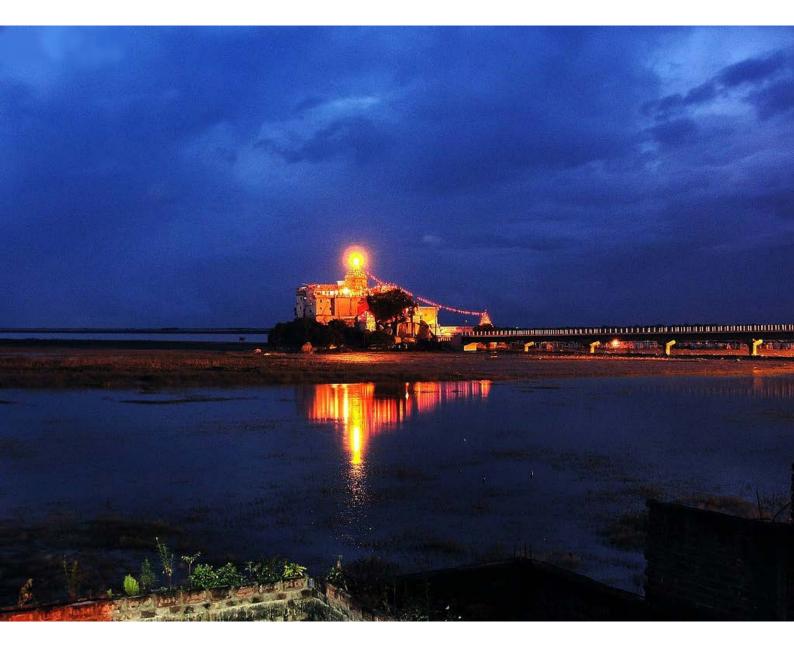
National Mission for Clean Ganga (Reg. Society) Ministry of Jal Shaki Department of Water Resources, River Development & Ganga Rejuvenation Government of India





Documentation of Ganga from Gaumukh to GangasagarKhagaria and Katihar Districts

Intangible Cultural Heritage



Front Cover Image: Azgaibinath Mahadev Temple near Khagaria

Source: Temple Purohit (https://www.templepurohit.com/hindu-temple/ajgaivinath-temple/).

Documentation of Ganga from Gaumukh to Gangasagar

Khagaria and Katihar Districts

Intangible Cultural Heritage

Jan-March 2022

Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage





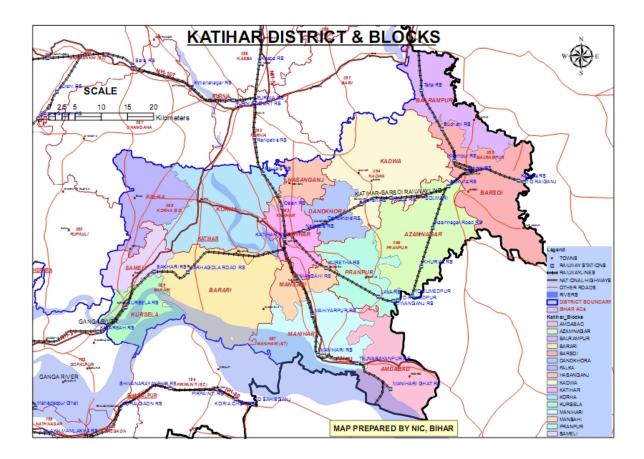


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KATIHAR DISTRICT



Map of Bijnor District. (Source: National Informatics Centre, Bihar. https://katihar.nic.in/map-of-district/)

History

Katihar is a district situated in the north-eastern region of Bihar. The district is criss-crossed with the rivers Mahanada, Koshi, Righa and Ganga.¹ The district has been part of larger kingdoms such as the Kingdom of Videha since the late Vedic period.² The district was also active during the Quit India Movement of 1942.³ Katihar was split from Purnea in 1973 and thereafter became an independent district.⁴The district derives its name after its chief town of the same name, which in turn is speculated to have derived its name from a small village on the northeast called Dighi-Katihar where there is a big tank (dighi) excavated for the troops, when the soldiers of the Nawab of Purnea fought with the troops of the Nawab of Murshidabad.

Legends of Manihari

The Manihari town under the district of Katihar is considered a holy city due to its mythical positioning. According to the myths, the Hindu god Krishna lost the Syamantaka Gem (*mani*) here.⁵



Manuscript depicting the legend of the Syamantaka Mani.

(Source: ISKCON Desire Tree. http://www.jewelry-history.com/2012/07/syamantaka-mani-part-9-peacerestored.html)

¹Government of Bihar. "About District." Katihar, 2021. https://katihar.nic.in/about-district/.

²Jha, Sureshwar. Yājñavalkya. Sahitya Akademi, 1998: 12.

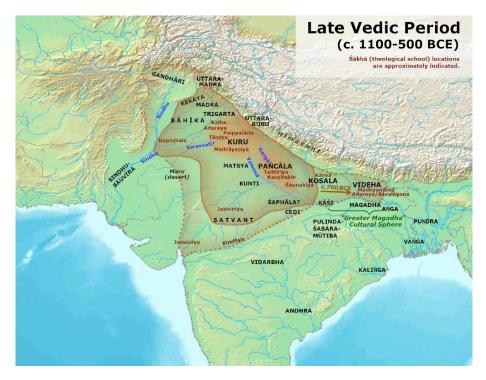
³Government of Bihar. "History." Katihar, 2021. https://katihar.nic.in/history/.

⁴Government of Bihar, History.

⁵Government of Bihar, History.

Late Vedic Age- The Kingdom of Videha

The Kingdom of Videha is also known as the Kingdom of Maithila and the Kindom of Tribhukti. During the late Vedic period (c. 900 – c. 500 BCE), Videha arose as one of the central political and cultural powers of Ancient India, along with the Kingdoms of Kuru and Panchala.⁶ Present-day Katihar and other districts around Bihar constituted the Kingdom.⁷ The philosopher and king of Videha, Janaka, has been mentioned in late Vedic literature such as the Brahmanas and the Brihadaranyaka. The court of Janaka was also a huge patronage centre for philosophy and other intellectual pursuits and critical to the works of sages such as Yajnavalkya.⁸ The composition period of the Brahmanas and the Upanishads in Videha is contested by historians; while H.C. Raychaudhuri states the range to be between the 8th and the 7th century BCE, Witzel suggests mid-8th century to 6th century BCE.⁹



The Kingdom of Videha in the Late Vedic Age (c. 1100-500 BCE).

(Source: "File: Late Vedic Culture (1100-500 BCE).png," *Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Late_Vedic_Culture_(1100-500_BCE).png&oldid=584871446)

⁸Raychaudhuri, Hemchandra. Political history of ancient India: From the accession of Parikshit to the extinction of the Gupta dynasty. Genesis Publishing Pvt Ltd, 2006. ⁹Witzel, 39-46.

⁶Witzel, Michael. "Tracing the Vedic Dialects" in Dialectes dans les litteratures Indo-Aryennes." (1989): 141-143.

⁷Jha, 12.

Northern Black Polished Catalogue

Dilip K. Chakrabarti et al mention the following sites in the Katihar-Purnea region which consist of mounds for Northern Black Polished Ware:¹⁰

<u>Thakurganj:</u> Under the Kishanganj district, Thakurganj lies around 140 km from Katihar. In the nearby *Haragouri* temple, there is an *ekhamukhlinga* (about 9th century AD) from where an Uma-Maheswara idol is said to have been "taken away". What is known locally as *Bhim ka Taki*, lying on the outskirts of the town, may actually be a *stupa* according to Chakrabarti et al. This location doesn't have a history of ancient findings. In the general region, many sculptural items (now mostly untraceable) have been described.



Ekhamukhlinga at the *Haragouri* Temple, Thakurganj. (Source: https://thakurganj.wordpress.com/category/thakurganj/)

<u>Mahendrapur</u>: This village lies in the Katihar district and is on the road between Belori and Sondi. There is a thin layer of bricks and other remains across about 30 acres of the village fields. Chakrabarti et al. report a rectangular block, which is also speculated to be a base of an image, with the main image broken off. The remnants of the block display an "oval lotus

¹⁰Chakrabarti, Dilip K., Ajit K. Prasad, S. K. Jha, and A. C. Verma. "From Purnea to Champaran: The distribution of sites in the north Bihar plains." *South Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1996): 151-153.

asana, with four kneeling devotees at its four corners." Chakrabatri et al. assert this site to be of a Pala period temple.

They also report a fragment of an unidentified possibly male idol being worshipped as *Kali* on the village near Belori.

<u>Sisia:</u> Another site under the Katihar district. An *Uma Mahesvara* idol made up of black stone was found here and is currently under display in a temple in the compound of Barari Police Station. The image is of the dimensions 56x23 cm and is estimated to belong to the c. 10th century CE. The image also depicts a bull below Mahesvara and a lion under Uma with 2-line inscription.

A.K. Prasad has been stated to have found early historic remnants including "sherds of northern black polished ware at a mound in the Barari area," but the same have apparently now been destroyed.¹¹

Spread of Sikhism

A group of indigenous Sikhs emerged in Katihar (then, the undivided Purnea) during the 17th century.¹² Several reports have been found of Sikh *sangats* appearing in several parts of Bihar, like "Sasaram, Rajgir, Munger, Katihar, Gaya, Kantapur, Purnea, Bhagalpur (all in Bihar), Dhaka, Rangpur, Chittagong (now in Bangladesh), Bhadrak, Cuttack, Puri (all in Odisha) and Dhubri (also known as the Damdama Sahib in lower Assam)"¹³ The *sangats* seem to be a result of more than a single point of emigration, but rather point to many migrations and endeavors over a larger period of time.¹⁴

According to oral tradition, the Sodhvanis or Sodhi Khatris were emigrants from Punjab who had followed Guru Tegh Bahadur, but Himadri Banerjee notes that these claims of the native Sikhs do not seems to be substantiated. She notes of local sources which state the great involvement of Sikhs in agriculture, animal husbandry and river-borne grain trade. As stated by Banerjee, "Effective participation of Sikhs from Bihar partly elaborates their eastward Sikh journey. The process underlines Sikhism's enthusiasm to incorporate local resources and talents and redesigns its social reference." Due to such participation, there has been an adoption of many non-Punjab centred rites, rituals and festivals in Sikhism. Regional languages as well as tenets were also inducted in the gurudwaras.

¹¹Personal Information referenced by Chakrabarty et al, 153.

¹²Banerjee, Himadri. "Sikhs and Sikhism in Bihar: Their distinctiveness and diversity." *Sikh Formations* 14, no. 2 (2018): 162-187.

¹³Hawley, Michael. *Sikh Diaspora: Theory, Agency, and Experience*. Brill, 2013.

¹⁴ Hawley, 168.



Atihasik Sri Guru Tegh Bahadur Gurudwara, Lakshmipur, Katihar.

(Source: https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-the-importance-of-katihar-in-the-history-of-sikhism-2279040.html)

Brief History of Shifting Jurisdictions

After Bakhtiyar Khilji conquered the city of Bihar, the then capital of Bihar, in the late 12th century, the Bihar province came under Khilji rule.¹⁵ His successor Ghiasuddin Iwaz expanded the territory to include almost the entire state of Bihar, and Katihar by extension has been speculated to have been under Islamic rule by the early 13th century. Following Khilji's rule, Katihar was indirectly ruled by the Mughal. Under the rule of the Mughal dynasty, Katihar consisted of Sakartajpur in the east of the Mahananda River and Sakarpunia in the west.¹⁶

In 1770, when Mohammad Ali Khan became governor of Purnea, the area fell to the British. He was succeeded by Ducarrel, the region's first English Supervisor of Collector.¹⁷ In 1872, control of the area was transferred from the Bihar and Banaras Commission to the Calcutta Tax Commission. The first stage of British law consisted primarily of establishing law and order and establishing a fiscal management agency on a solid footing. Under the Raj, Katihar was under the rule of Zamindars and Nawabs who assisted the British Crown manage the peasants, the working class, etc.¹⁸

The Katihar area was dominated by the Choudhary family, who were the largest owners in the Koshi area. The founder of the Choudhary family was Khan Bahadur Mohammad Baksh,

¹⁵Government of Bihar, History.

¹⁶Government of Bihar, History.

¹⁷Jha, Pankaj Kumar. "Economic Roots of Nationalism In Mithila." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 61 (2000): 150.

¹⁸Government of Bihar, History.

who owned approximately 15,000 acres in Katihar and approximately 8,500 acres in Purnea.¹⁹ After independence, Katihar was a sub-divisional town of Purnea, but on October 2, 1973, Katihar gained the status of an independent district.²⁰

¹⁹Government of Bihar, History.

²⁰Government of Bihar, History.

Fair and Festivals

<u>Durga Puja</u>



Durga Puja Pandal in Katihar

(Source: https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-durga-puja-pandals-in-katihar-crowd-ofdevotees-1572385.html)

Shardiye Navratra, also known as Durga Puja, is celebrated with much joy in Katihar. Along with the setting up of many puja pandals, the celebration is often accompanied with a city-wide fair with rides and attractions.²¹ The date and time of installation of the idols is charted according to the traditional *Manikanchan Sanyog* of the Bengali Bihari community of Katihar.²²The installation of a pandal is usually preceded by a Bhoomi Poojan (lit. Earth/Soil Worship) to sanctify the pandal grounds.²³

²¹Hindustan Team, Katihar. "कटिहार में दुर्गा पूजा पंडालों में श्रद्धालुओं की उमड़ी भीड़." Hindustan, September

^{27, 2017.} https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-durga-puja-pandals-in-katihar-crowd-of-devotees-1572385.html.

²² Hindustan Team, Katihar. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-durga-puja-pandals-in-katihar-crowd-of-devotees-1572385.html.

²³ Staff. "दुर्गा पूजा पंडाल की स्थापना को लेकर हुआ भूमि पूजन." Dainik Bhaskar, September 13, 2019. https://www.bhaskar.com/bihar/katihar/news/bhoomi-poojan-took-place-for-the-establishment-of-durgapuja-pandal-075504-5470137.html.

Diwali



Families buying decorations for Diwali in Katihar Market.

