
Dissemination of social messages by Folk Media – A case study through folk drama Bolan of West Bengal

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Abstract:

In the vicinity of folk-culture, folk drama is of great significance because it reflects the society by maintaining a non-judgemental stance. It has a strong impact among the audience as the appeal of Bengali folk-drama is undeniable. 'Bolan' is a traditional folk drama of Bengal which is mainly celebrated in the month of 'Chaitra' (march-april). Geographically, it is prevalent in the mid-northern rural and semi-urban regions of Bengal (Rar Banga area) – mainly in Murshidabad district and some parts of Nadia, Birbhum and Bardwan districts. Although it follows the theatrical procedures, yet it is different from the same because it has no female artists. The male actors impersonate as females and play the part. Like other folk drama 'Bolan' is in direct contact with the audience and is often interacted and modified by them. Primarily it narrates mythological themes but now-a-days it narrates contemporary socio-politico-economical and natural issues. As it is performed different contemporary issues of immense interest audiences is deeply integrated with it and try to assimilate the messages of social importance from it. And in this way Mass (traditional) media plays an important role in shaping public opinion and forming a platform of exchange between the administration and the people they serve. Bolan is succeeded in existing at the face of stringent competitions from electronic and new media but in that it has undergone some structural changes to cope with the consumerism entertainment pattern of its audience. Qualitative Research Methodology is adopted by the researcher to observe how this traditional tool is used to disseminate social messages in rural Bengal. During research work a keen observation of Bolan performances is done by the researcher. Interviews of Bolan artists, organisers, audience is also taken.

Key words: Bolan, folk-culture, consumerism.

Communication means a continuous process, through which the process of people's concept, emotion and skill, transforms into a message, and create an exchangeable reaction. We should not restrict the term communication to mere news presentation. Instead, if we consider its connotation in a greater scale or in other words if the term is thought as a medium of exchanging information and ideas in the perspective of individual and mass activities then its field extends to a vast domain or it can be said that then it also plays a role in socialization which again is inseparably linked to the education, entertainment and cultural development of common people. Thus, 'communication' or more specifically the term 'mass communication' itself speaks of a huge section of the people, about their folk philosophy, culture as well as cultural communication.

The word 'culture' has come from the Latin word '*cultus*', which means 'cultivate'. The Bengali synonym of the word culture is '*sanskriti*'. It is derived from the Indo-Aryan word '*krishti*'. The word '*sanskriti*' can be divided into two parts –*sam* and *kriti*, which means to cultivate thoroughly. So the word reflects the materialistic philosophy related to cultivation. According to Bengali dictionary the word *sanskriti* or culture means betterment of customs by practice.ⁱ Hence culture can be considered as the basis of the fullest development of human life. It is a comprehensive reflection of human life and it enriches the level of consciousness in common people. Folk culture or popular culture denotes a culture that flows from time immemorial. It derives spontaneously from the common people's lifestyle, social status and the process of production. It is free from the bounding of beadedness and grammar. Popular culture retains its spontaneity and individuality even when it adapts itself with evolution.

Behind the gradual evolution of culture, there lies a continuous process of development and satiation of the socio-economic need of people. Different layers of culture develop and rotate according to the method adopted by a clan of people for their livelihood.

People without any speciality, who have to work hard to earn his livelihood, is generally called 'Folk'. The German synonym of the word is 'Volk', that means 'people in general'. Hence the word 'Folk culture' came from the word 'Folk'. The term 'Folk' denotes common people, whose life is full of daily, trivial sorrows and happiness. And the smiles and tears, happiness and sorrows, songs and dances of these people forms the background of folk culture which combines folk festivals, folk lore, folk theatre, folk songs, folk dances, etc.

In the realm of folk culture folk drama is an important form that reflects the society. It is not at all a subject detached from our society. Folk drama has a universal acceptance_ be it the 'chorchurni' of Jalpaiguri, or the 'alkap-letu' of Birbhum-Burdwan-Murshidabad, or It can be the 'domni-gombhira' of Malda-Murshidabad, 'chhou' of Purulia, 'hallabol' of Nadia, 'Bolangaan' of Nadia-Burdwan-Murshidabad or the 'banbibipala' of Sundarban.

