..

Ulgulan: Resistance Against Ecological Imperialism and Historiographical Otherization in Mahasweta Devi's *Aranyer Adhikar*

Debolina Byabortta

Introduction

Our skin is bark, our blood is sap,
We do not fit upon your map.
You arrive with steel, with measured greed,
To plant a foreign, killing seed.
You call it 'growth', you call it 'light',
But turn our vibrant day tonight
(Kerketta 2021, 34)

The poetic symphony of Jacinta Kerketta, an indigenous poet of India in *The Roots' Resistance* (Kerketta 2021, 34), unpacks the voice of resistance against the expansion of colonial power that reverberates in the struggle of the Adivasis in Mahasweta Devi's *Arannyer Adhikar* (2012). Devi's fictional reconstruction, which represents the human struggle for voicing dissent, incorporates issues of systemic deforestation and environmental justice. The chronicle of rebellion against the colonial power remains a struggle for existence. The right to forest stands as one of their fundamental rights besides the demand for food, shelter, and clothing. This sense of belongingness to the forest pulsating with their livelihood remains a counter-discourse to systemic deforestation and consumer capitalism. Such counter-discursive responses from the part of the Adivasis with a voluntary will of dissociating from the definition of the modern nation-state with the colonial baggage either burst out in the form of unified, assertive "ho" or "ulgulan" or the great tumult to resist erasure, for such rebellion is rooted in resilience and connection to the earth. Such rebellious responses are a consequence of the prolonged histories of oppression and the politics of cultural otherization. As Bodhi Ramteke remarks

> For India's tribal communities, particularly in central India, the name Adivasi is a powerful declaration of their irrefutable indigeneity and sovereignty. Yet its meaning shifts with context: either as an affirmation of identity and dignity, or as an objectified bias from the so-called mainstream societies (The Wire, June 5, 2025).

Amid such politics of otherization and dehumanization, the political legacy of Birsa Munda emerges as a structured grassroot leadership fighting for attaining social justice for the Adivasis in Jharkhand from where the "ulgulan" or the great tumult emerges as a sustenance to the anti-colonial movement. Birsa remains the reflection of Adivasi aspiration and a spirit of liberation across the country. Although the prolonged habit of silencing excludes records of Birsa's anti-colonial movements from dominant historical narratives, his "ulgulan" -the great tumult-reemerges as a fiery spirit of liberation after the 1920s in the historical accounts and literary reconstructions that document struggles against colonial rule. It is precisely in this context that Mahasweta Devi's fictional reconstruction in Aranyer Adhikar remains an eco-political narrative documenting Birsa Munda's struggle for the commons against politics of othering and colonial hostility. Colonial power centres on the forest upon which the local community's core values and survival depend. Set against this background, Birsa Munda's revolutionary credo, pivotally functions as, a revolt against the chains of the landlords or *dikus* and offers a defense for the indigenous community, for the economic resource, for the spiritual anchor. The narrator records:

> He will snatch away the forest from the dikus. Forest is the mother of the Mundas. The dikus have made their mother inauspicious. By firing the light of Ulgulan, Birsa wanted to purify their mother. And then the Mundas, the Koles, the Santhals, along with their right to forest-mother, spread throughout Chhotonagpur, Palamou, Singhbhoom, and Chakradjarpur, and would go back to the lap of their mother (Devi 2012, 18).

Such a deep connection with the forest and earth echoes in the voice of Dopdi Mejhen in Devi's short story "Draupadi": "The forest Jharkhani. They call it Jharkhani, the forest of Jharkhand. The forest is our father" (Devi 1997, 187). Together they form the voice that contests the colonial political economy based on extraction of earth. Ranajit Guha in *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* therefore notes, "The Munda's resistance was an elementary form of peasant insurgency, rooted in local conditions, and traditional authority structures" (Guha 1883, 226).

Colonial capitalism and the perpetuation of power lead to the transformation of the forest from the fertile terrain characterised by Sal forest and rivers to decay and drought. This draught prevails in the life of the Mundas and in the domain of the forest that is an inseparable part of the community. This is the spectacle of colonial oppression that identified the forest area as mere "wasteland" suitable for mining and logging. It is at this point that the domain of the Chhotonagpur plateau in the colonial gaze becomes a domain of profit, much like the organized passion for greed remains emblematized by the very setting of Yakhshapuri in Tagore's *Red Oleanders* (1925). The great tumult comes out as a form of fiery revolt in which not the forest but the heart of the people burns out in anger. Devi notes,

> The simmering fire burns out the forest. Drought prevails in the domain of the forest. That is precisely the reason why the community wants to burn out in the credo of Ulgulan. The fire of Ulgulan burns out not the forest green but the heart and blood of his people" (Devi 2012, 17).

