CRITIQUE OR ENTERTAIN? ASSESSING THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONTEMPORARY JATRA

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The privileging of the written word in general and the literary text in particular has led to the postcolonial condition being examined and theorized largely in relation to literature. As a consequence, the diverse cultural production of a large part of the postcolonial world falling outside the verbal -- both traditional narrative and performing genres and the new electronically mediated arts -- is excluded from the category of culture. However, in the age of new media dominated by the visual and the aural, representations of the postcolonial experience in film, television, music, and theatre compete with those in literature. This presentation calls to attention the role played by women in the traditional performing art of jatra and shows the affinity of cultural production with similar roles in literary texts.

Jatra is the traditional theatre form of Bengal performed by travelling troupes. As part of the folk tradition, the jatra of Bengal has always been looked upon as a poor cousin of the theatre, run commercially mainly in the rural areas of West Bengal and Bangladesh. Jatras are usually epic four-hour-long plays featuring loud music, harsh lighting and dramatic props played on giant outdoor stages. They are often melodramatic with stylized delivery, exaggerated gestures and oration, accompanied by the overt use of traditional musical instruments. Originally the jatra had only the themes of Radha and Krishna, today jatras are written and performed by writers and dramatists of rural and urban centres. At present, jatra has also been modernized to feature modern crisis through modern stories, bearing close resemblance to television soaps and serials and popular commercial films. According to the demand of the age, the budget and production of the jatra has undergone a profound change. Big jatra productions have budgets crossing one lakh rupees but in most cases the invested money is recovered from performances in rural areas.
A close survey of the titles of *jatra* being performed over the last one and a half year in Bengal alone has revealed an amazing fact. Without taking into consideration the sets, costume designs, cyclorama, playback music, dance numbers or anything else for that matter, it shows that more than 90% of all *jatra* performances have women in central roles and titles. These range from women in stereotypical roles as mother, daughter, wife, lover and the vamp (the other). Often they are portrayed in extremes – either deified or demonized.

The construction of female identity with its attendant cultural connotations; the fact that her position in society is lower in the patriarchal thought processes; the male value-orientation and cultural assumption about sex-roles and sexual politics inform the theatrical world of the *jatra*. Before analyzing the titles that deal specifically with women in different roles, let me digress a little here and go back to some historical facts. Till the mid 1960’s the female roles in the *jatra* would be performed by male actors, often termed ‘mustchioed ranis’. With the coming of the playback, microphone etc. women performers entered the arena but they were either prostitutes/fallen women or women in dire need of economic stability as a result of post partition migration. During that period people even had reservations whether these women performers would be able to address the gathering of at least ten to fifteen thousand people with their soft voices. Another reason for this skepticism was the peripatetic nature of *jatra* performances. Moving from village to small district towns each night without proper infrastructure, women often became soft targets for abduction and seduction. But since the early nineties the lure of the lucre has drawn a lot of actors and actresses from commercial Bengali cinema and theatre (including villains and starlets from Bollywood) to perform in the *jatra* – thus erasing the rural/urban divide to a great extent.

Coming back to the portrayal of women in *jatra* it is clear why our traditional social structure, predominantly patriarchal, still portrays women in India in extreme stereotypical role -- the wife, the nourisher, the sacrificing mother, the scheming mother-in-law (something repeated ad

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1 Each year the Jatra season begins in July (on the auspicious day of the Ratha-Yatra or Chariot Festival) and ends around February/March. The companies travel around the state performing almost every night. The rest of the year they rehearse new productions and the performers even shift contracts from one company to another. For the purpose of this survey I specifically studied the productions that began from July 2007 to the end of 2008. This is not an all-inclusive list because I just followed the advertisements from one particular newspaper only.
nauseum in the *saas-bahu* serials and soaps on television); her position in society always lower in the social order, always conforming to the ideal roles. In the western paradigm the list of female stereotypes and sub-types is long and varied on the surface, but it can be reduced to a basic core group – the virgin, the seductress/goddess, the mother/wife and the old maid. Mary Anne Ferguson speaks of several stereotypes: the mother, the wife, the mistress/seductress, the sex-object, the old maid, the educated woman, and the lady. She goes on to delineate and breakdown these terms to include the submissive wife, the dominating wife and even the new-form – the liberated woman. Among the construction of female identity with its attendant cultural connotations in the Indian context, perhaps the most significant is the role of the dutiful, obedient, caring, self-effacing wife. In the world of *jatra*, the wife is portrayed in primarily three categories, namely – a) the sacrificing wife, b) the rebel wife, and c) the wise/intelligent wife.

