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## Nischindipur and the World: Reflections on Satyajit Ray's *Pather Panchali*

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### **Abstract:**

This article focuses on *Pather Panchali* (1955), the first film directed by Satyajit Ray and concentrates to define the film by showing the tension between the homely atmosphere of Nischindipur and the supposedly hostile atmosphere of the world outside Nischindipur and how this conflict operates the lives of the characters of Indir Thakrun, Durga and Apu. The film is based on Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay's 1929 Bengali novel of the same name. Though Bandyopadhyay's novel had portrayed Apu as the protagonist and Apu's journey to the outer world as a pleasurable-spiritual journey; nature, with all its intense variety, shares equal space with Apu in the film and Ray makes Apu and his family's journey to Kashi as the result of socio-political changes of Bengal in the 1920s. Nature, in the film *Pather Panchali*, becomes the space of Indir Thakrun and Durga. The paper describes Durga and Indir Thakrun's affiliation towards natural environment of Nischindipur where Nischindipur stands as the microcosmic representation of the rural, idyllic Bengal in contrast to Apu's exploration to the world outside Nischindipur.

**Keywords:** Nischindipur, nature, world, pastoral, urban.

Satyajit Ray's first film *Pather Panchali* (1955) is internationally one of the most acclaimed films. The film depicts the childhood of the siblings Apu and Durga and the poverty-stricken existence of their family in Nischindipur. Through the minor incidents of the lives of Indir Thakrun, Durga and Apu in Nischindipur, Ray gives a wider significance to the village itself and shows how these events of Nischindipur contribute to form the basis of Apu's growth and development. Ray's representation of Nischindipur village with minute details is not limited only to his aim to capture the authentic atmosphere or the Bengali rural life in its rawness. Instead he made Nischindipur synonymous with the domestic, the countryside and the old values of ancient feudal India. In opposition to this, the larger world or the world outside Nischindipur stands for the quest for something mysterious, the urbanization and the upcoming new values of the industrialized Bengal. The economic, technical constraint in which the film was made has almost become a legend in the history of Indian cinema. His use of details, featuring new comers with professionals, casting his characters without makeup and shooting the outdoors at the Boral village and the 'kaash'<sup>1</sup> scene in a 'kaash' field located in Bardhaman district just before Durga Puja--all these

rendered *Pather Panchali* a path-breaking film in the tradition of Indian cinema. But Ray was also criticized by many film critics as according to them he was showcasing the poverty of Bengal to the Western world to sell his film. But that was the reason why *Pather Panchali* was felicitated as 'the greatest human document'. Because the English version of the title was 'Song of the Road', Dr Bidhan Chandra Roy's first impression was that the film could be used in depicting community development projects of the government: "It seems that the Chief Minister immediately concluded that the film was the beginning of a documentary film about village life. Dr. Roy's first reaction to *Pather Panchali* was to suggest 'Have the family join a Community Development Project'" (Seton, 69); and that is why the financial help was forthcoming. What they fail to realize is that Ray's depiction of poverty works as a device to suggest the tug-of-war between the conflicting forces of pastoral world of Nischindipur and the urban world outside Nischindipur.

