CHAPTER - 2

BODO FROM EARLIEST TO MODERN—A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

India is a land of diverse races, cultures, civilizations, religions, ethnic groups and societies. Streams of human races and groups of Austro-Asiatic, Nitrites, Dravidians, Alpines, Indo-Mongoloids, Tibeto-Burman and Aryans penetrated into India through different routes and migrated and settled in different parts of India making their history, culture and civilization and contributed to the structuring of the great Indian culture, history and civilization. The Tibeto-Burman people are predominant in the whole North-Eastern Region. The Bodos are one of the sections of the Tibeto-Burman family. The term ‘Bodo’ was for the first time used by B.H. Hodgson as an ethnological term, it refer to the Mech, the Bodo speaking people of Darjeeling district in 1846 while writing about them⁴ Since then the word ‘Bodo’ has been used as a generic term to denote the different branches of the Bodo language group. G.A. Grierson says, “The generic term ‘Bodo’ was first applied to these languages.”² But the Bodo speaking people called themselves as the Boro.

The Boro, Bodo, Boro-Kacharis and Mech by whatever names one may choose to call them are the same people and form a sub-section of the Bodo-Naga section under the Assam Burma group of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan speech family³. Today, the Bodos constitute one of the important indigenous tribes of the North East India. In the Brahmaputra valley the people call themselves as Bodo or Boro, in Goalpara district of Assam and Jalpaiguri district of North Bengal they are called ‘Mech’ by their neighbours, and to the Upper Assam and Barak valley they are called as ‘Kachari’⁴. By whatever name they may be called by their neighbours and wherever they may live, they are the same group of people and
speak the same dialects with few local peculiarities. Whatever may be the case the fact is that the Great Bodo once wielded great power and influence in the entire North East India. Suniti Kumar Chatterji writes, “The whole Assam and North and East of Bengal were the country of the Great Bodo people”\(^5\). But at the present they are scattered all over Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura Nepal, Bangladesh etc. However the majority of them are found at present in the *Bodoland Territorial Council* which was created in the year 1993.

There are some scholars who have connected the origin of the name of Bodo with that of Lord Buddha. Buddhist religion spread into different parts of the world, namely China, Tibet, Nepal, Korea, Japan, Bhutan, Srilanka, Mongolia etc.\(^6\) According to Austin Waddell, the spread of Buddhism in Tibet was taking place about 640 A.D.\(^7\) It suggested that many inhabitants accepted Buddhism and the Bodos are no exception and having accepted the Buddhism assumed the name Budofisa or Bodosa, which was in course of time corrupted into Bodosa or Bodos\(^8\). But the traditional religion of the Bodo in Assam is Bathouism and not Buddhism. The supreme God of the Bodo worship is Bathou-Bwrai identified with Hindu God Shiva, represented by *Sijou* (*Euphorbia splendours*) installed at the courtyard of the homestead of each worshipper\(^9\). This suggests that the Bodo came to Assam with their traditional religion. Whatever may be the truth, it was Bryan Hodgson who first gave this generic name to a group of Tibetan-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese speech group in which Grierson includes the Kacharis (Boros and Dimasas), Koches, Garos, Rabhas, Chutiyas, Lalung and other allied tribes of North East India\(^10\).

As regards the origin of the term Bodo, there are number of opinion. According to R.M. Nath the group of immigrants who followed the Austrics to North
East India were from the north of the Himalayas and North West China. This country was known as *Bod*, meaning land of snow and a section of its inhabitants were known as the *Bodosa*, meaning Children of *Bod* country. These Bodosa were subsequently known simply as Bodos\textsuperscript{11}. According to Grierson the Tibetans in early days called their country Bodyut, their language Bodskat and a Tibetan person a Bodpa\textsuperscript{12}. John Bowl refers to a Tibetan plateau with its inhabitants called *Bod*\textsuperscript{13}.

As we have referred to the Bodos as having derived their name from *Bod* which was their original homeland. Now the question arises as to how the name Boro or Bodo originated. According to R.M. Nath, some section of the Bodo tribes derived their tribal name from that of particular parts of the *Bod* country when they migrated at a later date. For instance, he refers to the Koches and the Meches having derived their tribal names from those of Kucha and Mecha areas within the *Bod* country and retained these names as their tribal names after they had migrated to Assam\textsuperscript{14}. If this theory is to be true, then it appears that this particulars section of the population of *Bod* country preferred to retain their national name Bodo as their tribal name after they had migrated to Assam, and the name Bodo was perhaps spelt as Boro. According to Grierson, the sound of Bodo can better be represented by spelling it as Bada or Bara pronounced as Boro\textsuperscript{15}. Again we have references to the term Bara fisa must have been subsequently termed pronounced as Boro.

As noted earlier, the reference to the Himalayas in the above indicates that the Pre-Assam habitat of these people was somewhere in or near the Himalaya region. This is not impossible. We have also noted earlier that the Bodos are of Tibetans origin. Besides, the opinions of a good number of authorities on the subject further strengthen the historical value of the saying. Rev. Endle writes that the Mongoloid features and the appearance of the people seem to suggest Tibet and
China, the two Trans-Himalayan countries to be the original home land of the race. The fact that the Bodos are ethnically Mongoloid and linguistically belong to the Sino-Tibetan speech family needs no further reference. S.K. Chatterjee locates the original home of the Sino-Tibetan speakers to the North West China, the head waters of Ho-Angho and Yang-Tsekiang rivers and observed that the Mongoloid tribes of the Sino-Chinese speech family appeared to have been pushing south and west from their original homeland from pre-historic times. The Imperial Gazetteers of India states that the upper courses of the Yang Tsekiang and the Ho-Angho rivers in the North West China were the original home of the Tibeto-Burman races. Depending on the above views corroborated by the folk traditions as stated the original home of the Bodo was in the Bod country, now known as Tibet where they acquired their national name ‘Bodo’.

The reference to ‘Korosa Aris’ in the saying suggest that in a very dim past, the Boro called themselves as Koros. Aris means ‘the first born people of the earliest settlers’ of the region. In the Boro languages, ‘Koro’ means ‘head’ ‘Sa’ means ‘child’ and Aris is the clan or suffix. The compound word of Korosari therefore means ‘the first born or the people’. The term Koros is usually used to the first born child. They claim themselves to be the ‘first born people’ or the ‘earliest settlers’ of the region. This demand is not absurd in view of the opinions expressed by Rev. Endle, J.D Anderson, Edward Gait, and K.L. Boruah etc. Rev. Endle holds that the Boros are the autochthones of Assam. J.D. Anderson in his introduction to the above writer’s monograph, ‘The Kacharis’ asserted that the ‘Kacharis’ were the aborigines of the Aryans of the Brahmaputra valley. Edward Gait is of the opinion that the ‘Kacharis’ may perhaps be regarded as the earliest known inhabitants of the Brahmaputra Valley. Rai Bahadur, K.L. Boruah writes that the Bodo tribes occupied the plains of
Assam for a very long time and constituted the bulk of the population in the Assam valley during the time of the Mahabharata war or even earlier. This proved that the Boros, a constituent tribe of the Bodo race inhabited the Brahmaputra valley from time immemorial, which has qualified them to be called the 'first born people' of the region.

In the earlier pages we have mentioned that the Boros are called by their neighbours such as 'Mech' and 'Kachairis' in different places and in different times. As regards the origin of the name 'Mech' Charu Chandra Sanyal writes that a section of the Boros in course of their movement in Assam, moved towards the west along the foot hills of the Himalayas up to the river Mech between India and Nepal, settled down along the bank of the river and were called 'Mech' after the name of the river.

As regards the origin of the name Kachari, there appears to be a consensus of opinions that the name Kacharis is derived from Kachar. However the identification of this Kachar differs. Edward Gait traces a Limbu legend from Risley's 'tribes and castes of Bengal' which relates the origin of the name 'Kachari'. According to the legend, the 'Kacharis were originally known as the 'Meches' and in course of their migration, they inhabited the 'Kachar country', the name given by Nepalese to the tract between the Brahmaputra and the Koshi rivers and these people were later on called 'Kacharis'. This theory get full support of C.C. Sanyal who states that a section of the Boros under the name 'Meches' as we would see later in the succeeding pages, moved towards Nepal and settled down in the 'Kachar country' at the foot hills of Nepal and subsequently came to be known as the 'Kacharis' very definitely after the name of the country. S.K. Chatterji holds that the Boros were given the name 'Kachari' after the name of the present Cachar district of Assam after they moved to that place. This is quite improbable in view of the fact
that they were known by this name long before they came to settle there. Gait asserts that the district of Cachar might have got its name after the name of its principal tribes i.e. the ‘Kacharis’ and it is very certain that the ‘Kacharis’ did not get their name from Cachar. They are known by this name in many parts of the region far removed from Cachar and were so called long before a section of the tribes took possession of that district. R.M. Nath writes that the ‘Kacharis’ king placed the administration of the newly acquired territory under a Deputy and the area was named ‘Kachar Zilla’ meaning district of Cachar. Thus it is cleared that the district of Cachar derived its name from the name of the ruling tribe the Kachari’ and not that the ‘Kachari’ derived their name from that of the district of Cachar.

