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Linking Folklore to Agricultural Sustainability Accounting in Bangladesh

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ABSTRACT

The Bangladeshi folklore cultural heritage embraces myriad proverbs, adages, sayings, folktales, and folksongs, including the songs of the Baul mystic minstrels. Many are linked to various aspects of agriculture – from tilling to harvest, storage of yields, and consumption. The paper draws on this folklore to develop the concept of traditional sustainability accounting in agriculture. Although without formal quantification, these proverbs and songs guide agricultural practices in rural Bangladesh maintaining a socio-economic system that promotes sustainable activities, counteracts the damage caused by the 1970 Green Revolution, and encourage sustainability accounting. In recent years, Bangladesh has achieved many of the Millennium Development Goals but has also witnessed environmental deterioration. An agro-ecological management informed by folklore and traditional wisdom has the potential to transform the country's progress along the lines of the UN Sustainable Development Goals.

KEYWORDS

Agriculture, Bauls, Culture, Folklore, Kindness, Modesty, Resilience, Sustainability Accounting, Traditional Knowledge, Value Principles

INTRODUCTION

Being a complex phenomenon, folk or mass culture was created during pre-industrial times through face-to-face personal interactions in the organic village communities of small-scale, predominantly agrarian societies where communications were mainly oral-aural, visual, direct, shared and enjoyed by most people (Briggs, 1990). This popular culture developed a large body of shared knowledge and beliefs through vernacular expressions as well as practices described by the term "folklore". Although there is not one clear-cut definition of folklore, what is represents or comprises (Bendix & Hasan-Rokem, 2012), there is wide-spread understanding that it is shared by a group of people who share some common characteristics, such as belonging to a particular ethnic, national, religious or spiritual community. According to Bauman (1990), folklore is recognized for its durability and social efficacy. Albala (2013) points out the importance of folklore in anthropology, religious studies, literature, arts and most other humanities disciplines as well as for public policy, community development, social justice, cultural interpretation and education.

In many industrialized societies folklore might seem to have lost its social importance and may appear to be anachronistic or belonging to the past. There are however many communities around the

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globe which continue to maintain agricultural economies combining traditional practices with modern sustainable agro-ecosystems and agro-forestry production systems. Their folk culture encourages sustainable practices suited to the local conditions and which have evolved and are being maintained as a part of their cultural tradition and identity. Rural Bangladesh is such an example where unwritten stories and tales, proverbs and wisdom sayings, folk and spiritual songs, beliefs in myths and legends, adages and riddles together with many other expressions of folklore continue to be created, believed, valued and used by the folk masses. The Bauls – saintly mendicants, mostly unlettered singing gurus, are very popular in rural Bangladesh and their poetic, musical and philosophical talent is often seen as being at the root of the Bengali folk culture (Hossain, 1991; Hossain & Marinova, 2009a). Combining principles from Hinduism and Islam (Chaudhury, 2013) as well as Christianity, Buddhism and any other spiritual path (King, 2008), the Bauls are unique in socio-religious syncretization. The famous Lalon Fakir "used to say that… the only religion he believed in was humanism" (Chaudhury, 2013, p. 5). In 2005, the Bauls were recognized by UNESCO (2008) as part of the intangible heritage of humanity as they have been influencing the popular culture of Bangladesh for centuries.

Because of their lifestyle and experience, the Bangladeshi rural people rely more on the guiding messages embedded in their folklore with which they are familiar, than on modern knowledge to which they have more limited access. Being an inherently oral tradition, folklore is transmitted from one generation to another. It offers common perspectives and allows people with diverse backgrounds and occupations to live in socio-cultural unity.

A very good example of this is food and its production through agriculture (Albala, 2013). This paper explores the link between folklore, agriculture and traditional sustainability accounting. Food production is required for human survival but agriculture is also the foundation of the national culture of Bangladesh. The following proverbs clearly state these links: "No culture without agriculture"[1]; "There is no living culture where there is no agriculture"[2] and "As is a nation's dependence on agriculture, so is the dynamic strength of its culture"[3]. This kind of proverbial wisdom sends powerful messages not only about the synergy between culture and agriculture but also that food production needs to be strong and maintained in order to sustain Bangladesh. It puts agriculture at the core of the long-term development of Bangladesh and links this to future goals and aspirations. The remainder of the paper draws on folklore to convey the links between agriculture and popular wisdom, accounting for sustainability and development goals for Bangladesh.