As mentioned earlier, a survey of the titles of *jatra* produced for the last year and a half shows how women dominate the scene. Among the total 80 titles I surveyed during this period, 68 were related to women; 7 had contemporary issues; 2 dealt with general themes; and 3 had religious/mythological titles. Of the 68 productions with women in title roles, 18 dealt in general with women and social issues, 34 with women as wife; 4 with women as mothers and 11 dealt with the woman as the lover or the vamp. Now for some analysis of the titles that have women as their focal point.

The first category revolves around the stereotypical role of the woman as homemaker -- attributes desirable for all Indian women in the ideal family situation. So titles like *Sangsar Sukhe Hoye Romonir Guney* (The family is happy through female attributes), *Nari Ami Khelna Noi* (I am a woman and not a toy), *Ei Ghar Ei Sangsar* (This house, this family), *Sapne Dehka Sukher Sangsar* (The happy family of my dreams), *Sangar Simantey Sita* (Sita at the periphery of the household), *Rajar Ghare Rajlakshmi* (The Lakshmi in the king’s house), all primarily operate on the word ‘sangsar’ – the family, the household, the home and the hearth.

This theme is closely followed by several productions that focus on marriage and the new bride (the ‘bou’), where a romantic aura still exists in the psyche of the young woman at the threshold

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of a new married life. Titles like Godhulilagne Mala Badal (Exchanging of garlands at dusk), Memsahiber Mala Badal (A memsahib exchanges garlands), Bonpolashir Notun Bou (The new bride of Bonpolashi village), Palkite Bou Chole Jaye (The bride goes away in a palanquin), Buro Khokar Kochi Bou (A young bride for an old boy), Ashol Sindur Nokol Bou (Real sindoor but false bride), Dalanbarir Durga Bou (The Durga-like bride in the big house), Brishtir Aaj Subhodrishti (Today Brishti will see her husband for the first time), thus become popular with sindoor, the vermilion on the parting of the hair pronouncing her married status, becoming an operative word. So a woman claims her marital status in productions like Harano Sindoor Firiye Dao (Return my lost sindoor), or Paaper Taka Punyer Sindoor (Ill-gotten wealth but blessed sindoor).

Once the new bride steps into the in-law’s home she can be divided into two categories. The first is of course the stereotype of the all-enduring, suffering, submissive, totally dependent, sacrificing woman, someone who is more sinned against than sinning. So we get a long list of titles like Aajke Debrir Balidaan (Today the virtuous woman will be slaughtered), Bou Katha Kao (Bride, please speak), Faashir Manche Debrir Bodhan (The virtuous woman at the noose), Matir Ghorey Raj Protima (A queenly goddess in a mud hut), Ami Haridas Paler Bou (I am the wife of Haridas Pal, a nonentity), Kaalo Meyer Pagol Swami (The lunatic husband of a dark girl), Jibon Chitay Jolchey Nari (Woman burning in the pyre of life), Protima Bisarjan (The immersion of the goddess), Ke Jude Debe Bhanga Churi (Who will join the broken bangle?), Maago Keu Bojhena Naarir Betha (Mother, no one understands a woman’s pain), Swadhin Bharate Paradhin Bhalobasha (Subservient love in an independent India), Choori Hoye Geche Swadhinota (Independence has been stolen), Bhalobasar Karagare Bandini Sujata (Sujata trapped in the prison of love). But it does not take long for the demure new bride to become a domineering/dominating woman, perfectly fit for modern times – Bashorgorey Bonnhisikha (A firebrand woman in the wedding night) and declares in a similar title, Aami Bonnhisikha (I am Bonnhisikha, a firebrand woman)3, Bidrohini Bourani (The revolting daughter in-law) or Aami Bodhu Hote Ashini (I have not come to be a bride). So the bride opens her veil, Ghomta Khola