Thus this wide variety of folk drama of Bengal has a universal appeal. Although it has managed to survive in competition with the increasing trends of 'urbanization', 'electronic media', 'modern cultural taste and practices', but with the passage of time and as a result of its conflict with evolution it has also changed its basic structure. Some of the elements of folk culture have been lost with the complexities of social development, as well as some of them continue their flow adapting themselves with the help of the evolutionary processes of acceptance, refusal and amendment.

What is Bolan folk drama?

Bolan is a form of folk drama that can be found mainly in the Rarh area of Bengal. This medium has a generous combination of song, drama, acting and dance. Sometimes it is a restrained expression of music, again sometimes it overflows with folk tunes. It depicts the important events of the nation or state, and at the same time it reflects the real situation of our society.

Area of research:

Geographically 'Bolan Folk Drama' can be found in the northern part Rarh Bengal. According to topography it is limited within the four districts of West Bengal – Nadia, Murshidabad, Birbhum and Burdwan.

Etymology of the word Bolan:

There are different opinions regarding the etymology of the word Bolan among the researchers and writers.

According to the famous linguist of Post-Rabindranath period, Dr. Sukumar Sen, the word Bolan derives from the root verb 'bula', the nearest synonym of which is to travel. That means the word 'Bolan' is derived from travelling.ⁱⁱ

In Shivnivas region under the constituency of Krishnagunj of Nadia district, it is said that during the 'gajan' festival (the festival of lord Shiva) the boys and girls of the village use to ask the monks/hermits different questions. Such lyrical and musical question-answer sessions are known as 'Bolan'. In a century-old ancient Bolan song of this region, we can find such words as--

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*"Eso ma go Saraswati boso mago rathe./Bulan bolite hobe balaker sathe."*ⁱⁱⁱ

[“Mother Saraswati, please come and be seated on the chariot. Please answer the questions (bulan) asked by the boy.”]

In different parts of Murshidabad Bolan means conversation, speech or sentence. The word 'Bolano' means to utter, reply or to make one speak. Perhaps the word came from the Bengali word 'bol' or 'Bolano'.^{iv}

In Tehatta-palashipara region of Nadia district the word is called 'bulan', which means 'to argue'.^v

In *Dharmamangal* of Ruparama we find the line, “Bolan bulite gelo Mayna bosoti.” Here the meaning of the word is clear. According to some people the song that is sung while travelling is called 'Bolan'.^{vi}

In *Bangiya Shabdakosh* by Harichararn Bandyopadhyay 'Bolan' is considered as a noun. According to him the word has different meanings. In some places it means to speak or to reply, like, “ghore gelya na diya Bolan” (by Chandidas, which means 'to go home without answering').

Again sometimes it means a greeting. For example, “Aji keno na kore Bolan” (why does not he call today) [from Manasamangal].^{vii}

In Katwa region, it is believed that the word ‘Bolan’ means ‘bol’ or a call. Regarding this very meaning some socially conscious researchers opine that the primary duty of ‘Bolan’ is to raise a voice of protest and resistance against injustice and oppression.^{viii}

Origin of Bolan:

When or how the folk drama Bolan was formed is a controversial question. As there is no clear idea many scholars speak of its different forms. According to them, due to its regional influence and assimilation of different elements of folk culture the form has been changed. Regarding the origin of Bolan the writer Sri Harsha Mallik opines that “Bolan is a pure and continuous flow of folk entertainment as it cannot be properly categorized under a specific genre...the absence of any conform structure itself is structure of this form.”^{ix}

Regarding the origin of Bolan, Maharaja Jaynarayana Ghosal mentioned it as a question-answer form of song (tarja) in the context of ‘Charaksannyasleela’ in *Sri Sri Karunanidhan Vilas Kavya* published in 1820, from Fort William College, Kolkata.^{x xi}