FOLKLORE AND AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES

Not only are culture and agriculture from a similar linguistic root but cultivation also comes from the past participle *cultus* of the same Latin verb *colere* which means "to till, cultivate, dwell, inhabit, worship" (Brosius, 2001, p. 114) or simply "to cultivate" (Google Translate, 2016). According to Zimmermann (2015), *colere* refers to tending to the earth and growing. It also includes care, reverence and adoration (Brosius, 2001). With their soul stirring songs, the Bauls who are simple, natural, unembellished, rooted in the soil environmentalists in their beliefs and practice, take the folk listeners close to nature. A Baul song also links culture and agriculture to nature and sustainability: "Agriculture causes culture – please understand this; and culture upholds the sustainability of soil, water, air and biodiversity"[4].

Bangladesh is a country highly dependent on agriculture. Agricultural produces are not only the main source of food, but also the inputs to many industrial and commercial activities for the country's rural people. Many trades people who make or repair the diverse agricultural gears are also directly and indirectly involved and dependent on farming. The farmers together all workers in the rural areas, including carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, producers of edible oil, barbers and crafts people, are creators, practitioners and sustainers of folklore. As the entire process of crop production depends on favourable climatic variables associated with rainfall and sunshine, the condition of the soil and availability of water, many folksongs, folktales, proverbs and adages link the ecological environment

to agricultural techniques, such as tilling, harvesting, storage of yields and consumption rules. For example, Khonar (referred to also as the Khona) is a mythical woman who advises the farmers about what should be done and what not.

The agricultural folklore of the Khona was composed a thousand year ago, but still guides the farmers in their practices (Table 1 includes examples from the Khona's folklore[5]). Contemporary agricultural techniques also acknowledge the Khona's adages (Bachon) as appropriate as well as the wisdom of Rabon[6]. The Khona and Rabon are mystical people and their adages are part of the traditional ecological knowledge of Bangladesh which the rural folks continue to sustain.

Folklore is dynamic and not only maintained but constantly being created and recreated in response to present day influences. This is particularly the case with agriculture where the pressures of the Green Revolution of the 1970s have triggered unsustainable use of resources and negatively impacted rural livelihoods (Shiva, 2016). As with many traditional communities around the globe, in order to survive rural folks in Bangladesh have "to adjust to the pressure of change, reinforce true and private environments, incorporate and modify foreign cultural elements to make them theirs" (Silva, 2001, p. 303). They need to maintain "the long-term productivity of the system in an environmentally conserving and safe manner coupled with economic viability, social justice, and equity for the grower" (Raman, 2006, p. xvii).

There are many present-day folklore teachings that relate to agriculture and culture. For example, Baul guru Aziz Fakir says that as mono-cropping destroys fertility, productivity and soil resilience, so does the mono society. A mono society does not practice diverse social activities, sociality and spirituality. By comparison, as multi-cropping systems can benefit the soil, productivity and the environment, a multicultural society can generate social harmony, cohesion, resilience and unity amidst diversity.

TRADITIONAL SUSTAINABILITY ACCOUNTING IN AGRICULTURE

As a contemporary academic discipline and practice, accounting reports mainly quantitatively on "a particular aspect of human activity, mainly from a financial, business or economic perspective" (Khan et al., 2016). Accounting can also be understood as an information system which describes increases and decreases in resources represented as financial transactions (Doğan et al., 2013). Sustainability accounting, previously known as corporate social reporting, social and environmental accounting and corporate social disclosure (Tilt, 2007) emerged twenty years ago as a form of release of non-financial or hybrid (monetary and physical) information (OECD, 2004). More recently, the expectations are for sustainability accounting to report on human activities related to economic performance as well as to the state of environmental health and wellbeing of society as a whole (Khan et al., 2016). Some see it as a pragmatic imperative and a tool which integrates a variety of information leading to behavioural changes (Schaltegger & Burritt, 2010). A previous analysis of the traditional knowledge and wisdom of the Bauls generated a new interpretation of sustainability reporting which is usually done along the lines of integrating economic, environmental and social aspects, namely modesty in consumption, kindness towards the non-human world and resilience to cope and withstand changes, calamities and shocks (Khan et al., 2015). This paper explores further the role of folklore in maintaining sustainability accounting in agriculture – the most ubiquitous and important human activity (Raman, 2006, p. 1).

