



“Fields of Order: Agrarian Relations and Caste in Ancient Bengal through the Lens of Krishi-Parāśara”

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Abstract:

Kṛṣi-Parāśara-an agronomic compendium traditionally dated between the late-first-millennium and early-second - millennium CE-offers far more than technical prescriptions on ploughing, soil science, and seasonality. Embedded in its verses is a richly textured worldview that binds agricultural practice to social hierarchy and cosmic order. The treatise situates cultivation within an intricate nexus of (a) caste-defined labour obligations and ritual privileges, and (b) astral chronologies governed by nakṣatras (lunar mansions) thought to regulate the efficacy of sowing, transplanting, and harvesting. By correlating specific agrarian tasks with both a caste matrix and auspicious celestial windows, *Kṛṣi-Parāśara* articulates a cosmic sociology in which earthly productivity and social rank mirror a wider metaphysical rhythm. This paper reads the text through three interlocking lenses-technical agronomy, socio-economic stratification, and religious cosmology-to show how caste prerogatives and nakṣatra lore together forged a collective agricultural consciousness in ancient Bengal, framing the duties of farmers and ritual specialists as simultaneously communal and cosmic. This research paper further analyses the caste division of agricultural society, a social structure in which layers of castes dominated directing what kind of agricultural activities and rituals one was allowed to participate in. Moreover, the synthesis of caste and *nakshatra* philosophy in *Krishi Parasara* reveals how belief system in agricultural societies formed an important part of forming a collective social consciousness wherein the responsibilities and positions were not just earthly but were considered as part of a greater cosmic framework.

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"Mon re krishikaj jano na

Emon manob jomin roilo potit, abad korle folto sona

Kali name deore bera

Fosole tochhrup hobe na¹

This generous music plays every moment in the memory of Bengalis, but if you pay attention, you will see that *Matri Sadhak Ramprasad Sen* in his *Matri Bandana* has revealed the secret theory of Mother worship by carrying the memory of 'Krishikaj'. It is not difficult to understand the importance of agriculture in the social structure. There is no end of curiosity in the historical scholarly circles centered on the '*Krishiprasara*' written in the 11th-12th centuries. The importance of *Krishi Parashara* in understanding the historical consciousness, currents of social thought of the early medieval period is magnified. Realizing the importance of *Krishi Parashara*, the practice of it has been present in the scholarly circles for many days. Historians like Ranabir Chakravarti² considered the writing of the book 'Krishi-Parashar' to be the result of the wide spread of agriculture in the early medieval period, the development of a separate concept for 'agricultural practice' as a result of that expansion. Laloni Gopal, D. K. Ganguly, R. Furui, A. K. Choudhury, G. Wojttila had discussed in detail³.

In fact, in an agriculturally developed country like India, it is natural that a separate branch of science would develop for 'agriculture'. But no one claims to have explored such book editing before '*Krishiparasara*'. But 'agrarian' thought was not neglected in the great scholarly circles of ancient India. The authors were well aware of this and all that during various writing sit can be seen that he used to raise the issue. Starting from the Rigveda, one can find many traces of thinking and re-thinking on agriculture. The idea of 'agriculture' has penetrated into the mythological literature or in the thoughts of all the writers.

The composition of the book '*Krishiparasara*' begins with the praise of the great sage Prajapati. The ancient sage 'Parasara' is known as the author of this book. In the *Krishiparasara* it is said that a Brahmin great in the *Chartubeda*, holy in all scriptures, can build the nest of Lakshmi in his house. Again, it is said in the agricultural

world that no matter how much wealth there is in gold, diamonds, if there is no rice then all living things will starve to death. So sage Parashara said, 'Blessing is agriculture. Agriculture is sacred, and agriculture is the livelihood of life'.⁴

Krishi Parashara has a total of 243 verses written in Sanskrit. All the works of *Krishi Parashara* are written down as oral utterances of *Rishi Parashara*. The entire composition is written for the audience. In general, if one looks at the *Upapuranas* or other classical discussions in this episode, it will be seen that, for example, in the context of *Brihatdharma* and *Barhmavaivarta Puranas*, *Vedavyasa Muni* is identified as the author and *Shaunaka Muni* is mentioned as the listener. The ancient sage 'Parasara' has been attributed as the author of *Krishiparasara*. As mentioned earlier, such trends are also discussed in the two *Upa puranas* of Bengal. The difference is that here the audience of this work is not a specific person, but the entire society was probably intended to write the work. Now let's have a little discussion about the date of *Krishiparashara*. The question naturally arises that the insertion of the name of the ancient sage 'Parasara' in the *Krishi Parasara* suggests that the work wanted to make itself look a little older than the time in which it was composed. It is understood that the work sought to legitimize ancient legendary authors like the rest of the *Mahapuranas* or *Upa-puranas*. However D. K. Ganguly in his article *Agricultural technology as known from the krsi paraāśara* considers it to have been composed between the late 11th and 16th centuries. Again, the edited *Krishi parashara* from the Asiatic Society, which we are discussing, dates it to between 950-1100 CE⁶. But it must be kept in mind that many scholars like Yogesh Chandra Roy ⁷ have tried to date *Krishi parashara* between the sixth and eighth centuries.