Thus, the narrative of subaltern resistance is juxtaposed with the oppressive policies of ecological imperialism.

The term "ecological imperialism" as popularised by Alfred Crosby in his book *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe*, refers to the fact that European colonialism brought about significant ecological changes, introducing non-native species and diseases that devastated indigenous ecosystems and populations (Crosby 1986, 07). Here in the novel, the geographical locale is characterized by mahua, rivers and the saal forming "Dharti Maa" (Earth Mother) for fulfilling the emotional, spiritual and economic needs of the community, being a kin and not a commodity. But the colonial terraforming of the region comes up with all the capitalist logic of codification, land revenue law and so forth. Contracts of ownership and extraction imperatives violate the spiritual bond with the forest. Devi notes the conflict between the Mundas' kinship with the forest and the propietary laws of the colonial regime: "The dikus come with papers. They show a piece of paper and say the land is theirs. They do not know the language of the trees, only the language of the law." (Devi 2012, 58). Mining and river pollution transform the forest from mother to harbinger of drought, famine, illness, and social collapse- evidence of ecological imperialism. These material shifts produce psychological effects across the Munda community. This is evident in Birsa's words, "The forest is changing its face. The trees look like strangers now. Even the spirit of our ancestors are being driven out by the sound of the contractor's axe" (Devi 2012, 67)

Counter-narratives of Forest and Famine

Against such sites of oppression and othering the resistance narratives of the Mundas emerge. Their emphasis on the communal and sacred essence of the forests is an answer to the politics of commodification and persisting enclosures. Their assertive claim for the land and the forest is much like the child's possession by the mother with the urge to keep it safe from the spell of oppression by the dikus or the Zamindars. Devi notes:

> The forest was ours; the land was ours. We cleared the woods with our own hands, and we drove away the tigers and snakes. The earth is our mother; how can the government or the Zamindar own her? (Devi 2012, 63)

The ecological wisdom of the Mundas is evident in their practice of oral tradition, worship of sacred groves, agricultural cycles with pastoral rhythms, and fertility ceremonies. Such a fertility cult, sometimes amongst the Yoruba people in Nigeria, while worshipping Oshun, linked to forests and rivers, or the oral tradition amongst the Amazonian communities worshipping Mama Selva , the forest spirit, or that of the Adivasis' worshipping of the Sarha, linking forest and fertility conservation, remains performative in front of the pedagogical discourse of plundering and mining. Even during the times of colonial modernity, they happen to count their age and time of the year with regard to the number of full moons in a year. The assertive spirit of the Mundas helps them rescue the lands from the control of the dikus, which they name as "Dameen-e-co" (Devi 2012, 34). While emphasising the corporeal power of their muscle and blood, the character of Dhani refers to how bravely they fought when the Mundas had to leave their land to the hands of the dikus, "Then I was young. I have just spent two hundred and fifty moons. You better understand the count of years and months" (Devi 2012, 36).

Further, the Munda origin recounts how Singbonga saved a man and woman from rain of fire, while cultic playing of the tuila and women's dance stand as counter-discourse to the Genesis account of Adam and Eve. Such counter-discursive narrative challenging political domination and environmental catastrophe is evident in Mahasweta Devi's short story Shikar (The Hunt) (Devi 1995).The female protagonist Mary Oraon's demand for her tribal right to the annual hunt of spring contests ecological imperialism in the vein of Birsa.