Durga is very close to nature. In fact, Durga is nature. Ray shows her almost always in the midst of flora and fauna. She roams freely through the woods, bamboo grove, paddy field and kaash field and in the rain. At the very beginning of the film little Durga is shown to be scolded by Sejo Thakrun because of her raiding their garden and stealing fruit and Sarbajaya is often at the receiving end of Sejo Thakrun's rebuke because of naughty Durga's stealing fruit from their orchard. Durga's fear is captured by a close-up and it is the nature or the bamboo grove which gives her a safe refuge against her mother's reproach. She steals the fruit not for herself but for her beloved 'pisi' (aunt) Indir. So is Indir Thakrun who is just a grown up version of Durga and their similarity is shown in the way that they both steal food and they both are treated harshly by Sarbajaya. Indir Thakrun looks very old. She is all skin and bones, with her hollow cheeks, lined face, toothless mouth and wisps of white hair reveals her big ears. She sits on the haunches, her legs folded up to her chin. What is wonderful is that with such a view of physical old age, Ray humanizes the old woman by her behaviour and by the acting of Chunibala Devi. "There's a great deal of difference in the ravages wrought by time and nature and that wrought by man-and it is the former we have to approximate...Remember the door of Apu's house in *Pather Panchali*? Like old Indir Thakrun the door too is ancient, crumbling" (Chandragupta, 89). Indir Thakrun is introduced with gnarled hand kneading rice in bowl, eating the balls of rice, and diligently licking her fingers. The old woman is initially unaware of the little girl, who is sitting there, eyeing the woman. Indir finds the guava that Durga has stolen for her and the little girl smiles back. But Sarbajaya comes back carrying water and has just been humiliated by the neighbour over the stolen guava. She scolds Durga and calls her away from Indir. While washing her hand Indir is shown to be watering a plant and it suggests the nourishment of new by old, the intimate connection between man and nature where man stands as the nurturer, protector of nature. Sarbajaya vents her resentment, weariness, and depression onto her sister-in-law (Indir Thakrun) and accuses her of spoiling Durga. The relationship between the old aunt and Durga is one of complicity and warmth. One of the initial scenes shows Indir walking out of the house with her bundle, tattered mat, and a brass tumbler under her arm as Sarbajaya accuses her as a burden on the household and Durga tries to pull the mat in an effort to stop her from leaving. Later on the same path Durga is skipping and laughing and leading her aunt back home to see her new born brother Apu and then in a beautiful close up the faces of Indir and

Durga are shown smiling at the baby. In their toothless smiles the contrasting faces of old and youth are united. Indir's habit of walking away from home very often and returning after few days strikes a melancholy tone. She provides for Durga the warm and caring parenting. When she fails to stop Durga from being dragged by her mother, tears fall down from her face.

Finally Indir is prepared for her death and the piteous earnest request to God to help her depart from this world is deeply touching. In a night scene she sings sitting against the wall:

Hari, the day is over, it is dusk,  
 Ferry me across.  
 I have heard that you are the master  
 Who takes people across.  
 So I pray to you.  
 I hear you help even those  
 Who do not have a penny.  
 I am poor, like a beggar.  
 Look, in my bag,  
 There is not a single penny.  
 Hari, the day is over, it is dusk,  
 Ferry me across. (Ray, "Alias Indir Thakrun" 179-180)

Indir gets a new shawl from Raju but Sarbajaya is humiliated as according to her Indir has begged for the shawl from Raju and she brutally tells Indir to leave the house, so Indir goes to Raju. But one noon she returns back to her ancestral home where she wants to die. But Sarbajaya's temper gets worse. The panting Indir Thakrun sits down in the shade and asks for a glass of water. Sarbajaya sharply tells her to get the water herself. Indir comes near Sarbajaya to get some water and sees Sarbajaya having lunch. She decides to leave the house again and departs with all her possessions. But before leaving the house for the last time as well as before her death Indir does not forget to water the plant (now grown up) and in this way Ray suggests death-life continuum and how the old gives way to the new. The deserted house of Indir is now possessed by a dog. On their way back to home from their expedition at 'kaash' field Apu and Durga find their aunt sitting in the bamboo grove with her head tucked between her knees. Durga calls her but she does not respond and when she shakes her, her frail body falls over the ground and the empty metal pitcher that belonged to Indir Thakrun rolls down to the pond and a fly settles on her corpse. It signifies that whatever human being acquires in his whole life becomes useless as ultimately he has to leave this world empty handed. The death of Indir Thakrun seems mysterious to Apu and Durga as the train that had penetrated through the countryside and both are incomprehensible to them. But it contributes to their growth and development as they experience death for the first time. Their excitement after expedition in the 'kaash' field and Apu's seeing the train is juxtaposed by the stark reality of the lonely, poignant death of Indir Thakrun (like an animal) in the lap of nature (bamboo grove) increases the intensity of her death and it signifies Ray's celebration of the cycle of birth and death, the birth of the process of the urbanization of Bengal and the gradual, slow destruction of rural Bengal.