Sri Bondyopadhyay has mentioned Dr. Sukumar Sen regarding the origin of this form. Sri Bondyopadhyay says that in the second edition of the book *Bangala Sahityer Itihas* the author Sukumar Sen mentioned that Bolan songs existed 50-60 years ago, in Manahar Shahi Pargana of North Rarh. The second edition was published in 1965. So, mathematically it is proved that Bolan songs were present during 1905-1910.^{xii} Sri Bondyopadhyay has also cited example from Sudhir Chakraborty. On 22 July, 1978, an article named ‘Abasarer Gaan Bolan’ (Bolan---the Song of Leisure) by Sudhir Chakraborty was published in the magazine *Desh*, where the author could not find any century-old Bolan song after a thorough search. On the basis of this information it can be said that the origin of Bolan was in between 1880-90.^{xiii}

Sri Sriharsha Mallik has quoted Sri Mani Bardhan. According to him, Bolan is the very own song of our Bengal. But it is not performed in all parts of the state. No one can tell how old this form is.^{xiv} Again quoting from Ruparama’s *Dharmamangala* Sriharsha Mallik says that there is a doubt whether the Bolan mentioned in the verses of Ruparama and this Bolan is same or not.^{xv}

Discussing the origin of Bolan folk drama Sri Harsha Mallik says that Bolan is not so old in the background of folk culture, as it developed its own characteristics much later. This folk form has been evolved since a long time under the influence of the folk forms like *tarja*, *balaki*, *ashtak* and others. Hence, though there are various information and causes regarding the origin of this Bolan, it is doubtful to a folk-lover whether these are really the origin of Bolan or not.^{xvi}

Moreover, he says that according to common belief at present Bolan has four categories--- Dak, Poro, Pala and Santhali. Actually one can question from when such type of categorization was made or what the significance of these names is. Because, if the history of Bolan is observed, it can be noticed that such type of classifications are done in recent times. Most probably these types are named in 70s.^{xvii}

As Bolan is performed during chaitrasankranti and Dharma puja, some folk forms performed in the same time are also considered as the origin of this (though it needs to be proved). Among

these, there are kalikapatanach in kandi region of Murshidabad, shmashankhela of uddharanpurghat near Katwa. Deashiderpatanach, shabkhela in the temple of Rudradev in JemoKandi of Murshidabad, Kurmuner gajan & khesyagan. As there is a question-answer type interactive session in Bolan, it is considered that the form is enriched by some other folk forms like tarja, henyali, kabigan etc.

Form of Bolan:

The authors and researchers could not reach to any concrete decision on the form of Bolan. The views regarding this are the following:

- In his book *Bangiya Lokosanskriti Kosh*, the author Dr. Barun Kumar Chakraborty has divided Bolan into five types according to its subject and form. These are (1) Shmasan Bolan, (2) Dara Bolan, (3) Santhali Bolan, (4) Pala Bolan and (5) Chhal or Rang Panchali.^{xviii}
- Sri Mohit Roy in his book *Bolan*, has written about six types of Bolan. These are Chhal or Rang Panchali Bolan (acompanied by dhol and kansi), Dak Bolan (a corus song accompanied by dholok-mandira), Poro Bolan or Shmashan Bolan (accompanied by adance with a skull or the head of a deadbody), Bolan performed by the tribal Santhals (accompanied by madal and dhamsa), Palabandi Bolan and Rana Paa Bolan (performed in Rarh region).^{xix}
- In the book *Lokosanskriti Bishwakosh*, edited by Sri Dulal Chowdhury and Sri Pallab Sengupta, the editors have mentioned the following types of Bolan Gaan--- Adi Bolan or Sajne Bolan or Sadhne Bolan, Poro Bolan or Akritrim Bolan, Dak Bolan and Palabandi Bolan.^{xx}
- In his book *Bolan Katha*, the writer Sri Sriharsha Mallik has mentioned about different types of Bolan Gaan, like Dak Bolan, Palabandi Bolan, Santhali Bolan, Pora Bolan, Darane Bolan and Shmasan Bolan. He has also mentioned the forms like Shiber Bolan, Musalmani Bolan, Sari or Sar Bolan and Rana Pa Bolan.^{xxi}
- Dr. Sujit Kumar Basu has made a district-wise discussion on the genre of Bolan in his book *Lokayat Sangeet Bolan*. He has divided the Bolan of Katwa into three types according to their forms, contents, way of presentation, dress, way of singing etc. These are (1) Shmashan (Poro), (2) Dara (Thako) or Pala and (3) Santhali (Rana Paa) Bolan. According to Dr. Basu, Bolan of Murshidabad can be divided into three types--- (1) Shmashan Bolan (accompanied by Gridhini dance), (2) Dara or Pala Bolan and (3) Sakhi Bolan. But he has mentioned that Bolan of this district failed to become a specific genre. In his opinion, there are two types of Bolan in Nadia--- (1) Santhali Bolan and (2) Pala Bolan.^{xxii}
- While discussing the types of Bolan in his book *Panchalika Bolan O Bolan Gaan Itibritta*, the writer Sri Bandyopadhyay says that the whole programme for the worship of Lord Shiva is known as Gajan. Bolan is a part of it. Though Shmashan Bolan or Poro Bolan is the oldest form of Bolan Gaan, but very soon gradually there come different types of Bolan Gaan. Respectively these are Dar Bolan, Santhali Bolan, Sakhi Bolan, Dak Bolan, Palabandi Bolan, Rana Paa, Panchali, Chhal Gaan, Habu Gaan, Song etc.^{xxiii}

He also says that among these types of Bolan Sakhi Nach has been discovered lastly. But there is another form of Bolan that become popular since 2000. It is Udvasti Bolan. It is a parrodie of modern Bolan.^{xxiv}

- Dr. Sanjeeb Nath, in his book *Banglar Lokonatya: Swarup O Baishishtya*, has divided Bolan into four types---Dak Bolan, Poro Bolan, Santhali Bolan and Palabandi Bolan. Among these types importance of music can be noticed in Dak Bolan, while in Poro and Santhali Bolan dance is more important. And in case of Palabandi Bolan it is acting which becomes most important.^{xxv}
- In his discourse on the types of Bolan Mr. Pulakendu Singha says that the types of Bolan are not created by the folk society, rather it is an attempt of the sophisticated intelligentsia to name these forms artificially.^{xxvi}

Period of Bolan

Bolan is mainly performed at the end of every Bengali year during the Gajan festival of Chaitra Sankranti or Charak Sankranti. It starts in different dates in different places according to local customs. For example, in the villages (Mougram, Ratanpur, Shiblun etc. of Burdwan) of the western bank of Ganga it starts on 26th Chaitra whereas in the villages (Raghupur, Narayanpur of Burdwan, Kaliagunj in Nadia etc.) of the eastern bank of Ganga it starts on 27th Chaitra and continues till the next afternoon. In Murshidabad, Bolan starts on 27th Chaitra in the villages of the eastern bank of Ganga and in the western bank it starts on 28th Chaitra and goes on till the morning of the 1st day of the new year. In Lavpur-Nanur area of Birbhum Bolan is performed four times every year--- during Chaitra Sankranti in the festival of Shiv Puja Gajan (in the villages like Darka, Langalhata, Sheetala etc.), in Baishakh during Dharma Puja in the night of Buddha Purnima (in the villages like Gopdighi, Chowhatta etc.), in Jaistha, during the *snanjatra* of lord Jagannatha, in the fesival of Dharma Puja (in the villages Bogtor, Bahmani etc.) and in Asharh during *ambubachi* when Dharma Puja is celebrated (in the villages like Bahmandihi, Kalikapur etc.). In his *Bolan Katha*, Sri Sriharsha Mallik has also mentioned some villages of Murshidabad where not only on the mentioned dates, but previously Bolan was used to be performed in the other times also. These are---

