

Resistance in Nature: an Ecofeminist Study of Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*

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“The land was ours before we were the lands” Robert Frost

Ecofeminism as a discourse sustains a commendable support to examine a piece of literature when the socio-cultural and even political engagement of an author unfolds a female point of view looking into nature, dehumanized beings and exploitation. Noted Bengali writer Mahasweta Devi's entire fictional approach seems to be a quest of identity and affirmation of either women or tribal in this arena of exploitation. Interestingly enough, an ecofeminist stand engulfs both women and the oppressed 'others' in the same status quo when the exploitation is juxtaposed with the domination of nature by the technocivilized, mercantile, capitalist patriarchy. For Devi, the impulse of ecofeminism with regard to tribal, non-dominant groups and the outcastes is located in the field of deprivation of land rights in the colonial as well as neo-colonial periods. And thereby, the essence of ecofeminism discovers a strong sense of correspondence between the deplorable human condition of the marginalized and the transformation of nature into productive sites with industrial prospects. Her profound attachment with the

subaltern, landless tribal communities across the nation advocated her strong introspection toward the continuing process of exploitation of land and the earth bound people intimately fastened with land in terms of labour and livelihood. Nandini Sen comments:

“The tribals or “adivasis” are the so called “first inhabitants” of the Indian subcontinent. Descended from nomadic tribes, perhaps at some distant time, they took to agriculture but many have been rendered landless labourers by the confiscation of their land by the outsiders. The adivasis' position as landless labourers is precarious in that they are incapable of undertaking cultivation without land, seeds, implements, farm animals...., in addition to being regularly cheated of their rightful share of crop and being ensnared in debts....Mahasweta Devi not only join issues with this discrimination, she goes a step further. She shows through numerous accounts how the adivasis are true sons and daughters of the soil and how their lifestyle can be an eye opener for the well heeled upper classes who are slowly and steadily losing touch with their roots triggering off an ecological imbalance.”(Sen 18)

Keeping this in the contextual paradigm, the paper seeks to appreciate Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* from an ecofeminist perspective.

“*Chotti Munda and His Arrow* raises questions about the place of the tribal on the map of Indian national identity, land rights and human rights and the museumisation of ethnic cultures. The novel shows the events in the life of Chotti, a Munda boy that encompass him and his struggle.”(Mishra 37)

The paper initiates to explore the correspondence between land rights and human rights from an ecofeminist perspective and the justifications of violent resistance as the last resort of a desperate people. Mahasweta Devi's instrumental aesthetics do not concentrate on the tribal predicament as shown in the text only to present a documentation of tribal culture rather the presentation “is a sincere effort to change the exploitative, insensitive scene. It speaks vehemently against the commodification of the Tribes, their lands and rituals.”(Mishra 27)

Chotti Munda is the perennial hero of Mahasweta Devi's *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, perennial because he ushers forth as a river and his spirit of resistance flows with continuous motion as a river does. In the life of Chotti, India moves from colonial rule to independence, and then to the unrest of the 1970. The narrative orients around the character of “Chotti who has seen his society undergo brutal oppression and suffer obliteration of its identity.”(Gokani, Josan 465)

The Chotti village sparsely populated by the Munda, Dushad, Ganju, Dhobi and the untouchable outcasts with a handful of Munda, Oraon villages encircled nearby creates an existential reality of the oppressed minority, which may justifiably be stressed as the strong ecotone of the narrative. The ecotone of the text separates the tribal identity with their custom and culture closely imbued with nature from the culture zone which the tribal community continuously encounters to sustain their livelihood. There is always a line of never crossing boundary, a sense of non-encroachment which runs the lifestyle of the narrative; on one hand the raw freshness of the tribal villages and on the other hand the set-up of the civilized, cultural population.

The text upholds the continuous strife of the tribal minority class, the untouchable bonded farm workers, the marginalized outcasts, their serfdom under the colonial and post-colonial regime of this nation's political paraphernalia with regard to land and land only. An ecofeminist review of *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* accounts for the clash and calamities encountered by the subalterns deprived of their right to land and their active resistance against the machineries of the upper class like the landowners, moneylenders and the agencies of the government. The resistance of the tribal in the text has an ecofeminist spirit of rebellion against domination, exploitation by the upper class that has from time immemorial snatched their right to land, has shattered their connection with nature.