Almost like a caring mother little Durga makes the kittens drink water and her intimate bond with animals is evident even when grown up Durga takes care of the calf, the cow and the cat. Unlike other adolescent girls Durga does not engage herself in household works or does not perform the rituals like '*senjuti*'<sup>2</sup>, '*punyipukur*'<sup>3</sup>, '*shiv puja*' (worship of God Shiva by Bengali Hindu women) instead she roams about amidst the nature of Nischindipur. Her preparation of tamarind pickle and relishing it with her brother makes her a typical village girl who develops and gets access to the world by having raw, unadorned tastes of the natural world. The ringing bell of Chinibas kaka, the sweet-vendor alerts her and she wishes to have the taste of the man-made sweets. But when she fails to buy sweet as Apu cannot bring money from Harihar, she, Apu and their dog follow Chinibas kaka. Their foot-steps with the rhythm of Chinibas's bell and the rhythmic swinging of earthen pots loaded with sweet envelops the viewers' mind with a sense of tranquility as well as sensitivity and this whole view with its vivacity, vitality gets reflected in the natural element or in the clear water of a pond. Even the trees are also mirrored in the water. Thus the whole sphere of life constitutive of animal, human beings, trees and natural elements (soil and water) is beautifully presented which shows the harmonious co-existence of man and animal in natural abode, continuity of life and among them Durga is the most powerful motivating force with her vibrating, pulsating life. They come to Sejo Thakrun's house. In spite of Sejo Thakrun's immense hatred towards Durga, Durga's favourite '*Ranudi*' gives sweet to her. Durga's loss of dignity and loss of ego is evident when she, forgetting Sejo Thakrun's harsh treatment towards her, enters Sejo Thakrun's house and indulges in playing with the children of Sejo Thakrun's family. Greed is an essential part of Durga, but this is the result of the utterly poor condition of her family and this is the reason of why she likes Tunu's '*mala*' (necklace made of beads). Durga's telling of lies is not intended to self-fulfillment at the cost of others. But sometimes it is part of her whims as is evident when Apu asks her whether she has seen train, she promptly replies that she has seen train, and also gives him a direction of train line according to the pastoral terms such as '*sonadangar maath*' (a field), '*dhaan khet*' (paddy field). Like Indir Thakrun's metal pot, tattered mat and bundle, Durga's sole possession is her doll's box ('*putuler baksho*'). When Durga is accused of stealing Tunu's '*mala*', her doll's box is dismantled and thrown on the ground by Sejo Thakrun in search of the '*mala*'. The '*mala*' is not found at that time, Durga denies the charge and Sarbajaya tries to defend her daughter, but Sejo Thakrun blames Sarbajaya and Durga as thieves and as frauds. Sarbajaya is immensely humiliated by this and out of rage she severely beats Durga and drives her out of the house. Indir's attempt to save Durga from her mother fails, and she pathetically tries to reorient the disorganized stuffs of Durga's doll's box. Later when Apu asks Durga whether she has stolen Tunu's '*mala*' she gives an evasive reply, when he further asks who has stolen it, she promptly says that she does not know. In the picnic scene Durga and Ranu discuss about Ranu's coming marriage and when Durga asks Ranu about her feeling before marriage, Ranu replies that this inexpressible feeling is felt by every girl before marriage and Durga will surely experience that feeling before her own marriage. But Durga hopelessly says that she will not have this scope as she will not get married (perhaps she says this because of the poverty of her family). A glimpse of smile mixed with shame is seen on her face when Ranu says that Sarbajaya is looking for groom for Durga and this makes Durga the eternal, archetypal girl who dreams of a happy conjugal life. But ironically, Durga's words about her

never getting married proved true as she dies untimely. Durga's ecstasy reaches peak when she runs energetically with the reverberating sound of '*dhaak*' (a huge drum-like instrument played during the worship of Goddess Durga in Bengal) during Durga Puja (and strikingly this is the last Durga Puja she can enjoy). Durga's doll's box is once more disassembled by Apu when he makes a crown for himself by collecting foils from her doll's box and the enraged Durga fights with her brother for this. She further teases Apu, and Durga followed by her brother runs through bamboo grove, meadows and fields towards the horizon and they reach in a vast stretch of '*kaash*' field. Durga's aimless roaming in the '*kaash*' field with sugarcane in her mouth suddenly stops when she notices the telegraph pole and hears a humming sound and at last under the shade of gently swaying '*kaash*' flowers she takes rest. She is not curious like Apu about the telegraph poles, and unlike Apu she is fearless in an unknown place as it is the abode of nature to which Durga is very close. She gets thrilled hearing the shrill whistle of a train and runs to have a view of it. But the film clearly shows that Durga falls in the midst of the '*kaash*' flowers and does not run anymore and ultimately she cannot see the train. The black smoke emitted by the railway engine fills the clear sky of the pastoral idyll, the bustling noise of the train disturbs the pristine atmosphere and these cause the sudden halt of the free sway of '*kaash*' flowers. Her and her brother's exciting expedition in the '*kaash*' field is counterpoised by their encounter with Indir Thakrun's death, which signifies that life is like a great chain where joyous events and dreadful deaths occur simultaneously. Immediately after Durga's mourning for Indir Thakrun's death, there is a celebration of life as Durga enthusiastically sees the 'Qutub of Delhi', 'Taj of Agra', 'Madras', 'Bombay', 'Kolkata of Kolkata' in the bioscope. The great cinematic expression of the dreams and hopes of the young village girl Durga is found in her silently watching Ranu being painted '*alta*' on her feet before marriage and her silent weeping when Ranu gets married and Durga realizes for the first time that one day she will also get married. She begins to take more care of herself (she wears '*kajal*' in her eyes and '*bindi*' on her forehead) and performs the rituals like '*punyipukur brata*' she has so far neglected.

