

# Palatiya, A Folk Theatre Of North Bengal: Its Social Context And Performance Style

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## ABSTRACT

Palatiya is one of the prominent folk theatres of North Bengal. The other traditional folk theatres of North Bengal Such as Kushan, Kichchabondi, Bishohora has its own individual performing style. These are lyrical in nature and while performing, 'poyar' songs are introduced to describe some part of the story. Later in the performance, the story or incident is described through the conversation of 'Mulee' and 'Doyari'. After this, the story is acted as per need. Herein description and explanation plays a major role, the whole story need not be acted. But the topic of our discussion, 'Palatiya' gan has a different presentation style and it is much more similar to traditional Jatrapala. In this case, description of the story does not take place; instead the folk theatre (pala) is directly performed. Therefore, it is named as Palatiya. This form of theatre is performed in Rajbangshi language in sponsorship of the Rajbangshi community. In the past, its arena stage was circular in nature, but later on it has taken square shape. The audience perch encircling the arena stage. As the story progresses, performers get themselves involved in interaction with the audience. This is one of the salient features of folk theatre. These folk theatres (pala) are consist of the plots related to Puranas, Shastras or social stories. These theatres carry religious or moral lesson for the larger audiences. Presently, this form of folk theatre is on the verge of extinction from the society.

**Key Words:** Panchali, Pala, Palatiya, Shastari, Geedal, Doari, Ostat, Borgi, Khyapa.

## 1.0. Introduction:

Among the various inhabitants living in North Bengal, the largest ethnic group is Rajbangshi community. Although the language of these community is Aryan, they are ethnically Mongolian. This community has nurtured and preserved their social norms and culture from ancient times. Because of their highly conservative nature, this community has been able to preserve their culture to this date and era. However, along with their own ethnic culture, the influence of Aryan culture could be found among them from long time. The Rajbangshi community is rich in a variety of folk music and folk theatre which represent their society and culture. One such form of folk theatre is 'Palatiya gan'. The Rajbangshi community is its patron and sponsor. In olden days the Jamindaars, Joddars or people from the aristocracy organized these folk theatre (pala gan). These folk theatre are performed in Rajbangshi language. Nevertheless, with the influence of Bengali language, presently, in many places these are performed in Bengali too.

## 2.0. Research problem:

Most of the folk theatre of the Rajbangshi community is related to folk custom or God worship. Still there are some forms of folk theatre which are not directly related to worship or folk custom. They are performed only on the pretext of entertainment. Palatiya gan is also one of such folk theatre which is devoid of any such folk custom leanings. Many aspects of this theatre have been discussed before. But few have thrown proper light on the social context and varieties of this theatrical form. These undiscovered and untouched aspects of the theatrical form are the focal point of our research.

### 3.0. Objectives:

Palatiya gan which is prevalent among the Rajbangshi community is a form of folk theatre. It is necessary that people should know the accurate informations about Palatiya gan. Keeping this view in mind, this topic has been selected. The chief objectives of the research are mentioned succinctly below –

- a) Disclosure of the form of Palatiya gan.
- b) Determination of the nature as well as worldly context of Palatiya gan.
- c) Correct guidance regarding presentation style and classification of Palatiya gan.

### 4.0. Literature Review and Research Gap:

There has already been a lot of discussion about the Palatia gan. Whoever has laid their hands on the discussion regarding folk dance and folk theatre, they have more or less touched the topic of Palatiya gan. One such example lies in the book called “Pranta-Uttorbonger Lokshongeeet” written by Nirmolendu Bhowmik. Besides this, many other books contain discussion on the topic of Palatiya gan such as-‘Koochbeharer Lokshonshkriti’ by Deelip Kumar Dey, ‘Uttorbonger Loksonskriti’ and ‘Koochbeharer Loknatok’ by Digbijoy Dey Sarkar, ‘Loknatya-Natok-Katha’ by Shishir Majumder, ‘Uttorbonger Loknatok O Janajibon’ by Subodh Sen. But, in all the books mentioned here, the discussion provided on Palatiya gan carry stark resemblance with each other and almost all of them are influenced by Nirmolendu Bhowmik. However, in his book ‘Himalaya Songlogno Uttorbonger Loknatya’, Professor Dipak Kumar Ray has discussed to some extent the form and classification of Palatiya gan from a different point of view. To be honest, his discussion has provided the first correct point of view regarding the form and nature of this kind of folk theatre. Besides, many other scholars have mentioned about Palatiya in context while discussing North Bengals folk culture.