It can be observed that there is almost a consensus in the scholarly circles about the special connection of Bengal with the work of *Krishi Parashara*. Even today there are many customs prevalent in Bengali societies which are found to be mentioned in *Krishi parashara*. Even today, in rural Bengal, before the most beloved Bengali festival of brotherhood, it is customary to make the cow auspicious with a drop of turmeric, which is quoted in a verse of *Krishi Parashara*. Again, the *Paushayatra* of Param Rasana Satisfied Paushmasa has also been expressed in the agricultural world. That *Krishi parashara* is written in Bengali is acknowledged by its authors like Girija Prasanna Majumdar and Suresh Chandra Banerjee, Lalonji Gopal, R. Furui, who have edited this.

Although the book is arranged in only 243 verses, it can be seen that it combines the discussion of several important issues. A total of 35 topics are discussed in this long yet valuable book. All the topics of discussion that Krishiparashar's book touches on are firstly-

1. Paddy is the main resource - significance of this resource. How paddy is the sole theme of domestic peace is discussed. (Vv. 5-7)
2. The second area of discussion is the concept of receptive fields. The details of how the position of the stars and planets changes agriculture can be observed. Several sayings prescribe precipitation and salinity on this *nakshatri* conjunction.
3. The third area of discussion is the migration of different clouds. How different types of precipitation occur in the transport of different clouds is discussed. Basically four types of clouds are mentioned (a) *Avarta* (b) *Samvarta* (c) *Pwikara* (d) *Droha*.
4. The fourth area of discussion is the when and how of intermittent rainfall patterns as a form, if the ant suddenly comes out of the whole, with its eggs then as the indication of rainfall is taken. Similarly, as the sign of rainfall, *Krishi Parashara* identified this as an immediate sign. Beside this, it rains when peacock dances. These rituals are still prevalent in Bengal at present. The author of *Krishi Parashara* has identified those symptoms that are prevalent in the society.
5. Next topic of discussion is when a change in the position of a star will cause precipitation.
6. Indications are given as to when the drought will occur. It is said that when Mars passes near the stars *Uttar-Falguni*, *Uttar-Bhadrapada*, *Hasta*, *Moola*, *Jestha* etc. then rain will occur immediately.
7. After that, the *Krishi parashara* discussed how to organize the agricultural system. Krishiparasara says "Cultivation should be done by a person who has knowledge of agriculture or he will be forced to accept begging". The statement of the above quote helps us to understand how 'Krishi parasara' wanted to create a class of agriculturists educated in professional agricultural knowledge associated with agriculture.
8. The writer of *Krishi parashara* rightly realized the importance of cattle as a significant factor in agriculture. Therefore, several festivals centered on cattle can be observed.

9. The rules of ploughing, the various parts of the plough have been explained in a meaningful manner. Providing accurate knowledge about different parts of plough is also one of the important aspects of writing *Krishi parasara*.

10. The writer of *Krishi Parashara* makes several comments about when to sow the seeds. It is said that the ideal time to sow rice seeds is *Asadha* month. Sowing in the month of *Shravana* is marked as abnormally full and in the month of *Bhadra* as very poor. According to *Krishiparashara*, the best stars for sowing seeds are Uttara, Moola, Jeestha, Rohini, Hasta and Revati. The author also states that seeds should never be sown on Tuesdays and Saturdays. Why he forbade sowing seeds on Tuesday and Saturday can be found in 'Khana bhachan' in the worldly life spirit –“Except monsoon Khana bhachana Farsa Shani seven Mars three and all day's day”. That is, if the seeds are sown on Tuesday and Saturday during the rainy season, the seeds will be washed away by continuous rain.

11. The next topic is discussed in agriculture is water conservation. The author did not stop at asking for provisions for farming only during the rainy season. The author wanted to ensure that there is water for cultivation throughout the year.