Durga's illness is revealed in Sarbajaya's words when she advises Durga to do household works and perform different '*bratas*' (different religious rituals performed by Bengali Hindu village married and unmarried women) instead of roaming outside and after that asks her whether she is out of fever. Later when Sarbajaya becomes irritated at Harihar because of the delay in salary, she speaks of their impoverished condition and how for the lack of money feverish Durga is not getting medical treatment. But Durga's performing the ritual of '*punyipukur brata*' in the hope of getting married is ironically the beginning of the devastation of her wishes and the beginning of the process of her death. As Durga performs the '*brata*', clouds gather in the sky and Durga hurriedly completes her '*brata*', runs out, meets Apu. The storm is seen to be brewing as Durga and Apu run and run through the field. The gentle patter of raindrops on lotus leaves soon turns into a crescendo as the whole sky explodes in rain and the deliriously happy Durga makes for the open space and gets thoroughly drenched. Through this she identifies herself with nature and she looks like primordial woman who is part of nature as Durga dances in the rain swinging her hair around and making faces at Apu. The water which is synonymous to life and upon which the sustenance of all living beings depends becomes the cause of Durga's death as she catches

cold being drenched in the heavy rain and her sneezing begins when taking trembling Apu closer to her she chants, '*nebur patay karamcha, he brishti dhore ja*' (a rhyme of children chanted during heavy rains so that the rain stops). During her illness, she expresses her wish to Apu of seeing train after her recovery and her not seeing of train in their previous expedition at '*kaash*' field is further confirmed when she says that in their next visit to the train they will wait there before the scheduled time of passing of the train so she can surely have a view of it. Regarding the capturing of authentic atmosphere of the film, Satyajit Ray declared:

I also felt that it was worth trying to get 'atmosphere' into the film at any cost, because I believed it would heighten the drama. The subtle shades of difference between dawn and dusk, the dramatic qualities of the hot midday sun, the grey humid stillness that precedes the first monsoon shower-all these had somehow to be caught and conveyed...For instance, the girl falls ill at the onset of the monsoon, and all scenes following this episode were shot on dull cloudy days, at the expense perhaps of what is known as 'pictorialism' in photography, but to the enormous gain of the overall mood. I am convinced of this gain (Ray, "A New Approach" 81).

In a fateful night the howling wind and terrible rain heralds Durga's death:

The jute curtain on the window swings wildly, as if it would be blown away any moment. The door fastener rattles precariously. Sarbajaya is with the ailing Durga snuggling up to her lap...Amid all this turbulence, Sarbajaya's never-say-die resolve to fight for survival shines through her deeply anxious face, informing the scene with a wonderfully dramatic quality (Dutta 13).

The dismal condition of the house in the next morning, glimpses of the slush and blown away roofs, the fallen cage without bird and a dead frog heighten the poignancy of the scene. Thus Durga with her greed, lack of dignified qualities, eagerness to have the tastes and views of diverse forms of life and the world and her wish of having a happy conjugal life in future is a typical archetypal village girl and synonymous with uncontaminated, pure wild nature. Durga's performing of the '*punyipukur brata*' for having a happy married life with husband and children proves a failure and if marriage is a way of dislocating women from their ancestral home, in Durga's case this dislocation never happens as she dies and her wish of happy conjugal life is never fulfilled and she remains an innocent village girl who is rooted to the space and nature of Nischindipur. But her wish of seeing the train remains unfulfilled and she remains a nature-bound character. Her exposure to the outer world is given limited scope as she witnesses only the images of the world outside through the mediation of bioscope, but she does not get direct contact. Through Durga's death, Ray shows that death is not the ultimate in life, but a moment in the process of life-cycle as after her death Harihar with his family leaves from Nischindipur to Kashi in the hope of better sustenance and they continue to live.