1. In Nawda-Kanainagar villages of Beldanga during Durga Puja.
2. In Nawpukuriya village of this region, on every Saturday and Tuesday during the yearly celebration of Godess Dumni.
3. In Nawda-Kanainagar villages of this region in Asharh during Rathajatra.
4. In Kaya village near Baharampur during the Kali Puja on the last Saturday of Baishakh.
5. In Kolgram under Khargram PS during the Dharma Puja in Baishakh.
6. In Saharo village under Barancha PS during the Dharma Puja in Jasitha.
7. In Erera village of Bharatpur during the Raksha Kali Puja on any Saturday in Chaitra.
8. In Pur village of this region during Dharma Puja in Baishakhi purnima.^{xxvii}

The Musical Features of Bolan

Bolan folk drama is a spontaneous expression of traditional folk culture of Bengal. Mainly it is a festival of Chaitra. Generally it is celebrated in Chaitra Sankranti with the celebration of Gajan festival. But in some places it is celebrated during Dharma Puja and in Asharh, during amububachi. Mainly it is performed in the chandi mandap or shiv mandap of the village throughout the day and night. Though the main subjects of Bolan are mythological stories or the divine glory of Lord Shiva, some social dramas are also presented in this folk form. As in theatre, in Bolan drama also, the actors deliver dialogues, use body languages, facial expressions and voice modulations. In this folk drama songs are sung in chorus, in a question-answer form. In some places songs are accompanied by dance also (depending on the genre and region of

Bolan). Bolan can be found in Murshidabad district and in the adjacent districts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Nadia. Bolan folk drama has three parts---

1. Vandana or hymn
2. Main song or Pala
3. Rang Panchali or Rang Tamasha (drollery)

One of the most important feature of Bolan is that it has no female performer. The male performers play the female roles.

In the vandana or hymn part songs are sung to praise the gods and goddesses. Actually, in some places these hymns are sung in a rhythm of panchali, in some other places these are sung to a tune of bhajan. In Rang Panchali, songs are composed in the poetic metre Payar and its tune is just like panchali.^{xxviii} In Pala part there is no specific way of singing, though in some region this part is sung like a panchali and in some other places it is sung like a kirtan. In some places the songs of this part are influenced by the popular filmy songs. In some places even the popular filmy songs are used in this section.

In Birbhum during a field survey in Gopinathpur village of Lavpur block, the researcher have noticed that the performers of Bolan act while singing. During a field survey (12.04.2013) in Barapurulia village of ketugram-block no. II in Burdwan district researchers heard the tune of Bhadu in Bolan Gaan. There was time when Bhadu Puja and Bhadu Gaan became popular in Katwa mahakuma. Hence in the folk songs of Katwa of Burdwan district, the influence of Jhumur and Bhadu Gaan can be noticed. There was no exception in case of Bolan Gaan also. But Bolan has a tune of its own.^{xxix} The tune of Lofa, Dashkoshi and Uran are also used in Bolan Gaan.^{xxx} The tune starts in a high pitch and gradually it comes down to a lower pitch. As the tune is influenced by Bhadu and Jhumur, there are also touches of kirtan and bhatiali.^{xxxi} Now a days the music of Bolan is much refined. At times notations are also available in Bolan music.

Subject of Bolan

The subject of Bolan Gaan is as significant as its music. Bolan is no more ideological, rather it is materialistic and descriptive. The narrative feature of this folk form, the exquisite beauty of its music, the vivacity and excitement of its dance, make it remarkable in folk culture. Bolan is mainly the song of farmers. But nowadays the people of other professions in the rural infrastructure, are also participating in this art form as singers, instrumentalists, listeners, viewers or organisers. That means, generally so called illiterate, backward class, rustic people patronize this form of art. As Bolan is composed in a language influenced by rustic common people, in most of the cases the language used in the drama is colloquial and down to earth. But if the palakars or the composers are educated, then its reflection can be noticed in their dramas. Though in that case, there remains some limitations depending on the demand of the Bolan band. Nowadays the subjects of Bolan are also being influenced by the electronic media also. Previously, in the traditional Bolan Gaan the folk poets used to present various religious and mythological stories through their songs to the devotees (known as Bhaktas). But nowadays dialogues are also used with the songs. And the subject of the songs are enriched with variety. In present days different mythological dramas (like—sitaharan or the kidnap of Sita, Laxman shaktishel or shaktishe of Laxman, Tarani badh or the murder of Taranisen, data Karna or Karna: the great donor, Krishnaleela or the plays of lord Krishna etc.), social dramas (like---doury system, ultra modernism, man-woman relationship, corruption in panchayat, flood, electricity problem, latest trend etc), dramas based on important national events (like---going to