While in the developed West, folklore may be seen as remains from old pre-industrial culture that continue to exist in the less-educated lower sections of society (Noyes, 2012), from a sustainability perspective it represents the most enduring traditional knowledge that can inform past, present and future generations. This continuity of shared values and practices is particularly important in order to understand the importance of sustainability accounting in terms of reporting activities that support self-reliance and respect for nature and all its beings.

Agricultural sustainability accounting deals primarily with the issue of food security for the farmers and the remaining population of Bangladesh in relation to a range of conditions that could

Table 1. Examples of the Khona's and Rabon's agricultural folklore

English	Bangla
Do	
When planting mango and jackfruit seeds, the farmers can relax. They require fertilizer only twice a year in order to give high yields.	Am kathal rue, thakge chashi shue. Bosore duibar dibi shar, dekhbi tobe foler bahar.
Rabon calls people to plant bananas in the months of June and July. After planting 360 plants, the famer can sleep at home.	Dak die bole rabon, kola lagabi Ashar srabon. Tin soto shat kola rue, thako grihastha ghare shue.
Plant banana trees at 18 inches depth and every 4 meters. This is the best method.	At hath ontor ek hat khai, kola poth ge chashi bhai. Dhorle poka dibi chai, er cheye valo upai nai.
Deep tilling with a strong oxen fulfills the farmer's expectation.	Shobol gorur govir chash, tate pure chasha ash.
Build the house not too high, buy a small size cow, marry a dark-complexion woman, all these are good for the peasant.	Ghar badho khato, gai kino chhoto. Bou koro kalo, tai grihaster valo.
Do not do	
After planting a banana tree, never cut its leaves.	Kola rue na kato path, tatei kapor tatei bhat.
After planting bananas in the month of August, Rabon the farmer suffered a heavy loss.	Vadra mashe rue kola, Sobongse molo rabon shala.
Farmers who use cattle for tilling in a full moon and a dark moon, their cattle would suffer from rheumatism – Khona strongly warns about it.	Purnima Amaya je dhore hal, tar dukkha chiro kal. Tar boloder hoy bath, ghore tar thake na hath. Khona bole shuno bani, je choshe tar hobe hani.
Those who till the land with a she-cow, would suffer from lifelong poverty.	Gai die bohe ha, tar dukkha chiro kal.
Advice	
Rice production is double if planted in the first rain during – March–April. If potol (a vegetable) is planted in February, its production would be double.	Baishakher prothom jole, Aus dhan digun fole. Bunle potol falgune, phol bare digune.
Radish requires 16 times tilling of land, cotton requires half of this, rice requires half the tilling of cotton, and no tilling is required for betel leaves.	Sholo chase mula, tar ordhek tula, tar ordhek dhan, bina chashe pan.

Source: (Faruq & Lucky, 1995)

influence related activities of production, storage, processing, transportation and distribution. Countless folkloric proverbs, adages, wisdom, folktales, folksongs and chants, including Baul songs, are linked to the various aspects of agricultural management and accounting. The way they deal with these issues however is not through quantitative reporting but through guidance. Kahn et al. (2015; 2016) summarized these guidance into sustainability accounting value principles which can potentially create a different economy and agricultural production – "one that can restore ecosystems and protect the environment while bringing forth innovation, prosperity, meaningful work and true security" (Khan et al., 2016). These value principles are: kindness – using without destruction, modesty – consuming less to save for others, and resilience – being self-reliant and strong to overcome adversities.