After saying all these, it has to be accepted that no one can get the final verdict about the changing and progressive topic like folk culture. Whatever has been discussed about Palatiya gan in the past are not absolute or the end of the road. After going through all the available written materials, we are of the opinion that the way Palatiya is present and accepted in the society, its social and cultural context has not yet been appropriately surfaced. There is still some scope to think about the classification of this theatrical form. Moreover, we are in the view that its presentation style also has not been analysed in holistic manner. This compact research effort will try to address and fill up this lacuna regarding the topic on discussion.

### 5.0. Methodology of research

When we research on any topic related to any society, it is certain that the basic information and data for that research is found in that society itself. Therefore, all the primary information and data is collected from the different areas of various districts of North Bengal such as Jolpaiguri, Koochbehar, Alipurduar etc. The methods of data-collection are *interview method*, *observation method* and *case study method*. We have tried to survey those areas, where these theatre are performed. Secondary information is collected from a variety of sources such as various books, magazine and internet archive etc.

*Performance theory* is used to analyse the collected data. Through this theory various aspects of Palatiya gan such as the presentation style, audience’s sitting, audience’s nature etc. are analysed. Moreover, the theories like *Contextualism*, *Historical method* etc. are also used.

### 6.0. Consideration of Terminology

The word ‘Palatiya’ means adjoining with ‘Pala’ (story or drama). ‘Palagan’ suggests about the performance which has a pala in it. A suffix ‘tiya’ is joined with the root word ‘Pala’ to form the new word ‘Palatiya’. In Rajbangshi language, there are many words which end with the suffix ‘tiya’. Some of these words are – ‘Jamtiya’, ‘Ekhtiya’, ‘Sholotiya’ etc. The suffix ‘tiya’ means adjoining or bound. Therefore, the word Palatiya means ‘adjoining with pala’ or ‘bound with pala’. So it can be concluded that in Rajbangshi language, performances adjoining with pala is called ‘Palatiya’.

There might be a question that even the other folk theatres are also connected to pala, why then only this type of folk theatre is specially called Palatiya? While searching the answer of this question, it has come to notice that although performances such as Kushan, Kichchabondi, Satyapeer etc. are also connected to pala, they have got their own speciality. That is the reason they are not named as Palatiya. The ‘Kushan’ performance is based on Ramayana; ‘Bishohora’ performance is based on Monoshamangal, ‘Kichchabondi’ performance is based on ‘Kichcha’ (Folktale), Satyapeer performance is based on Satyapeer Pala – these folk theatre have thronged based on their unique storyline. The presentation style of these folk theatres is different than that of Palatiya. The central story of the folk theatre is performed and described through the conversation between Mulee or Geedal (main singer or actor) and Dowari (assistant singer or actor). These two persons play the role of narrator. This is much like modern day novelist describing the story in first person or in a third person narrator. Here acting is secondary. In the outset, the storyline is described through the use of songs, after that the

conversation between Mulee- Dowari takes place; en passant they themselves act in various characters. Later, the performances of various actors against particular characters were added.