Almost Woman, Not Quite Human

Besides, the economic, historiographical, and cultural subalternity, the issue of otherization also leaves marks of affect at the level of gendered representation. Gayatri Spivak notes in "Can the Subaltern Speak?", "If, in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow" and further he expands on this: "There is no space from which the sexed subaltern subject can speak" (Spivak 2010, 21). Mahasweta Devi's narratives time and again mirror the plight of women whom dominant discourses treat as commodity. Devi's Douloti remains a body, "bountiful" for upper-caste" landlords in *Douloti the Bountiful* (Devi 1995) ; Mary Oraon as subject of sexual predation remains a target of the Tesildar in *Shikar* (The Hunt) (Devi 1995); Sanichari, a Ganju or Dalit woman remains an emblematic of commodified grief in Rudali (Devi 1995). The otherization mechanism operates at the level of biological reproduction. Her female body remains site of extraction, like forest. The way the forests of sal and mahua get wiped away fulfilling the conditions of imperialistic operations, Jashoda, wet-nurses fifty children and dies of breast cancer, silent and abandoned fulfilling the conditions of female subalternity and discourses of silencing in *Stanadayini* (The Breast Giver) (Devi 1995). Sexual violence and narratives of dispossession contribute to such representation of the female subject as doubly other in the colonially driven system of oppression.

The suffering of women under colonial expansion and feudal oppression equates to the exploitation of lands. They only remain present there as mere bodies, sites of labour and reproduction. The feudal society refuses to acknowledge tribal women as fellow humans, viewing them as dark-skinned, untouchable beings deprived of the basic right to have access to fundamental rights. In an interview with Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak, which is featured in *Imaginary Maps*, Devi says, "Remember, Draupadi in *Mahabharata* is a black woman, she must have been tribal" (Devi 2019, 1). In *Arannyer Adhikar,* women, like the forest-mother here, are commodified, humiliated, and violated by the colonial and local structures of power. Such narratives of the oppression of women are so pervasive that they span across societies and cultures. Devi reflects upon their presence in connection with and as carriers of ecological knowledge, as seed keepers, performers of fertility rituals and guardians of agricultural memory. It is during the times of crisis and displacement that the necessity of their presence becomes most crucial, and this finds expression in Birsa's voice:

> The earth does not cry out when it is ploughed, and our women do not cry out when they are beaten. But do not misjudge their silence for surrender. The forest grows back, and the womb brings forth new warriors (Devi 2012, 69).

Denial of Shame Script: Refusal as Revolt

Much like Dopdi Majhen in Devi's "Draupadi", women here rise not as symbols of affect but with the warriors' spirit to deny both the gender and caste-based oppression. In "Draupadi", after Dopdi's capture, Senanayak orders his soldiers to "Make her" (Devi 2019, 34). Then, after being brutally raped and tortured, she denies bowing down to her oppressor. "She turns her eyes and sees something white. Her own cloth. Nothing else. Suddenly she hopes against hope. Perhaps they have abandoned her. For the foxes to devour" (Devi 2019, 31). The ordeal does not subdue her, as she is a woman born to be exploited by society. Rather, she appears in front of him naked, with her battered body and mangled breasts, but her head held high. She dares to throw challenges to Senanayak to see the consequences of his orders. Devi records,

> Her ravaged lips bleed as she begins to laugh. Dopdi wipes the blood on her palm and says in a voice that is terrifying, sky-splitting, and sharp as her ululation, " What's the use of clothes? You can strip me, but how can you clothe me again? Are you a man?" (Devi 2019, 36).

The tortured body of Dopdi at night becomes a force of resistance and unconquerable during the day, reverberating the spirit of "Ulgulan" or the great tumult. Women in Devi's present fictional reconstruction disagrees to be represented as mere sites of labor but rather as a voice of resistance in the face of all forms of systematic oppression that happen to fuse the world of humans and the ecological. Their very presence, either as a blessed embodiment of Sing-bonga as part of the origin of the Munda community or accompanying the grand endeavor of Birsa, weaving the spirit of revolt, draws commentary on that resistance, bringing into light the naked darkness and designs of brutality lying deeper at the fundamentals of the so-called progressive civilising mission.