space, Kargil war, irradiation of polio, scarcity of food, globalization etc.), dramas based on local and regional events (like---mid day meal, 100 days work, farewell of Nano, cyclone, collapsing fly over etc.) are staged to entertain people.

Eminent composer Twishampati Mukhopadhyay lived in Sudpur village of Katwa. He wrote a Poro Bolan or Shmashan Bolan song, which depict the true picture of Bengal in post-independent period. At that time the Congress government came and later they started rationing the paddy and rice which brought sufferings and starvations for common people. The song is---xxxii

“Control korechhe dekho dhan go ar chal
Desh lok ekbakye tai dichchhe aji gal,
Ogo dichchhe aji gal.
Poradheen to chhilo valo, kotha hote era elo,
Ek hoye sob mile danra, oi shokunir dol tara,
Shokunir dol tara.
Ekhon 30 taka mon chal holo,
Chhaposha jara jomi beche khelo.
Shokunir dol tara.
Goriber keu noi apon, amar ei duniay
Bhagyaban bole naire keu, sei dhonir ghush khay.”

[Hey! See, they have rationed rice and paddy
So, the people of the country call them bloody,
Ah! Calling them bloody.
It had been better to be under foreign rule
Know not where from they have come.
Let's drive these vultures away
Let's drive the vultures away.
Rice is now Rs 30 per 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ kg
To get food the meek and timid sold their land
Let's drive the vultures away.
Nobody is the poor's kin in this world.
There's no God too as he himself is bribed by the rich.]

Thus the composer has depicted the hard reality of rural society. There is no exquisite beauty in the lyrics and music. The way of presentation is very simple. Still it is a hearty expression.

Like the other folk forms Bolan is also patronized by the rural people of Bengal. So, still now it has a strong bonding with the rustic people. Because, Bolan describes the divine glory of the Gods and Goddesses, and at the same time, it depicts the sufferings of common people. Being a flexible medium, it has easily adapted the changes, fulfilling the demand of the time and become relevant. The subject of Bolan still attracts the people. That is way, even today it is a popular form of entertainment. Ignoring the alluring of the serials in electronic media people enjoy Bolan Gaan because the feature of Bolan is based on its acting, songs and dances. So, Mohit Roy says in his book *Bolan* that though Bolan and its performers are suffering from problems, it cannot be said that the form has no future. This is true that the native and foreign cable TV networks and videos are no doubt attractive and they are encroaching the vision, taste and thoughts of the viewers. But we should not forget that electronic entertaining media make the viewers idle. And to the idle minds the popularity of Bolan may decrease, but still now many people are there in the villages of Bengal, to whom Bolan was, is and will be attractive and adorable forever. He says that the condition for communication is: the encoder can encode and the decoder can decode---only in the terms of experience he has had.^{xxxiii}

ⁱ Samsad Bangala Abhidhan compiled by Shailendra Bishwas, edited by Dr. Shashibhushan Dashgupta & Sri Dineshchandra Bhattacharyya. Corrected and illustrated 4th edition (March 1985). Shishu Sahitya Samsad Pvt. Ltd. Kolkata-9. Page-654

ⁱⁱ Sukumar Sen. Bangala Sahityer Itihas, 1st part (page-593). (Tapaskumar Bandyopadhyay, *Panchalika O Bolan Ganer Itibritto*. Pratibhas. Book fair 2007) page-17

ⁱⁱⁱ Haradhan Dutta, 'Nadiar Palligiti Bolan' (article). *Prabasi*. Baishakh, 1364 Bangabda (Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987). Page-4