3 Loosely translated the tagline of this famous production by Nattya Company reads as: “Written in a new style, this tearful story speaks of the life struggle of a father and motherless woman who struggles against the injustice, terror and torture of society.”
Gaayer Bodhu (The village bride without her veil), denies her lowly status – Maatir Ghorey Poter Bibi (A poster wife in a mud hut), takes the ‘sangsar’ under her control – Lakshmir Haatey Trishul (The trident in the hands of Lakshmi), Roga Swamir Daroga Bou (The matronly wife of a lean husband), Kaacher Ghore Lohar Bou (An iron wife in a glass house), Pagla Swamir Khooni Bou (The killer wife of a lunatic husband) and even revolts as a daughter in law– Bahurupi Putrobodhu (The chameleon daughter-in-law), or Bidrohini Putrabadhu (The revolting daughter-in-law). The husband, often a cuckold, has to then either declare, Aamar Bou Shob Janey (My wife knows everything), or lament on her indigestible quality, Bou Enechi Boono Ol (I have brought a wife like a wild tuber). The family takes pride that they have a Sikshita Bouma (An educated daughter-in-law) or realize her worth as Boumar Daam Cheler Shoman (The value of a daughter-in-law is the same as the son). In a reversal of the dominating mother-in-law image we even find one pala called Bouma Anno Bhiksha Dao (Daughter in law, give us some food!) Like all Indian women the now hardened wife turns into a mother. She has a stern exterior concealing her soft heart -- Baire Baghini, Antarey Jononi (A tigress outside but a mother inside) or Momotamoyeer Mostaan Cheley (The disreputable son of a doting mother).

Interestingly enough the stereotype torturer figure that the mother-in-law entails in the Indian psyche probably accounts for only one production to have a mother-in-law in the title -- Sashuri No.1 (Mother-in-law no.1).

A few productions also dwell on love – Ogo Amaar Praner Bodhu (O my sweetheart wife), Bhalobasha Ki Aage Bujhini (I did not know earlier what love meant), Bhalobasha ki Aparadh? (Is loving a crime?) Bhalobasha Keno Eto Asohay (Why is love so helpless) and this slowly moves the focus from the wife as the protagonist to the ‘other’ woman, either a lover or a vamp. Productions like Moyna Bolo Tumi Krishna Radhe (Mynah, sing of Krishna and Radha), Golemaaley Pirit Korona (Don’t make love in times of confusion), Nishidhha Premer Parinaam

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4 This production from Trinayani Opera has a rhyming couplet as its tagline: Jwalamoyee sashuri/ Mukhe nei modhu/ Protibader jhanda niye/Bahurupi putrabadhu. In translation this reads as: “The fierce mother-in-law without honey in her mouth is combated by the chameleon daughter-in-law who comes with a mast of protest.”

5 The ole, or a large tuber is a delicacy in Bengali household cuisine if cooked in the proper way. Sometimes a wild variety of this causes immense inflammation and itching in the throat. Here the daughter-in-law is compared to this second category of wild tuber – very hard to digest.
(The fate of forbidden love) are also supplemented with Bollywood-like titles, *Chameli 420, Teri Meherbaniyan* (Your Munificence), *Sandhyaraater Lal Pari* (The red fairy of night), *Rangamatri Rangela* (The fun girl from the land of the red earth), *Moner Manush Por Purush* (The desired person is another man), *Ruper Raani Swapner Raja* (The beauty queen and the dream king), *Rang De Basanti, Aami Ful Ganyer Fuleshwari* (I am Fuleshwari from Ful village), *Aami Sandhyadiper Sikha* (I am the evening flame), *Chander Priya Chandramukhi* (Chandramukhi, the lover of the moon), *Lalmaatir Doshi Meye* (The naughty girl from the land of red earth), *Moila Samajer Meye* (Daughter of the dirty society). All these productions juxtapose the sexual/sensual femme fatale figure with that of the wifely/motherly image but as the statistics reveal they are much less in number.