(Source: Abhishek Kumar for Jagran.

https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-katihar-news-diwali-today-colorful-lights-are-on-the-buildings-21062151.html)

Diwali is one of the major Hindu festivals celebrated in Northern India and Katihar. Traditionally, families clean their homes and surroundings and decorate them with earthen lamps and flowers.²⁴ The goddess Lakshmi and God Ganesha are worshipped in work places and households before proceeding with the celebrations with firecrackers.²⁵ Katihar has a

²⁴ Kumar, Abhishek. "Katihar News: दीपावली आज, रंग बिरंगी रोशनी से नहाया शहर." Dainik Jagran. दैनिक

जागरण, November 14, 2020. https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-katihar-news-diwali-today-colorfullights-are-on-the-buildings-21062151.html.

²⁵ Kumar, Abhishek. https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-katihar-news-diwali-today-colorful-lights-are-on-the-buildings-21062151.html.

huge market for the sale of earthen lamps, and terracotta-clay idols of Lakshmi and Ganesha along with other earthen toys. The use of banana trees and leaves for decoration is unique to this region of India.²⁶

<u>Janmashtami</u>



Procession for Immersion of Shri Krishna Idol in Bania Tola, Katihar

(Source: Sunil for Hindustan.

https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/bhagalpur/story-immersion-of-lord-krishna-statue-after-matka-fode-program-2710545.html)

Janmashtami is a festival celebrated for the birth of the Hindu god Krishna. In Katihar, the Bania Tola area is known for observing Janmashtami for 400 years.²⁷ Since the 16th century, the Das family of Katihar has provided their patronage for all the celebrations²⁸ which include the creation of the idols of Krishna and other gods, the *matka phod* tradition, the worship and the subsequent immersion of the idols.²⁹ In the *matka phod* tradition, an earthen pot filled with Indian white butter is hung at a high point. Young boys and men are challenged to create

²⁶ Kumar, Abhishek. https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-katihar-news-diwali-today-colorful-lights-are-on-the-buildings-21062151.html.

²⁷ Staff. "400 साल से कटिहार के बनिया टोला में मनाया जाता है श्रीकृष्ण जन्माष्टमी उत्सव." Dainik Bhaskar, August 22, 2019. https://www.bhaskar.com/bihar/katihar/news/sri-krishna-janmashtami-festival-iscelebrated-in-baniya-tola-of-katihar-for-400-years-213504-5291935.html.

²⁸ Staff. https://www.bhaskar.com/bihar/katihar/news/sri-krishna-janmashtami-festival-is-celebrated-in-baniya-tola-of-katihar-for-400-years-213504-5291935.html.

²⁹ Sunil. "कटिहार में मटका फोड़ कार्यक्रम के बाद भगवान कृष्ण की प्रतिमा का विसर्जन- Video." Hindustan, August 26, 2019. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/bhagalpur/story-immersion-of-lord-krishna-statueafter-matka-fode-program-2710545.html.

a human pyramid to reach the pot and break it. This tradition is meant to mirror the myths surrounding Bal Gopal (another religious name associated with Krishna when he was at a toddler age). After the immersion, people put *abeer* and *gulal*, perfumed colourful powder made with flowers, on each other and married women put vermillion on each other's *maang* (i.e. the middle hair parting).³⁰

³⁰ Sunil. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/bhagalpur/story-immersion-of-lord-krishna-statue-after-matka-fode-program-2710545.html.

Wedding Rituals

Bihari Muslim Weddings in Katihar



Entrance to a Bihari Muslim wedding in Katihar

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

With close to half of the population of Katihar observing the faith of Islam,³¹ Bihari Muslim weddings in Katihar are celebrated with much pomp and joy. The wedding rituals and pre-wedding events often coincide with the practices of Hindu Bihari and Bengali weddings in Katihar.³²Weddings and pre-wedding rituals are often conducted in the homes of the bride and the groom, or in recent years, banquet halls.³³

The wedding rituals show the regional influence made by the agricultural practices of Northern Bihar with several rituals involving rice and serving as a sign of good wishes and prosperity.³⁴ Due to current aesthetic tendencies across India, the weddings are decorated heavily with flowers and coloured strips of cloth. The entrance to the wedding hall, or home of the bride, is intensely decorated in a grand fashion to allure the wedding guests and to serve as a welcome to the groom and his family. Such decorations usually create a straight and wide part to allow for large gatherings of the bride and the groom's families.

Clothing

³¹Census 2011, https://www.census2011.co.in/census/district/64-katihar.html.

³²Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

³³Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

³⁴Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

The wedding couture of the bride and the female guests of the wedding often consist of the special Bihari *'chaapa'* fabric.³⁵This fabric, which derives its name from 'printing,' is a unique block printing style of Bihar which consists of using silver paint or ink to brighten the look of the fabric.³⁶The wedding dress made especially for Muslim weddings is itself called a 'chaapa' as well. Chaapa handiwork was first documented by Francis Buchanan, where he mentioned the popularity of the dress among Muslim families in Bihar in 1811-1812.³⁷ While initially only available in red and green, chaapa sarees and other clothes such as lehengas and suits are now available in a variety of colours. The handicraft is practiced by the *rangrez* community.³⁸



Process of Chaapa block printing on a pink fabric.

(Source: Heritage Times. https://www.heritagetimes.in/behari-chaapa-a-timeless-cultural-dress-which-refuses-to-retire/)

³⁵Ashraf, Md Umar. "The Art of 'Chaapa', the Unique Wedding Couture of Bihari Muslims."

https://www.outlookindia.com/, November 11, 2021. https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/india-news-woven-with-love-chaapa-the-unique-wedding-fashion-of-bihari-muslims/400470.

³⁶ Ashraf. https://www.outlookindia.com/website/story/india-news-woven-with-love-chaapa-the-unique-wedding-fashion-of-bihari-muslims/400470.

³⁷Fatima, Zareen. "Behari Chaapa - a Timeless Cultural Dress Which Refuses to Retire." Heritage Times, August 14, 2021. https://www.heritagetimes.in/behari-chaapa-a-timeless-cultural-dress-which-refuses-to-retire/).

³⁸ Zareen, https://www.heritagetimes.in/behari-chaapa-a-timeless-cultural-dress-which-refuses-to-retire/).



A wooden printing block used for printing Chaapa.

(Source: Awaz- The Voice. https://www.awazthevoice.in/lifestyle-news/chaapa-a-traditional-bihaari-couture-7613.html)

The bride usually wears clothing like *sharara*, lehengas or sarees while covering most of her body apart from her hands and her face.³⁹Due to the positioning of the culture in Bihar, most brides also wear a veil and prefer red-coloured wedding attire.⁴⁰ Heavy jewellery is adorned, and the piercing of the nose is considered as a mark of beauty.⁴¹

 ³⁹Wedding Sutra. "Muslim Wedding: Customs and Traditions: Wedding Planning." Wedding Sutra, June 30, 2021. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.
 ⁴⁰Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁴¹Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.



Sumela on her wedding day, wearing traditional jewellery and a veil-1.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



Sumela on her wedding day, wearing traditional jewellery and a veil. -2

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

The grooms adorn a *safa* (a traditional turban) on their entrance to the wedding banquet.⁴²The grooms cover their faces with a veil of local flowers such as *mogra* and jasmine, called as *sehra*, attached to their *safa*, on arrival.⁴³ The usage of a *sehra* along with a turban

⁴²Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁴³Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

for the groom is a practice speculated to have originated in the Mughal court.⁴⁴ The practice of wearing *sehra* has since been spread in the cultures of different religions such Sikh and Hindu as well. The *sehra* is also the word used for poems sung or proclamations made during a *niqah*.⁴⁵ The *sehra* possibly serves the purpose of warding-off the evil eye from the groom as well as to restrict the bride and groom from seeing each other before their wedding ceremony. Traditional attire for the groom includes sherwanis and kameez-pyjamas in bright colours.⁴⁶



Imran on his wedding wearing a *sehra* made with roses along with his turban on arrival at the banquet. He is seen here wearing a sherwani with a shawl.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

⁴⁴Lefèvre, Corinne. "The Majālis-i Jahāngīrī (1608-11): dialogue and asiatic otherness at the Mughal court." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 55, no. 2-3 (2012): 255-286.

⁴⁵Datta, Amaresh, ed. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature: devraj to jyoti*. Vol. 2. Sahitya Akademi, 1988.
 ⁴⁶Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.



Imran's traditional footwear.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

<u>Mangni</u>

Also known as the engagement, is a ritual also common in Hindu weddings. The engagement signifies that the bride and groom are now sworn to each other and will marry soon. Mangni can take place months before or a few days prior to the *nikaah* ceremony which finalises the union.⁴⁷ The mangni ceremony consists of exchanging of rings between the couple as well as gifts between the two families. The gifts include bridal clothing, jewellery, dry fruits etc.⁴⁸



⁴⁷Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁴⁸Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

Exchanging of rings between the bride and groom.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



Close up of engagement ceremony.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

Haldi/Manjha

Much like Hindu weddings, Muslim Bihari weddings consist of the Manjha ceremony which occurs before the wedding day.⁴⁹ In the ceremony at the bride's home, relatives and loved ones put on a paste of turmeric (also known as *haldi* in several Indian languages) given by the groom's family.⁵⁰ The anointment is said to serve the purpose of aiding the bride's skin to glow, which occurs due to the skin-dyeing effects of turmeric.⁵¹ The bride wears yellow clothes, and the event is mostly attended by female guests.⁵² The ceremony is accompanied by celebrations which include singing and dancing. The language of the songs sung is usually Maithili.⁵³ The same is practiced at the groom's house. The bride is generally not expected to leave her home until the wedding after her manjha.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁵⁰Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁵¹Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁵²Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁵³Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

⁵⁴Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.



Sumela at her *manjha* ceremony being anointed with a paste of turmeric by a female relative. She is wearing a customary yellow veil.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

<u>Mehendi</u>

Mehendi or henna is central to wedding customs of South Asian and Middle Eastern culture. It is a type of body art which utilises natural materials to leave a temporary imprint on the skin, typically hands and feet.⁵⁵A special paste is made using the henna plant which is then decoratively applied using a cone.⁵⁶ The bride, as well as the bridal party, apply mehendi. The event is celebrated by dancing and singing folksongs.⁵⁷



A Bihari Muslim bride and groom. The dye of the mehendi is visible on the bride's hands.

⁵⁵Parvez, Bisma. "Everything You Need to Know about the Mehndi Party." Brides. Brides, January 24, 2022. https://www.brides.com/mehndi-party-5075519.

⁵⁶ Parvez, https://www.brides.com/mehndi-party-5075519.

⁵⁷Parvez, https://www.brides.com/mehndi-party-5075519.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

<u>Nikaah</u>

The *nikaah* is the central ceremony which declares the bride and groom as a formal married couple.⁵⁸ The ceremony is not photographed.⁵⁹ A *maulvi* officiates the *nikaah* and asks for the consent of the bride and the groom for marriage.⁶⁰ The two families as well as the bride and the groom are separated by a curtain. The bride is offered gifts or *meher* by the groom's family.⁶¹ Once consent has been provided in the presence of two witnesses, the *maulvi* asks the bride and the groom to sign the *nikaahnama*, the marriage contract which lists the duties and responsibilities that the husband and wife promise to observe in their married life.⁶²

Rukhsat/Bidai

The Rukhsat marks the end of wedding ceremonies and signifies the farewell of the bride from her maternal home to her spouse's home.⁶³ The bride and the groom are given gifts by their relatives. Gifting rice is particularly considered as a sign of blessing auspicious times on the married couple and the bride. The bride is also gifted the Holy Quran.⁶⁴



⁵⁸Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁵⁹Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

⁶⁰Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁶¹Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁶²Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁶³Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

⁶⁴Wedding Sutra. https://www.weddingsutra.com/planning/muslim-wedding-traditions-culture-customs-and-couture/.

Relatives gifting the bride and the groom during rukhsat.

((Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



The bride is given a *potli* of rice as an auspicious sign of a healthy marriage.

(Source: Video of Imran and Sumela's wedding in Katihar provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

Bihari Hindu Weddings in Katihar



Entrance to a Bihari Hindu wedding in Katihar.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj) A typical Bihari Hindu wedding is known for its extensive use of the colour orange in the bridal party, bridal wedding dress as well as *sindoor*, also known as *bhakra sindoor*.⁶⁵The wedding proceedings hold similarities with nearby cultures such as the Maithili speaking areas of Nepal and Uttar Pradesh.⁶⁶ The weddings usually last for quite a number of days and involve the participation of whole villages in rural areas.⁶⁷

Similar to many North Indian weddings, the banquet halls or wedding homes are heavily decorated with lights and flowers. Decoration of the entrance of the marriage hall is especially important as it serves as the welcoming point of the groom's wedding party, the *barat*, by the bride's wedding party.

Clothing

On the wedding day, the bride usually wears a red or orange *lehenga* or *sari* along with heavy jewellery.⁶⁸ The colour red signifies good luck and auspiciousness as well as fertility.⁶⁹ The *maang tika* is a special ornament worn on the middle hair parting which is lifted up during the *sindoor daan*. It is customary for the bride to have a veil either covering her face or tied on the top of her hair bun.

Prior to the wedding, the bride is set to wear a yellow-coloured *sari* during the Haldi ceremony so as to match the colour of any stains of turmeric which might fall on the clothing.⁷⁰ The clothing worn in other pre-wedding rituals such as Mehendi are also highly decorated. In parts of Bihar and some families of Katihar, the clothing worn by the bride on her Haldi and Mehendi are donated to a hairdresser.⁷¹

⁶⁵Das, Anwesha. "Decoding Bihari Wedding: The Unique Sacred Rituals & Traditions." Wedding Wire.

www.weddingwire.in, October 14, 2020. https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615. ⁶⁶ Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁶⁷Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁶⁸Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁶⁹Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁷⁰Thissmyindia.com. "Bihari Wedding." Thisismyindia.com. Accessed February 21, 2022.

https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

⁷¹Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.



A bride in Katihar wearing a red *lehenga* being escorted to the wedding ritual site known as *mandap*. Her dupatta rests on the top of her hair bun.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

Satyanarayan Katha

The Satyanarayan Katha Path is a prayer service organised by the groom's parents on the confirmation of the union of the two families, with the groom being present.⁷² The prayer service is led by a Hindu priest who also performs the *havan*. The relatives participating in the *havan* have to observe a fast for the entirety of the day.⁷³

<u>Chekha</u>

Chekha is the name of the engagement ritual in Bihar. On the day to formalise the wedding, the groom's family visits the bride's family, bringing food and gifts.⁷⁴ The number of the groom's family members can only correspond to the numbers 7, 9 or 11.⁷⁵The next day, the bride's family visits the groom's family in a similar fashion, thereby confirming the wedding.⁷⁶

Haldi and Mehendi

During the Haldi ceremony, the bride and groom's mothers make a haldi paste respectively. The groom's family applies the paste made by the bride's mother, while the bride's friends and family apply haldi made by the groom's mother.⁷⁷ All the married ladies present in the

⁷² Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

⁷³Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

⁷⁴Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁷⁵Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁷⁶Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁷⁷Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding-c2615.

house take part in this ritual. The mehendi ritual consists of applying the paste made out of the henna plant similar to the process in Bihari Muslim weddings. The celebrations involve a lot of singing and dancing.