Kindness in Agriculture

The kindness principle applied to agriculture refers to the way the resources of the planet– its soil, water, sun, flora and fauna, are used for food production to sustain human life. Technologies and knowledge play a major part in food production. For example, the technologies of the agricultural

Green Revolution introduced by the industrialized countries in Bangladesh, including high-yielding varieties of rice and other grains, hybridized seeds, intensive use of irrigation, non-organic fertilizers and synthetic pesticides (Farmer, 1986), largely overshadowed the local agricultural accounting practices. They created major changes in the natural ecosystems and agrarian structures. In many ways, the Green Revolution not only disregarded the folkloric wisdom of rural Bangladesh but also broke down long-lasting traditions. According to Shiva (1993, p. 63):

For 10,000 years, farmers and peasants had produced their own seeds, on their own land, the best seeds, storing them, replanting them, and letting nature take its course in the renewal and enrichment of life. GR plant breeding strategies of maintaining and enriching genetic diversity and self-renewability of crops were substituted by new breeding strategies of uniformity and non-renewability, aimed primarily at increasing transnational profits and First World control over the genetic resources of the Third World.

The Green Revolution replaced traditional sustainability accounting with modern agricultural practices that promised and showed a lot initially but were not able to sustain the higher yields without compromising the ecology (Siddiqui et al., 2016). These technologies were not kind, but violent to the environment and other species; they were not kind to rural Bangladeshi people either. The Green Revolution methods and technologies cannot compete with the quality of crops, such as rice, wheat pulse, maize or jute, in terms of resistance to diseases, paste, salinity and drought as well as in quality in taste and content of nutrients (Shiva, 2016). They enticed the farmers to abandon traditional practices replacing them with intensive application of mechanical cultivation, clearing of forest land, extraction of underground water for irrigation, application of chemical fertilizers and highly toxic insecticides, pesticides and herbicides as well as the use of water-intensive mono-cropping.

The future of agriculture in countries, such as Bangladesh is not in completely denying the Green Revolution but in combining traditional practices with modern sustainable solutions (Hatfield & Karlen, 1994). Both novel and traditional applications need to provide a holistic approach to the land. The Khona as the traditional agricultural science translated through folklore is meant to ensure the long-term sustainability of agriculture. New agricultural folklore, especially folksongs, is emerging composed by spiritual leaders, such as the Baul philosophers, encouraging rural people to return to traditional agricultural knowledge. An example is Harun Baul's song:

Do not do modern farming,
it is not sustainable,
return to Khona's knowledge,
it is incomparable[7].

The Bangladesh agricultural scientists are now re-adopting the folklore-based agricultural accounting wisdom. A most notable example of this is Integrated Pest Management (IPM), which is largely based on local knowledge and represents a scientific innovative approach to pest management. The value principle of kindness inspires traditional rural societies to recognize the importance of natural biosystems in providing an ecologically self-reliant lifestyle (Hossain & Marinova, 2009b).

This is also the pathway that can reverse the culture of destruction of nature and society (Hossain et al., 2014). Bangladesh, including the country's poorest people, are often exposed to high environmental risk, including climate related calamities. Their however possess rich environmental values, kindness and respect for nature. In fact, a comparative study shows that the environmental values of the Bangladesh population are higher than in other parts of the world (Ngwenya, 2015) and the country's rural people practice sustainability accounting guided by the value principle of kindness. As Lalon Fakir sings:

Do not proceed through conjectural path. It has fatal pitfalls.
Identifying a sustainable path, proceed diligently.
Intention results in right or wrong.
Sail on a boat of commitment, and go ahead to overcome adversities.
Lalon says, you can then accomplish your goal[8].

Modesty in Agriculture

Conventional agricultural accounting "primarily records financial and monetary transactions throughout agricultural activities" (Doğan et al., 2013, p. 108) and ultimately aims at assisting strategies that promote increased food production and avoid decline or loss of produce. Generally, accounting uses sophisticated information systems which combine financial data on all activities. Accounting information systems are considered essential for the operation of any business because of their role in informing decision making. In fact, they are also deemed to be the best within any organization (Sürmeli et al., 2006) requiring a lot of investment for their development and maintenance. By comparison, conventional accounting information systems in agriculture play an insignificant role (Doğan et al., 2013) as agriculture is dependent on and affects many factors which cannot be monetized. These user-oriented systems provide data and information only about economic impact (Salehi et al., 2010) while agricultural accounting should deal with the sustainability concerns of farmers related to the changing environmental, ecological, cultural and social conditions of food production.