Apu, the loving brother of Durga, is born at a cold night of '*Magh*' (the tenth month of Bengali calendar). After a few weeks, in the month of '*Baisakh*' (the first month of Bengali

calendar), Harihar finds a job of 'gomasta' (rent collector) in the zamindar's treasury. As old Indir rocks the baby Apu to sleep, singing a lullaby, Harihar dreams of his fame as a playwright, of happy future, getting a suitable husband for Durga, sending Apu to school and after his initiation ceremony prepare him like a priest and Sarbajaya is also touched by her husband's optimism. The lovely shot of Sarbajaya and Durga preparing Apu on Apu's first day of '*pathsala*' (school) "shows us the significance of women in Apu's life" (Vineberg, 34). In this way, Apu's education as well as his journey to the world outside his home begins. The multitasking grocery store manager-cum-school teacher in the '*pathsala*' relies more on cane than on textbooks to impart knowledge. His discussion with Baidya Majumder about a theatre ('*jatra*') group and the drum ('*dhaak*') players from Kalna also become part of Apu's education and there he gets his first experience of punishment and violence as one of the students is punished by the teacher and Apu with his wide eyes takes all these events into himself. Every domestic crisis and situation ranging from Indir Thakrun's fairy tales, Durga's beating by Sarbajaya, Apu and Durga's discovery of Indir Thakrun's death, poverty in his family and Durga's illness and death makes him more experienced and practically educated than the education he gets from the '*pathsala*' of Prasanna Gurumahashai. Ray shows his name written on the wall of his home (in the tamarind pickle episode) as 'Shri Apurba Babu'. This very name suggests that Apu will become an educated, cultured Bengali '*bhadraloke*' (gentleman or '*babu*') in future. Apu's strong sense of dignity and self-respect is shown by Ray when following Chinibas Kaka, he and his sister reach Sejo Thakrun's house and unlike Durga he remains outside the door of that house and one of the boys of Sejo Thakrun's family insults him with a spinning tap and mockingly calls Apu '*elebele*' which means an insignificant person and he feels embarrassed by this. The loud whistle of the train attracts Apu first as one evening he studies with his father and he promptly asks Durga whether she has seen the train and the direction towards train line and this is the expression of Apu's eagerness to explore the outer world. He is close neither to nature nor to animals. Apu's dominating attitude towards the animals is evident as Ray shows him with a stick when he and Durga make the cow return in the evening, he even aims at a dog with arrow and these images of the film are in contrast to Durga's mother-like treatment of the animals. Apu's quest for the truth makes him ask Durga whether she has stolen Tunu's '*mala*' and if she has not stolen then who has stolen, but he gets an evasive reply from Durga and as a gradually becoming educated person, he feels that stealing is an act of immense hatred and out of sophisticated, refined, societal norms. Apu's imagination is fired by a village theatre performance ('*jatra*') and at home he dresses himself like a prince with moustache and crown made from the foil of Durga's doll's box, for this Durga fights with her brother and followed by Apu, runs through the meadows and fields of Nischindipur. His dressing up like a prince is not the expression of his return to the ancient royal tradition but of his desire to be a gentleman and rise in socio-economic status. They both reach a '*kaash*' field where they see the telegraph poles for the first time and Apu is curious about those poles. There he catches the sight of a train and the train suggests the world beyond his village which he will discover later. Apu's experience of seeing the train is an unprecedented event and the very name 'Apurba' suggests something unexpected, unusual, fabulous, unprecedented and uncommon. In the film, only Apu gets the scope to see the train as train stands for a space of wonder and mystery and a world beyond his village which Apu will discover later, and Apu through his