12. The author of *Krishi Parashara* finally talks about *Paushayatra*. On the last day of *Paush* month, it is prescribed to eat together with pies, fish and various dishes. Today in Bengali society, there are several post-cooperation arrangements for lunch on the last day of *Paush* month. The morning of what we call '*Pithe-Puli*' festival begins with eating and drinking in multiple consonant *yogas*. And at night *Pithe* festival has been mentioned. Today in rural Bengal, still in the morning, mothers are busy with the work related to *Paush*. In the same way, the statement that *Paush* is auspicious month for everyone and needs to be protected has been revealed. This is exactly how the whole issue of agriculture has been discussed.⁸

The literature on agriculture as a whole deals with various topics, but the main one is the selection of essential elements of agriculture and the correlation of related topics. Although research has been done in various aspects of the agricultural sector, there has been no discussion about the different stellar thoughts and feelings of the agricultural sector. Again, it is very significant that no such stream of thought originated in the two well-known *Upa puranas* of Bengal - *Brihatdharma* and *Brahmavaivarta Purana* - written almost in this episode.

Now let's talk about some of the stellar communications mentioned in *Krishi Parashara*. Where it can be seen how the rainfall or Kshara will occur at different times depends on several tithi-nakshatras. As it is said in *Krishi parashara* 'If rain or clouds are seen on the seventh day of Suklapaksha of Magha month, then it is said

that there will be very good rains that year'. Again it is said 'If there is a storm on the seventh day of Krishna Paksha in the month of Magha and the third day of the Shukla Paksha of the month of Phalgun, or on the first day of Baisakh, or there is rain with thunder, then the existence of the rainy season can be seen in advance". Just like this if Rohini Nakshatra is conjunct in Phalgun, which is very painful, then rains continue there and it lasts for five days. Again in the same way if the first day of Shukla Paksha of Chaitra month falls on Sunday, it rains throughout the year. If it happens on Monday then the entire country will be flooded. If it is Tuesday then the rainfall will not be sufficient. If it happens on Wednesday or Thursday, the sea will dry up and become full of dust if it is grain.”⁹

The yield will be good, in the same way on Saturday; we see the current of thought developing in the same way, the source of Bengali worldly consciousness, which is developed as Khanar Bachan. It can be seen that rain in the month of Magh has been mentioned in Krishni Parashara as well as it has been said here-

"Magh maashe borsha dacha

Raja chaare projar seba"

Again it is said in the words of 'Khanar Bachan' -

"Jodi borshe maagher sesh

*Dhonyo rajar punya desh"*¹⁰

Even though the meanings are understood by all, they are exposed to all for a little convenience. When it rains in the month of Magha, abundant crops are produced, both the king and his subjects are happy. The king has no concern for his subjects. This is exactly how the quotation in Khana's vachana about the month of Chaitra unfolds. It has been said that "Shani Raja Mangal patra chasa khorai saar matro". In other words, in the year in which Saturn becomes the king and Mars becomes the minister, agriculture fails due to lack of rain. Again it is said in the words of Khanar Bachan-

"Paanch Shoni pai meene /Shokuni mangsho na khay ghrine" (In the year in which five Saturdays fall in the month of Chaitra, many people die of pestilence and floods. Vultures cannot finish eating meat.)

It is observed that *Krishiparashar's* way of thinking and stellar thinking may not correspond directly to the verses in *Khana's vachana*, but there are some similarities between the thoughts. In fact, it has already been

said that such stellar thought streams are always flowing in the writings of social structure thoughts, otherwise the stream of agricultural star thoughts would not have flowed in Khana's writings.

In *Krishi Parashara* we talked about some Nakshatra Graha-Bhavana. In fact, countless such ideas have been reported for determining rainfall or drought. In the agricultural sector, each month has been mentioned and thus the provision has been made as to which month there will be excessive rain or no rain. We have uncovered some issues like this in the context of examples 1) Parashara said what happens to a person if the Sun is in the Tropic of Cancer during the Rohini Nakshatra in the month of Shravana? In fact, what will happen to agriculture if there is no rain during Rohini Nakshatra in Shravana month is the most difficult issue. Considering the matter of such heat, it is seen in 'Khanar Bachan' that-

"Khana bola sunoho bani

Shrabon bhadore naiko pani"