Mehendi being applied to the bride.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

<u>Silpoha</u>

Silpoha is performed on the day of marriage as soon as the sun comes out. In this ritual, the groom's mother wraps rice in a dupatta or chunni and grinds it on a traditional stone grinder called the *sil batta*.⁷⁸ This ritual is supposed to ward off the evil eye.⁷⁹

<u>Jaimala</u>

The bride and groom exchange garlands in a ritual known as "Jaimala." The exchange is done at the mandap and signifies the beginning of the main wedding rituals.⁸⁰ The garland is traditionally made out of flowers. A *galsedi* ritual may also be performed. The bride's mother and married women conduct *galsedi*, where they heat up betel leaves in a lamp and burn it.⁸¹ The ashes are then smeared on the groom's face. Cow dung may also be thrown behind the groom.⁸²

 ⁷⁸Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.
 ⁷⁹Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding-c2615.

⁸⁰Shaadi Weddings. "Bihari Wedding Rituals." Shaadhiweddings, September 14, 2020. https://shaadhiweddings.com/bihari-wedding-rituals/.

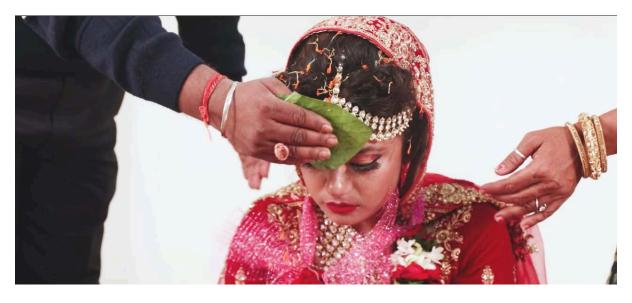
⁸¹Shaadi Weddings.https://shaadhiweddings.com/bihari-wedding-rituals/.

⁸²Shaadi Weddings. https://shaadhiweddings.com/bihari-wedding-rituals/.



Jaimala being performed. The bride can be seen putting the garland on her groom.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



A betel leaf being pressed on to the bride's forehead in a pre-yagya ritual.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



A betel leaf being pressed on to the bride's forehead in a pre-yagya ritual.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

Centrality of Ganga

As with most wedding cultures around the Ganga, a typical Hindu wedding in Bihar gives an esteemed place to Ganga in their rituals. The bride is escorted to the mandap by her brother or brother-in-law. It is traditional for her to wear a yellow silk sari without any jewellery.⁸³ In the ritual of *haathbandhan* (lit. the joining of hands), also known as *kanganabandhan* (lit. the joining of bracelets), the priest puts the palm of the groom atop the palm of the bride and ties a sacred bracelet.⁸⁴ This is made up of a *kalava*, a sacred cotton thread, mango leaves, colourful rice, turmeric, and money.⁸⁵ A barber may be present in the ceremony to cut the couple's nails. After this ritual, the kanyadaan is performed during which the bride's parents formally give her to the groom. A conch shell is placed atop the palm of the bride and the groom and the water from the Ganga River(*gangajal*) is poured on them.⁸⁶

⁸³Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁸⁴Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁸⁵Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

⁸⁶Shaadi Weddings. https://shaadhiweddings.com/bihari-wedding-rituals/.



The priest placing the groom's palm atop the bride's during kanyadaan and haathbandhan.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



The man in the black suit is seen holding a *kalash*, a special bronze pot, full of *gangajal*. He uses a leaf to sprinkle water on the bride and groom, and the conch shell.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



The special *kangan* is seen tied to the right hand of the groom and the left hand of the bride. A detailed view of the bride's yellow sari can be seen.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

<u>Yagya Rituals</u>

During *Bhaisur Nirakshan*, or *Kanya Nirakshan*, the groom's father and elder brother (*bhaisur*) gift the bride jewellery sent by her mother-in-law.⁸⁷It is required for them to cover their heads with a cloth while they bless the bride and gift her the clothing and jewellery. ⁸⁸

Once wearing the new bridal clothing and jewellery, the bride arrives at the mandap again for the *kuldevta* puja along with the groom.⁸⁹After the priest names the celestial and planetary bodies as the witness of their marriage, the bride and groom begin the *pheras*. Pheras refers to the circumambulation done around the holy yagya fire. During their first round, the groom stands behind the bride as she holds a soop, a three-sided conical cane basket.⁹⁰ Her brother stands in front of her and pours *laave*, also known as husked or puffed rice, onto the basket and the bride gently thrown them.⁹¹

Sindoor daan is one of the last marriage rites. In this ritual, the groom applies *sindoor*, or vermillion, on the bride, starting from the tip of her nose to her forehead to her middle hair parting.⁹² The orange colour of the *sindoor* is due to the presence of turmeric in the powder. This process is repeated five times and the bride keeps her eyes closed during its entirety. The

⁸⁷Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

⁸⁸Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

⁸⁹Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

⁹⁰Thisismyindia.com, https://www.thisismyindia.com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.

 $^{{}^{91}} This is my india. com, https://www.this is my india. com/culture/bihari-wedding/index.html.$

⁹²Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

groom then finally ties the *mangalsutra* (also known as *taagpaag*) around the bride's neck and the ceremonies end.⁹³



The bride and groom throw *laave* (lit. puffed rice) through a *soop*. The bride's brother (seen with a yellow *dupatta*) pours them over.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)



Sindoordaan in process. The sindoor is orange rather than red due to change in ingredients in and around Bihar.

(Source: Video of Mukesh and Jyoti's wedding in Katihar, provided by Abhijit Singha at Wedding Expression, Raiganj)

Bengali Hindu Weddings in Katihar

⁹³Das, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bihari-wedding--c2615.

Due to the close proximity of Bihar and Bengal, it is common for members of these cultures to reside with each other. There are also significant commonalities present between the Bihari Hindu culture and the Bengali Hindu culture in Bihar⁹⁴, which is especially evident through the special importance given to the river Ganga. Like Bihari Hindu Weddings, Bengali weddings too have many rituals incorporating Ganga water.



A Bengali couple being wed in Katihar.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

Clothing

One of the most unique traits of a typical Bengali bride is the bridal *mukut* (lit. tiara) made out of Sholapith, or Indian cork.⁹⁵ While wearing red is customary in most Indian Hindu weddings for the bride, the Bengali bride is especially suggested to wear a silk Banarasi sari.⁹⁶ The draping and pleating of this sari are unique to the culture of Bengal and involves the *pallu* to fall in the front. The bride has to wear two special bracelets called *shakha-pola*.⁹⁷ Shakha refers to a white bangle made out of conch-shell and pola refers to a red bangle made out of red corals.⁹⁸ It is believed that the bangles should not break within the first year of marriage.⁹⁹ The bride also carries a *Lokhhir bhaar* (lit. Lakshmi's gifts), a red conical box made out of wood, to her new home.¹⁰⁰This box contains sindoor and a one rupee-coin called as *gachh kuto*. The bride is also beautified with a special face painting art called *Chandan* art.¹⁰¹ Curly floral

⁹⁴Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

⁹⁵Bhattacharya, Alakananda. "The Bengali Bride's Look Deciphered: Everything You Need for All of Your Functions." Wedding. www.weddingwire.in, February 24, 2019. https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

⁹⁶ Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

⁹⁷Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

⁹⁸Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

⁹⁹Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

¹⁰⁰Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

¹⁰¹Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

designs are painted on the forehead of the bride with a red round *bindi* on the centre. *Chandan* art may also be extended to the cheeks from the forehead and applied on the chin. Instead of *mehendi*, a special red body-dye called *alta* is applied on the hands and the feet.¹⁰²



A Bengali Hindu bride in Katihar (centre), with her parents (left and right.)

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

A Bengali groom's attire comprises mainly of four components. Like the bride, the groom also wears headgear, called the *topor*, which is also made from the Indian cork tree.¹⁰³ This auspicious headgear is conical in shape and is often intricately designed. It is customary for the groom to wear a white or cream coloured silk *dhoti*,¹⁰⁴ along with a long kurta-like garment called a *Punjabi*.¹⁰⁵ This garment is also made of silk and is traditionally of gold, cream or white colour.¹⁰⁶Some grooms apply chandan on their forehead as well. A draping rectangular fabric is often worn on the shoulder or sometimes draped along the arms and is called the *jor*.¹⁰⁷ In some weddings, the groom sits bare-chested with the *jor* hanging from the left shoulder.¹⁰⁸

- ¹⁰⁴ Datta, https://www.wedamor.com/bengali-groom-wedding-attire/.
- ¹⁰⁵Datta, https://www.wedamor.com/bengali-groom-wedding-attire/.

¹⁰²Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-bride--c2443.

¹⁰³Datta, Ahana. "Essential Elements That Are Part of a Bengali Groom's Wedding Attire." Wedamor, June 27, 2018. https://www.wedamor.com/bengali-groom-wedding-attire/.

¹⁰⁶Datta, https://www.wedamor.com/bengali-groom-wedding-attire/.

¹⁰⁷Datta, https://www.wedamor.com/bengali-groom-wedding-attire/.

¹⁰⁸Datta, https://www.wedamor.com/bengali-groom-wedding-attire/.



The groom is seen here waiting for the entrance of the bride at the *mandap*.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

Centrality of Ganga

Ganga holds a sacred spot in many rituals conducted in Bengali Hindu weddings. The Ai Buror Bhaat refers to a pre-wedding celebration of the groom and bride's status as a bachelor¹⁰⁹. According to our respondent Mr. Abhijit Singha, the respective families go to the riverbank or a well with Ganga water and draw from it.¹¹⁰ The water is later used for a special *Dodhi Mangal Snan* (lit. bath) for good luck by the bride and the groom.¹¹¹ They are later given a lavish feast with food including curried fish like ilish paturi or chingrir malai curry, dal, steamed rice, curried mutton and chicken, roshogulla, mishit doi, shondesh etc. ¹¹²

¹⁰⁹Bhattacharya, Alakananda. "Decoding a Bengali Wedding: The Beautiful Traditions of a Biye." Wedding Wire. www.weddingwire.in, December 24, 2020. https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁰Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

¹¹¹ Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹²Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.



The bride's hair being washed with sacred gangajal in a temple for the Ai Buror Snan

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

On the evening of *Holud Kota*, a ritual in which the groom's female members of the family grind turmeric, women of the family go to give the river Ganga an invitation for the wedding.¹¹³This can also be thought asking permission from Ganga to use the water at the wedding ceremony.¹¹⁴ The women typically carry with them cane trays with bananas, betel leaves and nuts, sindoor etc on this procession. After the Ganga has been invited, a Banana tree is invited as well. In this ritual, unbloomed leaf of the fruit is taken from the tree and tied to a Dorpon.¹¹⁵

On the morning of the wedding day, the bride and groom's families exchange gifts with each other, called the *tattva*.¹¹⁶ The *tattva* includes a range of gifts like oil, decorated carp fish, objects for personal grooming etc.¹¹⁷ The groom's family also brings a new saree to be worn by the bride during her *Gae Holud*. Gae *Holud* (lit. turmeric on body) is equivalent to the Haldi ceremony seen in other weddings in Bihar.¹¹⁸ A paste of turmeric is applied on groom's body and is carried along with the tattva to the bride's home.¹¹⁹ The bride wears a new saree and her female family members apply *holud* on her body. Thereafter water from the river Ganga is drawn and used again for a *snan* for the bride.¹²⁰

¹¹³Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁴Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁵Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁶Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁷Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁸Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹¹⁹Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹²⁰Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.



The bride wearing the outfit for Gae Holud.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)



The bride's mother pressing a betel leaf on her forehead to initiate *Gae Holud*.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)



The bride's female relatives at the *Gae Holud*. They are seen wearing sindoor from the tips of their nose to their hair parting in typical Bihari fashion.



(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

The groom's family with the tattva for the bride.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

Wedding Day Rituals

Once the groom enters the wedding venue, the bride's family welcomes him in the ritual known as *Bor Boron*.¹²¹ The groom is provided gifts including a gold ring and the blowing of

¹²¹Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

the conch shell along with the sacred ululation done by married women known as *ulurdhwani* in Bangla. ¹²²



The entrance of the groom at the wedding banquet.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)



The entrance of the bride at the wedding banquet. -1

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

¹²²CulturalIndia.net. "Bengali Hindu Wedding - Rituals, Customs, Dress, Food." CulturalIndia.net. Accessed February 21, 2022. https://www.culturalindia.net/weddings/regional-weddings/bengali-wedding.html.



Entrance of the bride at the wedding banquet. -2

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

Once the bride and groom have arrived at the venue, they exchange floral garlands among each other in a ceremony known as *mala bodon*, the Bengali counterpart to the ceremony known as Jaimala.¹²³ This signifies the union of the bride and groom and they proceed to the mandap for the wedding rituals.¹²⁴



Mala Bodon in process.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

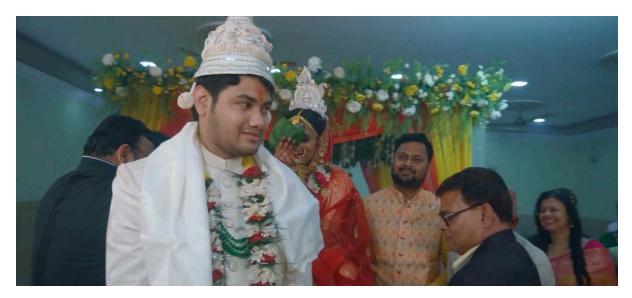
The bride is carried to the mandap on a wooden seat known as *peerhi* by her brothers and male cousins.¹²⁵ She is supposed to hide her eyes with two betel leaves and keep them closed.

¹²⁴ CulturalIndia.net, https://www.culturalindia.net/weddings/regional-weddings/bengali-wedding.html.

¹²³Abhijit Singha, telephonic conversation with author, February 8, 2022.

¹²⁵CulturalIndia.net, https://www.culturalindia.net/weddings/regional-weddings/bengali-wedding.html.