In most productions the homely *sati-sadhwi* wife (usually dressed in a traditional sari) is very carefully juxtaposed with a ‘modern’ woman (dressed in western clothes) who is usually the vamp, the dancer or maybe the villain. This is a continuation of the ‘*Purab aur Paschim*’ binary made popular by Saira Banu in the 1960’s film of the same name. Apart from the dress codes, the dominant ideology of a good all-enduring wife is constantly reinforced and re-enforced through cultural markers like the sindoor, the tolerance, the sacrifice and the firmness of her character.

There are a few productions that dwell on ‘the woman question’ where the woman is usually portrayed as the protagonist but not strictly abiding to the stereotypes mentioned above. These relate to secular issues-- *Jaat Nei Go Sujatar* (Sujata does not have any caste); Hindu-Muslim amity -- *Abbajaaner Hindu Meye* (The Hindu daughter of a Muslim father)⁶, women power -- *Nagna Samajer Agnikanya* (The firebrand daughter of this naked society)⁷, *Aamar Adalat Raat 12 taye* (My court is at midnight), or brother-sister relationship -- *Bhai Boner Sesh Dekha* (The last meeting of brother and sister).

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⁶ This Rupanjali Opera production has two rhymed couplets as its tagline: *Jaater cheye manush boro/ Ei kothata beray geye/ Ekla pathay egiye chole/Abbajaaner Hindu meye.* Loosely translated it reads, “Singing alone in the streets, the Hindu daughter of a Muslim father speaks of humanity which transcends class and caste.”

⁷ The tagline of this Shilpitirtha production reads: *Somajer ei koshaihanay/ Kanna Gham rokter bonnya/Badla nite aschey ebar/ Nagna samajer agnikanya.* Loosely translated these couplets read as-- “In the butchery of this society full of tears, sweat, and blood, a firebrand daughter of this naked society is now coming to take revenge.”
Before concluding three things need to be mentioned. First, though the imaginative and often onomatopoeic nature of these titles is lost in translation, they reiterate several socio-cultural issues of our contemporary society and challenge our belief that all formulas come with an inbuilt expiry date. The second factor is that each of these jatra productions keep in mind the commercial viability and introduce song and dance sequences even in productions that have serious social issues to critique. If not directly related to the plot, these Bollywood-like song and dance numbers engaging young starlets (and most of the time mentioned separately in the advertisement), guarantee larger ticket sales and provided the entertainment quotient of the performance.\(^8\) Thirdly, evaluated from the perspective of culture studies, however much the city-bred individual might snicker at the titles, the charm, the attraction, the high-budget production (with many film stars and starlets performing in lead roles) – the circulation, reception, and preservation of the jatra are indeed crucial to the formation of ‘modern’ or ‘national’ memory and can delineate the ways in which we encounter social and cultural transformation vis-à-vis the position of women in contemporary Bengali (read Indian) society. A visit to the Mcdonald’s and the multiplexes in urban Bengal is enough to gauge the change in contemporary society. But how can we measure the social change that is sweeping through rural Bengal? Entertainment in the agrarian belt, in spite of the easy accessibility to television soaps and serials, has not diminished the charm and attraction of the jatra performance. In fact as a recent newspaper report also highlighted, even urban people gathered in large numbers to see jatras at the 12\(^{th}\) Jatra Festival held in Kolkata.\(^9\) So though we have women replicating the gyrating dancers of Bollywood

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\(^8\) For instance, a new production entitled Era Shotru (These are the enemies) produced by Muktamanjari Opera and performed from August 2009 introduces a lady called King Fong Hung, who is claimed to be a famous actress and singer from China. Another social production Ei Ghar Ei Sangsar (This House, this family) produced by Debanjali Opera advertises an additional item called “Dance Bangla Dance” and states, “Ek jhak sundarider niye jatra seshe 30 minute byapi esho shobai dance kori” (“At the end of the jatra let all of us come and dance together for 30 minutes along with a whole bunch of beautiful women”).

