, Bengali are lover of festivities. They find solace in rites and rituals. The Bengali of Barak Valley are not

out of any such performance even though the presence of locale culture is expressed.

Among the Hindu Bengali women society, rites and rituals are performed as essential activities since long. In such transition period the *Brata Parvan* occupy a significant space.

The present studies undertaken are based on Field research from the periphery of Barak Valley, keeping intact rhymes and rhythm in Barak Valley in respect of Brata tales, songs, lyrics and rituals. In the *Brata Parvan* under the present studies, there are *Sidal Natai* brata, *Aat Anaz* brata, Karmapurush brata, Bipadnashini brata, Savitri brata, Bana brata, Sankatrani brata, Sankata brata, Lakshmi brata, Sasthi brata, Ambubachi brata, Rupasi brata, Kartik brata, Mangalchandi and Phulkar Thakur brata, *Achambit* Thakurer brata, Jhatpat Thakurer brata, Surjya Brata, Maghmandal brata, Shitali brata and Basantara Brata.

Though these *bratas* are performed mostly by the women, yet in a few occasion, the male also perform these, rite's which is Kalkinarayan brata, Babahar *Thakurer* brata, *Tinnath Thakurer* Brata, *Aai Mangal* brata and *Baghai brata* etc. A significant portion of the above – cited Brata there are, a few

bratas which have been performed by the women only. There are a few bratas which have been performed by the married women, a few of them are performed by the unmarried woman, and a few are there, which are performed by the widow. There are a few bratas which are performed by the male only. There are more bratas which are performed by the people irrespective of male and female. The bratas are directly linked with the production of rice. These bratas are aimed at wellbeing of economic solvency, harvest, protection of cow-treasure. Happy and diseased-less children to cite a few. There are variations in rites and the rituals as brata parvan, influenced by Sylheti culture. These brata parvan entails religious songs as folk festivities. These bratas are the emblem of hopes and aspiration, of the devotee's desires, happiness and cravings for riches. This research paper under study also seeks to depict, the aims, the rituals and the understanding of words with the social thoughts. In the rhymes and rhythms of brata parvan to locate the psychological ethos of social life in Sylheti culture that influenced Hindu Bengali community of Barak Valley of Assam.

If we look at the territorial limit we could find Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were under the dominion of the then Nobab of

Bengal. The East Bengal a great portion of Sylhet locale went outside India in 1947. Due to the partition, three and half thana (police outpost) of the Karimganj subdivision within the territorial Sylhet district had been left as victims with the rootless culture which today is a part of Barak Valley. Like the ethnic group of North East, Hindu Bengalis today have their own original characteristics. Though a large number of evicted people came to take shelter in Assam due to partition, yet their rites and rituals were unperturbed. They bear the legacy of Sylhet in their hearts and soul with the brataparvan.

These *bratas* are performed mostly by the rural people of Barak Valley. It is deeply rooted in social lower depth, primordial to the present status in ages, castes and creeds.

The *brata parvan* is located into the psychological ethos of social life in Sylheti culture which have been influenced by the Hindu Bengali community of Barak Valley of Assam. The *brata* tales, rhymes, lyrics and rhythm are reflective of daily life wellbeing and the prayer of goodness of this marginalized culture.

To perform bratas, a few things are required. These are the element of Panacea. Certain things such as Ghat, Amrapallab, Flower, Durba, Dhan, Pradip, Tulsi, Belpata, Siddhi, Horitoki,

Dadhi, Madhu, Chini, Ghrito, Sashish-Dub, Panchya sashya, Paan, Supari, Chal, Chaler Guro, Dhaner Sish, Kulo, Sidur, Pituli, (for Alpana), Pakakola, Bastro, (Dhuti-or Shari), Gamcha, Dhup-dhuna, Ghati, Sora & Thala, Madhuparker Baati, Thamarthali, Gangajal, Asan, Piri, Pusphomala, Chandmala, Noibydya, Jagyakath, Patkathi, Chandankath, Bali, Dakshina etc. Among the element Dhaner Sish, Pituli, Sora, Piri, Ghat, Pradip, Amrapallab are the element of artistic and craving for well-being. These elements cited above, unveils running picture of socio-economics and eco-system of Barak Valley. Among the elements the water-pot, and row grass above row coconut and the artistry with the oil-vermillion in the body of the pot reveals the concept of Matriarchal society. The elements of the bratas can be seen as symbols of living humans. As for example Banana and the row coconut is the typical account of fertility symbols. Because row coconut and Banana blooms in a single khadi, kari is the symbol of riches and betel nut leaves (paan) are the symbol of vagina. Again the water pot and the row coconut are the symbols of pregnant women, the mango leaves are the symbols of life's well-being. The coconut placed on the body of pot is also the symbol of Vagina. This water pot upon the mango leaves and coconut

have been expressed as the life-cycle. Again the seeds of corn or the paddy that is placed into the body of the water pot, too is the symbol of fertility. This fertility symbol is closely related to the human life with the images of human anthrophormism by oil and vermilion.

Into the *brata parvan* of Barak Valley these bratas are closely related to the nature and environment, the documentation, language, attire, education, sociology, geographic thoughts, imagination, magic education, hopes and aspiration of Bengalis are hidden. Here, the life-cycle, particular days, *tithi*, month, end of the month (*sanskranti*) and year is strictly observed in brata performance, and besides this, sometime it is not strictly observed and *chadramash*, *surya mash* is also present in *brata parvan* as well. In fact the *brata parvan* is performed by both male and female, though women are the forerunner of such rituals. Because a family or a society is built by the association of the both male and female. This is seen into the rites and rituals of Barak Valley also.

If studied closely, the creativities are seen in the brata tale, rhymes and rhythms. Beside these, the voice of the oppressed have been prominently focused in the rites and rituals of

Barak Valley. In such *bratas* we find the liberation theology and there are spaces of farmers feast, cow treasure and upliftment of the socio-cultural ethos. All these have been dealt in four chapters of this project, critically and analytically.

Hindu Sylheti Bengalis rites and rituals (*Brata Parvan*) of Barak Valley is now under the threat of extinction due to urbanized exodus. It is the ploy of neo-colonisation to inject a feeling of insecurity among the masses and the lower depth people, out of which they will forget their native identity, which inject a sense of inferiority complex among the masses followed by the extinction of their anti-urbanized identity. The aim of the present study is to preserve and document the rites, rituals and culture for our posterity.

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