On the other hand, the description of the storyline is not the nature of Palatiya gan. There are no Mulee and Dowari in it. The theatre is performed directly through various characters. In other words, only Palatiya songs are performed directly without narrating the story. Small palas are composed of various stories, which can be performed in one night within 4 or 5 hours. It is called Palatiya because the songs adjoining with 'Pala' are composed and performed in this way. Even Kushan, Bishohora or Kichhabandi pala could be performed in the same style of Palatiya. But they would lose their individual characteristics and will be identified as Palatiya. Dr. Nirmolendu Bhowmik in his book *Pranto-Uttorbonger Loksongeet* has referred Palatiyagan as 'Panchali'(Pāṁcālī). But this variety of theatre found in North Bengal can not be named as Panchali. The reason behind this is that, these theatres are mainly centred on the social life of people. These folk theatres (pala) are not centered around any kind of God worship, its advocacy or actions related to that direction. Many times mythical stories are performed, even then they are not presented in style of panchali. In this context Dipak Kumar Ray in his book *Himalaya Songloqno Uttorbonger Loknatya* has mentioned –

Tabē pāṁcālī ō pālāṭiyā ēk naḡ. Dārjilīm jēlār tarā'i añcalē pracalita pāṁcālī ēbam jalapā'iguri jēlāya  
pracalita pālāṭiyā ubhayē'i lōkanāṭya halē'ō ēk'i dharanēr lōkanāṭya naḡ; āngik ō paribēśan rītītē  
pārthakya āchē.<sup>1</sup>

[‘But panchali and Palatiya is not similar. The panchali which is in vogue in Torai region of Darjeeling district and the Palatiya which is common in Jolpaiguri district can be termed as folk theatre yet they are not of the same. Their difference lies in theatretic motion and presentation style.’]

### 7.0. Source of Palatiya:

While navigating the source of palatiya, there is large scope for debate and dispute. Dr. Dipak Kumar Ray thinks that the direct source of *Palatiyagan* is *Hoolirgan*. Here he has mentioned about a proverb which goes like this –

Pālāṭiyā hulir gān,  
cēnrālār hōlēk mān.<sup>2</sup>

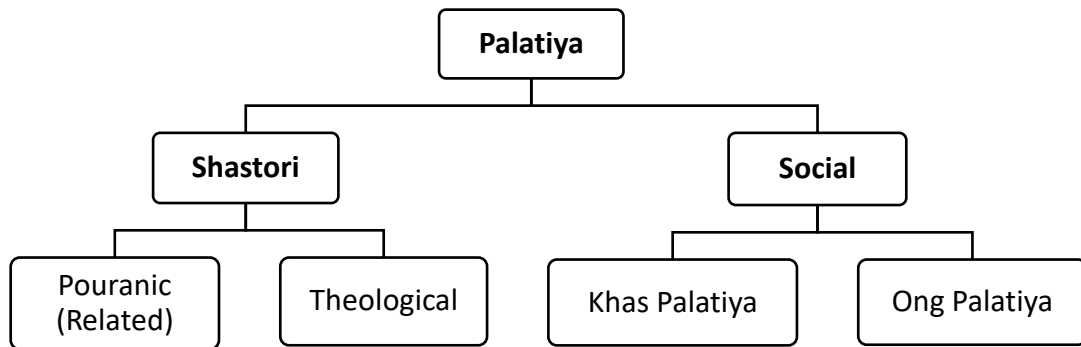
This roughly translates as— ‘Palatiya, Hoolir gan, the boys have got respect.

In this proverb it is not clear whether ‘Palatiya’ is itself Hooli-song or it tries to define both kind of folk song or theatre scilicet ‘Palatiya’ and ‘Hooli’. Both these type of folk theatre is performed by male artists. But in modern times, female artists also play the role of female characters. Whatever be the case, ‘Hoolir gan’ is a smaller duration ‘pala’-centric performance totally dominated by male artists. This kind of performance is amorous in nature. Therefore, females and children are barred from enjoying the performance. On the other hand, the main theme of ‘Palatiya gan’ is Theological. This performance is centred around a story which advises people to walk on the path of religion. Probably these theology based folk theatre (pala) are ancient. Later ‘pala’ based on the life of common man is composed. Moreover, Hoolir gan is a ritual centric performance. This is performed among the Rajbangshi community in the occasion of ‘Bhērāra ghara chōbā’ (Burning Holika’s house) a day before of Dol-Utsav. But ‘Palatiya gan’ has no such occasional timing and motive.