\(^9\) In an article published in The Hindustan Times, 3 January, 2008 entitled “Festival boost for jatra, funds for needy artistes” the correspondent reports that the West Bengal State Government has allotted three lakh rupees for organizing this year’s Jatra Festival lasting for three weeks. According to the director of the Information and Culture Department, Anup Motilal, the folk theatre industry has started seeing better days after going through a very difficult decade. He states, “Though there was always a rural audience for jatras, the folk theatre industry was getting an elite tag among the urban populace. But from last year, there has been a noticeable change in the character of the jatra viewers. Even urban people are gathering in large numbers to see jatras.”
culture even in a down-to-earth social drama set in Bengal, the thrust area of each tale still revolves around a stereotypical Bengali (Indian) woman, both critiquing and entertaining us. *Jatra* is alive and thriving in its own popularity and it would be wrong to consider it as a devalued cultural form, inferior in taste. It is part of the socially accepted forms of normative behaviour and as the popularity charts and ratings prove, it is still the best medium to voice contemporary social issues.

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**JATRAGRAPHY**

(Production details of the *jatra* titles used in this article)

- **Aajke Debir Balidaan** (Chandraloke Opera) Script & Direction: Sukumar Roy; Actors: Manoj Kumar, Shiuli Haldar, Miss Chandana, Swapna Debnath, Projit Patra, Sonali Bhattacharjee.


- **Aamar Bou Shob Janey** (Bhairab Opera) Script & Direction: Meghdoot Gangopadhyay; Actors: Usashi, Meghna Lahiri, Kumar Subho, Arghya Mukhopadhyay, Rupa Mukherjee, Rahul Barman

- **Aami Bodhu Hote Ashini** (Meghdoot Opera) Script & Direction: Meghdoot Gangopadhyay; Actors: Meghna Lahiri, Kumar Subho, Rupa Mukherjee.


- **Aami Sandhyadiper Sikha** (Swarnadeep Opera) Script & Direction: Sajal Bhattacharjee. Actors: Chumki Choudhury, Soumitra Chatterjee, Bhola Tamang, Indrani Mukherjee

- **Abbajaaner Hindu Meye** (Rupanjali Opera) Script: Anjan Choudhury; Direction: Sajal Bhattacharya; Actors: Chumki Choudhury, Shakuntala Barua, Tanushree, Banikumar.


- **Ashol Sindur Nokol Bou** (Gandharba Opera) Script: Bhumiputra Bhagyyadhar; Director: Basudeb Ghosh; Actors: Jyotsna Ghosh, Jayanta Kumar, Philip Lalmohan, Gopal Khan, Tapati Roy & Goutam Kumar

**Baire Baghini, Antarey Jononi** (Biswaaroop Opera) Director: Biman Ghosh; Actors: Sharmila Pal, Ujjwal Roy, Proshanto Kumar, Kumar Abhijit.

**Bashorgorey Bonnhisikha** (New Loknatya) Actors: Rozina, Kumar Nayan.


**Bhalobasha Keno Eto Asohay** (Shilpi Bandana) Script & Direction: Sabyasachi. Actors: Saptaparna, Manoj Kumar, Rupa Mukherjee, Tarun Kumar

**Bhalobasha Ki Aage Bujhini** (Ratnadeep Opera) Script: Bhaskar Mukherjee; Direction: Ruma Dasgupta; Actors: Shatabdi Roy, tapas pal, Amit Kanti Ghsh, Shakti Thakur, Meenakshi Dey, Monalisa.

**Bhalobasha ki Aparadh?** (Anandabharati Opera) Script: Ashok Dey; Director: Samir Sen; Actors: Hasi Sarkar, Maya Bhhacharjee, Kumar Sarbendra, Anirban Purkait & Anup Choudhury

**Bhalobasar Karagare Bandini Sujata** (Trinayani Opera) Script: Shyamal Chakraborty; Direction: Indrani Haldar; Actors: Indrani Haldar, Shankar Chakraborty, Somashree Chaki, Chandu Chakraborty, Shyamal Chakraborty, Ratri Roy, Rumpa Bhadra


**Bidrohini Putrabadhu** (Shilpi Bandana) Script: Amitabh Bhattacharya; Direction: Sabyasachi Mukherjee; Actors: Debika Mukherjee, Arghya Mukhopadhyay, Nanda Adhikari, Tarunkumar, Arunabha banerjee, Kakoli Chatterjee.