When the Mongoloid Bodos reached the Brahmaputra valley and settled there perhaps the only one other people they found as their neighbour were the Mon Khmer Austric tribes, now known as the Khasi and Jaintia, occupying the low hills and dales of the present Meghalaya. It does not appear that there was much contact or interaction between the two groups as no mutual exchange of words and speeches, customs and habit, tradition and folk-lore can readily be identified. Whatever may be the case the Bodos were certainly the earliest settlers in the Brahmaputra valley and they must have predated the Alpine, Aryan and Dravidian settlers as well as other Mongolian tribes that followed them into Assam. The rich alluvial soil fed by regular and abundant rainfall and irrigated and fertilised by the seasonal floods were tilled by the Bodos producing adequate food crops for an easy livelihood. To this day mono-cropping is the standard practice with the Boro farmers all over Assam.

But such rich abundant fertile land could not have had remained unexplored by other nomadic tribes for long. So new Mongoloid immigrants of some other ethnic
origin followed the Boros from the north and the east and they occupied the lower ranges and the adjacent foot-hills surrounding the Brahmaputra valley plains. The Aryan adventurers coming from the western side of India were gradually advancing towards this valley through the plains of northern Bihar and northern Bengal. The Boros people were originally war like and ferocious in nature as the Kham Tibetans. But long and easy life in the humid climate of the Brahmaputra valley must have had some softening effect on them. So pressure from other new immigrants and their growing numbers forced some of them to move further south. Gradually they moved on and settled in the Garo Hills, North Cachar Hills and plain, Tripura Hills and plain and finally spreading over the adjoining foot hills regions of present Bangladesh. In course of time these various scattered groups acquired variations in their language, custom, culture and even some physical features through inter marriage and close association with other local inhabitants. Therefore, they acquired separate tribe names for these separated groups often associated with their new locals or other such significant aspects of life. That is how now we find Lalung, Rabha, Mishing, Koches, and Sonowal etc. in the Brahmaputra valley. Dimasa in North Cachar Hills, Burman in Tripura, Garos in Meghalaya, Hajongs in adjoining foot-hills of Bangladesh as well as Meches in lower Assam, North Bengal and South Eastern Nepal.27 Besides, the most prominent and original group now known as Boro or Boro-Kacharis, presently inhabiting almost all along the northern part of Brahmaputra valley of Assam.

As per the migration of the Bodo are concerned there are number of opinions among the scholars. As the Bodos racially belonged to the Mongoloid, they surely and certainly migrated from the Central Asia, the mainland of the Mongoloid people. Most of them agreed that the people of Bodo origin migrated into India about 5000
B.C. and the Bodo or the Kiratas are the latest migrants before the Aryans. According to Dr. N.N. Acharyya, "Kachairs are the earliest known indigenous habitants of Assam. They are known under different names in different places and ages throughout the North Eastern part of Indian sub-continent. In Goalpara and North Bengal they are called Mech, in the North Cachar Hills as 'Dimasa' and in Brahamputra valley the Kacharis are known as 'Bodo' or 'Bodo-fisa'. The idea of Dr. Acharyya is based on the contemporary ethno-demographic structure and distributions of the Bodo people lying in north Bengal and Assam, which is very partial. His information about the present distribution of the Bodo population is incomplete and did not cover the areas like-Nepal, Tripura, Meghalaya, Bangladesh. He is far distant from the pre and archaeological part of the Bodo History. It may be because of his preoccupation in approach and attitude towards the construction of Indian History in general due to which history of Bodo and other aborigines failed to gain actual place in the history of India. Many of the historians failed to show balance in attitude, interest and approach in the study of Bodo History.

Realistic approach in the study of the Bodo History, culture and society was started only with the English writers. The Bodo living in different parts of India have been identified by different names. In addition to the Kacharis proper, S. Endle has classified the following tribes of Boro, Rabha, Mech, Dhimal, Saranias, Dimasas, Garos, Lalung, Mahaliyas, Hajongs, Hojais, Phulgurias etc. within the fold of great Bodo race. To Endle may be one or more communities e.g. the Moran, the Chutias of upper Assam, whose language not altogether extinct as yet though apparently dying out rapidly, would seems to prove them to be closely akin to Kacharis (Bodo) race. The Bodo or Meches of Bengal called themselves' as 'Bwrdhwnary' or 'Bardhanari'. The term Bardhanari is suggestive to that section of the Bodo people
who might have been the subjects of Harsha Vardhana, the great King of Northern India who was contemporary to Kumar Bhaskar Varman, the king of Asura dynasty of ancient Kamrupa. The term *Bardhan or Bwrdwn* may have close connection with the ‘Bardhan Confederation’, Bardwan, Bardhaman, Boudha, Bodo etc.

The question of the routes of migration of the people to Assam is also a confusion and controversial among the scholars. Different scholars have suggested different routes but there is no consensus among them. Here an attempt has been made to prove a hypothesis. It is now an established fact that the north eastern tribes including the Boros were the immigrants from the north. If this is the case they must have filtered into Assam through the various mountain passes and river courses from the north and any attempt to prove their migration to Assam from other imaginary directions like Bihar, Gangetic plain, Bay of Bengal etc. would therefore, be an attempt to falsify the historical fact. Prof. Ram Rahul in his book ‘Himalayan Borderland’ refers to three prominent trade routes connecting Tibet with Assam and Bengal through Bhutan. These routes are: the Manas river valley, the Kariapara Duars and the Paro Valley. Formerly, there was flourishing trade between India and Tibet with the Bhutanese as carrying agents. From Bengal and Assam, the Bhutanese used to collect dyes endi or eri cloth and cocoons, nuts, tea, tobacco etc. and exchange them with the Tibetan for wool, salt, musk etc. \(^{30}\) S.K. Chatterji writes that a meagre stream of trade from China used to filter into Assam through Kirata country comprising Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan, Manipur and adjacent areas. He quotes Changkien, the Chinese general and explorer of Central Asia in the second century B.C. as having referred to such trade routes connecting North East India and Western China. \(^{31}\) Again another route connecting Tibet and Assam runs through Bhairab Kundha on the north of Udalguri district of Assam and Tawang in Arunachal
Most of the big rivers flowing towards the south and through India and Burma such as Brahmaputra, the Chindwin, Mekong, Menam, Subansiri, Dharla, Teesta, Sonkosh etc, rise in the Tibetan highlands and adjacent mountains region and the courses of these rivers very obviously facilitated flourishing trades between India and other countries on the north. During the Chinese aggression of India in 1962, the Chinese forces penetrated into East while NEPA (Arunachal Pradesh) through the mountain passes across the Himalaya. Thus, it is seen that North east India is open to Burma, Tibet and China and therefore must have been subjected to ceaseless flow of immigrations from the north and north east from time immemorial.

So, the question arises as to which particular route was followed by the Boro immigrants while entering Assam. In this regard, the north and north eastern directions seems to be a consensus of opinion among the scholars. A Boro tradition refers to the Choraikaling pass north of Lakimpur district of Assam through which the Boro immigrations took place.\(^{32}\) Edward Gait and P.C. Chaudhury suggest that the Bodo tribes entered Assam from the north eastern direction.\(^{33}\) Imperial Gazetteers of India states that the north eastern route was followed by the Mikir, Lalungs and the Boro(Kachari).\(^{34}\) Grierson holds that the Tibeto-Burman races entered Assam through the courses of the Brahmaputra, Chindwin, Mekong etc. and the mountain passes of India and Burma through the north-east and south east.\(^{35}\) Rev. Endle refers to two great immigrations at different times one entering from the North-East Bengal and Western Assam through the valley of Teesta, Dharla, Sonkosh etc. and other making its way through the Subansiri, Dibang, and Dihang Valley into Eastern Assam.\(^{36}\) However it is to be noted that the flow of immigrations to North East India was a continuous process spreading over a long period of time from pro-historic
times. Therefore to suggest a particular route for all immigrations would certainly be far from the truth.

To locate early settlement of the people under our review in Assam, no concrete evidences are available but there are suggestive evidences that provide us with ample scope to establish the fact that the Boros occupied the plains of Assam predominantly till they were overwhelmed by the later arrivals. It appears that the Boro immigrants before penetrating into the heart of Assam and adjoining areas in gradual process must have settled down along the foot hills of the Himalaya. This contention holds well in view of the opinions expressed by a good numbers of scholars who refer to a group of Mongoloid people under the name Kirata. The name Kirata was given to the people dwelling along the foot hills of the Himalayas after they had come from their original habitats in the Himalayan region. S.K. Chatterji introduces Kirata as the frontier dwellers of the Himalayas and the north eastern Himalayan tracts which included Sikkim, Bhutan, Manipur and other adjacent tracts which were exactly the lands of Mongoloid settlement in India. The Boros and other tribes are the descendents of the Kiratas country referred to above as the land of their early settlement. Grierson holds that a section of the Tibeto-Burman occupied the hills on the southern side of the Himalayan range right along from Assam in the east to the Punjab in the west. Linguistically also it is proved that these Tibeto-Burman predominantly include the Boro. Padmeswar Gogoi contents that the ‘Kocharis’ dominated Eastern Assam at the time when the Ahom entered the land. N.N. Vasu is of opinion that the ‘Kacharis’ spread and settled down over the whole eastern frontiers of India and called them Lohitic. The Lohit region comprises the Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh and the contiguous areas of Tibet and Burma. S.K. Chatterji holds that originally the areas covered by the Lohit River
in the present Arunachal Pradesh appeared to have been inhabited by the Bodo speaking people.⁴³ R.M. Nath refers to the inhabitation and control of the foot hills of the Himalayas by the ‘Kacharis’ and it was in these foot hills that innumerable chieftains grew up and gradually pushed towards the south where they established petty kingdoms.⁴⁴ Depending on the above view, one hardly finds any room for doubts that the Bodo at the initial stage of their travels and adventures in quest of lands settled along the foot hills to the south of Himalayas which provided them a good base for further penetrations into and settlements in the interior parts of Assam and beyond in different batches at different times in different directions.