In the ancient form of Palatiya gan scripture related debate is a noticeable theme. These Scripture related debate is found in ‘Khyāpā gān’ (the songs perform by ‘Khyapa’) of Rajbangshi community which in turn is rooted on Tukka song. Here both the Khyapa debates and discusses around the tukka’s theory. We are of the opinion that probably this kind of debate was the central point of the evolution of Palatiya gan. The discussion provided later on supports this view.

### 8.0. Classification of Palatiya:

There is controversy regarding the classification of Palatiya gan. Most of the scholars have divided it into three parts. Dr. Nirmalendu Bhowmik and Dr. Sisir Kumar Majumder classify Palatiya into three types such as – (1) Maan-Panchali, (2) Khash-Panchali and (3) Rang-Panchali. Since Palatiya cannot be termed as Panchali, therefore, Dr. Dipak Kumar Ray has used the word “Palatiya” instead of “Panchali” and made the classification in the following manner – (1) Khas Palatiya, (2) Ong Palatiya (In Rajbangshi language the letter ‘Ra’ is often replaced with the letter ‘O’) and (3) Maan Palatiya. Field survey tells us that some of the performing groups call Palatiya as “Paachal” or “Panchali”. However, the people of Maanikganja, the holy seat for Palatiya, are not in the view of naming it as “Panchali”. We have also taken up the name of “Palatiya”. Data received from field survey and after studying many literatures regarding Cultural History of Rajbangshi community we have noticed that Palatiya gan is of two kinds. They are- (1) Shastori (Scriptural) and (2) Social. Both these kinds are again sub-divided into two more parts as – (1) Shastori (Scriptural) – Pouranic (Related to Puranas) and Theological; (2) Social- Khas Palatiya and Ong Palatiya.



### 8.1. Shastori Palatiya:

There is a common tendency to simplify complex words in Rajbangshi language. A few of such examples are- Montro > Montor, Jontro > Jontor; simultaneously Shastro > Shastor. The word “Shastori” is rooted in the word Shastor. Which is defined as *Maan Palatia* by Dr. Nirmalendu Bhoumik, in our perception that is *Shastori*. But he also has used the name Shastori in some different way. While discussing the salient aspects of this kind of theatre, Dr. Bhowmik said- “*Shastro* (Scripture) related debate and discussion is the main theme here. That is why sometimes it is also called as *Shastori gan*. Here, two sides or the hero-heroine of the story debates on a social or Purana related story to establish a special fact or truth. Hence, debate is the main theme here; story-incident-character does not get much importance in this type of performance,”<sup>3</sup>

Although this form of folk theatre is not related to any rituals, yet there was a time when Palatiya was performed on various religious occasions. Now a days this theatrical form is performed only for the entertainment of society. In present days there is no individual sponsor, who can bear the expenses as did the gentry in the past. Therefore, it is organised in the initiative of some committee. According to Dr. Bhowmik, although its dominating theme is discussion of the shastro (scriptures), yet the storyline can adapt incidents from Purana and social situations. Therefore, we have divided Shastori Palatiya into two types viz. (1) Pauranic (Purana related) and (2) Social.

**8.1.1. Pauranic (Purana Related) Palatiya:** These *Palatiya gan* is composed based on various educative Purana related stories. That’s why these are called *Pauranic Palatiya*. A few of such examples are as follows- Nimay Sanyas, Bhokto Prahlad, Dorpi Chand Sodagor etc. These folk theatres (Pala) work as a catalyst in advising the general masses on religion. In this case, there is less chance of debate on Shastro (Scriptures). People are given religious education through the dominant theme and storyline.