journey outside Nischindipur will explore that space, that world. Apu's exciting experience after seeing the train, just before the sibling's confronting Indir Thakrun's death, make Apu aware of the whole process of life in which sorrow follows joy and vice-versa.. His exposure to the outer world begins with his viewing the images of different cities of India like Delhi, Agra, Bombay, and Kolkata in the bioscope and this is distinctly different from Durga's experience of bioscope where the bioscope becomes an end in itself. Apu's repetitive action of bringing letters to Sarbajaya makes him a messenger from the outer world. He is a harbinger of good news and bad news and connector of the inner world of his home at Nischindipur and the world outside that village. The celebratory note that the band party strikes up at Ranu's wedding ceremony strikes Apu. "Apu's strongest emotional ties are to his mother,...loving and shrewish, proud and apprehensive, restless and prone to melancholy-and his sister, who represents for him the wild spirit of adventure..., mysteries he cannot fathom(the stolen necklace),and the connection with forces outside of himself..."(Vineberg, 35). Apu is less adventurous than Durga as in the unknown '*kaash*' field he feels afraid and when Durga gets drenched in the rainstorm, he takes shelter under a tree (the dog is also shown taking refuge in Apu's house) and calls his sister to come under the tree. Durga's death and her departure from his life means that "something magical has left it; he has to seek outside himself for that force, that spirit, that mystery" (Vineberg, 35). After Durga's death, Sarbajaya becomes petrified, Apu continues to go to school but bewildered and lonely. There is the repetition of the scene of Apu's first day at school but now without the presence of his mother or his sister to take care of him. Listening to Harihar's loud wail, Apu becomes stupefied and realizes that his '*didi*' (elder sister) has passed away. As the house is damaged beyond repair, Harihar decides to leave Nischindipur and try his luck in Kashi. Apu discovers Tunu's '*mala*' (the theft of which Durga was accused of but not found when a search was made) the day before they leave Nischindipur:

It was an important incident for the film. Merely finding the string is not enough; it had to be made suggestive. So when the coconut shell noisily falls on the floor, a spider emerges from it and scuttles away. The spider has so long lived with the string of beads (Ray, "The Whole Film Was in My Head" 79).

Then comes the scene in which the stolen string bead is thrown away. As Apu throws it in the pond without any hesitation, the hyacinth layers spread apart to make way for it to go down and then resume their previous position and it seems that nature conceals the small secret of Durga's transgression and the sad tale of the life of Apu and his family in Nischindipur is dumped under water forever and they leave the village with a hope of good luck. It also suggests that Apu has returned the string bead to Durga who has now returned to her nascent form. A snake enters in the abandoned house of Harihar. The unprecedented, unexpected appearance of the snake makes an impact on the audience. At last Nature reclaims his own space and Harihar's house becomes a serpent's den. At dawn Harihar and his family leave their ancestral home by a bullock cart and as the cart lumbers on the village road the wheel and the swinging lamp are made more prominent by Ray through the use of close-up. The lingering wheels of the cart are in contrast to the fast wheels of the train but they both suggest progress and development of Apu. The wooden cart-wheels are

representative of the rural Nischindipur and the iron wheels of the train represent the urbanized world outside Nischindipur. The light of the swinging lamp is like the ray of hope for Apu and his family, it also suggests the possible knowledge he will gain in future in Kashi or the world outside Nischindipur which will contribute to his gaining maturity.

By analyzing the characters of Indir Thakrun, Durga, and Apu, we might reach the conclusion that Satyajit Ray depicts the bucolic atmosphere of Nischindipur in such a manner that he makes the village closer to Durga and Indir Thakrun, and Ray also characterizes them as representatives of that rural world. The death of Indir Thakrun followed by Harihar's journey outside the village in search of job suggests that the poet-priest Harihar is gradually losing his dignity as an educated Brahmin and it points to the gradual and slow destruction of the old, feudal India. After Durga's death, the whole family moves to Kashi where the ancient India still remains intact in the midst of socio-political changes in contemporary India and where Harihar can make his life. In Ray's film, only Apu can see the train as he will be able to step into the universe at large. Each of this world "seems to bring sadness and fulfillment; each is both a constriction and a ticket to freedom" (Vineberg, 33).

#### Notes:

- 1) A grass with feather-like flower and found in Bengal at the advent of Durga Puja.
- 2) A religious ritual performed by unmarried Hindu Bengali village girls for their wish fulfillment in the Kartick-Agrahayan month of Bengali calendar
- 3) A religious ritual performed by Hindu Bengali village married and unmarried women in the Chaitra-Baisakh month of Bengali calendar for their wish fulfillment and for the welfare of their fathers and brothers

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