Regarding the movements of the Bodos in Assam and adjoining areas of North Bengal, Charu Chandra Sanyal writes that a section of the Boro immigrants moved towards the west along the foot hills of the Himalayas up to the river Mechi between India and Nepal. The Mechi River has its origin in Nepal and flows into India through North Bengal. These section of the Bodo immigrants settled down along the bank of the river Mechi and hence were called ‘Meches’ by the neighbours clearly after the name of the river. They cultivated paddy in the interspaces of the dense terrain forests. This part of the land was very fertile and the yield of the crop was high. The Nepalese on the hills were probably attracted by the high yield of the crops and descended there to grab the land of the ‘Meches’. The displaced Bodo settlers then crossed the Mechi River and many of them descended and moved southwards and settled in the forest to the north of Noxalbari in the district of Darjeeling. Some of them crossed Balasan and Mahananda areas, whence they shifted to Baikunta forest in the district of Jalpaiguri. As tea garden grew up to the river Sonkosh, a natural boundary between Assam and west Bengal, while some of them inhabited Rangpur, Dinaspir and their adjoining areas. A great number of them again crossed
the Sonkosh River and penetrated into Assam.  This is proved by old census reports and Gazetteer of the provinces of Assam and west Bengal as well as the presence of a large number of Boro villages on both sides of the Sonkosh River.

According to Grierson the Bodos after entering into plains of Assam proceeded along the course of the Brahmaputra River up to the great bend near Dhubri town. From there some of them went south and occupied modern Garo Hills. South of Garo Hills, they spread in northern Mymensing at present in Bangladesh. R.M. Nath mentions that the Boro settlement in Assam extended as far as Nowgaon district where they built a city Brahmapur on the bank of the Kullong River and then gradually pushed towards the slopes of Mikir Hills where they again established cities at Sonapur and Urdsaganga. This is evidenced by the fact that Urdsaganga is called ‘Paro-Khowa’ meaning the lands inhabitants of the Boros. From there, their area of occupation and settlement extended to Cachar district, particularly in the North Cachar Hills and then spread into Sylhet. From Cachar and Sylhet, they moved further to the south Tripura state where there are still a large number of Boro speaking people live and they are, today known to be a distinct tribes by the name ‘Barok’ or ‘Borok’, a name clearly a corruption of ‘Brog’ or ‘Boro’. At present these ‘Borok’ form a solid bloc in the state of Tripura. Grierson again points out that the ‘Kacharis’ could not occupy the mountainous tract between North Kachar and Garo Hills which constitute Khasi and Jointia Hills forming a part of the present state of Meghalaya. Then a large number of them pushed towards the foot of the Naga Hills where they established their first powerful kingdom with Dimapur as capital on the bank of the Dhansiri River. The establishment of the flourishing kingdom there furnishes positive evidence that at one time the Boro settlements spread in the Naga Hills with heavy concentration in the capital city Dimapur. Moreover ‘Dimapur’ is
unmistakably a Boro name derived from Boro word Doima meaning a 'big river' and pur meaning 'city or kingdom'. The compound word 'Dimapur' or 'Doimapur', therefore, means a kingdom on the bank of a big river. The big river referred to is identified to be the river Dhansiri on the bank of which is situated the kingdom. N.N. Vasu and Edward Gait suggest that the ancient name of the 'Kachari kingdom' were Haidimba or Hidimba and the name of their capital city 'Dimapur' was the corruption of 'Haidimbapur' or Hidimbapur. This is very unlikely. S.K. Chatterji is perhaps right in asserting that Dimapur was arbitrarily sanskritised into 'Haidimbapur', and in this way a connection was established between the 'Kachari' and Haidimba, a Rakshasi or non-Aryan wife of Bhima, the Pandva hero of Mahabharata.

Late Bhisnu Prasad Rabha, an eminent artist of Assam is very often quoted as having suggested that the name Brahmaputra River is a corruption of the Boro name Burlungbutor, meaning a big river of gargling noise. The term Bull is the abbreviation of two words - Bullung and Butur. Bullung means 'to pull out' and butur means 'to remove or let go'. The compound words, Burlungbutor, therefore means, 'to pull out together and then remove or let go'. The Brahmaputra River is understood to have pulled out waters from others rivers together and then let the collected waters go in a single channel with gargling noise. Hence its name Burlungbutor and the modern name Brahmaputra is the sanskritised form of this Boro name. In this connection, it is worthwhile to refer that the three prominent rivers such as Dibong, Dihong and Lohit flowing through Arunachal Pradesh combined together at different stages in Assam and came to be known as the Brahmaputra. S.K. Chatterji holds that the name Brahmaputra is of recent origin, and still later that Lauhitya is certainly a sanskritised form of some other Indo-Mongoloid name. However, he suggested that Burlungbutor might not be the name, as contented by
Late Bishnu Prasad Rabha, but *Burambutar*, whose pronunciation approximates that of sanskritised Brahmaputra.53

The name ‘Lauhitya’ is suggested to be a corruption of the Boro formation Lauthou, an abbreviated form of Golao and Gothou meaning, long and deep.54 The river Lauhitya, identified with the Brahmaputra is the longest and the deepest of all the rivers in the region. Therefore it appears that the name ‘Lauhitya’ is the corruption of the Boro formation Lauthou. Similarly, the names Tilao, Dibong, Dihong etc. have the Boro elements ‘Ti’ and ‘Di’ meaning river or water. Among these names that of Tilao deserves special mention. It is clearly of Boro origin corrupted from Ti and Lao or lau meaning ‘river and long’ respectively. Tilao, meaning a long river, therefore, refers to the river Brahmaputra.

The present day Bodos of North-East Indian were of course not known by the name of the Bodo by others. During the time of epics and Puranas the present day Bodos were known as Danavas, Asuras, Rakhshasa, Daityas, Mleches, Kiratas, etc. The people whose life and culture were structured around the Vedic system gave these names. It appears that the presence of the various Mongoloid groups of Sino-Tibetan speaking people were noted by 10th century B.C., when the Vedas were compiled, and the composite Hindu culture and civilization reached the Mongolian peoples of North and North-Eastern mountains and plains from about that date.55 Dr. S. K. Chatterjee proposed the name ‘Indo-Mangoloid’ as an equivalent to what the ancient Hindus understood by the term Kirata. In the history of Assam the Mlechas or the Meches were the most important people as these people had moulded and shaped the history of ancient Assam then known as Pragjyotispur and Kamrupa.56 Suniti Kumar Chattjee writes, “One may say that, the Bodos who spread over the whole of the Brahmaputra valley and North Bengal as well as East Bengal, forming
a solid block of North Eastern India, were the most important Indo-Mongoloid people in eastern India and form one of the main basis of present day population of these tracts. Judging from the wide range of extinction of their language, the Bodos appear first to have settled over the entire Brahmaputra valley and extended west into north Bengal (in Koch Bihar, Rongpur, Dinaspur district). They may push towards north Bihar also and the Indo-Mongoloids who penetrated in the north Bihar might equally have been Bodos or Himalayan tribes allied to the Newars.\textsuperscript{57} Dr. T.C. Sarma stating the distribution of the Bodo people says ‘from the records in the Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata it is known that the north eastern frontiers kingdom of India, a Mlecha territory ruled by the Bodo kings referred to as Danava and Asura by Aryans of the Ganga Valley was known as Pragjyotishpur (the land of Astrology) and later known as Kamrupa with its central Shrine of mother Goddess Kamakhya on Nilachal Hill overlooking the mighty Brahmaputra within the metropolitan complex of Gauhati. He also is of the opinion that North Bengal and parts of east Bengal were ethnically and politically an extension of Bodoland of Assam.\textsuperscript{58}

The first historical name of Assam is \textit{Pragjyotisha} and its capital was called \textit{Pragjyotispur}, now identified with \textit{Dispur}, Gauhati capital of modern Assam. According to the popular Boro folks, Pragjyotispur is the sanskritised form of the Boro name \textit{Prajutoipur}. \textit{Pra} means sea, \textit{jutoi} means ‘full of blood’ or most powerful and \textit{pur} or \textit{puri} is the suffix of place, city or kingdom. \textit{Prajutoipur} therefore means a most powerful kingdom or city on the sea side.\textsuperscript{59} Bihuram Boro refers to a popular Boro legend according to which a powerful Boro King named \textit{Barka} Basumatary ruled over the kingdom of Prajutoiur. In course of time, king Barka was succeeded by his son \textit{Narko} Basumatary born of his second queen and brought up in non-Boro surroundings. He also refers to king \textit{Narko} being identified with Puranic \textit{Naraka}
Asura by Bishnu Prasad Rabha. Early History of Kamrupa refers to Puranic legend that Supreme God Vishnu in his incarnation of the Great Boar while lifting the earth from the deluge with his tusk took her as his consort and had by her a son named Naraka. It is for this reason that Naraka is called Bhauma, meaning ‘born of earth’. A Boro clan known as Basumatary to which King Barka and king Narka belonged to, seems to be Aryanised one meaning ‘Earth folk’ and probably Aryanised form of the original Boro name Vasari meaning ‘Earth folk’ or ‘the descendants of Earth’. Dhuparam Basumatary explains the Boro background of the sanskritised name of Pragjyotisa in a different context. He states that the name Pragjyotisa is the corruption of Boro formation Purga-Jongti, meaning star shining white or shining bright. This can be explained in the light of a legendary origin of the name Pragjyotisa. Edward Gait and other local scholars define Prag as eastern and jyotisa as a star, astrology or shining. The compound word Pragjyotisa, therefore, may be taken to mean ‘city of Eastern astrology’. They also refer to the Kalika Purana stating that Brahma made the first calculation of stars in this land and the temple on the Chitachal hill near Gauhati is said to have been dedicated to the Navagraha or nine planets. Pragjyotisa owes its name to this temple. From the above it appears that the Boro word Purga-Jongti and Sanskrit Jyotisa are identical in meaning. The Boro Purga-Jongti therefore must have referred to those stars. P.C. Chaudhury holds that the same Pragjyotisa appears to be sanskritisation of some non-Aryan formation. It can therefore, be suggested that the name Pragjyotisa is a sanskritised form of the Boro formation Prajutoipuri or Purga-Jongti.