**Bonpolashir Notun Bou** (Nayantara Opera) Script & Direction: Anal Chakraborty; Actors: Dipankar Dey, Dolon Roy.


**Bou Katha Kao** (Swarnajali Opera) Script: Surajit Bandopadhyay; Direction: Tridib Ghosh; Actors: Nayana Das, Nabin Kumar, Jayanta Kumar, Aina Mullick

**Bouma Anno Bhiksha Dao** (Nabarjan Opera) Script & Direction: Tapankumar; Actors: Miss kasturi, Deb Gopal, Nanin Kumar, Jayanta Kumar, Aina Mullick

**Boumar Daam Cheler Shoman** (Natyadhara) Script: Purnendu Roy; Direction: Shombhu Dey; Actors: Sourin Mukherjee, Soma Ganguly, Samir Biswas, Aparna Chakraborty, Soumitra Pal.

**Brishtir Aaj Subhodrishti** (Kalpana Natya Company)

**Buro Khokar Kochi Bou** (Rajdeep Opera) Script & Direction: Manjil Banerjee; Actors: Locket Chatterjee, Subhashis Mukherjee, Raja Chatterjee, Sumit Ganguly.

**Chameli 420** (Chandraloke Opera) Script & Direccion: Sukumar Roy; Actors: Krishna Chakraborty, Pallab Mukherjee, Bhola Tamang.
Chander Priya Chandramukhi (Ratnadeep Opera) Script: Ashok De; Direction: Ruma Dasgupta; Actors: Tapas Pal, Shatabdi Roy, Amit Kanti Ghosh, Kasturi, Joyshree Mukherjee

Choori Hoye Geche Swadhinota (Akashvani Jatra Sangstha) Script & Direction: Sukumar Ray; Actors: Anjan Sanyal, Tarun Banerjee, Atanu Mukherjee, Rinku Malakar, Rina Roy

Dalantarir Durga Bou (Bhairab Opera) Script & Direction: Meghdoot Bandyopadhyay.

Ei Ghar Ei Sanssar (Debanjali Opera) Script: Surojit Bandyopadhyay; Direction: Samir Ghosh; Actors: Lokesh Ghosh, Pulakita, Sanghamitra Banerjee, Aankhi Mukherjee, Samir Ghosh, Biplab Chatterjee.

Faashir Manche Debir Bodhan (Vishal Opera) Script & Direction: Utpal Roy; Actors: Mitali Chakraborty, Kumar Anubhav, Kumar Deep, Master Baba, Subhas Bhowmik, Ulka Ray


Godhulilagne Mala Badal (Basundhara Jatra Sangstha) Script: Sabyasachi; Actors: Swati Pal, Deb GOPal, Gina, Parikshit Raj, Shrabani Sarkar, Kumar Abhisekh.


Harano Sindoor Firiye Dao (Nabarajan Opera) Script & Direction: Tapan Kumar; Actors: Mahua Bhattacharya, Sumanta Roy.

Jaat Nei Go Sujatar (Bharat Tirtha Jatra Samaj) Script: Ramaprasad Banik; Direction & Acting: Tapashi Ray Chowdhury; Actors: Romeo Chowdhury, Jayshree Mukherjee, Monalisa


Kaacher Ghore Lohar Bou (Bishal Opera) Script & Direction: Meghdoot Bhattacharya; Actors: Moyna Mukherjee, SamirT Mukherjee, Rajashree, Ulka Roy, Kumar Nawab, Rajesh Sharma.


Lakshmire Haatey Trishul (New LOKnatya) Script & Direction: Sabyasachi. Actors: Romantic Dreamgirl Bhagyashree, Kumar Sarathi, Miss Chameli & Anjan Kumar

Maatir Ghorey Poter Bibi (Rupanjali Opera) Script & Direction: Utpal Roy; Actors:Mitali Chakraborty, Kumar Anubhav, Ramen Roychowdhury, Chhanda Chatterjee, Tanushree.