Traditional sustainability accounting practices also need to provide insights for the present and future generations. In Bangladeshi rural communities, the accounting information needs to be communicated to people who are often formally uneducated. Traditional agricultural folklore provides the most needed information for sustainable accounting practices that take into consideration the present and future eco-agricultural sustainability of food production. Folklore gives a sound basis for accounting beyond self-interest and is encouraged by the country's Baul philosophers who also inspire sustainable lifestyle in harmony with nature and other living species.

Food is the most basic of all human needs. Modesty in agriculture refers to being moderate and fair in using the planet's resources for food production as well as in personal consumption. Agriculture is a way of life in rural Bangladesh where people people are guided by folkloric and religious influences, including the Khona's do's and do-not-do's (see Table 1). Furthermore, religion does not obstruct celebrating the Bengali New Year's Day or the Annual New Food Day, but it bans squander and wasteful din and bustle (Nabi, 2003).

The Baul songs also encourage modesty in consumption, a non-cash economy and finding joy and satisfaction in spiritual ways of living. They promote the ethics of sustainable consumption based on belief in an optimistic future counteracting the many western messages. This folkloric spiritual culture can complement the complex aim of achieving sustainable development. An example is Harun Baul's song:

No insufficiency in the rural treasure of Bangladesh.
Belief is the means of material goods.[9]

Resilience and Agriculture

The Green Revolution and its technologies caused a sharp decline in the self-reliance of many communities as well as detachment from nature. Subsistence agricultural practices were destroyed in countries, such as Bangladesh, which caused dependence on foreign aid and technologies (Schumacher, 1974; Willoughby, 1990) and diminishing sustainability prospects (Rogers et al., 2008). The industrial model of food production is currently employed in the West not only for crops and plant-based foodstuffs but also for animal rearing. This has resulted to excessive meat consumption in countries,

such as USA and Australia triggering an epidemic of health and environmental problems (Raphaely & Marinova, 2016).

Bangladesh and its rural communities have so far avoided the burden of meat dependence (Hossain, 2016) and are currently restoring their self-reliant traditional agriculture. Food security and resilient agriculture are a global concern in response to climate and environmental changes (Lin, 2011; Almås & Campbell, 2012). Self-reliance, crop diversity and traditional wisdom help build resilience as the best way to adapt to social and environmental changes (Xu et al., 2015). A proverb says that rice in the granary and songs in people's throat are the main assets of a Bengali. Further resilience advice comes from the Khona in relation to the village homesteads:

Pond in the East, bamboo in the West, banana in the North, open space in the South[10]
and
Do not block sunshine and wind – do not die of sickness and suffering[11].

Within the villages of rural Bangladesh, all family members are engaged in various agricultural operations necessary for nutrition, including rice and cash crops, gardening activities, poultry and cattle raising. The predominant observed characteristic is that of social cohesion. It reinforces the culture of social resilience through sharing, caring, respect and responsibility within the family unit but also within the village community. People are closely linked to each other in meeting their material needs, in happiness and miseries. Diversity of skills and knowledge is essential for long-term survival and prospering. A popular proverb reveals:

The village which has people from 36 occupations,
the wind from heaven flows there[12].

In the context of rural Bangladesh, culture is agriculture-based and agriculture is integrally linked to folklore for agricultural education and practices. The overarching need for folklore-guided agricultural accounting practices is integral to people's sustainability. There are two interrelated aspects of understanding the role of folklore to agricultural sustainability accounting. The first is folklore as the source of developing knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and understanding; and the second is its role in guiding the way of life including consumption habits and technology use. Therefore, agricultural accounting is both the message and the medium of sustainability. It is part of rural culture and hence "contains inherent values, means and the results of social expression", enfolding every aspect of life (Hawkes, 2001, p. 3).

FOLKLORE AND DEVELOPMENT GOALS

In September 2015, the United Nations adopted a set of 17 global goals for achieving sustainable development. They aim to "to end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all as part of a new sustainable development agenda" for the next 15 years (UN, 2016, n.p.). They came into force as of 1 January 2016 and represent a continuation of the Millennium Development Goals agenda in which Bangladesh achieved outstanding and remarkable progress (GED, 2015).