With the aid of her brothers, she is carried around the groom in circles seven times in a ritual known as *saat paak*.¹²⁶ Once the circumambulation is over, she puts down the betel leaves and the bride and groom look at each other three times. This custom is known as *shubho drishti*, (lit. auspicious sight).¹²⁷



The bride being carried around the groom by her brothers in Saat Paak. -1

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)



The bride being carried around the groom by her brothers in Saat Paak. -1

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

After the wedding yagya conducted by the priest is complete, the groom initiates the *sindoor daan*. Due to the positioning of such Bengali families in Bihar, the colour of the sindoor applied

¹²⁶Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹²⁷Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

is often orange. The application of the sindoor on the bride's hair parting is not done by hand. But instead through a ring, dorpon or a small cane box.¹²⁸



Sindoor daan in process. The groom is using a small cane box to apply the sindoor and the bride's face is cover by her sari.

(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

Khoi phela is the Bengali counterpart to the Bihari custom of throwing *laave* with a *soop*.¹²⁹The bride stands in front of her husband and holds a conical cane tray. Her brother pours *khoi* or puffed rice on her tray as she gently throws them into the fire. The bride and the groom go around the holy fire three times in this fashion and culminate the wedding.¹³⁰



(Source: Wedding of Neha and Abhishek in Katihar, provided by A. Dutt Photography, Balurghat)

¹²⁸Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹²⁹Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

¹³⁰Bhattacharya, https://www.weddingwire.in/wedding-tips/bengali-wedding--c2477.

Places of Interest

Gogabil Lake, Manihari



Wild Bird Flying over the Gogabil Lake

(Source: Gogabil. https://www.gogabil.in/image)

The Gogabil Lake lies in Manihari in the Katihar district. The lake is considered to be one of the largest wetlands of Bihar and was declared as the state's first Conservation Reserve by the Department of Environment, Forest and Climate Change, Bihar.¹³¹ The lake becomes the home to nearly 300 different species of migratory birds during migration season in monsoon from the Caspian Sea and Siberian region.¹³² The conservation of all the birds is critical as approximately 90 species of bird are termed as 'Threatened" by the IUCN list.¹³³ These species include the black-necked stork and the white lbis.¹³⁴ The Gogabil lake is an ox-bow

¹³¹Express News Service. "Patna Diary: Gogabil Lake Becomes Bihar's First Bird Conservation Reserve." The New Indian Express. The New Indian Express, August 22, 2019.

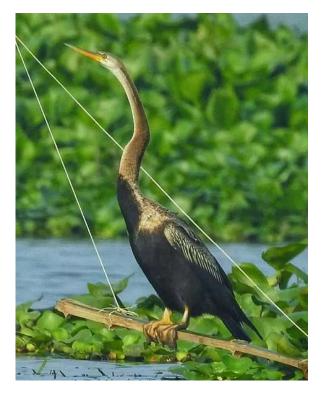
https://www.newindianexpress.com/nation/2019/aug/22/patna-diary-gogabil-lake-becomes-bihars-first-bird-conservation-reserve-2022543.html.

¹³² Express News Service.

¹³³ Express News Service.

¹³⁴ Express News Service.

lake spread over 73.88 acres of land.¹³⁵The waters in the lake are formed by the Mahananda and Kankahar in the north and Ganga in the south.¹³⁶



An Anhinga at Gogabil Lake.

(Source: Gogabil. https://www.gogabil.in/image)



A Blue-Throated Barbet at Gogabil Lake

¹³⁵ Express News Service.

¹³⁶ Express News Service.

Gandhi Ghar, Kursela



Gandhi Ghar, Kursela in Katihar (Source: Katihar Government. https://katihar.nic.in/gallery/touristplaces/)

Gandhi Ghar in Kursela of Katihar district was created in honour of Mahatma Gandhi. In 1934, Mahatma Gandhi visited Kursela to meet and aid the victims of a disastrous earthquake.¹³⁷Touched by his visit, the ashram was founded near the Kursela Railway Station.¹³⁸ It is maintained by the Ashram Samiti.¹³⁹ The historical site also has a museum dedicated to the life of Mahatma Gandhi.



The lobby at Gandhi Ghar, Kursela.

¹³⁷Hindustan Team-Katihar. "कुर्सेलास्थितगांधीघरकोदियाजारहानयारूप".Hindustan, September 20, 2020. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-gandhi-home-in-kursela-is-being-given-a-new-look-3504524.html.

¹³⁸ Hindustan Team-Katihar.

¹³⁹ Hindustan Team-Katihar.

(Source: WorldOrgs. https://in.worldorgs.com/catalog/kursela/ashram/sarvodaya-ashram-gandhi-gharkursela-)

Peer Mazar Manihari



Peer Mazar, Manihari in Katihar District

(Source: Katihar Government.https://katihar.nic.in/gallery/tourist-places/)

The Mazar of Baba Hazrat Jeetanshah Rahemullah is situated at an elevation of approximately 60 feet.¹⁴⁰ Made in 1330 A.D., the local legend states that a Manihari resident, Atul Mukherjee, made a *mannat* (prayer) to the Baba and promised to create a proper structure if it was fulfilled.¹⁴¹ As his wish was eventually fulfilled, Mukherjee built the Mazar.¹⁴² According to a local ritual, devotees come to the Mazar and pray upon a stone and tie it in a piece of cloth.¹⁴³ Upon fulfilment of their prayer, they come back to provide offerings of holy blankets (*chadar*) and *prasad*.¹⁴⁴*Urs* is celebrated

¹⁴⁰Kumar, Tinku. "पीर-पहाड़-मजार." Manihari Chronicles, July 31, 2020.

https://maniharichronicles.in/2020/07/31/पीर-पहाड़-मजार/#.

¹⁴¹ Kumar, https://maniharichronicles.in/2020/07/31/पीर-पहाड़-मजार/#.

¹⁴² Kumar, https://maniharichronicles.in/2020/07/31/पीर-पहाड़-मजार/#.

¹⁴³ Kumar, https://maniharichronicles.in/2020/07/31/पीर-पहाड़-मजार/#.

¹⁴⁴ Kumar, https://maniharichronicles.in/2020/07/31/पीर-पहाड़-मजार/#.

on 25th of every *shawwal*, the tenth month of the Islamic lunar calendar, every year. The celebrations include qawwali and jalsa.¹⁴⁵



Panoramic view of the Mazar.

(Source: WorldOrgs. https://in.worldorgs.com/catalog/manihari/golf-course/pir-pahaar)



Prayers wished upon stones and tied with clothes at the Mazar.

(Source: WorldOrgs. https://in.worldorgs.com/catalog/manihari/golf-course/pir-pahaar)

¹⁴⁵ Kumar, https://maniharichronicles.in/2020/07/31/पीर-पहाड़-मजार/#.

Famous Personalities

Dhruv Kundu



Dhruv Kundu Memorial in Katihar

(Source: https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-13-soldiers-under-the-leadership-of-dhruvkundu-gave-martyrdom-on-13-august-1942-2686667.html)

Dhruv Kundu was a freedom revolutionary from Katihar. During the Quit India Movement of 1942 spearheaded by M.K. Gandhi, people from even the most remote corners of British India participated. On 10th August 1942, the British officials arrested the Congress party workers who were protesting for independence and sealed off the Congress Ashram in Katihar.¹⁴⁶ On 12th August, many of the town's telegraph and railway lines were attacked and disrupted. Subsequently on 13th August, Dhruv Kundu, a 13-year-old revolutionary, organised protesters and removed the Union Jack from the munsif court and raised the Indian Tricolour instead.¹⁴⁷ The British officials attacked the court and shot Dhruv Kundu and 13 other revolutionaries.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Hindustan Team, Katihar. "धुव कुण्डू के नेतृत्व में 13 जवानों ने 13 अगस्त 1942 को दी थी शहादत." Hindustan, August 12, 2019. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-13-soldiers-under-theleadership-of-dhruv-kundu-gave-martyrdom-on-13-august-1942-2686667.html.

¹⁴⁷ Hindustan Team. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-13-soldiers-under-the-leadership-of-dhruv-kundu-gave-martyrdom-on-13-august-1942-2686667.html.

¹⁴⁸ Hindustan Team. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-13-soldiers-under-the-leadership-of-dhruv-kundu-gave-martyrdom-on-13-august-1942-2686667.html.

He gave his martyrdom in the Purnea hospital.¹⁴⁹ Kundu and the other revolutionaries who were martyred on 13th August are memorialised in the Dhruv Kundu Children's Park and the Dhruv Kundu Memorial in Katihar.

<u>Sitaram Kesri</u>



Sitaram Kesri

(Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/0/07/Sitaram_Kesari.png)

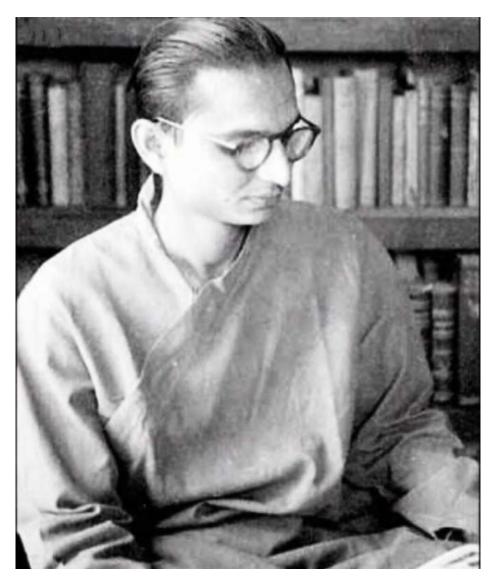
Sitaram Kesri (15 November 1919 – 24 October 2000) was an Indian politician and parliamentarian, who became a union minister and served as President of the Indian National Congress from 1996 to 1998.¹⁵⁰ Kesri became politically active at a young age during the Quit India Movement. He was arrested for his political activities quite often between 1930 and 1942. He was elected to the Lok Sabha as a representative of the Katihar constituency in 1967.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Hindustan Team. https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/katihar/story-13-soldiers-under-the-leadership-of-dhruv-kundu-gave-martyrdom-on-13-august-1942-2686667.html.

¹⁵⁰ Special Correspondent. "Rich Tributes Paid to Kesri." The Hindu. The Hindu, October 25, 2000. https://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-miscellaneous/tp-others/rich-tributes-paid-to-kesri/article28050619.ece.

¹⁵¹ Rediff News. "Rediff on the Net: Polling Booth; Election' 96: Bihar/Katihar." Rediff on the NeT: Polling Booth: Election' 96: Bihar/Katihar. Accessed September 12, 2021. https://www.rediff.com/news/1998/feb/bihar25.htm.

Arabinda Mukhopadhyay



Arabinda Mukhopadhyay

(Source: https://mubi.com/fr/cast/arabinda-mukhopadhyay)

Arabinda Mukhopadhyay (18 June 1919 - 10 February 2016) was a filmmaker born in Katihar. His family was originally from the Hooghly district of modern-day West Bengal.¹⁵² His elder brother was the noted writer Balai Chand Mukhopadhyay. Arabinda Mukhopadhyay's career spanned four-decades and he directed many Bengali film classics like Nishi Padma (1970), Dhanyee Meye (1971) and Mouchak (1974). He was also affectionately referred to as Dhulu Babu. He received a nomination for the President's Award in 1959 for his film Kichukkhon. His

¹⁵² Mullick, Swapan. "The Best Year of Story Telling." The Statesman, February 19, 2016. https://www.thestatesman.com/supplements/the-best-year-of-story-telling-124786.html.

movie, Ahban, was screened at the Cannes Film Festival in 1961.¹⁵³ In 1972 he received the Filmfare Award for Best Screenplay for the Hindi classic film, Amar Prem.



Promotional Poster of Mouchak.

(Source: IMDB. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt1587224/)

Balai Chand Mukhopadhyay



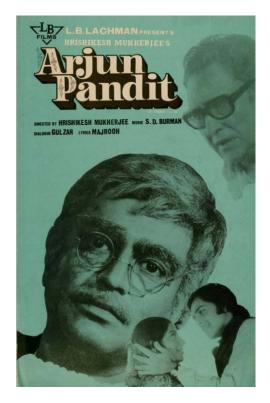
Balai Chand Mukhopadhyay image by Manobeena Ray

¹⁵³ Sray1707. "বহু জনপ্রিয় ছবির স্রষ্টা তিনি।." El Samay. El Samay, June 20, 2015.

https://eisamay.indiatimes.com/kolkata-collage-kolkattewali/new-town/about-bengali-film-director-arabinda-mukherjee/articleshow/47745827.cms.

(Source: https://parabaas.com/translation/database/authors/texts/bonophul.html)

Padma Bhushan-recipient Balai Chand Mukhopadhyay was born in Manihari, in modern-day Katihar district. He was the elder brother of Arabinda Mukhopadhyay. He was a Bengali language writer and physician who was widely celebrated for his contributions to Bengali literature. He wrote under the pen-name Banaphul, meaning "the wild flower" in Bengali.¹⁵⁴ He was most noted for his short vignettes, but his entire body of work spanned sixty-five years and included thousands of poems, around 586 short stories, 60 novels, 5 dramas, and many essays.¹⁵⁵ He received the Filmfare Award for Best Story for the Hindi-language film, Arjun Pandit. He won many prestigious Bengali literary awards, including Ananda Puroshkar, Rabindra Puroshkar and Jagattarini Puroshkar.¹⁵⁶



Promotional Poster of Arjun Pandit

(Source: IMDB. https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0149708/)

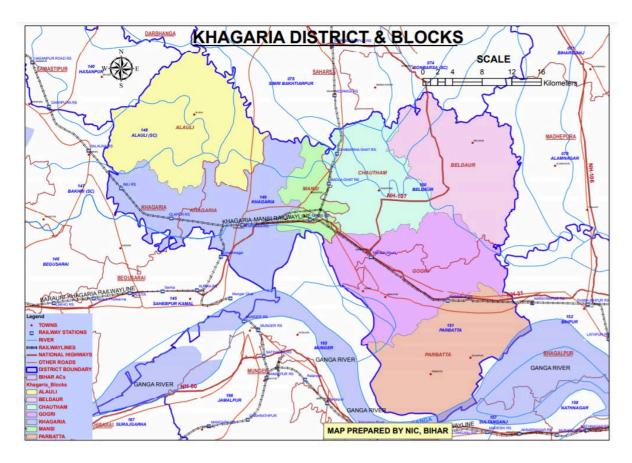
¹⁵⁴ Inc., Parabaas. "Bonophul Biography." Bonophul (BOLAI Chand Mukhopadhyay) - biographical SKETCH [PARABAAS TRANSLATION]. Accessed September 12, 2021.

https://parabaas.com/translation/database/authors/texts/bonophul.html.