Mahasweta Devi contemplates:

“...each rebellion---always related to land and labour---they were evicted from their home places. In the context of the tribal world of Eastern India, which is what I know, they migrated towards Bengal, they were taken to Assam as tea garden labourers, kept in Bengal to clear the mangrove forests in the Sunder bans, the Indigo planters brought them , this is continuing history; there is no break in it.”(Devi x)

Thus, the text too unfurls the pathetic deprivation of land and resources of the marginalized poor and the relentless exploitation of the colonial, post-colonial ruling class represented by the bloodsuckers turned landowners upon them. This stereotype saga of extremities in the novel from the very beginning has been announcing resistance, uncompromisingly eco-centric headed by the tribal Munda, Chotti. Every time the lower class integrates, they turn their attention to nature, either to save themselves or to become fugitives. The tale of *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* starts with Purti Munda’s abandoning his community, his land and family for the sake of preserving nature. It was believed wherever Purti went mica and coal came out of the ground. In his newly settled home of Palamou, archaeology(Stone Age Arms) was hidden. So as usual he was evicted from his land and Purti Munda became a wanderer as wherever he settled resources bursted out from under ground. Purti’s final settlement by the Chotti river made him realize that the sand by the river bank was studded with gold. Purti was anxious to save nature from the outsider money-making

traders. The echoes of Purti’s thoughts perhaps set the ecotone of the narrative :

“He remembers how White men and Biharis jumped at the sight of coal and mica, how instantly they disfigured adivasi areas with slums of tile-roofed dwellings. Who knows what such people will do if they see gold? These hills, those forests, this river will once again be spoiled.”(Devi 2)

And so he left his family, his community forever. Purti’s lone wish to preserve nature’s bounty lost in vain as the locality gradually came under the clutches of traders of various kinds- brick kilns were constructed, tree-felling contracts flourished and the proud emergence of railway tracts devastated the jungle. The forest lost most of its animals and simultaneously the tribal folk along with the peripheral population thrived hard to survive as agricultural bonded labourers with minimum wages and assistance. The continuous history of Adivasi identity and the story of their survival are carried forth by Purti’s great grandson, Chotti Munda for whom the identity of the Mundari community is a never faltering affair with nature. Chotti learnt the voices of nature pristine, learnt the messages of nature as the wholesome source of existence in his childhood as unaware he has become the emissary to continue the Birsite reverence for Mother Nature. Chotti’s formative years passed close to Birsa Munda’s once commune, Dhani Munda. Dhani Munda bequeathed to Chotti the annals of responsibility to protect nature and shouldered Chotti the cult and age old skill of archery and throughout the text, Chotti’s arrow gifted by Dhani sojourns in

the midst of all strife and struggle as an ever fixed symbol of tribal pride and consciousness. Dhani narrated to Chotti:

“T’ forest cried. Told him, Birsa, Diku-Master-White man- together they’ve made me unclean, naked, undressed, clean me up”

Chotti realized, “The intolerable burden of proceeding with Dhani’s secret guarded was his alone to bear.”(Devi 14)

In *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, nature is the thick, dense backdrop of subaltern gasps of survival. She is beneficial towards tribal security, helpful in their dire needs and always presented as wild and ferocious towards the civilized intruders and pragmatically protective to save the beings that live close to her bosom. Ecofeminism always questions the moves of the mercantile, civilized world view that marches headlong to transform nature as profitable. For the anthropocentric viewers, wild nature is useless, it must be conquered and tamed as the wild folk too should be thumbed and suppressed. And so resistance among the subaltern ‘others’ is seen as an ecofeminist action against domination that wishes to curb both nature and the oppressed.