In order for the country to perform in a similar way along the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), it is important that this agenda links to the values systems of rural Bangladesh. Despite recent urbanization and higher rates of migration to the cities, the villages of Bangladesh still provide livelihood to 70% of the country's population (UNICEF, 2013). Bangladesh's overall literacy rate is 58% (UNICEF, 2013) and the majority of rural people are formally uneducated and rely on oral traditional knowledge. Traditional sustainability accounting shaped by folk culture and folklore is

likely to continue to make strong contribution in the country's future development, including progress towards achieving the SDGs.

Figure 1 represents a diagram that links the 17 SDGs with the three value principles of traditional sustainability accounting. At the core of the value principles is SDG 11 which relates to human settlements and sustainable communities as sustainability in its essence is about how people live. This is the goal where folklore has the most impact by shaping culture and people's values, knowledge and actions. In other words, folklore is at the centre of the sustainability agenda for rural Bangladesh. Each of the three value principles (Khan et al., 2016) shapes predominantly five SDGs as follows:

- *Kindness* which largely represents environmental protection and improvement – SDG 6 Clean water and sanitation, SDG 7 Renewable energy, SDG 13 Climate action, SDG 14 Life under water and SDG 15 Life on land;
- *Modesty* which largely represents economic development – SDG 1 End poverty, SDG 2 End hunger, SDG 8 Good jobs and economic growth, SDG 9 Innovation and infrastructure and SDG 12 Sustainable consumption; and
- *Resilience* which largely represents social development – SDG 3 Good health, SDG 4 Quality education, SDG 5 Gender equality, SDG 10 Reduced inequalities and SDG 16 Peace and justice.

The overarching goal which brings together all areas and countries across the globe is SDG 17 Partnerships. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2016, n.p.), this goal "can only be realized with a strong commitment to global partnership and cooperation". Bangladesh is very well placed to establish such partnerships and in today's interconnected world this will allow for mutual enrichment and collaboration based on the shared values principles of sustainability accounting.