¹⁵⁵ Inc., Parabaas. https://parabaas.com/translation/database/authors/texts/bonophul.html.

¹⁵⁶ Inc., Parabaas. https://parabaas.com/translation/database/authors/texts/bonophul.html.

KHAGARIA DISTRICT



Map of Khagaria (Source: National Informatics Centre, Bihar. https://cdn.s3waas.gov.in/s3d61e4bbd6393c9111e6526ea173a7c8b/uploads/2018/03/2018030794.pdf)

History

Khagaria is a city in north Bihar which lies under the Munger division. The city is interlaced with five rivers, namely- Ganga, Gandak, Bagmati, Kamala and Koshi, which has also resulted in persistent flood problems. According to Gopal Prasad Singh, the name of the district is derived from 'khagara' a type of grass which is known to grow in abundance in the region.¹⁵⁷ The region is also associated with the name 'Pharkia Pargana,' which is claimed to have been derived after Raja Todarmal failed to survey the area and therefore adopted the policy of 'Farak Kya,' i.e exclusion from the reports to be submitted to Emperor Akbar.¹⁵⁸



17th Century Gouache Painting on Paper by Unknown artist of Raja Todarmal, Gift of Alban G. Widgery

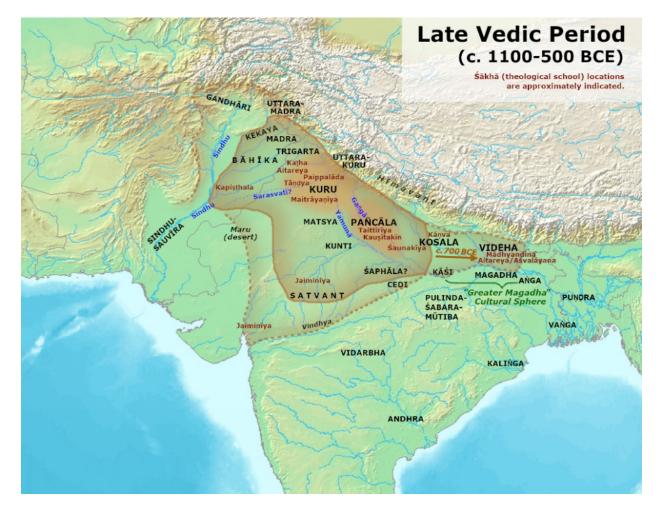
(Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: Raja Todar Mall, Finance Minister of Akbar.jpg,"*Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository,* https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Raja_Todar_Mall,_Finance_Minister_of_Akbar.jpg)

 ¹⁵⁷Singh, Gopal Prasad. "Development of Women and Role of Voluntary Organizations." Essay. In Gandhi and Voluntary Organizations, edited by Janardan Pandey, 83. New Delhi: M.D. Publications, 1998.
 ¹⁵⁸Singh 83.

Mentions in Ancient Literature

Anga was known as one of the 16 Mahajanpadas in ancient India which lasted from around c. 1100 BCE to 500 BCE. Anga comprised of the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Munger. In 1943-44 the Khagaria subdivision was established within the Munger district.

The Atharvaveda has the earliest mention of the Angas. C.P.N. Sinha assess the differences among historians while drawing the territory of Anga.¹⁵⁹ Anga is said to be located between the rivers Ganga and Saryu in the Ramayana. As a result, N.L. Dey suggests, "the northern portion of the country of Magadha along the southern bank of the Ganges was then included in the country of Anga."¹⁶⁰ However, M.S. Pandey disagrees, claiming that Anga controlled just a tiny region in the 6th century BCE.¹⁶¹ Over the ages, the geographical limits of Anga have shifted.



 ¹⁵⁹Sinha, C.P.N. "Address of the Sectional President: Construction and History: Problems of Regional Identity and Historiography of Early Bihar." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 55 (1994): 13-34.
 ¹⁶⁰Sinha, 16.
 ¹⁶¹Sinha, 18.

Map of the 16 Mahajanpadas in the Late vedic period.

(Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: Late Vedic Culture (1100-500 BCE).png,"*Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository,* https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Late_Vedic_Culture_(1100-500_BCE).png&oldid=584871446 (accessed September 8, 2021).)

Kaushikikshetra is an area across the Ganges in Anga, and is called 'Anguttarapa' in Buddhist texts. A commentary of Samyutta Nikaya interpreted it as the Kingdom of Anga on the other side of the Ganges. Sinha states that this area has been identified as the ancient area of Purnea and Saharsa. H.C. Raychaudhuri regards this land as the land of Videha, but Sinha counters that this is untenable under the well-known historical background.¹⁶² He states that the available data indicates that the Anguttarapa region includes the modern regions of Begusarai and Khagaria, as well as the adjacent regions in northern Munger.

Northern Black Pottery Catalogue

The Burhi Gandaka River originates from a lake in West Champaran and falls into the Ganges near Khagaria in northern Bihar. Dilip K. Chakrabarti et al. observed the important N. B. P. Commercial locations such as Nandangarh in West Champaran, Mangalgarh in Samastipur, Naulagarh and Jayamangalagarh in Begusarai, and Aluligarh in Khagaria area are located on the Burhi Gandaka River and its tributaries.¹⁶³ Chakrabarty et al. point out the following locations where northern black pottery was found in the Saharsa-Madhepur-Khagaria group:¹⁶⁴



The Burhi Gandaka River in Khagaria

¹⁶²Sinha, 18

¹⁶³Chakrabarti, Dilip K., Ajit K. Prasad, S. K. Jha, and A. C. Verma. "From Purnea to Champaran: The distribution of sites in the north Bihar plains." *South Asian Studies* 12, no. 1 (1996): 153.

¹⁶⁴ Chakrabarti et al. 153.

(Source: Maplogs. https://sunrise.maplogs.com/khagaria_bihar_india.176233.html)

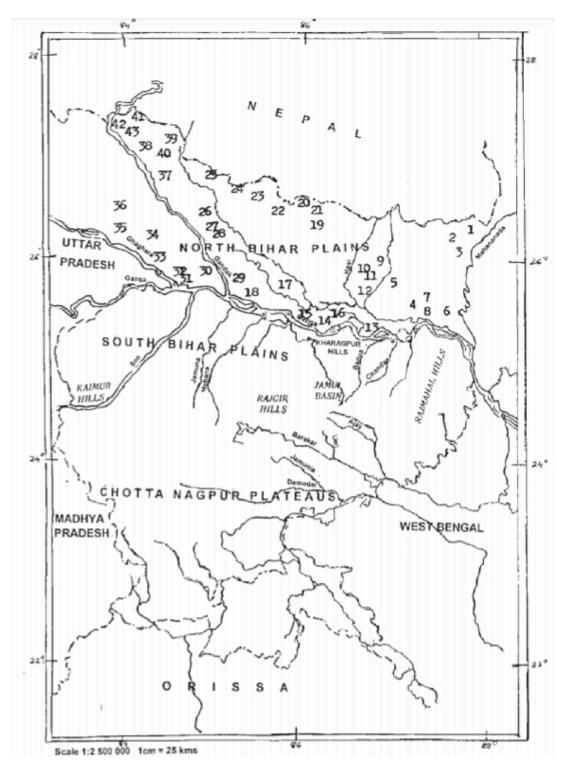
<u>Mahisi:</u> Almost west of the Sahara, it is an important local religious site. There is a modern temple with a standing Buddha statue and some inconspicuous architectural works in the temple gallery. Inside the shrine is a stone statue, probably Tara, covered with a piece of cloth. A small modern temple on the site contains at least two Sivalingas and two sitting Buddha statues around the 10th century. The entire temple area implies an obviously large but mostly destroyed structural mound.

<u>Singhesvara Siva Temple</u>: It is located north of Madhepura. In the current temple, the Linga is located below the surface of modern soil and is made of sandstone with clearly marked ridges on the top. The temple area contains some sculptural fragments from c. (probably an image of Bhairava). Some early historical sites were reported in the Saharsa area on the Supaul side.

<u>Pirnagar</u>: This station is located between Karoa Mor and Maheshkut on the Saharsa Maheshkut Highway. Known locally as Chaurashi Bidha, it is clearly surrounded by a moat or Garkhai, which appears to extend from the river channel. Local information indicates that the area is also surrounded by burnt brick walls about 2 m wide. The approximately 20-acre gated area is littered with bricks and pottery, but despite previous reports of drilled coins and NBP, we were unable to detect any historical records of diagnostic significance. On the other hand, there are vestiges of black stone sculptures from the 9th and 10th centuries. Our main impression is the fortifications of the Pala period, surrounded by a moat.

<u>Jhikatiya:</u> It is close to Maheshkut and includes about 10 acres of land, covered by jungle, and partly covered by a dargah. This is a structural mound with a temple that collapsed during the Pala period. The burnt brick walls of the sanctuary still stand, and the door lintel and door frame have collapsed. The door frame is decorated with plant and flower motifs, and its carving dates back to the 10th century.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵Chakrabarti et al. 153.



Map of NBP mounds in Bihar as observed by Chakrabarti et al.

(Source: Chakrabarti et al, 2)

Late Medieval Age



Bharatkhand Fort

(Source: https://khagaria.nic.in/)

The Bharatkhand Fort is known by many names locally such as "Bharatkhand ka Pakka" and "Baavan Kothri, Trepan Dvaar" (lit. 52 rooms, 53 doors). It is located by the bank of river Ganga in Bharatkhand, a town under the Khagaria district.¹⁶⁶ The fort is said to have been built under the patronage of now Madhya Pradesh's Raja Bairam Singh in 1750-60 after acquiring permission from the Nawab of Bengal.¹⁶⁷ The main architect of the fort is said to be Bakaast

¹⁶⁶Staff. "आखिर कब मिलेगा 'बाबन कोठरी तिरेपन द्वार' को पर्यटन स्थल का दर्जा." Dainik Jagran. दैनिक जागरण, July 11, 2018. https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-when-will-you-get-chr39-baban-kotharithirpan-door-chr39-as-tourist-spot-status-18183564.html.

¹⁶⁷Sanjeev Nandan Praksh quoted in, https://khagariatourism.blogspot.com/2019/10/blog-post.html

Miya who belonged to the Mughal court and brought Mughal style of architecture to the town.¹⁶⁸

Political Mobilisation in the 1930s

In 1934, in the aftermath of the Civil Disobedience Movement, Hitendra Kumar Patel notes that the task of "revitalising the Congress as an organization in Bihar" emerged.¹⁶⁹ The local Congress leaders threw themselves in a competition among themselves to be seen as very active political leaders. Patel states that there were mainly two channels that the Congress leaders utilised to gain the popularity they so vehemently seeked.¹⁷⁰ The first was to associate with Kisan Sabha activities and the second was to volunteer in the Congress' 'Constructive Programmes.' One of these programmes consisted of the 'Harijan Upliftment Movement,'¹⁷¹ '*harijan*' being the label used by M.K. Gandhi and his followers to refer to the 'lower' castes.

Patel remarks how the Congress through their activities and processions convinced the uppercaste *zamindars* to join the movement and support the entry of *harijans* in Hindu temples.¹⁷²On 8 May 1933, such a constructive programme was carried out by Congress volunteers in Khagaria. The teachers and the students of the National High School Khagaria were reported to be observing fasts, cleaning the designated quarters in the town for the oppressed castes in the forenoon and persuading some hundred people from oppressed castes to "take oath in their own temples to give up drugs."¹⁷³*The Searchlight* reported, "Great was the enthusiasm when hundreds of students led by their teachers proceeded with spades, baskets, broom sticks etc. in their hands to clean the Harijan quarters for removal of untouchability and praying to God for the success of Mahatmaji. Khagaria Bazar observed Hartal on that day."¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁸Staff, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-when-will-you-get-chr39-baban-kothari-thirpan-door-chr39-as-tourist-spot-status-18183564.html.

 ¹⁶⁹Patel, Hitendra Kumar. "Aspects Of Political Mobilization By The Indian National Congress In Monghyr District Of Bihar (1934-42)." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 66 (2005) : 1088.
 ¹⁷⁰Patel 1088.

¹⁷¹Patel 1088.

¹⁷²Patel 1087.

¹⁷³Patel 1088.

¹⁷⁴The Searchlight, 12 May 1933, as quoted in Patel 1088.



Shyamlal Khagaria National School

(Source: https://in.worldorgs.com/catalog/khagaria/high-school/national-high-school-kgg)

Natural disasters struck several parts of Munger in 1934.¹⁷⁵ The district was devastated by a flood of historic magnitude. Floods, hunger, and unemployment were prevalent in Munger's Bakhtiyarpur, Chautham, Khagaria, and Gogri thanas, according to a central Relief Committee bulletin. This spurred Congress workers like Sri Krishna Sinha to take action to help.¹⁷⁶



Shri Krishna Sinha on Stamp issued by the Government of India in 2016

¹⁷⁵Patel 1089. ¹⁷⁶Patel 1090. (Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: Shri Krishna Singh 2016 stamp of India.jpg,"*Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository*,

https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Shri_Krishna_Singh_2016_stamp_of_India.jpg&oldid =533787753)

In 1934, meetings were organized to protest against the Communal Award.¹⁷⁷ The Communal award, also known as the MacDonald Award was introduced by the British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald on 16 August 1932.¹⁷⁸ The Award extended the separate electorate system to represent the (then known as) depressed castes. Although M.K. Gandhi was opposed to Award, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was in support of the representation. In these meetings prominent district Congress leaders participated.¹⁷⁹ During these meetings efforts were made to enrol people in the Congress. Subsequently, 2,875 members had been enrolled as Congress members by the first fortnight of March 1935.¹⁸⁰ Along with these attempts to raise the number of members, Gogri and Khagaria National Schools were revived partly, as believed by the intelligence reports, with the money supplied by the Bihar Central Relief Fund.¹⁸¹

New efforts were launched in June 1936 to increase the number of members in the Congress.¹⁸² In addition, Mahanth Siaram Das presided over the Khagaria thana meeting on June 21, 1936. Sri Krishna Sinha delivered a "powerful address,"¹⁸³ while Kisan Sabha leaders like Karyanand Sharma emphasized the need of working to abolish the Zamindari system in order to help kisans.¹⁸⁴ Subsequently more thana conferences were held in Khagaria in 1937 and 1938.¹⁸⁵



Karyanand Sharma (1901–1965) was a nationalist leader from Munger.