Dine jol raate tara

*Ei dekhbe dukkher dhara"*¹¹

Naturally, the question Arises (Mesh), did all these thoughts of *Krishi Parashara* suddenly fall from the sky? A very natural answer is not like an object suddenly falling from the sky. The concept and thought of Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira is seen to be applied in the thought of *Krishi parashara*. In the Brihatsamhita of Varahamihira, composed at the end of the sixth century, such thoughts as when it will rain in Krishi parasara can be seen in the Brihatsamhita. Again in Krishi parashara, what will happen as a result of which planet will be the king and which will be its minister is written in Brihatsamhita. For example, if Mercury is the king and Venus is his minister in a year, then there will be abundant harvest. Again, when Saturn is the king, when Mars is the minister, there will be no harvest". It is very noticeable that this type of thinking is found in the *Bhritasamhita*, just like in the agricultural field, again such homogeneous thoughts are seen to be repeated in the Khana Bhachan. Now we will try to explain with an example about the rainfall of Asharh month. Krish iparashara says "If the wind blows from the east during the full moon tithi of the month of Ashadha then there will be good rainfall, if it blows from the south-east then there will be crop damage, if it blows from the south-west direction less. Rainfall, crop damage if from west direction, storm rain and crop damage if from north-west direction. Again in the *Brihatsamhita* there are signs of this kind of thinking "when the clouds come from the east, the crops will be good, if the clouds come from the southeast, fire will come, and if the clouds come

from the south, there will be great loss of crops, if the clouds come from the west, the rainfall will be uncertain, North If it is from the west, there will be loss of crops.¹²

I will try to find out the thoughts of the agricultural society and caste from the constellational thought. We can already see the astrological developments in society and the tendency to believe in seeing the planets while doing agriculture, through the interplay between agriculture and mining. It can be said that if there was no star and planetary belief in the society, such a style of mundane speech like Khana and *Dakas Bachana* would not have developed.

In general the first central text of the Indian caste system called 'Manusmriti' asked the Vipraganas i.e. the Brahmins to abstain from agricultural work. Even written in Bengal, the two Upa puranas *Brihatharmapurana* and *Brahmavaivarta Purana* or the *Brihaddaranya Purana* composed in this period speak of the Brahmins as being absent from agricultural work. But what does it mean that all the structures of the agricultural caste system are collapsing? Where the Brahminical structure has repeatedly been keen to maintain the purity of the caste system, this *Krishi-Parashara* text embedded within the *Brahminical* structure advocated the breaking of the caste system and the *Vipraganas* to engage in agriculture. In the *Krishi Parasara* it is said that 'even Brahmins, versed in the scriptures and the Vedas, if they neglect agriculture, then Alakshmi will enter the house'.¹³ in fact, agriculture is said to be "sacred, agriculture is said to be the only means of survival for all beings." It is very clear from the above that the caste structure of the *Krishi parashara Brahmanical Shastras*, which prescribes separate actions for each profession, is not prescribed here. Rather, all castes have been told to take importance on agriculture. However, the purpose of this book was to spread different agricultural knowledge among people. Scholars such as B.D. Chattopadhyay or R. Chakraborty noted the rapid expansion of the agricultural system in the context of large-scale land grants being organized in the early medieval period. In that context, there is no doubt that the author will sing the praises of the agricultural system in the book of 'Krishiprasar'. If we look at the land grants, we can see how large areas of Bengal were being given land during this period. What stands out before us as the most significant instance is the 'Western part of *Srichandra Tamrapatta*' where land was donated in the very *Aranyasankula* area. An example of this is the number of land grants that are visible in front of us at this time.¹⁴ in such a situation, the main goal is to bring the new non-agricultural uncultivated land into agriculture, so the statement of *Krishi parashara* is like a statement that emerges in the society. In fact, the language and thought of the inner society was well defined in the *Krishi-Parashara* book.

Now a very natural question is that who was the audience of the *Krishiparashara* books? Who could bring language and thought to the level of self-understanding in this book? The question naturally arises as to whether the poor peasants of the village were the readers of these books written in Sanskrit. Where the universal education system did not expand in ancient India, the peasants in the villages were in Sanskrit, the question arises as to whether he used the information from the written texts and used them in the field of agriculture

But the writer of *Krishi parashara* wanted the message of agriculture to reach the entire public. Did the author of *Krishi Parashara* wish to have the entire *Karshak* (Agricultural) community as his declared audience? It may be said in this context that the reader of this book has doubted the entire peasant community. Again the author of *Krishi Parashara* says that the farmer is not wise in the true sense, that person is unfit for agriculture. In fact, the agricultural community says that if the farmer is not knowledgeable, then it is harmful for the society.