Chotti’s initiation into the Mundari struggle for land is a visionary participation in the long struggles and revolts of the Subalterns as narrated by Dhani. Dhani’s shattered visions of the dream shown by Birsa Munda, his relentless memory back reviews of Sidhu-Kanu’s Hul, “ From Hul to Kherwar , from Kherwar to the Mulkoï struggle, from Mulkoï struggle to Ulgulan”, “and then

Birsa’s revolt.... In the hope that Mundas would establish villages in forest and arable land and farm rightfully and in peace...”(Devi 15) marks the logic of domination in the text that has clubbed both land and beings together. The unfulfilled dream of the Munda tribe has made them eternally landless, subdued and bonded labourers for an infinite debt repayment. Dhani Munda, once the prison mate of Birsa Munda was banished and confined to Murudi once the revolt was suppressed and Birsa was hanged to death. But Dhani Munda addressed the forest ‘Our Mother’ and for the Munda tribe Birsa was the Father Earth. Thus the amalgamation of nature and the deplorable denigration of the tribal ‘others’ correspond with one another and the extraction of one becomes the story of exploitation of the other. This is how the spirit of Birsa and Dhani transmigrates into Chotti and the sense of revolt and resistance concentrates into the magical arrow handed down to Chotti by Dhani and the series of arrow fighting.

The amazing truth behind the arrow fight was that Chotti never raised Dhani’s talisman for a single incident of violent resistance but the arrow signifies the tribal solidarity, their identity and the autonomy of their mindset. Ecofeminism becomes a justifiable approach to look at the unending conflict between the subalterns and the moneymaking machineries of the civilized, capitalist world. But the tribal community of Chotti along with all other marginalized groups headed by Chotti Munda resist all types of oppression though bow-headed and bewildered by the ruthlessness of the oppressors like moneylenders, landowners,

Govt. officials, political hooligans, contractors and such others. The two divergent status of the nation from colonial stage to independent India hardly makes a difference as in both colonial and post-colonial phases, Chotti exists as a land of exploitation which has not been regenerated by the glory of the nation's long attained freedom. Only the saga of Chotti's spellbound arrow proceeds from one generation to another and the tribal unification embraces all who are marginalized into one cluster of entity to survive and surface together.

Chotti names his son after the river, Harmu, by the bank of which the Munda God, Birsa was cremated. Chotti's resistance against the moneylenders begins with his stern verdict against borrowing from the moneylender Baijnath. He laments his incomplete collection of information regarding land deprivation from Dhani. He ruminates:

"He didn't get to hear of the time when the Mundas were free, when Diku and Gormen and contractor and recruiter and missionary hadn't entered their lives." (Devi33)

Chotti's earnings for his family comes from archery competitions held at different tribal fairs instead as he starts winning fair after fair hitting the Bull's eye. Resistance teaches Chotti to accept and admit personal loss and defeat and Chotti's father's suicide due to the unbearable humiliation and torture by Lala Baijnath and the Daroga, Mahavir Sahay sets an example of this.

Ecofeminism asserts a sense of connectedness among the oppressed along with women and exploited nature. In *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, nature is

subordinate, silent and voiceless as the tribal and other marginalized class. As noticed by Maria Mies:

"As modern industrial society is based on the ongoing conversion of Nature into cash and industrial products and since this process is the necessary condition for industrial society to survive, the modern relationship to Nature can only be a sentimental one, it cannot be 'real'. The relationship to nature necessarily depends....on the very destruction of nature." (Mies, Shiva 144)

Such a Eurocentric discourse giving rise to post-colonial expansion of colonizers into dominant, exploiting groups, classes and nation turns nature into confiscated lands, boundaries, farmlands and industrial sites or plantations where the nature sustained beings work as bonded labourers or wage earners with minimal facilities and earnings. The constant negotiation between the subaltern class and nature focuses the acuteness of their deplorable status. It is nature that they are bound to which again is similarly governed by the capitalist, patriarchal class.

The Pre Independence period in Chotti village often and on witnessed the boundless oppression tugged at the lower class during draught or famine by the common shackles of the landed moneylenders as well as the Darogas for a handful of grain. The machinery of exploiters by any means wished to turn the starving community of Munda, Dushad, Chamar, Ganju and Dhobi into bonded slaves if they were to receive draught relief. The starving land and the