(Source: Anish Ankur for NewsClick.

https://hindi.newsclick.in/Farmer-leader-Karyanand-Sharma-120thbirth-anniversary)

¹⁷⁷Patel 1091.

¹⁷⁸Nugent, Helen M. "The communal award: The process of decision-making." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 2, no. 1-2 (1979): 112.

¹⁷⁹Patel 1091.

¹⁸⁰Patel 1091.

¹⁸¹Patel 1091.

¹⁸²Patel 1095.

¹⁸³Patel 1095.

¹⁸⁴Patel 1095.

¹⁸⁵Patel 1097.

Fair and Festivals

Gaushala Mela



The Gaushala Campus in Khagaria

(Source: https://www.bhaskar.com/bihar/khagaria/news/the-atmosphere-of-goshala-campus-is-devotionalwith-discourses-and-prayers-081056-5887970.html)

The Gaushala Mela is one of the most popular historic fairs in Bihar and attracts many tourists. The Fair has been running for more than 130 years.¹⁸⁶ It is also known as the Gopastami Mela. Currently the fair is organised and coordinated by the Gaushala Karyakarini Samiti.¹⁸⁷ During its inception, the Fair used to be held for one day and to increase footfall, all the shops used to be closed and relocated to the fair grounds.¹⁸⁸ Since the fair begins on the second day after Chhat Puja, the locals used to distribute homemade *prasad* like *puye* with other fair

¹⁸⁶Staff. "खगड़िया का ऐतिहासिक गोशाला मेला आज से शुरू." Hindustan, November 15, 2018.

2016. https://www.jagran.com/bihar/katihar-14961263.html.

https://www.livehindustan.com/bihar/khagaria/story-khagaria-goshala-fair-start-2267050.html.

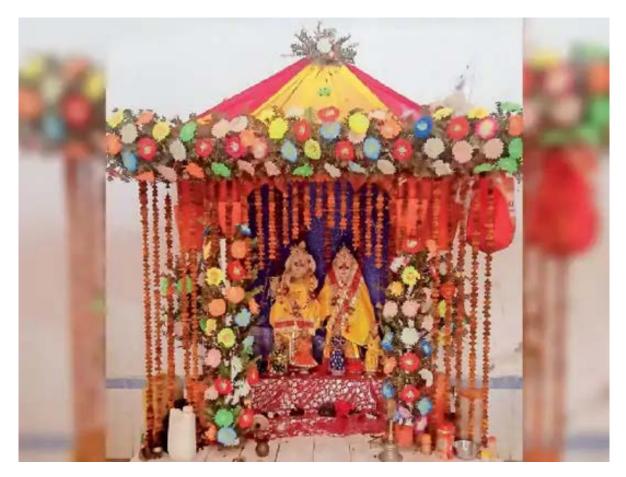
¹⁸⁷Staff. "गौशाला मेला: 'मौत का कुआं' होगा आकर्षण का केंद्र." Dainik Jagran. दैनिक जागरण, November 1,

¹⁸⁸Staff, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/katihar-14961263.html.

attendees.¹⁸⁹ With time and better funding, the fair increased its duration and is now held for 7-8 days annually.¹⁹⁰ The fair is a religious focal point as well as an entertainment focal point with many regular attractions such as traditional *dangal* competitions for Indian wrestlers.¹⁹¹

With the beginning of the Gaushala Mela, North Bihar's grand Kashth Mela begins its preparations and traditionally begins on the second day after the end of the Gaushala Mela.¹⁹²

<u>Janmashtami</u>



Radha-Krishna Idols prepared for Janmasthami in Ramjanaki Thakurbadi, Khagaria

(Source: https://www.bhaskar.com/local/bihar/bhagalpur/khagaria/news/this-time-on-janmashtami-the-same-mahayoga-as-it-was-formed-in-dwapar-yuga-at-the-time-of-the-birth-of-shri-krishna-128869853.html)

¹⁸⁹Staff, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/katihar-14961263.html.

¹⁹⁰Staff, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/katihar-14961263.html.

¹⁹¹Staff. "गौशाला मेला: भव्य अतीत, शानदार वर्तमान." Dainik Jagran. दैनिक जागरण, November 4, 2016.

https://www.jagran.com/bihar/khagaria-14980444.html.

¹⁹²Staff, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/katihar-14961263.html.

Janmashtami is a festival celebrated in honour of the birth of the Hindu god, Krishna. Janmashtami is celebrated widely in Khagaria with various temples and *thakurbadis* participating in preparations such as Vasudev Thakurbadi, Meerjanaki Thukurbadi, Ramjanaki Thukurbadi and Manokamna Dham Mandir.¹⁹³

<u>Durga Puja</u>



Chautham Durga Sthan, Khagaria

(Source: https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-chautham-durga-place-of-khagaria-here-the-worship-ofmother-is-done-by-both-vedic-and-tantric-method-20853529.html)

Durga Puja is a much-celebrated festival of Khagaria with many Durga Puja *pandals* being set up during the time. The Sarraiya Durga Sthan in Chautham under the Khagaria district is regarded with special significance. According to legend, Raja Surendra Narayan, the then-king

द्वापर युग में बना था." Dainik Bhaskar, August 29, 2021.

¹⁹³Staff. "महाकृष्णाष्टमी आजः इस बार जन्माष्टमी पर वैसा ही महायोग, जैसा श्रीकृष्ण के जन्म के समय

https://www.bhaskar.com/local/bihar/bhagalpur/khagaria/news/this-time-on-janmashtami-the-same-mahayoga-as-it-was-formed-in-dwapar-yuga-at-the-time-of-the-birth-of-shri-krishna-128869853.html.

of Chautham, prayed for an heir at this spot and subsequently Raja Murari was born to him in 1942.¹⁹⁴ Thereafter he installed a Durga idol at the spot. Ever since, Durga is worshipped at the Sthan and his descendants sponsor the annual installation of the Durga idol for Durga Puja.¹⁹⁵ Tantric as well as Vedic form of worship is followed there.¹⁹⁶

Makar Sankranti

Makar Sakranti is believed to be the day on which the Hindu Sun God, Surya, begins ascendancy and enters into the Northern Hemisphere. According to our respondent Mr. Nityanand Maurya, once morning arrives, people bathe and then touch rice, jaggery (*gud*) and sesame (*til*).¹⁹⁷ It is then customary to eat Dahi-Chawal aur Gud ka bhuja.¹⁹⁸ The rice used to prepare this dish is flattened rice, also known as *poha* in several north Indian languages. This preparation of rice is unique to the Indian subcontinent. After food has been eaten, devotees go to the Ganga *ghaat* to do a ritualistic bath (*snan*) in the water.¹⁹⁹ Small fairs (*melas*) are also common during this time.²⁰⁰ It is also customary to eat gud-til laddoos. The preparations for the food is usually done by women.

¹⁹⁴Shukla, Dilip. "Durga Puja 2020: खगडिय़ाकाचौथमदुर्गास्थान, यहांवैदिकऔरतांत्रिकदोनोंविधिसेहोतीहैमांकीपूजा-

अर्चन." Dainik Jagran. दैनिकजागरण, October 8, 2020. https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-chautham-

durga-place-of-khagaria-here-the-worship-of-mother-is-done-by-both-vedic-and-tantric-method-20853529.html.

¹⁹⁵Shukla, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-chautham-durga-place-of-khagaria-here-the-worship-of-mother-is-done-by-both-vedic-and-tantric-method-20853529.html.

¹⁹⁶Shukla, https://www.jagran.com/bihar/bhagalpur-chautham-durga-place-of-khagaria-here-the-worship-of-mother-is-done-by-both-vedic-and-tantric-method-20853529.html.

¹⁹⁷ Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022.

¹⁹⁸Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022.

¹⁹⁹Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022.

²⁰⁰Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022.



Gud-til laddoo

(Source: Times Food. https://recipes.timesofindia.com/recipes/gud-til-ladoo/rs84469514.cms)



Dahi Chuda Gud ka Bhuja

(Source: NDTV Food. https://food.ndtv.com/recipe-dahi-choora-gur-hindi-954162)

Wedding Rituals

Bihari Hindu Wedding in Khagaria

Like Katihar, the Bihari Hindu weddings in Khagaria have many common features. They are also known to give an esteemed place to the River Ganga in their rituals. Folksongs are usually sung in Maithili in the Munger region and therefore in weddings in Khagaria as well.²⁰¹

Abuse Songs

Our respondent, Mr. Sagar Samrat informed us of the tradition of *Gali*, or abuse songs during the wedding rituals.²⁰² The common belief is that such songs ward off the evil-eye and are also intended to invoke fun and tease the other marital party.²⁰³ It is said to be customary for an elder married women in rural areas to sit outside the marriage home with a *dhol* and sing such abuse songs. An example of an abuse sing is given below:

Oh, brothers-in-laws, why you want to come to this mandap, Please stand-up brothers-in-laws and go out of my mandap, We shame your white mustache, Please stand-up brothers-in-laws and go out of my mandap We shame your nose as like a hookah (water pipe),

Please stand up barati (men's marriage party) people and go out of my mandap.²⁰⁴

Yuko Yagi notes that such abuse songs are usually sung in the pre and post-wedding rituals. She classifies these songs into two, one insulting the groom and his family and the other having sexual connotations.²⁰⁵ Since these songs are usually not sung in the presence of men, Yagi terms these as a fertility rite.²⁰⁶

 $^{^{\}rm 201}Sagar$ Samrat, telephonic conversation with author, February 10, 2022.

²⁰²Sagar Samrat, telephonic conversation with author, February 10, 2022.

²⁰³Yagi, Yuko. "Women, abuse songs and erotic dances: Marriage ceremonies in Northern India." *Senri ethnological studies* 71 (2008): 35-47.

²⁰⁴ Yagi, 40.

²⁰⁵ Yagi, 40.

²⁰⁶ Yagi, 43.



The bride and the groom in traditional wedding attire and jewellery.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The groom giving out a portion of rice on his Haldi.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The traditional ingredients for the Haldi paste include oil, gangajal, turmeric, cumin etc.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The mother of the groom is seen here inaugurating the *dhol* before the wedding procession begins.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The entrance of the bride at the wedding venue.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



Jaimala in process.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



Mangini or the engagement.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The bride's father pressing a betel leaf on her forehead.



The groom performing a pre-wedding ceremony.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The bride throwing *laave* or husked rice with a *soop*. Her brother is seen pouring more *laave* in the *soop*. -1 (Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The bride throwing *laave* or husked rice with a *soop*. Her brother is seen pouring more *laave* in the *soop*. -2

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



Sindoor daan in progress.



The bride with the unique Bihari orange sindoor.

(Source: Video of Shupratik and Nivedita's wedding in Khagaria provided by Shruti Video, Khagaria)



The bride entering the groom's home during grah pravesh.



The bride proceeds to leave a red imprint of her footsteps during the *grahpravesh*.

Places of Interest

<u>Katyayni Asthan</u>



Katyayni Mata Asthan, Khagaria

(Source: https://www.localprayers.com/IN/Khagaria/1421030907979680/KMM-Katyayini-MATA-Mandir)

The Katyayni Asthan is situated on the banks of river Koshi. Along with the idol of the Hindu goddess Maa Katyayni, idols of other gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon including Ram, Lakshman, and Maa Janaki are present here.²⁰⁷ According to the local folk customs, the goddess Katyayani is worshiped in two forms. Some devotees perform worship to Ma Katyayani as *Sidh Peeth*, while a majority of devotees in this region worship her in the form of *Lok Devi* i.e. the Goddess of Cattle. Due to her worship as *Lok Devi*, devotees offer raw milk as *prasad* or holy offering to the goddess.²⁰⁸ According to local mythology, the sage Katyayn was performing penance on the banks of the river Kaushiki (now known as river Koshi). Pleased with the devotion of the sage, the Goddess Durga took an *avatar* as the sage's daughter and hence came to be known as the goddess Katyayni.²⁰⁹ It is also popularly believed

²⁰⁷ Vikaspedia. "Vikaspedia Domains." Places to Visit in Khagaria District. Accessed September 15, 2021. https://vikaspedia.in/aspirational-districts/bihar/khagaria/know-your-district/places-to-visit-in-khagaria-district.

²⁰⁸ Vikaspedia, https://vikaspedia.in/aspirational-districts/bihar/khagaria/know-your-district/places-to-visit-in-khagaria-district.

²⁰⁹ Chourasia, Sumit. "Top Places to Visit In Khagaria, Bihar." Top Places to visit in Khagaria, Bihar. Askgif, January 28, 2019. https://askgif.com/blog/253/top-places-to-visit-in-khagaria-bihar/.

in the region that around three centuries ago, Bhakt Sripat Maharaj had a dream where he saw the goddess Katyayni and therefore patroned the creation of the temple.²¹⁰

Azgaibinath Mahadev



"Jungeira Pagoda at Sultan Gunge." A steel engraving by E. H. Locker and W. Alexander, from 'A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in All Parts of the World' by John Pinkerton (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orme, 1811)

(Source: Columbia University.

http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00glossarydata/places/sultanganj/sultanganj.html)

Although Azgaininath Temple falls in Sultanganj of Bhagalpur District, the temple is quite close to the Aguanighat of Khagaria district.²¹¹ Many engravings of the temple were created by British artists. The temple is situated on a hillock on the banks of the river Ganga and attracts many devotees.²¹² The unique aspect of the temple is that the Ganga flows northwards (Uttarayan) from the temple and devotees lift the holy Ganga water in *'Kanwar'* after taking

²¹⁰ Government of Bihar. "Places of Interest." Khagaria District. Accessed September 15, 2021. https://khagaria.nic.in/places-of-interest/.

²¹¹ Government of Bihar, https://khagaria.nic.in/places-of-interest/.

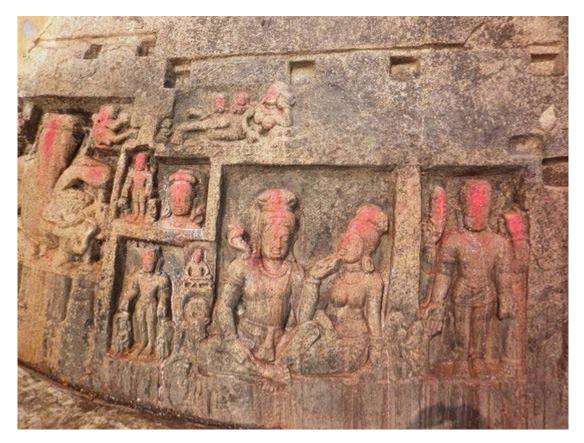
²¹² Government of Bihar, https://khagaria.nic.in/places-of-interest/.

ritualistic bath, to provide offering to Baba Baidyanath in Deoghar, hence covering a distance of around 105 Kms on foot.²¹³



Azgaibinath Temple at present.