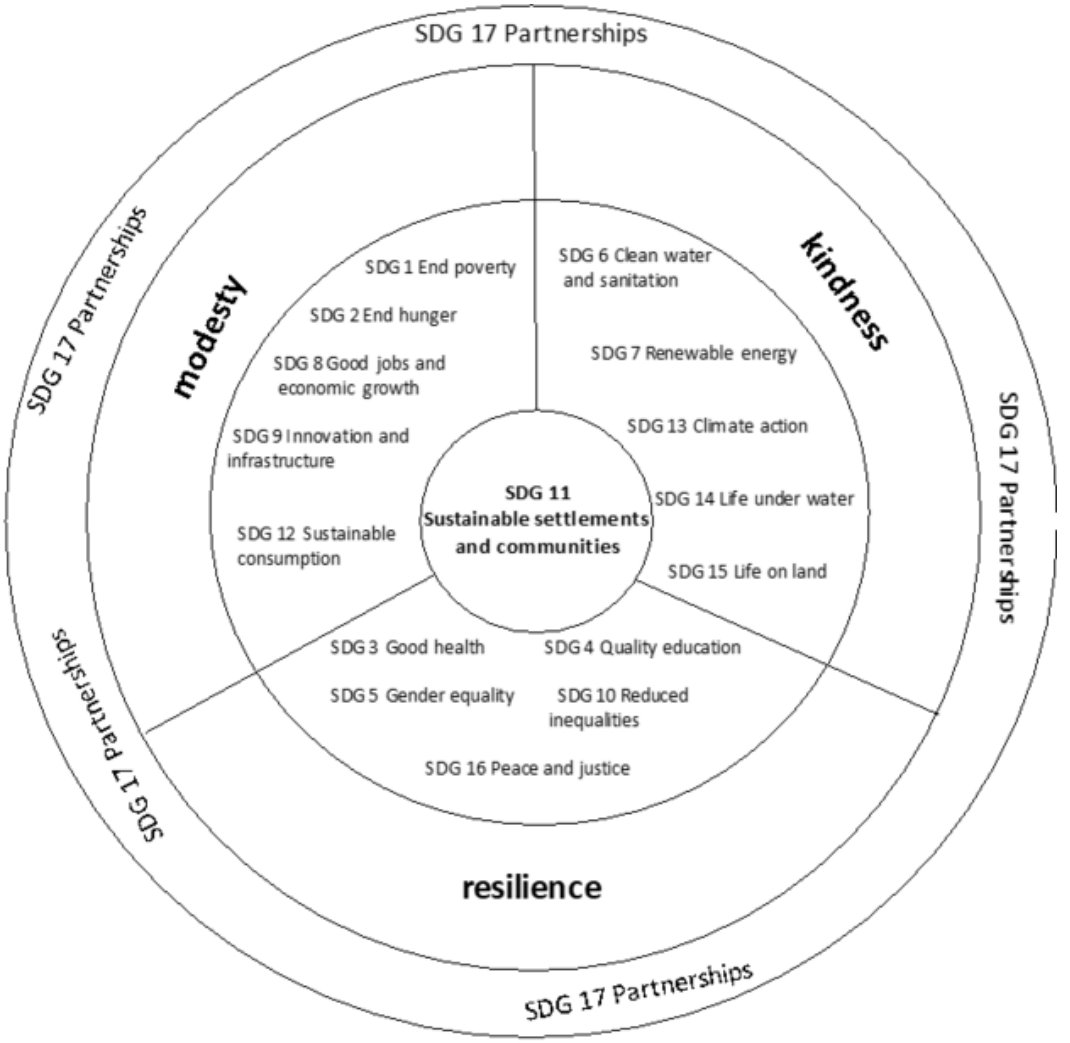
CONCLUSION

The simple yet powerful proverbial wisdom of Bangladeshi folklore helps rural people understand food production, culture and sustainability through a spiritual window. In the domain of folklore, agriculture, culture and sustainability are all interlinked. Folklore being the carrier of the Bangladeshi culture is linked to every step of the agricultural accounting process through rural beliefs, customs, rituals, myths, legends, tales, rhymes, songs and riddles. Countless folkloric proverbs, adages, wisdom, folktales and folksongs, including Baul songs and the Khona Bochon, guide various aspects of agricultural accounting and management – from tilling to harvest and storage of yields to ethics of sustainable consumption.

Without formal quantification, these proverbs and songs guide agricultural practices in rural Bangladesh maintaining a socio-economic system that promotes sustainable activities and counteracts the damage caused by the Green Revolution in the 1970s. The three value principles of sustainability accounting, namely kindness, modesty and resilience, are highly informed by the country's folklore allowing traditional agro-ecological sustainability management. They help revitalize agricultural traditionalism as an important sustainability aspect of looking after the health of the land and its people.

Through the period of the Millennium Development Goals, Bangladesh achieved substantial progress in its economic and social developmental targets. The country is now on the pathway of the new Sustainable Development Goals. Folk culture is at the core of not only achieving the SDGs in rural Bangladesh, but also in re-shaping the way we view the world and the opportunities for living sustainably.

Figure 1. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and traditional sustainability accounting value principles



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ENDNOTES

[1] Krishi sara kristy nai (in Bangla).
[2] Krishi nai jekhane, krishti nai shekhane (in Bangla).
[3] Je jatir Krishi nirvorata je rup, se jatir krishti se rup (in Bangla).
[4] "Krishite kristir sristi, jene rekho bhai; Kristi rokkhe mati, jol bayu ar jiva kuler thai" (in Bangla).
[5] All Khona sayings are quoted according to Faruq & Lucky (1995).
[6] A folk poetic philosopher in Bangladesh.
[7] Baignanik abad ar korona
A abad kokhono teksoi hoy na
Khonar bochone fire cholo
Khonar gnaner nai tolona (in Bangla).
[8] Jeo na andaji pathe, o mon rasana.
Kupanke kupanche pole, praan bachbe na.
Pather parichoy kare,
Jao na maner sandeh mere,
Laav lokshan buddhir dare Jabe jana.
Anurag tarani choro
Dhar chine ujan dhoro
Lalon bole karte paro mul sadhana (in Bangla).
[9] Gram banglar gram vandare bhai, kono kisur ovab nai
Sethai biswase malai vastu, itihash proman dayi (in Bangla).
[10] Purbe hash, poschime bash, uttore kola, dakkhine mela (in Bangla).
[11] Alo Haoa bedho na, roge voge moro na (in Bangla).
[12] Je grame asse 36 jatir bash
sethai bohe sorger batash (in Bangla).