History says that Kamrupa or Pragjyotisa was the land of the Kirata-Bodos ruled by Hirimba-Bhagadatta dynasty. Therefore, the languages of the locality should gain priority in this type of study. The term ‘Kamrupa’ and ‘Kamakhya’ may be
examined from the Bodo philosophical perspective. Worship of mother goddess was
the tradition among the Bodo. Even today mother goddesses are worshipped by
some of the allied Bodo group. The Chutiyas in upper Assam worship in the form of
‘Kesaikati’, eater of raw flesh, Koch-Rajbongshi worship in the form of Marai, Makali
and Manasa; and at Bageswari in Bongaigaon blood sacrifice is still in practice.
Deodhani worship and dance performance during Kherai puja of the Boro society is
the symbol of mother worship. Similar types of shrines are still in existence in the
Koch-Rajbongshi inhabited areas in which female goddesses are worshiped in the
form of Mother Goddesses. At the shrine of ‘Mahamaya’ at Bogribari in Gauripur that
was built by the Jaminder of Gauripur, the tradition of blood sacrifice is still being
regularly practiced. Prem Charan stated that the worship of mother goddess in
different parts of India slowly gained momentum as all Indian Tantric features; it
evolves systematic rituals full of symbolism and utilizing yogic techniques for their
achievement of traditional Indian religious goals, namely the mystical experience.
Tantrism involves five principles of ‘M’, i.e., modya (alcohol), mangsha (meat),
matchya (fish), perch grains and sex, and observation of ritual goes through
certain steps. According to, Bolle, Antiracism in India gained complete pan Indian
character and achieved its peak around 1000 A.D. Worship of mother Goddess in
the form of Saki worship is not the sole property of Austric but also developed among
the Kirats of East, North, and North-east India. D.D. Kosombi stated a number of
non-Aryan goddesses of fifth and sixth century A.D. living under the foot hills of
Himalayas during the time and areas of lord Buddha, which were originally
worshiped by local Non-Aryan tribes belonging to the Vratsa’s egg, Rumminai,
Manmodai, Mengai Mandhraai, Songjaai, Udalai, Kumbajai, Bolhai etc. The
termination of ‘ai’ means mother. Many a times the goddess is identified when
worship becomes widespread and popular with Parvati or Laksami and some other Hindu deities. Such names often represent some tribe or clan group. The 'Kamakhya' might be the Kirata or Bodo goddess and the term may be derived from the Bodo language.

The changes of the existing local names of places, rivers and even institutions as indicated above must have certainly taken place as it is understood from the fact that the progressive sanskritisation of the various pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples in their culture, their outlook and their way of life forms the key-note of India throughout the ages. Judging from the wide range of extension of their language and its influences on the culture of present Assam and beyond, there can hardly be any doubt that the Bodo established not only political supremacy throughout the length and breadth of Assam but also wide spread settlement till they were overwhelmed by the later arrivals. Even today, they form one of the main bases of population of the plains of Assam and in parts of North East India.

The 19th century had been a period of darkness for the Bodo people. They had already lost their ruling identity with the kings disintegrating successively over the centuries of Ahom rule and culminating with the British annexation of Assam. It was also a period when their age old agriculture and barter economy took hard and fatal blows from advanced non-Mongoloid businessmen. The demographic and economic consequences of the British rule hurt the Bodos and other ethnic Mongoloids the most. By the time a few of them had acquired education and began to understand the new equations of life, a century had passed by.

Assam was overwhelmed by recent migrants and settlers', majority of them coming under the direct intervention of the British Government. The Bengali speaking people were imported to fill up the clerical jobs in Assam. Adhivashi
labourers were imported into the fast growing tea gardens by the administrators. There were migrations of Nepalese from Nepal. The Marwari's came to capture the business in the capital city and emerging towns and semi towns. The Biharis came here to work as construction workers, as barbers, as shoemakers and for engagement in other manual works. The migration became so widespread that the census report of 1921 observed that people from east Bengal virtually came in 'very trains and steamer'. Some years later, Syed Sadullah who became the Chief Minister of Assam, in November 1939 was to outdo everything that had gone before. The “grow more food” motive of the British was cleverly subverted into “grow more Muslims” and welcomed the Muslim migrants from East Bengal into Assam. Fortunately he was in office for only a brief tenure. But the damage had been done as never before. It was so much so that during the partition the Muslim League made a strong move to include Assam in East Pakistan.

It was only from the first half of the twentieth century that the Bodo found themselves in a position to make concerted efforts to focus on their identity and unity by recalling the grandeur of their past. By this time the community had already been divided into many tribes and sub-tribes. The demographic scene of the state as already noted was being transformed drastically. The Assamese speaking people, Bengali, Nepalese, Marwari and migrants from East Bengal had began to crowed the semi towns and rural inhabited by the Bodos. Many of the aboriginal Bodo retreated into the forests both reserved and unreserved to escape the social and economic onslaught of the new comers. The Assamese speaking non-Mongoloids were not known to be particularly concerned about the plight of the Bodo. Many of them were only interested in converting the Bodos into Hindus and Assamese speaking non-entities.
Under the guidance and leadership of the Great Bodo leader Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma the Bodo people found a new direction of self-consciousness and the Brahma dharma movement culminated the thought of self-identity and national integrity. Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma was a leading social reformer, who founded the Brahma Dharma religion of the Bodos. He was an educated member of the community and he became deeply worried about the destiny of the Bodo. He saw a community that was disintegrating due to lack of a common religion. To him, the traditional Bathou religion is not appropriate for the development of the community because it encourages the brewing and consumption of ‘Jou’ or rice beer and animal sacrifices. Besides he saw many Bodos going through the ceremony of the ‘Sorania’ by which they accepted Hinduism and adopted titles like - Koch, Chaudhury, Das, Deka, Rajbongshi, Mondal etc. This was done by the Bodos to achieve a perceived sense of a higher social status. It is a fact that the Hindus looked down upon the Bodos who clung to their traditional system of life and religion. Another fact that worried Kalicharan was the conversion of the Bodos into Christianity. Thus he felt that the Bodos were breaking up as a community and that it would not be long before their distinct and unique identity became a thing of the past. In such a situation he decided to bring a change in the society and of the religion of the Bodos and thus started reading ‘Sarnaitya Kriya’, the work of Param Hansa Sibnarayan Swami. He was deeply impressed and he believed that he had at last found all the answers to the problems.

In such a critical period Kalicharan appeared as a messiah of the Boro society; he realised that the Boro need to be educated and the entire socio-economic and political condition needed to be transformed and the traditional Bathou religion did not suit for the time. On the other hand, Islam or “Ek Sharan Nam Dharma” would
not protect their identity, language and culture. Therefore he saw a ray of hope in Brahma Dharma religion, which would save the Boro society from that critical stage.

Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma was born in the year 1862 at Kazigaon village of Parbotjhora area, under the present Kokrajhar district. His father Kaula Mech was a wealthy person. His mother was Randini Mech. There was no school in Kazigaon during that time. He started his preliminary education under Bir Narayan Sarkar. He could read only up to class IV at Tipkai primary school due to death of his father and undertook the profession of his father as a timber merchant. He was very much impressed by 'Saranitya Kriya,' a book about the Brahma religion written by Mohini Mohan Chattapadhaya from the house of one Charan Mandal (Mech). Kalicharan felt that the teachings of the Brahma dharma would be beneficial to the Bodo society and determined to preach the Brahma Dharma among the Bodos. He had an opportunity to meet Sivanarayan Param Hansa at Bagribari Mahamaya Dham on the way to Calcutta. Kalicharan Brahma decided to meet Sivanarayan Param Hansa, the founder of Brahma Dharma, for enriching further knowledge on Brahma Dharma. In 1905, Kalicharan Brahma along with his friends Karan Mandal Mech, Charan Mandal Mech and Jamadar Mech went to Calcutta and met Swami Sivanarayan Param Hansa at Bhavanipur Road. Thus, he got an opportunity to learn about the ideal, norms and principles of Brahma Dharma. On the advice of Siva Narayan he devoted himself in the study of Amrit Sagar, Gita, Vedas, Upanishad, Ramayana, Mahabharata, etc. Thus in 1905 Param Hansa Sibnarayan Swami himself ‘initiated’ Kalicharan into the Brahma Dharma in Calcutta. After the initiation he returned to Dhubri and began to preach and propagate the new religion among his followers.