(Source: https://hindusthanfamoustemples.blogspot.com/2016/06/ajgaibinath-temple-bhagalpurbiharindia_74.html)



Carvings on Stone, Azgaibinath Temple

²¹³ Vikaspedia, https://vikaspedia.in/aspirational-districts/bihar/khagaria/know-your-district/places-to-visit-in-khagaria-district.

COMMON THEMES



(Source: Vaishali Sabnani, Ribbons to Pastas. https://ribbonstopastas.com/bihari-thali-and-protein-rich-kadi-badi/)

Cuisine

The cuisine of Bihar is incredibly rich and full of native delicacies. The region of Khagaria and Katihar, too, lives up to the same expectations. In contemporary times, western influences and advent of fast-food has influenced a substantial portion of the food culture, nevertheless, the roots of traditional cuisine have still been sustained here. In fact, it is the traditional cuisine that most tourists prefer to have while visiting.

Khichdi, a blend of rice and lentils cooked with spices and served with various accompaniments, is one of the most common dishes prepared in every family. Khadi is another famous cuisine in this region, consisting of soft fried dumplings made of gram flour and served in a spicy yoghurt gravy. This meal is frequently served with simple rice, also known as *bhat* in many dialects in Bihar. Roti, dal, tarkari, and achar, which are made with rice, wheat flour, lentils, pickle, and vegetables, are the other major foods of Katihar. Mustard oil is considered as the typical cooking medium here.

One of the local favourites and popular among tourists is Jhal Moori, made of puffed rice and sev. Apart from the various delicious snacks and street food, the region is also famous for some mouth-watering sweet dishes. Some of the famous sweets include, but are not limited to the region- Kala Jamun, Motichoor ka Ladoo, Murki and Parwal ki Mithai. Another important characteristic of the cuisine is that the sweets found here are not overtly filled with sugar syrups, leaving a unique crispy and delicious taste to the food.²¹⁴



Jhal Muri in Bihar, India

²¹⁴Katihar Online. "Cuisines of Katihar." Katihar Online. Accessed September 15, 2021. https://www.katiharonline.in/city-guide/food-in-katihar.

(Source: Travelwhistle)



Parwal ki Mithai

(Source: Travelwhistle)

The cuisine of Khagaria is equally interesting, yet digital documentation of the cuisine in these regions is minimal. Fascinatingly, Khagaria's food culture has led the region to start construction for a 'food park', which is Bihar's first such mega food park.²¹⁵ Whether this is purely a bureaucratic industrial decision or whether it will actually work towards preserving the tradition recipes of Khagaria and other regions of Bihar remains to be seen. Few have opined that the food park could have adverse effects on the agriculture in the region.²¹⁶

The traditional cuisine of a region can, to some extent, be reconstructed by tracing the major raw materials found. Here, it becomes important to note that Khagaria and Katihar are the leading maize-growing districts with more than 45 thousand ha area in each district and producing more than 100 thousand tonnes of maize grain every year. In a study conducted to evaluate the food consumption patterns of children in Khagaria²¹⁷, it was observed that children were mainly given cereals/ millets, mostly wheat, in the form of a chapattis, maize roti, rice, khichadi etc. Intake of meat, egg, poultry and fish was not reported by any of the mothers. Perhaps, the reason for the same could be because of economic constraints, their poor availability in the region and religious taboos.

Coming back to the traditional recipes of the region, Bihari Litti Chokha is one of the most prominent and beloved dishes of the region. It is a complete meal which has litti, chokha,

²¹⁵ Shanker, Anuja. "3,000 To Get Work in Khagaria FOOD Park': Patna News - Times of India." The Times of India. TOI, December 1, 2018. https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/3000-to-get-work-in-khagaria-food-park/articleshow/66887236.cms.

²¹⁶ Madhav, Neel. "What a Food Park in BIHAR'S Khagaria Can Tell Us about the Future of Corporate Agriculture in India." The Caravan, April 27, 2021. https://caravanmagazine.in/agriculture/what-a-food-park-in-bihars-khagaria-can-tell-us-about-the-future-of-corporate-agriculture-in-india.

²¹⁷Mamta, Kumari, Asha Kumari, and Kumar Anant." *A study on food consumption pattern of pre-school children of Khagaria district of Bihar.*" Asian Journal of Home Science 5, no. 1 (2010): 114-117.

ghughni and sarson chutney. Litti is prepared using whole wheat flour with a stuffing of Sattu (roasted gram flour mix). In Khagaria, the Chokha can be made through roasted brinjal as well which provides a very distinctive flavour.²¹⁸ During festivals like Ganesh Chathurthi and Diwali, sweets like Badam ka Halwa are also found here.²¹⁹ Thekua or Khajuria is one of the most loved sweet snacks in Bihar, specially prepared as *prasad* during festive occasions like Chhath Puja. For its simplest version, a batter of flour, desi ghee sugar and nuts is prepared and then shaped into flat rounds that are deep fried till golden brown. It is crunchy and sweet – all in one.



Litti Chokha

(Source: Wikimedia Creative Commons)



²¹⁸ Guest Author. "Litti Chokha: BIHARI Litti Chokha." Zayka Ka Tadka, September 24, 2019. https://www.zaykakatadka.com/recipe/litti-chokha-bihari-litti-chokha/.

²¹⁹ Guest Author. "Badam Halwa: Badam Ka Halwa." Zayka Ka Tadka, September 11, 2019. https://www.zaykakatadka.com/recipe/badam-halwa-badam-ka-halwa/.

Thekua during Chatt Puja (2018)

(Source: NDTV)

In conclusion, Khagaria and Katihar's culinary traditions are quite distinct, yet the recipes here need to be preserved and archived in order to be retained. Indeed, the rich ancient culture in Bihar intermingling with the diverse traditions of local people has provided a fascinating culinary platter.

Languages and Linguistics

<u>Maithili</u>

History

Due to their close proximity, many dialects of Northern Bihar are popularly spoken in Khagaria and Katihar.²²⁰ While it appears that in the past, Maithili was written in Mithilaksar (also known has Tirhuta), a script similar to the Bangla writing system, Maithili is a New Indo-Aryan language currently written in the Devanagri script. Ramamwatar Yadav states that no definite time period can be determined for the shift.²²¹Kaithi script was also used. Its geo-linguistic distribution spreads till Nepal, where it is the second-most spoken language.²²²

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This table sets out the handwritten form of the vowels and consonants of the Kaithi script, as of the middle of the 19th century.

(Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: Kaithi handwritten.svg," Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kaithi_handwritten.svg)

²²⁰Roy, Pooja. "Maithili English: Some Characteristic Features."*International Journal of English Literature and Social Sciences*, 5(5) (2020): 1588-1591.

²²¹Yadav, Ramwatar. "Mathili Language and Linguistics: Some Background Notes." *Kailash* 8, no. 1-2 (1981): 71-87.

²²² Roy, 1589.

L AS PRINTED.

VOWELS.

फ्राa, ग्राā, द्वi, ईī, Gu, Gū, प्रe, प्रेai, फ्रोo, फ्रोau, ' 'ang, 8ah

CONSONANTS.

Th k	uq kh	স g	घ gh	T ng	₹h	
यch	T chh	ज j ′	Fjh	স i	रा प्र	V sh
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A printed form of the Kaithi script, as of the mid-19th century.

Scanned from E.B. Eastwick, A Concise Grammar of The Hindustani Language, 2nd edition, 1858

(Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: Kaithi printed.jpg," Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kaithi_printed.jpg)

Grammar and Literature

The name Maithili is derived from the kingdom of Mithila. Pooja Roy states that Maithili as a language was considered to be of the "common folks" while Sanskrit was used for official tasks.²²³Jyotirishwar Thakur's Varn Ratnakar is considered to be the oldest-known written literature in Maithili, dated about 1224 AD.²²⁴ Written in Mithilaksar, the text primarily deals with "lexicons of vernacular and Sanskrit terms," and is a "repository of literary similes and conventions."²²⁵ The periodisation of Maithili is divided as, Old Maithili (circa AD 1000 - AD 1300), Middle Maithili (circa AD1300 - AD 1800) and Modern Maithili (circa AD 1800 onwards).²²⁶

²²³ Roy, 1588.

²²⁴ Roy, 1588.

²²⁵Yadav, 75.

²²⁶Kumar, Vivek. "Sociolinguistic Study of Begusarai Maithili." *Language in India* 17, no. 8 (2017): 281-292.

The consonants of the Mithilakshar script and the corresponding Devanagari

(Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: The consonants of the Mithilakshar script and the corresponding Devnagari.jpg" Wikimedia Commons, *the free media repository*

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_consonants_of_the_Mithilakshar_script_and_the_corsponding_Devnagari.jpg)

Music

Kailash Mishra classifies Maithili music in the following seven sub-types:²²⁷

Songs representing the life-cycle events: Many songs depict life-cycle events like as birth, initiation ceremonies, marriage, and so on. On the sixth day after a baby's birth, women begin singing Sahara songs to please and honour Mother Goddess Sastika. Literary Sahara songs are sung with descriptions of Krishna and Rama's births. Upnayana (sacred-thread-ceremony), Mundana (tonsure ceremony), and marriage are all occasions where these songs are sung. The husband's anxiety to soothe his wife's labour pangs is depicted in certain Saharas. Cradle songs, often known as lullabies, are performed to make the kid happy. These songs are almost entirely made up of jingling rhymes. Many ladies sing lullabies in a falsetto voice that is both high and soft. When a lady is carrying a baby on her shoulder or back, she may sing the same song in a normal voice. Usually, the song starts with some meaningless syllables. Marriage is a significant social and religious event where many songs are sung. Wedding songs are frequently classified by women according to the names of rites or stages of rituals. The auspicious day of the wedding begins with Suhag songs and ends with Samdaun (vidai).²²⁸

Songs representing the annual calendar of events: Songs that belong within this category are split into two types: a) agricultural songs and b) festival songs. Agricultural songs are sung while sowing, ploughing, and winnowing, among other activities. This category also includes couplets and rural adages that foretell good and poor crops based on people's indigenous understanding of biodiversity. Ghagh and Daka are two well-known folk poets/scientists whose couplets and rhymes are frequently quoted by villagers. Farmers are given advice on crops and weather in these verses. The following is an example of such a situation:

Savan shukla saptami, tah-tah rain karant,

rum Jao pia malba main jaun gujrant.

The preceding verse foreshadows the impending famine. It reads, "If the sky is clear and easily visible on the night of the 7th day of Shukla paksha in the month of Savan, hunger is almost certain to strike. My beloved husband, now I may suggest you to go to Malva to earn our living, and I should go to Gujarat, says a wife to her husband ".

The festival season begins in the month of Chaitra. Several songs are sung during the Ramnavami, Batsavitri, Nagapanchami, Madhushrabani, Kojegra, Sama-chakeba, and Bhardutia festivals.²²⁹

²²⁷Mishra, Kailash. "Classification of Maithili Songs by Kailash Mishra." IGNCA. Accessed February 21, 2022. https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

²²⁸ Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

²²⁹Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

Seasonal songs: Songs about the entire year with specific months are particularly popular in a climate where the knowledge system, health, life, and everything, even comfort, is dependent on the regularity of the seasons. The primary themes include irritation or disappointment in love, frequently owing to the lover's/cruel husband's absence. Barahmasa, Chahomasa, and Chanmasa are some of the most popular songs in this category. Twelve, six, and four months of separation are depicted in these songs. Each month has its own charms and affects the feelings of the separated partner in a unique way. These songs are divided into six categories by Mishra: a) Religious, b) agricultural c) narrative, d) lamentation of deserted love e) womanhood and chastity f) new experiments.²³⁰

Wisdom songs: Every song reflects people's wisdom, but there are a few songs that show how individuals intentionally keep their knowledge system, as well as some dietary and social constraints that must be observed every month. Songs have been used to keep such prohibitions alive. In a Barahmasa, one such example is provided below:

Do not consume leafy vegetables in the month of *Savan* and curd in *Bhadab*.

Keep away from the dewdrops in Aswin and avoid eating buttermilk in Kartik

Avoid the use of cumin-seed in Agahan and Coriander in Pusa.

Avoid sugar candy in *Magh* and gram in *Phalgun*.

Do not consume raw-sugar in Chait and rub mustard oil in Baishakh.²³¹

Devotional songs: Devotional songs are then further categorised by Mishra as follows:

a) *Bhajan and Kirtan*– devotional songs sung in honour of Lord Vishnu, Ganga, Shiva, and Shakti.

c) *Prati (Morning Songs)* – Reverential morning songs sung in adoration of gods and goddesses. Bhairavi, Jajamanti, Vihaga, and other Prati variations are among the most popular.

c) *Gosaunik-git and Bhagabati-git* - sung in appreciation of the family deities in general.

d) *Songs of Shiva* - These are divided into two categories: i) Nachari, in which a devotee expresses her helplessness to the Lord via singing and dance, and ii) Mahasbani, in which the tale of Shiva and his family members is told.

e) *Mendicant songs* - These are songs sung by beggars or the helpless. The texts express the singer's disabling condition and distress.²³²

²³⁰Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

²³¹Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

²³²Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

Songs of love and beauty: Some songs convey a lover's or beloved's innermost feelings. The most common type of these songs is known as *lirahut*. These are sung both for religious and recreational purposes. These melodic, pleasant, and emotional songs explore many elements of love relationships. *Lirahuts* are songs about both separation and union. This category's songs include:

Batgamani: It primarily depicts the beloved in abhisara during the time when she is on her way to meet her lover. It is sung in an unusual melody.

Gwalari: These are the songs of the Gopis, cowherd ladies who portray Krishna's sports and youthful antics in their company.

Raasa: These are yet more songs about Krishna's sporting Lilas with the Gopis.

Maana: These songs are a type of theatrical lyric that depict Strimaana's annoyance and request to make amends with the Purushmaana. Caravan songs, folk-dramatic songs, and so forth are also included in this genre.²³³

Songs of glory: These songs extol the magnificence, history, and beauty of the land and its inhabitants, among other things. Through theatre and storytelling, the heroic actions of historical and mythological heroes are sung and played on the stage or in the streets. These Katha-gatha lyrics provide a thorough account of the events.