Maago Keu Bojhena Naarir Beta (Provas Opera) Script: Jyotirmoy De Biswas & Debashis Sengupta Actors: Kumar Nilanjan, Aparna Ghosh, Chameli Natty, Biswajit Choudhury

Matir Ghorey Raj Protima (Provas Opera) Script: Jyotirmoy De Biswas; Direction: Sajal Bhattacharya; Actors: Surupa Mukherjee, Sabyasachi Pali, Kumar Gaurab, Bholanath Dey, Miss Dalia, Chameli Natty

Memsahiber Mala Badal (Muktamanjuri) Script: Manjil Banerjee; Direction: Nepal Sarkar; Actors: Kanchan Mullick, Pushpita Mukherjee, Rajesh Sharma, Arghya Mukherjee, Bidisha Mohanty, Tushar Pal

Moila Samajer Meye (Manjuri Opera) Script & Direction: Goutam Chakraborty Actors: Mahua Bhattacharjee, Arun Mukherjee, Sreejita Sengupta


Moner Manush Por Purush (Shilpitirthya)

Moyna Bolo Tumi Krishna Radhe (Anjali Opera) Script & Direction: Manjil Banerjee; Actors: Moyna Mukherjee, Samrat Mukherjee, Samir Ghosh, Miss Koel, Shanta Bhattachrjee, Kumar Prosenjit.

Nagna Samajer Agnikanya (Shilpitirthya)

Nari Ami Khelna Noi (Swarnadeep Opera) Script: Anjan Chowdhury; Direction: Sajal Bhattacharya Actors: Chumki Chowdhury, Rahul Chakraborty, Bhola Tamang, Miss Koel


Paaper Taka Punyer Sindoor (Tara Ma Opera)

Pagla Swamir Khooni Bou (Shilpiloke Opera) Script & Direction: Srikanta Dasgupta; Actors: Jayanta Kumar, Uttam Sarkar, Krishna Kumar, Pronoy Kumar, Ananya Kundu, Tapas Kumar

Palkite Bou Chole Jaye (Shilpiloke Opera) Script & Direction: Ashok Dey; Actors: Miss Debjani, Jayanta Kumar, Uttam Sarkar, Krishna Kumar, Pronoy Kumar, Ananya Kundu, Tapas Kumar

**Rajar Ghare Rajlakshmi** (Ratnadeep Opera) Script: Somnath Bhattacharya; Direction: Ruma Dasgupta; Actors: Shatabdi Roy, Tapas pal, Sanghamitra Banerjee

**Rang De Basanti** (Satyanarayan Opera) Script & Direction: Tapan Ganguly; Actors: Papiya Adhikari, Kumar Subho, Kakoli Chatterjee, Bhaskar Mullick.

**Rangamatir Rangeela** (Geetanjali Opera) Script: Bhaskar Mukherjee; Direction: Ruma Dasgupta; Actors: Rina Chowdhury, Rahul Goswami, Pushpendu Mukherjee

**Roga Swamir Daroga Bou** (Muktamanjuri Opera) Script: Manjil Banerjee; Direction: Nepal Sarkar; Actors: Kanchan Mullick, Chandreyi Ghosh, Manashi Sinha, Soumitra Chatterjee, Shyamal Chakraborty, Miss Pamela.


**Sandhyaraater Lal Pari** (Bhairab Opera) Script & Direction: Meghdoot Gangopadhyay; Actors: Amrita Chatterjee, Kumar Nayan, Mira Dey, Shantanu Majumdar, Miss Nisha, Proloyjit

**Sangar Simantey Sita** (Nayantara Opera) Script & Direction: Anal Chakraborti; Actors: Dipankar De, Dolan Ray, Rajib Mukherjee, Sonali Sarkar, Rina Bhowmik, Raka Sengupta


**Sapne Dehka Sukher Sangsar** (Aragamji Jatra Company) Script: Surojit Bandopadhyay; Direction: Tridib Ghosh; Actors: Biplab Chatterjee, Rajashree, Abhimanyu Bandopadhyay.

**Sashuri No. 1** (Bishwabani Jatra Sangstha)

**Sikshita Bouma** (Tapoban Natya Company) Script & Direction: Neelkamal Bhattacharya; Actors: Anitesh Bhattacharya, Chandi Hambhir, Aditi, Kumar Biswaroop, Arati Goswami, Binoy Goswami.


**Swadhin Bharate Paradhin Bhalobasha** (Aashirbad Opera) Script: Rina Choudhury & Bhaskar Mukherjee; Direction: Rahul Goswami; Actors: Rina Choudhury & Rahul Goswami.