Birsa Bhagwan's Ulgulan: Pen, Song, and Plough as Revolt

"The repressive discourse, while defining the historiographically objectified 'other' very often fails to differentiate between the pride in self-identification as Adivasi and the prejudice, unconstitutional vocabulary attached to its use by others." Says Bodhi S. R. and Bipin Jojo, in their essay "The Problematics of Representation: The Adivasi Question in India." (Jojo 2011) This scholarly record notes a case in Jharkhand where the high court as an embodiment of the repressive state apparatus, "rejected an FIR by an Adivasi woman against a government officer who referred to her as an "insane Adivasi," under the SC/ ST Act. This rejection represents judicial myopia, failing to recognize the term's colonial, casteist misuse and pervasive discrimination Adivasi Communities still endure. Such historiographic otherization thrusts them into the zone of nonbeing. The representation of the subaltern as an emblematic of nonbeing is similar to the otherization inflicted on the Black people, notes Fanon in Black Skin, White Masks, "The black man is not a man" (Fanon 1986, 08). The historiographic otherization in India or in Africa at the fundamental level remains the same. The subjugation of the Adivasis follows the same colonial logic which leads to the subjugation of native Africans by the colonial administrators. Fanon notes in The Wretched of the Earth, an important component of such subjugation is the erasure of culture, "Everything will be done to wipe out their traditions, to substitute our language for theirs and to destroy their culture without giving them ours" (Fanon 2001, 13).

The socio-ecological and political concern and consequently, integrated revolt find their voice in Birsa's Ulgulaan that at once strikes the note of autonomy for redistribution of land and an invocation for nature-human existential balance. His revolutionary credo puts him in the stance of being a prophet for his community, providing ideological sustenance for voicing the language of resistance against the discourse of colonial representation. His stature remains uplifted to the stature of God the one, Devi notes, "who does not deceive people playing on the lap; this God holds a bow and arrow in his hands" (Devi 2012, 36). Therefore, "ulgulan" stands for an everlasting energy originating in Birsa, the self-announced eco-prophet who stands immortal for the community. Devi notes, "- Neither Ulgulan has an end; nor does our God "(Devi 2012, 28). Birsa's "ulgulan"enacts what Fanon calls in The Wretched of the Earth as "literature of combat" — Munda oral performance becomes insurgent epistemology, not relic (Fanon 2001). Birsa stirs revolt in the vein and heart of the Mundas through his song, making his prophecy run in their blood.Devi notes, "Birsa could play on the Madal in the blood of the Mundas only with his song. Sunara's blood found its lost rhythm in this song. Therefore, at the call of ulgulaan he left all the cattle in the field…and came to Birsa. And did not go back again" (Devi 2012, 30).

His song remains not a mere symphony but roars as a protest narrative where the root of their history, politics, and pulsating nature become the beads, making it a hymnal anthem for the community of the Mundas. With typically heroic oratorial skill Birsa asserts,

> I will be the giver of happiness to all; I will become the God of all; God Birsa; then I will become the father-earth; I belong to the blood of my people, Chutu and Nagu; mundas will live on my breast; I know the religion of their blood (Devi 2012, 72).

For Birsa, growing up means acquiring knowledge. He rejects knowledge as a means of wealth, seeing it instead as a bridge to the ideology of Sidhu-Kanu-the true heroes who fought for Adivasi rights.

Birsa's desire to be educated for reaching his subjective goal finds voice in the poetic symphony of the Bengali poem, "Parang Nadir Daak"(The Call of Parang River):

> Your son wanted to be either a doctor or an engineer
> ……………………………………….
> The son of Tunia
> Wanted to live in the forest of Saal
> He wanted to have paanta and hariya in happiness
> He wanted to play on madaal in the moonlit night on the strand of Parang.
> …………………………………………..
> He collects the leaves of Saal and weaves plates on his own
> While looking at the urban utensils-
> He becomes red-eyed evil in anger;
> He spits on it and goes away.

> He stands upon the Sidhu-Kanhu bridge
> And throws the question:
> Who says to you that we want to be wealthy?
> We are happy in the forest of Saal and Mahua
> We would rather become good human beings
> The moon peeps through the leaves of Saal
> And touches my body
> I listen to the call of river Dulung, calling:
> 'Come, play with me!'
> We have our happy feast on the strand of river Subarnorekha
> Yes, we are black, yet the moonlight
> Licks my body. (Maity 2018, 42)