**8.1.2. Theological Palatiya:** In this variety of Palatiya, scripture related debate is started on the basis of some social incident or story. These stories are centred on how religious doctrine and scriptures should be followed in social life. This kind of performance generally has one Gosai (Guru). Sometimes, religious doctrine related debates take place between two Gosai in these folk theatres. This debate is called ‘Narak’ in the Rajbangshi language. Whoever is defeated in this narak, he has to accept the winner as his Guru. This incident can also be found in ‘Khyapa’ gan. The Narak (debate) is divided into two kinds in khyapa gan. They are- *Guru-Shisyer dara* and *Radha- Krishner Dara*. The basic source of Khyapa gan is Tukkha gan. So, it also seems, Palatiya gan has a deep connection with Tukkha or Khyapa gan. It is seen in many cases that whoever acts in the role of Guru in Palatiya is the Guru in Khyapa gan in real life too. He might not be the Khyapa, but he has to know all those religious doctrines. While performing the folk theatre (Pala), educative Tukkha gan is also performed.

On the other hand, another type of story is noticed in this Palatiya. Here, story is woven around female character. Normally that female character is a young widow whose remarriage is very much possible. That lady starts debating on the scriptures with a disciple who has only a little knowledge of the scripture. The main theme of this performance is this debate; story plays a secondary role here. Due to his shallow knowledge of religious doctrines, that disciple shows insulting behaviour towards the widow. That is the main point of debate. Finally, that disciple is forced to marry the widow as he lost in the debate. Two of such folk theatres (Pala) are- ‘Noyanshori O Boistom Baudiyya’ and ‘Gyanibala Sai O Potpotiya Gosai’. Few more of such examples are- ‘Premchand Gosai-Bangladeshi Sai’; ‘Chaiddyo Gosai-Pesketa Songsar’; ‘Sagor Gosai- Othalshori’; ‘Sotguru-Chorlokshon’; ‘Sudhonyo Gosai’ etc.

In these Palatiya gan females are given honourably high seat. In these folk theatres (Pala) especially the young widows, who are called ‘Chitul bidhuya’ in Rajbangshi language, are tried to establish in an honourably high seat in the society through respectful remarriage. As for example- Potpotiya is forced to marry Gyanibala after losing to her in debate. Likewise, Boistom Baudiya marries Noyanshori and Sagor Gosai marries Othalshori.



## 8.2. Social Palatiya:

In the social Palatiya gan the life of common people is depicted. Although this form folk theatre (Pala) carries moral lesson yet it is not considered as the dominant theme. Social life related queries are its prominent theme. However, because of varied life issues, this Palatiya is again sub-divided into two kinds as- Khas Palatiya and Ong or Rang Palatiya.

**8.2.1. Khas-Palatiya:** The theme of Khas Palatiya is numerous sad and happy events of common man's life. Here, the village life of common Rajbangshi people is reflected. Here, female characters are also given more importance. According to Dr. Nirmalendu Bhoomik and Shishir Kumar Majumder, Khas-Palatiya refers to that kind of folk theatre (pala) that delineates any scandalous story that took place in the society. But in reality, Khas-Palatiya is the reflection of common life of village society. The word 'Khas' means mundane or personal. Those Palatiya which reflects the mundane life in straightforward manner is called Khas-Palatiya. If those stories are exaggerated a bit, then they can be termed as Rang-Palatiya.

Anyway, Khas-Palatiya throws light on various problems, reflection of many injustice or irregularities and their remedy that is prevalent in the day to day life of Rajbangshi society. Examples of few such folk theatre (pala) are- '*Pon Protha Abhishap, Swami Khuni Asami Baap*'; '*Ei Jugot Kai Daami, Taka Na Biyar Swami*'; '*Sei Diner Sankani, Aajikar Jononi*'; '*Sukher Songsare Oshantir Jhod*'; '*Swosure Kutechhe Dhan Shashuri Felachhe Chhan, Boumai Bichhinat Thaki Sunechhe Mobiler Gan*'; '*Kumari Maayer Chokher Jol*' etc.

**8.2.2. Ong or Rang Palatiya:** In Rajbangshi language, most of the times, if the letter 'Ra' comes in the beginning of any word; it turns into the letter 'O'. One such example is Rangila > Ongila. Onger pala literally means folk theatre of love. Those folk theatre (pala) whose main theme is love, joke and laughter are known as Ong-Palatiya. Love faces many trials and turbulences. While overcoming these trials and turbulences laughable situations arise.