dearth of humanity upon the landless poor echoes around an engulfing sense of repression in Chotti. But it was again the resistance coming from Mundas and non-Mundas led by Chotti Munda who straightway refused to give their thumbprint on Tirathnath's papers. They managed missionary relief while they had to undergo acute starvation "Terrible draught, t' cows reel and die. No one has wheat, maize, rice, paddy at home. Starvin' to death." (Devi 41) Thus the 'archaic rhythm' of Chotti village occasionally got crushed by modernity, power and machine. The episodic terrains of the text unfold the saga of Dukhia Munda from Kurmi village who had resisted the unbearable atrocities of the manager by beheading him with a spear. Dukhia was bound by his grandfather's borrowing 'A quarter's worth o' paddy' (Devi 52) and he killed Nakata King's manager for a quarter rupee worth of red pepper. The sole cause of domination and brutality shown by the upper class malik-mahajan against Dukhia and his like was the land that had been captured, the land that had become a distant mirage, forever occupied by the Dikus or the outsiders. Land emerges in the text as a regional entity, as another tribal character confiscated and marginalized by the moneyed, patriarchal capitalism, whose only aim was to transform land into cash, profit and production and the irony lies with the fact that the poor labour class consisting of the tribal and the untouchables were forced to transform land into profitable commodity being bonded slaves. Ecofeminism may treat this aspect of exploitation upon land and labour as a peculiar Indian predicament to justify the

extent of marginalization of the subalterns which is always co-mingled with marginalized nature. Marginalization of land remains the chief ecofeminist concern in the novel as with this violation of nature's right; the exploitation of the Mundari community is thickly associated. It is true that the forests were mother to the tribals. The British came with their forest, land and other laws and stripped the tribals off their natural rights. They introduced moneylenders, landlords, traders, mahajans into the region, through which to loot the Adivasis. They usurped the tribal lands, and reduced them to a slave like existence. As soon as the land is usurped, the rich farmers, moneylenders, dikus, the kadars from outside replaced the tribal Khuntkatti system of holding land jointly by tribal lineages with typical Zamindari-tenancy system which caused indebtedness and Beth beggary among the tribal.

In *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, the Mundas' of Kurmi village decided to sacrifice their faith, festival, and religion to get rid of the atrocious rulers of land, the system of bonded slavery and the burden of taxes and the terror to survive joining the Mission Munda of Tomaru. Chotti Munda ruminates:

"To set up a village by felling impenetrable forest is a lot of work, a lot of pain. To leave that village is even more painful. Where is yer Mission? Does it have such hills, and such forests all around, like th' edge of mother's cloth?" (Devi 69)

The Kurmi Pahan laments at Kurmi Mundas' turning into Christians and

leaving their rightful place: “Mundas lived afore in their Khuntkatti village, also forest-cut. Soon’s there was a crop there. Diku-moneylenders got in. An’ Mundas left village. In the same way our forefathers build this village. T’ kings took this area much later.”(Devi 70)

Throughout the narrative a strong sense of cultural aggression against the eco-centric livelihood is felt which perhaps determines the root cause of conflict between the tribal, the marginalized and the aggressive capitalist class. The text while documenting the extremely annihilating step of the Kurmi Pahan, obliterating himself into the deep bosom of wild nature accentuates the primary bonding of the tribal with nature, nature only. Pahan’s merging with the wild, impenetrable forest after the large scale conversion of the Kurmi Mundas as Mission Mundas, affirms his faith in nature which he could not forsake and thus surrendered into nature as his final shelter. *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* proceeds with the symbolic resonance of archery skill that has been religiously preserved and spread across different bands of Mundari community by Chotti. The arrow as a symbol carries the eco-identity, the final mark of belongingness to land, to forest, to wilderness which of course shall have to be used against the procedure of total annihilation of the subaltern by the capitalist, patriarchy. Chotti’s archery skill culturally inherited from Dhani Munda is a signifier which from a mere object becomes the prominent subject in the text through which the tribal speaks the voice of resistance. Thus, the arrow becomes the major trans-generational

cultural subject that is used as a major metaphor in the novel by Mahasweta Devi to resist the onslaught of progressive machineries of civilization.

The ‘progressive insanities’ of mercantile multitude never recognize the ecology of a place while they intend to occupy the land, the space. The domination of the land obliterates the vibrant ecological set up of a community and ecofeminism attacks this logic of domination not only because it conjectures nature to be feminine but also because the domination disregards the countless marginalized lives that live on the edges of nature. The tribal venerates nature’s creation with an organic stronghold as they all belong to nature. The tribal consciousness essentially acknowledges the feminine sanctity in nature. Chotti Munda’s warning to his son for killing a hare sounds most suggestive to realize this bonding of wonder world where human and the non-human others live in a similar eco zone.

Chotti“ said gravely, Harmu! That’s a girl. Ye didn’ know?