These classifications and descriptions reveal Maithili folksongs' enormous importance in understanding society's structure and function. These folk tunes are emblematic of humanity's boundless ingenuity. Through these songs, the society keeps its entire system of knowledge. ²³⁴

<u>Angika</u>

History

Also known as Chhika-chikki, Angika is considered as a variant of Maithili,²³⁵ as well as standing independent of Maithili.²³⁶ According to Tej Narayana Kushwaha, the area of Ang in mythology represents the region where the Hindu god, Madan, left a part of his body (his *ang*) while running from fearing the Hindu god, Shiv.²³⁷ Historically, the area of Anga is said to comprise of "Modern Bhagalpur, Munger, Santhal Pargana, Purnia and Koshi Parmandal."²³⁸Angika speakers are spread across modern-day Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal

²³⁷ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6797.

²³³Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

²³⁴Mishra, https://ignca.gov.in/classification-of-maithili-songs-by-kailash-mishra/.

²³⁵ Kumar, 287.

²³⁶Kumari, Khushbu, and Ramanjaney Kumar Upadhyay. "Socio-Cultural Aspect of Angika." *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17, no. 6 (2020): 6797-6804.

²³⁸ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6797.

and the Tarai region of Nepal²³⁹. Since the area is divided by the river Ganga, Angika speakers differentiate between users living "*is paar*" (lit. this side) or "*us paar*" (lit. that side) of the river.²⁴⁰Khushbu Kumari and Ramanjaney Kumar Upadhyay note that there is much phonetic variation among "*is paar*" and "*us paar*" Angika, which is possibly due to proximity with varying languages and dialects than the other.²⁴¹



Anga Lipi on Mandar Parbat, Bihar

(Source: Wikimedia Commonscontributors, "File: AngLipi-Mandar-Parbat-bihar.jpg,"Wikimedia Commons, *the free media repository*

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:AngLipi-Mandar-Parbat-bihar.jpg)

Evidence of Angika as a spoken and written language is first seen in the 800 AD poems of the Buddhist Mahasiddha, Saraha²⁴². Kumari and Upadhyay display that the Anga script, a historical writing system of the Anga area, was probably the predecessor to Mithilakshar, Wang and Asamiaa scripts.²⁴³ The script is also mentioned in the 6-7th century BC Buddhist text, *Lalitvistaar*, as one of the 64 languages known by the Buddha.²⁴⁴ This, while maybe not literally true, showcases the existence of Angika as a popular spoken language in Indian ancient period.

²⁴³ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6798.

²³⁹ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6797.

²⁴⁰ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6798.

²⁴¹Kumari and Upadhyay, 6798.

²⁴²Raaj, Shilpy. "Researching in Multilingual Settings: The Dilemma of the Mother Tongue." In *Dynamic Learning Spaces in Education*, pp. 265-281. Springer, Singapore, 2018.

²⁴⁴ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6798.

Grammar

Kumari and Upadhyay state that the Angika language has "bifurcate collateral kinship terminology system."²⁴⁵ This refers to usage of separate terminology and honourifics for kin relationships such as the mother, the father, mother's sister and brother and father's sister and brother.²⁴⁶ They note that since the Angikan society is patriarchal and patrilocal, the understanding of the societal system is critical to understanding the address formation in Angika. They observe that "address terms in Angika include proper names, titles, caste names, occupational titles, kinship terms, pronominals, some honorific terms and calls."²⁴⁷

<u>Surjapuri</u>

Surjapuri is an Indo-Aryan mother tongue often grouped along with Maithili, Bhojpuri Assamese, and Bengali.²⁴⁸ It is spoken primarily in Katihar, Purnea, Kishanganj, and the Mithila area of Bihar. The total number of native speakers of Surjapuri in Katihar in 2011 according to the Census of India was 7,94,052 and in Khagaria was 237.²⁴⁹ The speakers of Surjapuri are often well versed in Hindustani, Hindi, and Urdu. They hold common historical ancestry with the Rajbanshi and Kamta languages. G. A. Grierson noted that "the dialect in question is, in the main, Bengali with an admixture of Hindi, but it is written in the Kaithi character of Bihar, in which Hindi and not Bengali is written."²⁵⁰ However, S.P. Srivastava and P. Perumalsamy note that Kaithi is not utilised anymore but has instead been replaced by Devanagiri.²⁵¹

It has been noted that there have been questions around its status as a dialect. The debate questions whether it is a dialect of Hindi or Bengali due to its similarities with both languages, however, Mathew Toulmin states that this debate is rather due to the question of social/political identity rather than linguistic identity of the Surjapuri people and culture.²⁵²

²⁴⁵ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6799.

²⁴⁶ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6799.

²⁴⁷ Kumari and Upadhyay, 6800.

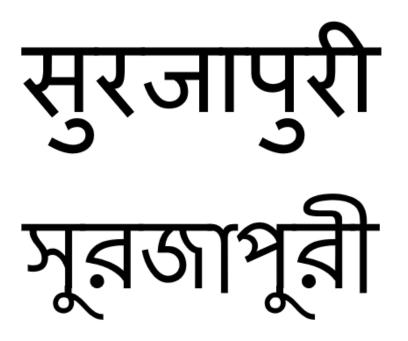
²⁴⁸Srivastava, S.P. and Perumalsamy, P (2021). *Linguistic Description of Surjapuri Mother Tongue Spoken in Bihar*, New Delhi: Office of the Registrar General.

²⁴⁹ Srivastav and Perumalsamy. 578.

²⁵⁰ Quoted in Srivastav and Perumalsamy, 576.

²⁵¹Srivastav and Perumalsamy, 576.

²⁵²Toulmin, Matthew. From linguistic to sociolinguistic reconstruction: the Kamta historical subgroup of Indo-Aryan. Pacific Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, the Australian National University, 2009.



Surjapuri as written in Devanagri and Bangla scripts.

(Source: Wikimedia Commons contributors, "File: Surjapuri.png," https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Surjapuri.png)

History

Combined with Kamta, Rajbanshi, Deshi and Surjapuri, this lects family is known as KRNB (Kamta, Rajbanshi and North Bangla). These are considered as phylogenetic descendants of the proto-Kamata language.²⁵³The proto-Kamata belonged to the Kamata Kingdom. The language began variation after 1250 around Kamatapur, the capital city of the kingdom, as the western branch of the proto-Kamarupa, whereas the eastern branch developed into proto-Assamese.²⁵⁴ Since the 16th century the proto-Kamta community has fragmented giving rise to the differentiated modern lects.²⁵⁵

Socio-linguistic Setting

The language is spoken throughout the Purnea region irrespective of religion. The speakers are primarily from rural areas and engage in the agricultural sector. There is limited media available in the language like some announcements made by All India Radio like folk songs etc.²⁵⁶

Our respondent, Prof. Nityanand Maurya informed us of the *desiya* community in Katihar, who are the primary speakers of Surjapuri.²⁵⁷ They are engaged in agriculture and their diet

²⁵³ Toulmin, 13.

²⁵⁴ Toulmin, 247.

²⁵⁵Toulmin, 247.

²⁵⁶Srivastav and Perumalsamy, 576.

²⁵⁷Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022

has been influenced due to the existence of Ganga.²⁵⁸ They therefore eat fish as well as other river-food. They are known to be expert craftsmen of jute and create *chatti*, a type of mat for laying down on the floor.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022

²⁵⁹Nityanand Maurya, telephonic conversation with author, February 4, 2022

Calendar of Events

The calendar of events formally followed by Khagaria and Katihar is posted by the Government of Bihar every year to be uniformly followed across the state. The following was officially posted for 2022.

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(Source: Awareness Box. http://www.awarenessbox.in/2019/12/bihar-govt-holiday-2020.html)

<u>NOTE</u>: Exact dates may vary according to the Hindu Lunar Calendar/Panchang. Information from old gazetteers and panchang calendar available online.

MONTH	EVENT AND DATE	DESCRIPTION
January	Republic Day 26 th January, 2022	Republic Day is a public holiday celebrated every year on the anniversary of the date on which the Indian Constitution came into effect. It marks the status of India being a Republican democracy.
March	Holi Also known as Phagu Poornima or Phagwa 18 th to 19 th March, 2022	The name Phagu Poorninma derives from the sacred red colour Phagu, and the full moon. Bonfires are lit on the eve of Phagu Poornima to signify the legend of Holika Dahan. In certain places of Bihar, it is also known as Phagwa as it is celebrated in the latter parts of the Phalgun month and the early part of the Chaitra month of the Hindu Calendar
March	Bihar Divas 22 nd March, 2022	Bihar Divas is celebrated to mark the anniversary of the formation of the state of Bihar separate from Bengal by the British in 1912. It marks the culmination of a fervent political struggle and is critical for identity formation of Bihar.
April	Ram Navmi 10 th April, 2022	Ram Navmi is a Hindu festival celebrated in the spring to mark the birth of the Hindu god, Ram, the central figure of Ramayana. The day takes place on the ninth and last day of Chaitra Navratri (Vasanth). Devotional folk songs and household worship are common. The celebrations also include <i>rath-yatras</i> , or chariot processions featuring <i>jhankiyan</i> , or specialised idols for the procession.
April	Bhimrao Ambedkar Jayanti 14 th April, 2022	The day marks the anniversary of the birth of the visionary Indian activist, lawyer and the Father of the Constitution of India, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar. Addressed with the honourific, Babasaheb, he aided the anti-caste and women's movement of early India.
April	Good Friday 15 th April, 2022	Good Friday is a Christian holiday which commemorates the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. It is variously known as Holy Friday and Black Friday as well.
May	May Day 1 st May, 2022	May Day refers to the International Worker's Day, also known as Labour Day. It marks a celebration of worker rights, labourers and workers. It is a public holiday observed in Bihar at the discretion of the State Government. It is also known as Shram Divas (Work Day) in Bihar.
Мау	Eid-ul-Fitar 3 rd May, 2022	Eid-ul-Fitar is a holiday celebrated in Islam to mark the end of fasting in the holy month of Ramzan. It is also called as Meethi Eid (Sweet Eid). In Bihar, specific delicacies such as Bihari mutton biryani, sheermal, Bihari kebabs, mutton taash

July	Bakrid 10 th July, 2022	 etc are eaten. For deserts, sevaiyyan is eaten pan India. Celebrations include a special Eid <i>salat</i>, which consists of two <i>rakats</i> and is usually held at 7:45 am to 9 am. Younger children are given Eidi, a special gift reserved for Meethi Eid. Also known as Eid-al-Adha, or Badhi Eid (Grand Eid), the Muslim festival honours the sacrifice of Ibrahim's son, Ismail, in obedience of Allah. Badhi Eid falls on the 10th day of Dhu al-Hijjah, the 12th and last month of the Islamic calendar.
		The rituals include re-enacting the sacrifice and obedience by the sacrifice of a ram, in India. Giving charity, such as donation of food, clothing or money, is a critical part of the celebration.
August	Muharram 9 th August, 2022	The mourning of Muharram is a set of commemoration rituals observed primarily by Shia and Sufi Muslims. The solemn day is marked by grieving the martyrdom of Hussain Ibn Ali. The grieving process includes wearing black, mourning processions, storytelling, etc.
August	Independence Day 15 th August, 2022	Independence Day is a public holiday observed nationwide in India to mark the anniversary of freedom from the British crown on 15 th August 1947. The celebrations include parades, flag hoisting as well as specialised assemblies in schools. The day is critical for India as it is a signifier of many lives lost and two hundred years of domination.
August	Janmashtami 18 th August, 2022	Janmashtami is an annual Hindu festival celebrating the birth anniversary of the Hindu God, Krishna. It is observed on the eighth tithi (Ashtami, or day of the new moon) of the Krishna Paksha (dark fortnight) in Bhadrapada Masa. Celebrations include immersion of an earthen Krishna idol. Such immersion is an important part of celebrations in context of the Gandaka river. Household rituals include special worship as well as re-enactment of the birth of Krishna through various means such as from a cucumber, signifying the womb of his foster-mother, Yashoda. Special Bihari sweets eaten include, singhare ka halwa made out of water chestnut flour, panjiri, panchamrit, til gur ke laddoo (sesame- jaggery laddoo), and makhan misri.
October	Gandhi Jayanti 2 nd October, 2022	Gandhi Jayanti marks the birth anniversary of the Father of the Nation, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He was a freedom fighter and lawyer critical to the Indian movement for independence from the British.
October	Durga Puja	Durga Puja is a 10-day long Hindu festival celebrated in honour of the Hindu Goddess Durga. The even celebrates the goddess's victory over Mahishasura. Other deities such as

	3 rd to 5 th October. 2022 (official holiday) 25 th September to 5 th September (full-length of celebration)	goddess Lakshmi, God Ganesha, God Kartikeya and goddess Saraswati are also often included in the celebrations. The festival is celebrated in the Hindu month of Ashwin. While all days are considered holy, primary celebrations begin from the sixth day (shashthi) and go on till Vijay Dashami (the victorious tenth day). Specialised temporary <i>pandals</i> are constructed all over Bihar with earthen idols of the gods and goddesses. On the tenth day, the idols are immersed in the river, in Khagaria and Katihar, that being the tributaries of Ganga.
October	Chhath Puja 30 th to 31 st October, 2022	Chhath is a Hindu festival dedicated to the celebration of sun god Surya. Prayers are done in gratitude to the life provided by the son. His sister, the goddess, Chhathi Maiyya (Chhathi Mother) is worshiped alongside him as the goddess of the festival. It is conducted on the sixth day of the lunar month Karthika of the Hindu calendar, six days after Diwali. The rituals are observed for four more days. Celebrations of Chhath Puja are especially popular in Bihar, Jharkhand and southern parts of Nepal, coinciding with the New Eastern Indo-Aryan languages. Rituals include holy bathing, usually in tributaries of Ganga, fasting, offering prayer and special holy food (prasad) and <i>arghya</i> to the sunset and sunrise.
December	Christmas Day 25 th December, 2022	Christmas is an annual Christian festival to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ. Christianity is practiced by 0.12% of Bihar's population.

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Research Team:

Report by:



Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage Intangible Cultural Heritage Division

Research, Coordination and Editing:

Nerupama Y. Modwel, Principal Director, ICH Division

Core Research and Documentation Team:

Urvashi Dinkar, Research Assistant, ICH Division Srishti Snehal, Research Intern, ICH Division

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