There is one comic character in the folk theatre (pala), which is known as 'Bodgi'. He is unmatched in creating excellent theatretic scenes, he gives the story its needed pace. One such famous folk theatre (pala) popular in Jalpaigudi district is 'Dhakoshori'. Some more from this genre are 'Golapishori'; 'Chintashori'; 'Pelantishori'; 'Noloshori'; 'Asharjya Aajela Ba Kajolrekha' etc. In all of the folk theatres (pala) the dominant theme is widow remarriage, 'Danguya' custom of the Rajbangshi community. 'Danguya' is one kind of marriage ritual among the Rajbangshi community. A few such marriages were practiced in the Rajbangshi Society, which were socially accepted, though somewhat inferior in the eyes of the society.

## 9.0. Presentation style of Palatiya gan

In Bisohora, Kushan, Kichchabondi gan (folk theatre), the main story is expressed and describes through the conversation between Geedal and Doyari; but in case of Palatiya gan it is not the same. Here the action takes place directly. Since there is no story description by a third person; therefore, the actors after entering the arena stage give their self introduction of the characters they are playing. For example, in 'Choiddyo Gosai Pechketar Songsar' folk theatre (pala) Pechketa after entering the stage starts introducing in the following manner—

- Namaskar, My name is Pechketa, I have got two wives, who knew two wives can bring so much happiness. Had I known it before, I would have married one more time.<sup>4</sup>  
In the same way, in 'Potpotiya Gosai- Gyanibala Sai' folk theatre (pala) Bogula Gosai enters the stage and introduces in the following manner—
- Hello dear, myself Bogula Gosai. Oh you have also heard that my name is Bogula Gosai. Wherever ten disciple assemble that place converts into Brindabon.<sup>5</sup>

These theatre groups have a manager. He takes care of the group. However, the person who composes the folk theatre (pala) is known as 'Ostaad'. The folk theatre (pala) does not have definite dialogue for characters all the time. Only songs are arranged as per the storyline. Most of the times, dialogues are composed orally on the stage. If the actors forget their dialogue, then the Ostaad reminds him or the actor uses his own dialogue. The storyline is extended or compressed as per need. Nowadays, many have compiled these folk theatres (pala) and published in the form of book. But one thing should be kept in mind that those folk theatres have no fixed dialogue. In every performances some dialogues can be different.

**9.1. Arena Stage and Audience:** The Arena stage of *Palatiya* is similar to any other folk theatre. It is known that the shape of the theatre was circle in the past. But in present time it becomes square in shape. The instrumentalists and doyers (co-singers) sit In the middle of the stage. Acting takes place on all four sides of the stage. Like other folk theatres, it also has 'Basaghora' which is the version of modern day greenroom. The actors come out of it and act their parts. Audience sit circling the stage leaving only the space for 'Basaghora'. Although most of the local Rajbangshi people are found among the audience, other communities also join to enjoy these performances. But, only elder generations can be seen among the audience; most of the younger generation avoids it.

As the audience and actors stay at the same level; so, there is not much distance between the two. When needed, interaction can happen between the two parties without any barrier. There is a begging scene almost all in the

'Palas'. The actor put forward the begging bowl towards the audience as if they are the village householders. Audiences donate as per their capacity. In this manner audience gets connected with the story of the theatre.

**9.2. Instruments:** In the past, instruments like Khol-Kartaal, Sarinjya, Baashi, Dhol etc. were used in Palatiya gan. But, with the advent of time many modern instruments are used in it. For example- Tabla, Naal, Harmonium, Cornet, Fullet etc. Before the folk theatre (pala) starts, a concert is performed with a popular tune, which attract attention of the audience.