In 1906 Kalicharan Brahma organised a religious rite, ‘Maha Yajna’ at Bainyaguri village, it was initiated by Phanindra Chatterjee who was invited for the
purpose from Calcutta. Under his Purohita the first *Hum Yajna* was performed with the *Gayatri Mantra*. The *Maha Yajna* lasted for seven days. Thousands of Bodo people from different villages participated in the *Maha Yajna*. It was for the first time that Vedic religion began to embrace thousands of Bodo people within its realm, without sacrificing their ancestral socio-cultural identity. It was a new development in the History of Sanskritization and Hindunization when the converts were allowed to retain their ancestral language, culture, customs and traditions even after conversion. In the same year the second *Maha Yajna* was performed on a large scale at Kazigaon, the birth place of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma. And similar type of Yajna was performed at Gombirakata in 1907 and Bangshijhora in 1908. Gurudev Kalicharan organised another *Maha Yajna* at Rajbhomra Borkella Hill near Borshijhora village on the occasion of Mahalaya and that was the first *Yajna* performed by Gurudev himself. It was attended by thousands of Boro who accepted the new religion warmly. For teaching Brahma Dharma he organised *yajna* in different Boro villages and his co-workers and disciples assisted him in preaching the Brahma dharma in different parts of Assam and Bengal. Thus slowly and steadily many Bodo villages came under the congregation of Brahma Dharma by replacing traditional Bathou religion.

By that time Christian missionaries had established schools or Hospitals at Gaurang, Bengtal, Tukrajhar, Grahampur, Haraputa, Joima and converted many Bodos into Christianity along with other tribes like, Rabha, Garo, Adhivashi, etc. but the spread of Brahma religion completely checked further conversion of Bodo into Christianity. Even some newly converted Boro Christians came to Brahma Dharma.

The most remarkable development after embracing Brahma religion was the change of their Surnames. Before that most of the Boro used to write Mech after
their name. Siv Narayan Param Hansa advised Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma to use the surname, ‘Brahma’ after their name. Accordingly, in 1911, Kalicharan Brahma appealed the Deputy Commissioner and Census Commissioner of Goalpara district for using their surname. Therefore with due permission from the Deputy Commissioner, Goalpara district, the followers of Brahma Dharma were entitled to write Brahma after their name. However, they were given the right to take either Brahma or their ancestral title like Basumatary, Narzary, Mushahary, Daimary, Swargiary, Goyari etc. after their name.

Along with the preaching of Brahma Dharma, Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma went ahead with reformation mission to uplift the backward Bodo society. With a view to accomplishing his missionary work he organised the first meeting of the *Boro Maha Sanmilan in 1921* at Bhaoraguri of Gossaigaon under Goalpara district. It was a landmark event in the history of the renaissance and reconstruction of socio-cultural identity of the Bodos. It is often identified as the beginning of the movement for self-determination, because the objective and characteristic feature of this event was less religious and was more concerned with social reform, identity and status of the community and socio-economic and educational development of the Bodo community. Kalicharan Brahma clearly understood that mere adoption of Vedic ideals would not improve their community status in the context of wider Assamese society. Since long Bodo people were quite unaware of their degraded socio-economic condition. They lived an isolated self contended community life in the physical and socio cultural environment. They were quite unaware of their backward socio cultural and economic condition as well as about their community identity and glorious history of the past. He identified the factors responsible for their degraded status and socio-cultural backwardness in broader national and inter societal
Development of education and eradication of evil practices from the society was the only way to improve the Bodo Community. He understood that in the normative structure of existing society needed massive changes which could bring modern education and reform movement.

The Maha Sanmilan resolved to work for the upliftment of the Bodo Community and adopted some important resolutions: 1. Prohibition of the preparation and use of liquor. 2. Restriction in rearing of pig and poultry. Hindu religion considered both pig and liquor as polluted and impure. Eating of pork pollutes man and so also drinking of liquor creates sin. Using pork and liquor is a sin of low-grade caste or tribe. So, giving up of the use of liquor and pork also constituted as an agenda of reform movement everywhere in India especially among backward caste and tribe including the Bodos. It was thought that development of education on a mass level was the only way to emancipate the community from the shackle of degraded socio-cultural condition. 3. Discouragement of customary practice of bride price and elopement of young girls. The practice of this tradition is also sign of a degraded society. 4. The high caste people considered the moving of women freely in market and public places as an immoral act. The Boro Maha Sanmilani also resolved to follow similar ideals with their fellow Bodo women. Even restriction was made on attending Durga Puja, Kali Puja, etc. by women. 5. Formation of women organisation and publication of periodical mouthpiece for the growth of socio-cultural consciousness among man and women constituted an agenda of the reformation movement. 6. Prohibition of worshiping of deities and spirits. Religious reform movements carried by different leaders in different parts of India emphasised monotheism, worshiping of only one Supreme almighty God. Other gods and goddess were regarded as the part of the Supreme Almighty and
hence people should be encourage in believing in Supreme one. Brahma was considered as the symbol of Supreme god and people should be prohibited worshiping deities and spirit. Some of the customs and traditions practiced by the Bodo community appeared quite unsuitable and odd to cope with the new trends of civilization. So resurgence in culture and religion, which became urgent need of the time, was brought in the community through reformation.

The important feature associated with Brahma Dharma and social reform movement led by Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma was that the entire movement was assisted, guided and co-operated by the high caste Hindu intellectuals from the very beginning. High caste liberal Hindu intellectuals understood that the orthodox Brahmanical Hinduism as a system of religion and way of life no longer remained as the viable option for untouchables, depressed class and tribe due to its inherent features of social inequality and exploitation. Islam with the principle of equality and brotherhood and Christianity with the principle, ‘all men are equal before the sight of God’ stood as viable alternatives before them. To detract the mass people from conversion to Islam and Christianity, the structural and ideal norms of Hindu religion was reformed for which the converts neither lose their community identity nor constitute low caste stratum in the Hindu social hierarchy after conversion nor the converts become subject to exploitation and suppression of high caste people any more. Kalicharan Brahma himself witnessed large number of Boro in Panbari area of Dhubri having converted into Islam and similarly into New-Vaishnavism throughout Assam losing their socio-cultural identity.

There is no doubt that the Brahma Dharma movement led by Gurudev Kali Charan Brahma was a part of national level socio-religious reformation movement that had taken place in different part of India under different leaders. It was a part of
national movement carried by Hindu Mission, Calcutta and Hindu Maha Sabha, the primary target of which was to stop the untouchable castes and tribes from conversion into Islam and Christianity and to integrate and unite them for broader Hindu society. The leaders of this movement were quite successful in their mission in bringing unity, integrity and resurgence amongst different sections of the people of India retaining their distinct socio-cultural identity. Only after this movement, Bodo people came on the tract of enlightenment and development and marched towards the movement for the reconstruction and establishment of community identity, development of language, literature etc., ultimately leading to the movement for self determination.

Gurudev Kali Charan Brahma devoted his life for restructuring Bodo society through Brahma Dharma Reform Movement. Brahma Dharma reform movement was more than a religious movement. His movement encompasses social, political, economic, education and cultural interest of the Bodo people. His urge for formation of Tribal League, retention of Goalpara district within Assam, retention of Assam with the Indian Union, his initiation for the development of education, social, cultural and economic reform etc. projects him more than a religious guru; he was great visionary, master, friend, philosopher and leader of the Bodo society. His contribution to Indian society in general and to the Bodos in particular will only come into total focus when we examine his works, activities and roles during his life time with reference to contemporary national and regional history from political, economic, educational, religious, social and national movement perspectives. Gurudev as a social reformer tried to stop brewing and consumption of rice beer and other forms of liquor. Besides, he encouraged the Bodo to initiate new trade and commerce, weaving, carpentry, etc. for their economic development. He also made enormous
contribution on the educational field. He was the first Bodo leader who prayed to the
British Government for the establishment of more school in the Boro areas and also
demanded that Bodo children should be taught in English medium.

Under the impact and impulse of the great Boro leader Gurudev Kalicharan
Brahma the Boro people found a new direction of self consciousness and the
Brahma Dharma movement culminated in the thought of self-identity and national
integrity. Towards the early decades of 20th century introduction of Brahma religion
of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma and the hectic effort to revive Boro culture and
literature followed by socio-political reforms led the growth of education and
literature. Gurudev realised the need of education for all round development of the
Boro, when there was not any educational institution in the Boro areas. As a result,
when the Chief Commissioner of Assam visited Dhubri, Kalicharan Brahma with the
help of the Deputy Commissioner of Dhubri met him and submitted a memorandum
requesting him to establish educational institution in the Boro areas as the poor Boro
could not afford to go for study to Dhubri or other towns. As a result of his effort an
amount of rupees thirty thousand was sanctioned for the establishment of three
institutions, one Middle school, one Weaving centre and one Carpentry centre at
Tipkai, near the Railway station and by 1912 a number of primary schools came into
existence in Boro dominated areas. Till 1916 Bengali language was the medium of
instruction in the schools, whereas the Boro were much closer to the Assamese
culture and society. In 1917, Kalicharan Brahma submitted a memorandum to the
chief Commissioner, Assam pleading to introduce the Assamese language as the
medium of instruction in the schools of Boro dominated areas.