I saw after killin’.

Let’s not see that again. T’fam’ly of life grows larger wit’ girl animals, girl birds. Why do I make ye know girl critters and birds?”(Devi 77)

Ecofeminism investigates the correlation of conflict between the underprivileged and the corresponding nature at the same level and time. Devi narrates how the calm benevolence of nature and the vast expansion of wild gradually turn the dominant class into despots through the representation of the landowner of Chotti

village, Tirathnath. Chotti Munda resists Tirathnath's devilish ploy to restrict water of his wells for the extremely draught stricken villagers while relishing the scene of his servants bathing cattle and water-buffalo by the well. Even for a drop of water they have to sign bonds. The resistance comes under Chotti's leadership who unifies everyone, both the Mundas and the untouchables clinging to unravel an ancient tribal practice of digging the riverbed for collecting water from hidden sources. The scene has a tremendous ecofeminist turn as the oppressed 'others' turn to nature as their source of reliever while the capitalist class seeks to grab both nature and the marginalized exploiting their capacity and scope of utility. In the text, the tribal laments the distance between their entity, their existence and the earth, the soil. They feel the gradual loss of nature to carry out their livelihood. The nature is possessed by the brick kiln of Pratap Chadha, coal quarry of Chiranjiram Marwari, the fruit orchard of Asraf Sheikh in quick progression and the tribal helplessly feel how they are deranged from nature to live their earlier days as was in Khunkatti village. Chotti comments :

“ Look at this earth. We serve it an' spend all our lives. But I've never seen a Munda grow wealthy, get a lotta earthly goods, put a lotta farmhands to work...So th' earth kept all this brick, all this coal, all this fruit—for t' Diku?”(Devi108)

The Chotti scenario rapidly disturbs the ecotone of the narrative and the landscape disastrously turns into rugged terrains of coal mines and areas of deforestation. If on one hand the post-colonial forerunners of

earlier British despots in local hue transgresses and demolishes nature's bounty then on the other hand tribal population goes under atrocious torture by the agents and managers of landowner authorities. The text records the activities of Narsingarh king:

“...he poisons the springs of drinking water and goes on killing tigers. Other animals are also dying. The king is occupied with such tasks. On his private land there are Munda-Oraon-Kurmi and Dusad tenants....His Agent Tesilder Singh keeps the tenants under control...The weapon is the same. Bonded labour on the basis of compound interest loan.”(Devi110)

In this way the tribal loses their closeness with soil and thus suffers the greatest stronghold of their cultural identity. The voiceless speech of Munda protest gets blurred in the distant hills, dry grassy fields, in the lee of the forest myrobalan groves, clumps of stone and the rustic nature spread all around. Still they avail redress if not in Govt office or tribal welfare department then through their skill of archery. This is how Puran Munda kills Tesilder Singh when his hut was trampled by elephant and his land captured. Chotti Munda remains the lone master archer teaching whoever comes to him seeking to learn the one and only tribal art of living in dignity. For the tribal, land is a vibrating metaphor of life- a tribal without a piece of land is a forlorn, miserable being. In *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, the constant pressure of the narrative contracts and expands with this metaphor. A few Mundas not offering bonded labour like Chotti's family farming on their bits of land bestow their life on it and the narrative

registers catastrophe when that pulsating land piece is usurped by the landowners jealous of the resulting success in harvest drawn from extremely hard labour by the Munda farm hands. As Chotti remarks about his son, Harmu's love for his yield:

“Now that land has become his life. His Ma says, He loves his land more than his son. His land's his life. Looking at his field of grain in the eight month of Aghran Harmu had said, Land's me life- this is me life.”(Devi 121)