**9.3. Incorporation of Music:** Long ethnic tune is used in Palatiya gan. Sometimes, 'Manasikṣā' and 'dēhatattva' (spiritual) songs are also included. These kind of 'Manasikṣā' and 'dēhatattva' songs are deeply connected with 'Shastori' form of Palatiya. The rhythm that is normally used in these songs is 'Teoda' or 'Kaharba'. However, songs using 'dadra' taal is also performed. Often songs of 'Chotka' taal is also used in 'Chhut' or 'Faas' (irrelevant with main plot) performance for the entertainment of the audience.

The theatre is started with prayer song in soft tune. This has many parts such as- Khola-Bondona, Asor Bondona, Saraswati Bondona etc. which are performed chronologically. After that the actors enter on the stage and greets the audience with self-introduction of their acting character. Sometimes songs are used as a dialogue in some particular situation. Some Debating or questioning is also done through songs.

**9.4. Dance in Palatiya:** The Movements of dance used in Palatiya are called *Ghurani*, *Chalan*, *Darpechi* etc. When Bisohora dance reaches to 'Chalan' movement, a different swing movement takes place which resembles to the movement of a snake. But there is no such move in the dance used in Palatiya. Instead they mostly use 'Ghurani (rotator movement) and 'Kamar-Jhoka' (movement of the waist). But when dance is performed only for entertainment, no special movement is followed. Normal dance are performed on such occasion which is home to all form of folk theatre such as- Bisohora, Dotorā-danga, Chorchunni etc.

#### 10.0. Spread of Palatiya:

Generally it is said that palatiya is a performance of Jalpaiguri. But it is found that from ancient times this form of performance is prevalent in Rangpur, Koochbehar, Darjeeling, along with Kokrajhar, Bongaigaon, Dhubri districts of Assam. On the other side, Palatiya is known as 'Khon' in both Dinajpur District. However, according to Shishir Kumar Majumder Palatiya and Khon as two different folk theatres. But our observation is that 'Khon' of Dinajpur and 'Palatiya' of Jolpaigudi-Koochbehar is of the same family.

In the Serfanguri area of Kokrajhar district 'Ong-palatiya' was in vogue, Shastori was found in Dhubri district. From this analysis we can come to the conclusion that although Palatiya is lost in present day Assam, it was not so in the past. The folk theatres (pala) like Noyanshori, Dubulabali etc. were performed in Assam in olden times. But, Palatiya groups are found very less in number even in Jalpaiguri district now. There is no any such group in Assam. Few groups are found in areas like Holdibari and ranir haat of Koochbehar; Maynaguri, Saptibari, Belakoba, Manikganj etc of Jalpaiguri. Among these places, in Manikganj most number of active groups are present. There are 7/8 active Palatiya groups are present in this place.

#### 11.0. Conclusion:

In the above discussion we have analysed terminology, social and cultural context, participating society and audience etc. regarding Palatiya gan. Besides that, brief introduction is given about the performing style, salient features of song and dance used in this form of folk theatre. How this folk theatre has evolved with time is also put under consideration in this analysis. Moreover, we have noticed that although this form of folk theatre is not directly connected to God worship, yet this theatre is deeply connected with the religious consciousness of the Rajbangshi community. This dimension is yet to be investigated thoroughly. Moreover, there are ample scope for investigation and analysis of melody and dance movements used in this form of folk theatre.

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3. Bhauksha Roy, Male, Age- 50 Years, Niranjana Path, Po: Gonsairhat, Dhupguri, Jalpaiguri, 14.07.2016.
4. Amal Roy, Male, Age-52 Years, Village- Dhangkali, Po: Khattimari, Dhupguri, Jalpaiguri, 15.07.2016.
5. Chandan Das, Male, 65, Village- Hariyapar, Rangdhamali, Jalpaiguri, 10.11.2015.
6. Kalindra Roy (Kaleya), Male, Gram- North Khagrabari, Mainaguri, Jalpaiguri, 13.11.2015.
7. Anantakumar Mahanta, Male, Gram- North Khagrabari, Mainaguri, Jalpaiguri, 13.11.2015.
8. Upendranath Roy, Male, Village- Manikganj, Jalpaiguri, 12.11.2015.