With a view to assisting the Boro students in pursuing education Kalicharan
Brahma founded 'Brahma Boarding' at Dhubri. Most of the residents of the Brahma
Boarder were the follower of Gurudev and it became the nerve centre for the Boro to developed Boro nationality. They were inspired by Kalicharan to find out the Boro inhabiting in different parts of the country and bring them under one umbrella socially, politically, which had a far reaching effect in the Boro society. As a first step the students of the Brahma Boarding decided to form a student organisation in 1915 and to mobilise mass opinion. Under the active initiative and leadership of Rupnat Brahma, Madaram Brahma and the disciples of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma, the Boro Chatra Sanmilan (Bodo Students' Association) formed in 1919 at Dhubri, brought solidarity among the Bodo students and was a driving force for later socio-political, economic, religious, education and literary developments. The two other organisations-Kacharis Youth Association and Goalpara District Bodo Association also took up the issues of the development of the language, culture and educational facilities of the Bodos including political and economic issues like empowerment and employment of the Bodos.

There was a strong urge for literary work because it was by that time that, a considerable number of Bodo youths became educated achieving higher education in different fields and this generation is mainly responsible in giving shape to the new socio-political and educational standard of the Boros in the subsequent decade. Although the Boro Chatra Sanmilan was formed by the educated Boro youths of Goalpara district, who set about to work within the jurisdiction of their district, it exerted tremendous influence on the conscious Boro people through out the state and outside Assam. The Boro students and eminent personalities from other districts like, Nagaon, Kamrup, Lakimpur, Goalpara etc. of Assam and North Bengal came to participate in the Annual Sessions of the Boro Chatra Sanmilan every year. Such a huge gathering every year under the banner of Boro Chatra Sanmilan helped to
understand each other and unify the scattered Boro population of different parts of
the country, who had been isolated from each other till then. The Sanmilan also
undertook a project for building a 'Greater Bodo' race by uniting all Bodo groups of
people like, Boros, Kacharies, Sanowals, Lalungs, Dimasas and Garos into one
stream. But the Sanmilan could not succeed in bringing the entire groups to a
single platform due to the lack of co-operation among themselves.

The formation of All Assam Plain Tribal League (AAPTL) in 1933 under the
initiative of Rupiah Brahma, Bhimbar Deury, Satish Chandra Brahma and other
young educated Bodo leaders was one of the important step in the modern socio-
political history of the Bodo and perhaps the first socio-political organisation of the
Bodos in Assam. This organisation initially took up most of the political issues
concerning the Bodos in addition to the social and educational issues relevant to the
overall progress of the Bodo people. The All Assam Plain Tribal League (AAPTL)
was successful in its movement for separate electorate status for the Bodos and
other plain tribes. Thus the Bodo cast their votes on the basis of a separate
electorate in the first general election held under the Government of India Act, 1935.
Afterwards the founder of the League, particularly Rupiah Brahma, joined active
politics and in 1939 joined the Congress Ministry headed by Gopinath Bordoloi
Government. Thereafter the Tribal League was converted into a purely social
organisation named Assam Tribal Sangha (ATS) which remained in the confidence
of the Assam Government in matters like issuing of S.T. certificates to Bodos etc.

The formation of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha on 16th November 1952 at
Basugaon in Kokrajhar district was another milestone in the socio-cultural life of the
Bodos. With the creation of Bodo Sahitya Sabha in 1952 clash of interest started
between mainstream Assamese nationalism and Bodo nationality both on
ideological, socio-cultural, linguistic and lastly on political level. So long Bodo Sahitya Sabha was not in existence, the trends of the construction and development of Assamese nationality moved up unaffected and flourished to high level. The Bodo Sahitya Sabha which was founded in 1952 in the Convention of Boro Maha Sanmilan in keeping with three importance objectives like: A. Creation of Common Bodo Language and literature by synthesizing Diamasa, Kok-Brok and Boro languages. B. Upgradation of Bodo as the medium of instruction. C. Development of Bodo Culture and construction Bodo nationality through literary works. Keeping this in view for achieving unity, integrity and force, Jaybhadra Hagjer was elected as the first president and Sonaram Thousen as the first Secretary of Bodo Sahitya Sabha. Yogendra Nath Basumatary was elected as the joint Secretary; Syam Charan Tripura was made executive member from Tripuri Kok-Brok. In this convention representatives from different undivided Assam even from North Bengal participated. The then MLA, Rupnath Brahma, Dharanidhar Basumatary and others attended the Convention. The convention discussed the matter of introduction of Bodo as the medium of instruction. Initially all the MLAs including Rupnath Brahma opposed to this move but ultimately they were persuaded. In 1953 Bodo Sahitya Sabha submitted a memorandum to the then Minister of education, Jay Bhadra Hagjer demanding introduction of Bodo medium in primary schools. The same copy of the memorandum was also submitted to Bimala Prasad Chaliha the then Congress President of Assam State Committee. But both the Chief Minister and President of Congress made no response to the demand of the Sabha. The members of Assam State Congress Committee sharply reacted and apprehended that Bodo people might subsequently put demand for separate state. Thus, the achievement of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha from 1952-1960 was nothing spectacular and was only
confined to organisational development. In 1960, the demand for Assamese as official language of entire Assam caused negative reactions from the non-Assamese people. The non-Assamese people of Assam considered it as the policy of assimilation through the imposition of Assamese language on non-Assamese people. As a reaction to this move taken by Assamese speaking people, the hill people demanded for retention of English as the official language in hill areas and the people of Barak valley demanded Bengali as the official language in Barak Valley. The Executive meeting of the Sahitya Sabha held at Kokrajhar considered that the implementation of language policy would divide Assam on language basis and hence resolved to urge the government introduced Hindi language as the officially language of Assam as an alternative option, acceptable to all. Ultimately the three language formula i.e., Assamese in Assam, Bengali in Barak and English in Hill area was accepted as viable alternatives.

On 16th November 1962, on the day of 'Bodo Literary Day (BLD)' more than twenty thousand people gathered in Kokrajhar town and took out a mass rally on demand of introduction of the Bodo language as the medium of instruction at Primary level. Soon after this event, Chief Minister Bimala Prasad Chaliha along with Rupnath Brahma arrived in Kokrajhar and assured the leaders of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha to fulfil their demand. Immediately Chief Minister Chaliha, appointed an enquiry committee under the leadership of Rupnath Brahma, the then Minister of Assam, to find out the feasibility of implementing Boro medium in Primary schools. Very fortunately the report of inquiry committee was in favour of Boro Sahitya Sabha. Thus on 18th July 1963, Chief Minister of Assam Bimala Prasad Chaliha along with education Minister and MLAs came to Kokrajhar and formally inaugurated the introduction ceremony of Bodo language as a medium of instruction at Primary level.
As time went by, the first batch of students of Bodo medium completed their Primary schools in 1967 and became eligible for admission into ME school. But they were refused to get admission in the secondary schools as they did not know Assamese language. Thus the Bodo Sahitya Sabha had an opportunity for demanding implementation of Bodo language in ME school level. This demand was discussed on 31\textsuperscript{st} January 1968 at Shillong between the government of Assam and the representative of Bodo Sahitya Sabha but nothing came out through the discussion. As a result Bodo Sahitya Sabha gave an ultimatum till 27\textsuperscript{th} February to Assam govt. failing to bring about an amicable solution to the issue of Bodo medium and in the even govt.’s failure Bodo Sahitya Sabha would lunch a mass movement with effect from 28\textsuperscript{th} Feb, 1968. As a result, on 11\textsuperscript{th} March 1968, in the Assembly Session, Chief Minister Bimala Prasad Chaliha recognised their demand by his speech in the Assembly House.\textsuperscript{87} Thus Boro medium was formally introduced in Kokrajhar Higher Secondary School, ME section on 28\textsuperscript{th} September 1968.

In the year 1971, the first batch of the Boro medium students in ME standard completed their education and came for admission to class VII at Secondary level. The Government of Assam was quite indifferent of the implementation of the Bodo medium at Secondary level. On pressure by the All Bodo Sahitya Sabha, the then Chief Minister, Sarat Chandra Sinha arranged a joint meeting of Govt. of Assam and the representatives of All Bodo Sahitya Sabha on 6\textsuperscript{th} June 1971. As per the agreement of dialogue between the Govt. and the representatives of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, ultimately the Govt. agreed to implement Bodo medium in secondary stage as part of the Government standing policy decision on 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1968. Accordingly on 6\textsuperscript{th} August 1972 Bodo medium was implemented at Secondary level.
Since the introduction of the Bodo language as the medium of instruction in primary school the use of suitable script for Bodo language had appeared as a major organisational issue before the All Bodo Sahitya Sabha. The 8th session of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha held at Kokrajhar in the year 1966 formed an expert committee for the settlement of script issue. This committee failed to suggest any concrete measure and hence another expert committee was formed in the Rangapara Session of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha in 1969. The Expert Committee recommended the Roman Script as the suitable script for the Bodo language. With much debate and discussion the recommendation of the Expert Committee was approved by the Bodo Sahitya Sabha.\textsuperscript{58} A team of representation of Bodo Sahitya Sabha met the Chief Minister of Assam, Mahendra Mahan Chaudhury on 30th August 1971 but the Chief Minister did not respond to the script issue of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha and politicized the script issue.\textsuperscript{69} Sarat Chandra Sinha, the Chief Minister of Assam later referred the matter to the Govt. of India for settlement saying that the question of Roman script was a national issue to be settled by the Central Government. Meanwhile, the restive situation in Boro areas was rapidly worsening because of the repressive measures adopted by the State Government to crush the script movement. For the Bodo Sahitya Sabha it became a prestige issue to retreat and embrace the Assamese script again after the lose of innocent lives in the non-violent democratic movement.\textsuperscript{90} Thus forced by circumstances, the Bodo Sahitya Sabha finally had to accept the Devonagari Script gracefully at the instance of the erstwhile Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.\textsuperscript{77}

The office of the Prime Minister, Govt, of India, suggested Devonagari Script for Bodo language as an alternative to Roman script. The Bodo Sahitya Sabha session held at Dhing Nogaon accepted the Devonagari script as the script for Bodo
language after long debate and discussion. It was a compromise forced by the circumstances. On the other hand the issue of script continued to remain as a matter of discourse for a section of ambitious people in Bodo society, who dream of becoming Messiah by championing the cause of Roman script for the Bodo language. In subsequent times, the govt. of Assam changed its attitudes towards other indigenous tribes and adopted a policy of dialogue and mutual understanding in resolving issues relating to language, literature, education, curriculum, creation of post etc. In the introduction of Bodo language as MIL subject at the PU/HS and under Graduate level Bodo Sahitya Sabha did not face any trouble. Bodo as a subject of Major Indian Language (MIL) in PU, Gauhati University was introduced in the academic year 1976 and in Degree level on 29th February 1978. In 1985, the Govt. of Assam also granted the status of Associate Official Language to Bodo in the administration of the Bodo areas. Lastly, Gauhati University opened the Department of Boro from the session 1996 -1997 with teaching provision.