^{iv} Sukumar Sen. *Bangala Sahityer Itihas*, 1st part (page- 593). (Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987). Page-4

^v Sushanta Das. 'Murshidabader Lokosangeet Bolan' (article). *Ganakantha*. Sharadiya, 1985 (Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987). Page-4

^{vi} Tapaskumar Bandyopadhyay, *Panchalika O Bolan Ganer Itibritto*. Pratibhas. Book fair 2007. Page-17

^{vii} Mohit Ray. *Bolan Lokosanskriti O Adibasi Sanskriti Kendra*, November, 2000. Page- 2

^{viii} Dilip Saha. 'Katwar Bolan'. *Saptahik Katwa*. Sharadiya, 1383 Bangabda (Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987). Page-3

^{ix} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page-225

^x Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page-2

^{xi} Mohit Ray. *Bolan Lokosanskriti O Adibasi Sanskriti Kendra*, November, 2000. Page- 8

^{xii} Tapaskumar Bandyopadhyay, *Panchalika O Bolan Ganer Itibritto*. Pratibhas. Book fair 2007. Page 18-19

^{xiii} Tapaskumar Bandyopadhyay, *Panchalika O Bolan Ganer Itibritto*. Pratibhas. Book fair 2007. Page-19

^{xiv} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page-53

^{xv} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page-18

^{xvi} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page 14-15

^{xvii} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page 14-15

^{xviii} *Bangiya Lokosanskriti Kosh* edited by Dr. Barun Kumar Chakraborty. Aparna Book Distributors. March 2012. Page-384

^{xix} Mohit Roy. *Bolan*. Lokosanskriti O Adibasi Sanskriti Kendra. November, 2000. Page- 29

^{xx} *Lokosanskriti Bishwakosh*, edited by Sri Dulal Chowdhury and Sri Pallab Sengupta (new edition). Pustak Bipani. Kolkata. 2013 (ISBN 978-93-82663-10-2), Page- 171

^{xxi} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page 58-61, 119, 124

^{xxii} Dr. Sujit Kumar Bishwas. *Lokayata Sangeet Bolan*. Nabadwip Puratatwa Parishad. Nadia. April, 2009. Page 62-72

^{xxiii} Tapaskumar Bandyopadhyay, *Panchalika O Bolan Ganer Itibritto*. Pratibhas. Book fair 2007. Page- 23

^{xxiv} Tapaskumar Bandyopadhyay, *Panchalika O Bolan Ganer Itibritto*. Pratibhas. Book fair 2007. Page- 300

- ^{xxv} Dr. Sanjeeb Nath, *Banglar Lokonatya: Swarup O Baishishtya*. Aparna Book Distributors. Kolkata. January 2003 (ISBN 81-86036-76-8) Page- 75
- ^{xxvi} Interview Sri Pulakendu Singha. Panchthupi, Murshidabad. Date- 10.04.2013
- ^{xxvii} Sri Sriharsha Mallik, *Bolan Katha*, Pustak Bipani, January, 1987. Page- 144
- ^{xxviii} Interview Sri Pulakendu Singha. Panchthupi, Murshidabad. Date- 10.04.2013
- ^{xxix} Dr. Sujit Kumar Bishwas. Lokayata Sangeet Bolan. Nabadwip Puratatwa Parishad. Nadia. April, 2009. Page- 29
- ^{xxx} Interview Sri Chandrashekar Mondal, Script Writer, Kalikapur, Kirnahar, Birbhum. Date- 23.06.2014
- ^{xxxi} Dr. Sujit Kumar Bishwas. Lokayata Sangeet Bolan. Nabadwip Puratatwa Parishad. Nadia. April, 2009. Page- 60
- ^{xxxii} Dr. Sujit Kumar Bishwas. Lokayata Sangeet Bolan. Nabadwip Puratatwa Parishad. Nadia. April, 2009. Page- 29
- ^{xxxiii} Mohit Roy. *Bolan*. Lokosnaskriti O Adibasi Sanskriti Kendra. November, 2000. Page- 30

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