Birsa's aspiration was not wealth but ethical standing — a refusal of his community's historical erasure that recasts him as a humanist leader armed with bow and arrow, reimagining India as 'Krishna-Bharat': a Bharat belonging to its Adivasi inhabitants. Birsa's 'ulgulan' resembles the Negritude movement: both mobilize colonized people through cultural assertion, characterized by what John McLeod notes in Beginning Postcolonialism as " pan-national aspiration" (McLeod 2010, 84). Birsa understands the link between power and knowledge. Birsa seeks to feed his people – the Munda demand is simple : rice, land, freedom from the dike debt. His first encounter with the Bengali alphabet elates him, because literacy promises access to the masters' world: he can decode their laws in order to defy them. Devi notes Birsa's words thus, "If I learn, I will become like the Sahibs" (Devi 2012, 56). Thus, although Birsa does not fit Bhabha's elite babu, he weaponizes mimicry from below. Colonial schooling gives Birsa the scope to acquire knowledge. And Birsa knows how to convert it into power. Birsa's desire to become like the Sahib here remains an anti-colonial intervention. Bhabha's definition of the byproduct of colonial mission as Homi Bhabha notes in *The Location of Culture* "almost the same, but not quite" (Bhabha 2004, 86) is the crux for Birsa's becoming an anti-colonial leader. Birsa's literacy becomes what Bhabha terms menace: he mimics the "parwana" and hymn, but the content is "Sarna" law and "ulgulan." This hybridity occupies a third space where the Forest Act is no longer authoritative because Singbonga's word, written in the master's script, supersedes it. Where Bhabha's colonial discourse needs the other to mirror it without matching it, Birsa matches it to destroy it — proving that otherisation via knowledge fails when the otherised cease to obey.

Thus, with the power of his oratory, Birsa metamorphoses into the stance of being the much-desired Almighty amongst his people. The rhythm of his revolutionary credo invites the ebb tide of the heart of his community, irrespective of caste and all, providing them the energy to speak and stand against the system. Devi records:

> Birsa is now dharti-aba (the father-earth). The Adivasis pined for the God-like Birsa for so long. That Birsa who can stand against his own Almighty and the religion of the masters (i.e., Sing-bonga and Christianity). This is precisely because their own deity, Sing bonga, could not save the Onrao, Kol, and Khariyas anymore. They could not even hold their faith in the Lord Jesus. They were in search of a new God. The God who does not deceive people by playing with magical words, occult or spells of curse. The God who does not preach about 'The Kingdom of Heaven'. The fearless spirit of God preaches about killing not the occult but the dikus. The one who is talking about snatching their right by their own will. This is the God who gives a call even to die for the sake of their freedom (Devi 2012, 78).

It is Birsa's revolutionary spirit that unites his community irrespective of religion and caste. His name spreads out right from Palamau up to Chhotonagpur, qualifying all the geographical distance. Thus, like Nandini in Tagore's *Red Oleanders*, Birsa stands as the mighty light propagating the words not of mere survival but of living with fundamental rights of humans (Tagore 1925).

The death of Birsa remains a myth to his community. Like Ranjan and Nandini in Tagore's *Red Oleanders*, Birsa at once stands as an emblem of light and revolution heading towards a new dawn for his community, problematizing the self-other binary divisions, and his death remains an impossible reality to accept. He does not consider the call of destiny to be unfathomable. Such an indomitable spirit spreads out a banner of faith amongst his people that they believe in their number while facing the guns of the oppressor. The novel of Birsa's life itself teaches the lesson of life to the Adivasis that they learn to turn their agony into a symphony, love into comradeship, and anger into united revolt. Their practised indifference remains a gift they earn by enduring the ordeal of pain showered upon them by destiny itself. It is his individualistic spirit that thrives within, facing continuous systematic oppression that prevents him from being like somebody else. The colonial power could arrest Birsha and put him into the dark domain in Ranchi. But the light that Birsa carries breaks through every shackle of oppression and puts into question the historiographical otherization. Birsa's conscious mind dares to ask, Devi notes, "Sahibs! Our blood is not different from yours! While being beaten, the Mundas feel the pain like you. You have forceful possession over the life of the Mundas. The way you feel leaving the possession free, similarly to letting the fertile forest into the hands of the dikus, it feels alike for the mundas" (Devi 2012, 18). Such profundity of thought brings the oppressor and the oppressed under the common banner of humanity, transcending all the discriminations relating to caste, race, gender, class, etc. As K. S. Singh remarks in his study o Birsa Munda's movement, ""Birsa's movement was a rational response to colonial intrusion… not a millenarian outburst of an atavistic mind" (Singh 1983 , 14-15).