One of the greatest organisations having the greatest impact on the destiny of the modern Bodo people was the formation of the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) on 15th February 1967. Soon after the formation of the All Bodo Students Union the Boro political movement started showing signs of aggressive militancy and a political organisation in the name and styled ‘Plain Tribal Council of Assam’ was born on 27th February 1967 at Kokrajhar under the leadership of Samar Brahma Chaudhury and Charan Narzary with the support of the All Bodo Students’ Union. Thus, the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) with the strong support of the ABSU raised a demand for Union Territory to be named ‘Udayachal’, comprising the Bodo and Mishing dominated areas along the northern bank of Brahmaputra extending from the western boarder of Kokrajhar district right up to the eastern border of North
Lakhimpur district. On the 20th May 1967, the PTCA for the first time placed their demand for the creation of an autonomous region to the President of India, Dr. Zakir Husain by submitting memorandum in New Delhi. The Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) and the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) jointly boycotted the Parliamentary election on 19th May 1968 in support of the demand for creation of a separate administrative unit. The demand for creation of a homeland for the Plains Tribals of Assam in the shape of Udayachal became a major plank of political movement by the Bodos during the entire decade of the seventies and the movement from time to time became rather violent in nature and therefore invited police action. The govt. could not readily concede this demand in view of the fact that the proposed territory was not well defined compact area with contiguous Bodos or plain tribal habitation, and had many pockets of heavy concentration of non-tribals and the govt. vehemently opposed to the creation of any separate tribal state where they have to face discrimination by the tribal administrators. The govt. clearly utilised the apprehension of the non tribals to justify their refusal to concede the Udayachal demand by the PTCA and the ABSU.

The extreme Assamese Chauvinism based on Assamese language and culture that developed after sixties caused other ethnic groups of Assam to fight for their social, cultural, political and other constitutional rights in an organised way. In free independent period the people of Assam were not divided on community and ethnic lines. People worked together for freedom against the British imperialism. When advanced Assamese Caste Hindus people were fighting for the construction of greater Assamese nationality based on Aryan language, culture and civilization, encompassing all other ethnic groups of Assam taken together along with freedom movement at national level, the socio-cultural consciousness among the Bodo and
other tribes was just like a new born baby. They were quite unaware of their backwardness and historical alienation by assimilating their socio-cultural identities into caste Hindu and Islamic society. It may be noted that till 1967, there was no common forum for the Bodo students at state level. Of course there were many Bodo Students Associations in various localities, almost in all districts of Assam. The function of these organisations was confined to hold their Annual Conferences through which efforts were made to instil a sense of socio-cultural awareness among the Bodo students and the public at large. During their conferences they organised sports, cultural programme, exhibitions and also campaigning a little bit of social work such as construction of village roads, irrigation, canals etc. They also undertook programmes of social reformations such as prohibition of liquor, and all other evil practices and superstitions prevalent in the backward Bodo society. Under such background and with the objectives of social work Bodo Students Association was emerged. Even before the emergence of the All Bodo Students’ Union at state level, different Bodo students’ organizations came into existence at local level with different names. They worked for the welfare of the students’ community as well as for the society in their localities. The most important example is the “Boro Chatra Sanmilan” (BCS), which was formed under the guidance of Gurudev Kalicharan Brahma, in the year of 1919. Being the first generation enlightened Bodos and having been inspired by Gurudev, they gave a unique contribution to the development of education and literature of the Bodos. The mission of Boro Chatra Sanmilan was purely non political and their activities were confined to the welfare of the Bodo students community.

Since inception, the ABSU has been playing tremendous roles in the social, cultural, political and literary spheres of the Bodo society. The ABSU, which started
its humble beginning as follower and allied organisation of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha and the PTCA, emerged itself as the parent or master organisation of the whole Bodo Society after Bodoland Movement. In all important and serious matters, the ABSU has been a friend, ally, assistant, guide and co-worker of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha. Till today both the ABSU and the Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) maintain this tradition. The ABSU stood as a force and energy and guiding spirit behind all important organisational affairs of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha. By manoeuvring in every important policy decisions on language, literature, education, medium of instruction, etc. the ABSU held the position of guiding spirit to the Bodo community.

Since 1967, the ABSU and the PTCA maintained a relationship. The ABSU extended strong support to the PTCA at the extension of organisational base of PTCA in grass root level in the entire northern bank of Brahmaputra Valley especially among the Bodos. The ABSU also extended its full support to the PTCA on the demand of Separate Autonomous Region of Udayachal for the Plain Tribals of Assam for the realisation of its cause. On 20th May 1967, the PTCA, for the first time submitted a memorandum to the President of India, Dr. Jakir Husain in New Delhi, on demand of Separate Autonomous Region for the Plain Tribal People of Assam. The PTCA and the ABSU jointly boycotted the Parliamentary election on 19th May 1968 to draw the attention of the central Govt. on demand of a separate autonomous region. In the State Assembly election 1972, Charan Narzary, the general Secretary of the PTCA, was elected defeating his nearest rival of the Congress Party and the then Cabinet Minister Ranendra Narayan Basumatary. In 1973, the demand for an Autonomous Region was upgraded to the creation of Union Territory with the support of the ABSU and even eminent workers of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, the PTCA consolidated its organisational ground amongst the mass Bodo people.
In the General Assembly Election of 1977, the PTCA won four seats joined in the coalition government headed by Janata Party. Mr. Samar Brahma Chaudhury returned in the State Legislative Assembly and got the berth of Cabinet Minister in the coalition government. While Mr. Charan Narzary was elected as the M.P. Lok Sabha. After joining the coalition government, the PTCA suspended its demand of the Union Territory or Udayachal and retreated to the demand of an autonomous region without consultation with and consent of the allied partner and party workers. The Bodo Students' Union and the Young party workers vehemently opposed the decision of the PTCA and withdrew their support to the PTCA to show its resentment.

Under the above mentioned repeated circumstances the breakaway faction of the PTCA formed a separate political party, the Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA: Progressive) on 22nd May 1979 and submitted a memorandum to Smt. Indira Gandhi the then Prime Minister of India, demanding a separate state of ‘Mishing Bodoland’ on 8th July 1980. The PTCA leadership underestimated the sentiments of the youth forces, who are ready to sacrifice their lives for the noble cause of the Bodo nationality. The PTCA (P) succeeded in its attempt to draw the attention of the central Govt.of India towards their demand for political autonomy. In order to discuss the question of political autonomy for the tribal people of Assam, a joint discussion was arranged at Raj Bhavan, Shillong on 20th August 1980 which was presided over by Jogendra Makwana, the then Minister of State for Home Affairs Govt. of India, who was deputed by the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi as her emissary. Mr. L.P. Singh, the then Governor of Assam, and Mr. H.C. Sarin, the Principal Adviser to the Governor and the Chief Secretary to the Govt, of Assam, attended the discussion. Altogether 17th representatives from leading tribal organisations like – the PTCA (P),
the PTCA, the ABSU, the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, the All Assam Tribal Sangha, and the All Assam Tribal Students Union were present in the discussion. While discussing the question of creation of a separate state for tribal people of Assam, L.P. Singha, the Governor of Assam made a remark that Udayachal is misnomer, and Bodoland is the most appropriate linguistically. This remark attracted the minds of the Young Bodos and it made a noticeable effect in the subsequent movement.

The split between the PTCA and the PTCA (P) brought a political chaos among the Bodos and it had along repercussion in the Bodo society. The All Bodo Students' Union tried to bring the PTCA and the PTCA (P) in a single platform as both the parties had been fighting for the same cause. But due to the indifferent attitude of the PTCA leadership the humble attempt of the ABSU failed. However a joint action committee was formed to fight together for achieving self-rule or autonomy in the Bodo dominated areas in the ABSU convention. The dissident PTCA leaders formed the United Tribal Nationalist Liberation Front (UTNLF) in 1984. During the time of ideological conflict between the PTCA and the ABSU, the later never remained idle. As students' organisation, ABSU worked restlessly on all issues including economic, political, literature and language for the interest of the Bodo people of Assam. The ABSU initiated a movement for the fulfilment of 92 point charter of demands encompassing the economic, political educational, social and cultural problems on 2nd March 1987, on its own initiative and confidence without defending on the PTCA, the BSS or any other organisations. The 92 point charter of demands was placed before the Assam and the Central Government of India. The ABSU realised that without movement, the Govt. of Assam as well as the Central Govt. would not concede any demand of the Bodo people. The Bodo people had to
fight their own battle alone for their cause without depending on others. Besides the
ABSU realised that Bodo problems would remain unsolved until and unless a
Separate State is created for them in northern part of the Brahmaputra valley and an
Autonomous Districts in Karbi-Anglong on the South bank of Brahmaputra. Thus
the ABSU, instead of organising repeated movements for several issues, launched a
movement for the creation of Separate State in which they could be able to exercise
their will, concept and self determinations for all round development of Bodo people.