Against this transitory trust in land, the irony of life proceeds with other labourers from the village putting their toil in “jobs of illegally killing trees, deforesting the hills, and breaking stones to make moraine.”(Devi 118) Everywhere the nature is spoilt, the tribal is uprooted from their ancient connection with the soil and setting of Chotti enlarges into large scale market area with lots of industrial prospects. As it is inevitable, Harmu cannot protect his land from the greedy clutches of Tirathnath, when the earlier barren soil turns into profitable harvest producer. After Harmu's imprisonment, Chotti Munda falls in a quest of land- a piece of rough, dry land that he buys from a trader mostly to utter disapproval of Lala and Harbans. Chotti mutters: “Be it barren, be it stony, a bit of land means trying one's drifting existence to an anchor.” (Devi 147) Devi takes an ecofeminist stand showing a structural consistency of the Mundas in replenishing sickly, barren, infertile, stony lands either taken on lease or possessed by futile mutual agreement made by the opportunist moneylender into fertile soils. Chotti Munda becomes an exemplary ecofeminist

challenger against upper class exploitation transforming rugged lands into paddy fields. The toil and hardship put by both the adivasis and the low castes on such lands turns the transforming pattern into a kind of ecofeminist resistance by the marginalized. Ironically enough the capitalist patriarchy dissents such moves:

“It's not correct that Chotti and company should own even stony land. This might alter the balance of their mental make-up.....They should be kept like specters without any recourse, without any materiality, forever dependent. Like those who are kept apart by earth, by water, by air.”(Devi 148)

Even when under the ferocious aggression of commercial traders, forest becomes an evading green consciousness of the Mundari community, Chotti time and again re-asserts the organic identity of the tribal with nature prohibiting Jita from killing a doe: “Nah, that's a doe. I too feel like shooting, but they are bein' killed off like we are....There'll be increase if we let t'doe live.”(Devi 150)

Gradually the narrative proceeds to record the vacuum in the post-independent political agenda encapsulated in “ the hollers like ‘eliminating poverty’, ‘bond labour illegal’, ‘now moneylenders loan for agriculture is illegal’²² and the geology of the Chotti landscape cannot escape the massacre of nature by the planned bauxite mine on the streambed of River Shone, the aluminum factory in Chama and Harbans's greedy fancy to flourish his brick kiln for ever increasing construction sites in nearby areas. The concluding section of the novel is fiercely tumultuous orienting around the

hooliganism of the Youth League leaders during the 80s upon the subaltern class as a whole, excessive squeezing of labour force with minimal wages by the contractors as well as the moneylenders and the growing upraise of semi-naxalite movement advocating adivasi land rights. Amidst such burning of Munda huts, cutting of bodies and dishonouring of tribal women, Chotti village steadily proceeds to materialize the Ordinance of 24th October, 1975 that announces bonded labour to be illegal under the surveillance of the Munda voice of Chotti Munda. It is land and land always that captures the tone of the text, the mode of tussle between the non-dominant groups and the dominant Dikus. Devi has introduced the idealist economist Dr. Khurana to expose the hollowness of Indian Acts and laws that hardly touch the servile status of the poverty stricken marginalized communities at large. The final resistance by the subalterns settles around the united participation of all- Mundas and other low castes to say no to bonded labour. Once the bonded slavery stops nature along with all living on the edges will be liberated from the clutches of Tirathnath, the representative moneylender. And at the time of such collective regeneration of the subaltern strength, Chotti Munda adheres to the call of Swarup, the fugitive who has promised to help the adivasis in their dire need. Swarup's semi-Naxalite mode of violence against the land holder, moneylender and the political patrons in the guise of Govt. authorities while causing rampage upon the Munda

tribe, slaughtering and burning their huts at every possible opportunity makes the subaltern vulnerable unless they unite and resist the capitalist super-structure. *Chotti Munda and His Arrow* ends with a message of subaltern solidarity when Chotti representing the persisting echoes of anguish of all who are marginalized- Mundas, untouchables and the outcastes shoulders the charges of the murder of Romeo and Pahalwan upon him. Once and for all Chotti executes Dhani Munda's Magical arrow to hit the Bull's eye and hands it down to Harmu, his son. S.D.O.'s final move to capture Chotti remains an unresolved stand as:

“instantly a thousand adivasis raise their bows in space and cry, No! The non-adivasis raise restraining hands.

Chotti on one side, S.D.O. on the other, and in between a thousand bows upraised in space. And a warning announced in many upraised hands.”(Devi288)

Mahasweta Devi introspects into the armed resistance of the tribal of Chotti village as the united march of the oppressed against a system of domination and Chotti Munda's larger than life representation relates him constantly to be the iconic strength of Nature, the mother earth.

“As he waits he mingles with all time and becomes river, folklore, eternal.Brings all adivasi struggle into the present, today into the united struggle of the adivasi and the outcaste.”(Devi287)

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