Conclusion

The history of ecological imperialism involves politics of representation based on the dichotomy between the dikus and the Adivasis. This dichotomy lingers with the oppressive principles of colonial discourses with the tendency to rule over the Adivasi 'other' in terms of class, caste, race, gender and so on. This politics of historiographic othering operates through commodification of land, forest, river and law. Against the backdrop of such designs of oppression and history of othering tribal narratives in history or in literary reconstructions emerge as voice of resistance for attaining fundamental rights and social justice. From the 1855 hul to Niyamgiri 2013, tribal struggle in India contests the same structure: diku law converting forest into property. Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay's *Aranyak:Of the Forest* (Bandyopadhyay 2004) Trasankar Bandyopadhyay's *Hansuli Banker Upakatha* (The Tale of Hansuli Turn) (Bandyopadhyay 2011) narrate tribal displacement as ecological inevitability. Mahasweta Devi's *Aranyer Adhikar* exposes that inevitability as diku law and replaces lament with fiery "ulgulan". In this regard Birsa's 'ulgulan' contests as anti-colonial resistance using petitions, songs, and Sarna ecology to claim Abua Raj, Abua Disum against colonial forest acts. In the similar vein Mary Oraon and Dopdi Mejhen attempt to embody the mark of resistance in the face of such politics of historiographic otherization. Dominant narratives through perpetuation of power and enactment of law criminalize the tribal community. At times mark them either as uncivilized or as terrorists. Despite all that performativity of tribal history and denial to succumb, keep the resistance narratives alive. Since neither the "post-colonial" nor the post-ecological catastrophe constitutes a finished temporality, 'ulgulan' exists as a counter-discursive spirit: a continuous language of writing back.

Works Cited

Bandyopadhyay, Tarashankar. 2011. The Tale of Hansuli Turn. Translated by Benjamin J. Cohen, Columbia UP.

Bandyopadhyay, Bibhutibhushan. 2002. *Aranyak: Of the Forest.* Traslated by Rimli Bhattacharya, Kolkata: Seagull Books.

Bhabha, Homi K. "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse." In *The Location of Culture*, 85-92. London: Routledge. 1994.

Crosby, Alfred W. *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1986.

Devi, Mahasweta. 197. *Rudali.* Translated by Anjum Katyal. Kolkata: Seagull.

______.1995. "Douloti the Bountiful." Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. In *Imaginary Maps: Three Stories*,, 19-94. London: Routledge.

______.1995. "Shikar." Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. In *Imaginary Maps: Three Stories*, 1–18. New York: Routledge.

______. 1997. "Draupadi" Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. In *Breast Stories*, 19-38. Calcutta: Seagull Books.

______. 1997. "The Breast-Giver." Translated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. In *Breast Stories,* 39-75. Kolkata, Seagull Books.

______.. *Aranyer Adhikar.* Kolkata: Karuna Prakashani. 2012.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks.* Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. London: Pluto Press, 1986.

______. *The Wretched of the Earth*. Translated by Constance Farrington. New York: Grove Press, 1963.

Guha, Ranajit. *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: OUP, 1983.

Jojo, Bipin, and S. R. Bodhi. 2011. "The Problematics of Representation: The Adivasi Question in India." In *The Adivasi Question: Issues of Land, Forest and Livelihood*, edited by Indra Munshi, 25–48. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan.

Kerketta, Jacinta. *The Roots' Resistance.* Translated by Bhumika Chawla-D'Souza. Kolkata: Adivaani.2021.

McLeod. John. *Beginning Postcolonialism.* 1st Indian ed. New Delhi: Viva Books. 2010.

Maity, Amrito. "Parang Nadir Daak" (The Call of River Parang). In *Jal O Anya Kabita*, 40-43. Kolkata: Ananda Publishers. 2018.

Ramteke, Bodhi. 2025. " 'Insane Adivasi' Remark: How the Court Failed to Grasp the Deeper Prejudice Against Oppressed Communities", *The Wire* June 5, 2025. https://thewire.in/law/insane-adivasi-remark-how-the-court-failed-to-grasp-the-deeper-prejudice-against-oppressed-communities Accessed on 02.02.2026

Singh, K.S. 1983. *Birsa Munda and His Movement ,1874-1901: A Study of a Millenarian Movement in Chotanagpur*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakraborty. "Can the Subaltern Speak?" In *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*, edited by Rosalind Morris, 21-78. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Tagore, Rabindranath. *Red Oleanders*. Translated by the author. London: Macmillan, 1925.