It was under the leadership of Upendra Nath Brahma, the ABSU made the
final crossover on social, cultural and literary development of the Bodo. To determine
the next phase of movement for separate state, the ABSU conference was held at
Bashbari (in Kokrajhar district) from 19th December to 22nd December 1988, under
the Presidentship of Upendra Nath Brahma and in the conference the ABSU
unanimously resolved to launch a rigorous mass movement for the creation of
Separate State of Bodoland. In the same Conference 'Bodo Peoples' Action
Committee' (BPAC) was formed for the purpose of steering mass movement for
separate state. Thus soon after the Bashbari conference, the ABSU and the BPAC
initiated a vigorous movement for Separate State. During the time of ABSU and
BPAC movement more then 11000 people were killed. Hundreds of Bodo girls and
women were raped and molested by the Assam police, hundreds of Bodo villages in
Gohpur area were completely burnt into ashes by the joint attack of Assam police
and the Chauvinist Assamese people in 1989. Hundreds of Bodo youths were
murdered brutally by the police. The ABSU movement turned violence as a counter
attack against the hostile role of the Assam Govt. towards the Bodos. At some times,
it went beyond the control of the ABSU leadership. Besides police atrocities, some
militant supporters of the ABSU resorted to killing some innocent civilians whom they considered anti-Bodoland movement.

To consolidate the mass support the ABSU on its own initiative gave birth to a number of allied organisations, and these organisations worked for the ABSU movement as strong organs. The allied organisations created by the ABSU are: the Bodo Peoples' Action Committee (BPAC), the All Bodo Employees Federation (ABEF), the All Assam Tribal Women’s Welfare Federation (AATWWF), the Peace and Co-ordination Committee, All Lawyers’ Association, the All Bodo Somaj etc. Besides, many non-Bodo organisations also extended their full support to Bodoland movement along with the leading Bodo organisations.

The first phase of the Bodoland Movement came to an end with signing the Bodo Accord on the 20th February 1993 between the Centre-State and Bodo movement leaders. On behalf of the Centre Mr. Rajesh Pilot, the Chief Minister Mr. Hiteswar Saikia, on behalf of State Govt. and Mr. Sansuma Khungur Baiwsumutiary, the then President of the ABSU were the first signatories of this accord. By this accord, ‘Bodoland Autonomous Council’ was arranged and Mr. S.K. Bwisumutiary was appointed the first Chief of the interim Bodoland Executive Council by the Governor notification dated 30th June 1993. This political arrangement was put on trial for some years and the ABSU, the main signatory of the accord considered the BAC arrangement nothing but a mockery. No power of autonomy in economic, political and legislative spheres was granted to BAC by this arrangement. There was no sincere effort made by the state govt. to implement the ‘Bodo Accord’. Neither election nor boundary was demarcated, rather divide and rule policy was followed by the state govt. to destabilise the BAC. Thus in the Langhing conference (Karbi-Anglong) 1996, the ABSU formally denounced the BAC arrangement as worthless.
and was resolutely decided to fight again till the creation of a Separate state named Bodoland.

The Bodo Accord of 1993 between the All Bodo Students' Union, State Govt. and the Centre Govt. which led to the creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council failed miserably. The cause for the failure of the Bodo Accord was mainly due to the lackadaisical attitude on the part of the state govt. and the central Govt. in regards to implementation of the clauses of the Accord. There was no delimitation of boundary of the Council areas, no withdrawal of cases levelled against the movement activists, no relief and rehabilitation of the martyrs' families, no delimitation of constituencies for holding council elections and so on so forth. In protest against all these the Chief of the Interim Council Sansuma Khungur Bwisumutiary tendered his resignation. Then Mr. Premsing Brahma, the then Deputy Chief of the Council (Chairman of the Bodo Militant Force who surrendered giving due honour to the Bodo accord along with his colleagues) was elevated to the post of the Chief of B.A.C. But he, too, failed to get the Bodo Accord implemented.

The ABSU, the struggling Bodo organisation and the signatory of the Bodoland Accord, denounced the Bodo Accord totally in its Langhing conference (Karbi-Anlong) in 1996 and resolved to launch movement for Separate State afresh along with its two other demands - Creation of Nilachal District Council in the South bank of the river Brahmaputra and inclusion of the Bodos living in Karbi-Anglong in the ST (H) list. Thus the ABSU started a series of agitations programmes with new policy and strategies in order to attain their goal. But the members of Bodo Militant Force who surrendered with its Chief Premsing Brahma were suffering from untold miseries due to the non-implementation of Bodo Accord as they became unarmed; they fell easy prey to the rival group, National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB).
The assertion of the NDFB with arms activities became a tread to the ABSU leadership over the Bodoland and other issues. The emergence of Peoples' Democratic Front (PDF), a political party, on 24th March 1996, patronised by the NDFB and subsequently winning in the six seats in the Assembly election of 1996, compelled the ABSU to think. At last the volunteers force decided to choose arm struggle as the alternative option left for them to fight for the cause of Bodoland as well as for their security.

In such a critical situation, Chilagang Basumatary took advantage of the situation by regrouping the members of erstwhile Bodo Militant Force forming the Bodo Liberation Tigers (BLT) on 29th February 2006, with himself as the Chairman. The main objective of the Bodo liberation Tigers was to bring all round development and security for the Bodos through armed struggle. The demands of the BLT were in line with that of the ABSU, i.e., a. Creation of Separate State of Bodoland within Indian Union, b. Creation of Autonomous Council on the South bank of Brahmaputra and c. Inclusion of the Bodo living in Karbi-Anglong in the ST (H) list.

In order to achieve their demand the BLT cadres resorted to certain violent activities such as bomb blasting in railways bridges and public places. It may be mentioned here that the founder Chairman, Chilagang Basumatary died of cancer in 1997, and the then Deputy C-n-C, Hagrama Basumatary (now Mahilary) became the Chairman of the BLT. After some times came proxy war between India and Pakistan in the Kargil, Drass and Batalic sectors of Jammu and Kashmir. Expressing solidarity with the Govt. of India and on a good gesture the BLT declared a unilateral ceasefire in the critical situation of national distress. The National Democratic Alliance Govt. of India (NDA) realised the gravity of the situation and reciprocated the ceasefire. Ground rules for the ceasefire prepared, Monitoring Cell was formed and a series of
official and unofficial talks were held between the BLT, Govt. of Assam and the Govt. of India since March, 2000. Finally Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the BLT, Central Govt. and the State Govt. on 20th February, 2003. Accordingly, the Bodoland Territorial Council Act was passed to create Bodoland Territorial Council under the sixth schedule of the Indian Constitution. Besides, a Constitutional amendment was also made to incorporate Bodo language under the Eight Schedule of Indian Constitution. Thus the new arrangement has provided constitutional protection under the sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India to fulfil the economic, educational and linguistic aspirations and the ethnic identity of the Bodos. The Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) was signed by Hagrama Mahilary, Chairman of BLT, P.K. Dutta, Chief Secretary Govt. of Assam and R.C.A. Jain, Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India on 20th February, 2003. The ABSU whole heartedly welcomed the Bodoland accord and withdrew officially the demand for Separate State giving due honour to the accord signed by the BLT, Govt. of Assam and Indian Govt.

The basic objective of the BTC was to create Self Governing Body for the Bodo people to fulfil their aspirations relating to their economic, political, language, social and cultural identity and the development of education under the sixth Schedule of the constitution. As per the area of BTC is concerned, it comprises 3082 villages being divided into four districts - Kokrajhar, Chirrang, Baksa and Udalguri. These districts are known as Bodoland Territorial Administrative Districts. The total number of constituency of the BTC is 46. Out of them, 30 seats are for the Schedule Tribes, 5 seats for non-tribal communities, 5 seats open for all communities and 6 members to be nominated by the Governor of Assam from the unrepresented communities of BTC area of which at least 2 should be women. Thus, through the
creation of Bodoland Territorial Council in the name of Bodoland Territorial Administrative Districts, most of the problems of the Bodos were met, but the desire for a Separate State is still one of the most cherished ideas of the Bodo people.

References:


27. Ibid, p.3-4.


51. *Vasu N.N.*,p.43-44


71. Ibid. p.80.


74. Ibid, p.62.

75. Ibid p.64.


78. Brahma Dr. B. K., *OP.cit.* p.247


80. Ibid, pp.89-90.


87. Brahma Dr. B. K., *OP.cit.* pp. 50-52.

88. Narzary Kanakeswar, 1993; *Roman (English) Script and Boro Sahitya Sabha*, Kokrajhar, p.32.


90. Narzary Charan: *The script for the Bodo Language* ed. in SMAKHA the Souvenir, 39th Session of Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Simbargaon, 2000, p.34.