Anyway, this time we will try to give an indication of the kind of audience *Krishiparasara* is referring to. Scholars like R. Furui have identified all these ideas and messages thought of *Kutumbins* in Bengali society. ¹⁵Furui has long discussed the stratification of Brahmins in rural Bengali society. One type of Brahmins was those who were associated with agriculture and another group of Brahmins who composed the *Smriti or Puranas*. ¹⁶

In our familiar *Brihatdharma* and *Brahmavaivarta Puranas* one can see extreme dissatisfaction with the *Ganakas* who believe in this Astronomy/Astrological science. *Brihatdharma and Brahmavaivarta Purana* characterize the entire society of Bengal as thirty-six Jatis and see the entire caste system as the result of miscegenation arising during the times of *Samkar Varna*. It wanted to bind the entire population by dividing the entire society into a hybrid of good-middle-class. In the texts of the eighth-ninth century, from the upper castes of the society to the lower levels of the society, all the human groups mentioned up to the *Med Chandals* or the tribes of *Kol, Bhil, Pundra* which are known from various sources in the society of Bengal are seen to be included in the caste system in the *Puranas*. Even at a derogatory level, their inclusion in the caste structure can be seen in the *Brihadharma* and *Brahmavaivarta Puranas*. But *Graha Nakshatra* has a deep aversion to them knowing all these things. The main registrar of this session spoke about the history of intolerance. The structure of this intolerance can be seen towards the *Ganakas*. Just as the hypocrites of the *Kapalikas* are shown to the rest of the society as reprehensible, impure, unremarkable, so the *Ganaka* race is exposed to intense disdain. Regarding the *Ganaka* race, it is said in the *BrihatmBodhidharma* that "the Garuda who brought the Deval Brahman from *Shakadvipa*, he is famous as *Sakadwipi Brahmin* in the world. From *Shakdwipi* Brahmins

originated the *Home, Puja parayan Ganaka* race'.¹⁷ In fact, because the writers of *Krishi Parashara* or the writers of *Khanar Bachana* were very acceptable to the society, this feeling of intolerance towards them has been exposed.

For a long time there has been talk of two classes of Brahmins. Right from the Gupta episode we see *Bhumidanpattas* or land grants, where we notice the use of 'Sharma' next to the names of family members. I see a Brahmin whose name is *Kaptika* without any Brahmin symbols like Sharma, Swami etc. Thus during the *Guptadhika* period in Bengal, in the *Bhumidanpattas*, the *Kayasthas* who were socially known as Brahmins were known as *Kayasthas* professionally. If this is the way of thinking, the story fits - these people controlled the entire agricultural system of the village - the flow of knowledge spread through them. But even if the story is similar, the 'ghost fear' of the 'old man' is not at all. Rabindranath's '*Kartar Bhoot*' story is remembered - 'that ghost is coming ghost'.

CONCLUSION

1. Flexibility of Caste in Agrarian Contexts

The *Krishi-Parāśara* contradicts the prohibitions found in orthodox texts like the *Manusmṛti*, which discouraged Brahmins from engaging in agriculture, by explicitly urging Brahmins versed in the four Vedas to take up cultivation.¹⁸ This deviation indicates a shift in the Brahmanical social order, adapting to agrarian demands in early medieval Bengal.¹⁹

“Even a Brahmin, holy in all scriptures, if he neglects agriculture, will bring misfortune into his home.”²⁰

2. Rise of Agrarian Knowledge as New Social Capital

The text emphasizes that agricultural ignorance renders a person unfit to cultivate, thus redefining status through agricultural expertise rather than birth.²¹ This mirrors the epigraphic roles of *kutumbins* and *mahattaras*, who managed land and tax systems in rural areas.²²

3. Caste Stratification and Agrarian Labor

Despite its inclusive tone, caste-based labor divisions persist in *Krishi-Parāśara*: *Shudras* perform manual labor; while landholding and supervisory roles are reserved for higher castes.²³ similar patterns are visible in the *Damodarpur* and *Mahasthan* copperplates.²⁴

4. Ganakas and Astrology as Marginal Science

Though astrologers (Ganakas) were central to timing agricultural operations via nakshatras, they were socially marginalized in Puranic literature like the Bṛhaddharma and Brahmaparivarta Purāṇas.⁸ This reveals tensions between ritual hierarchy and functional expertise.²⁵

5. Epigraphic Evidence of Caste Role Transformation

Inscriptions such as those from Nidhanpur and Gunaighar show Brahmins accepting land in remote areas for cultivation, contradicting Puranic injunctions against Brahminical agriculture.²⁶ These grants confirm the need for caste adaptation in Bengal's expanding agrarian frontier.²⁷

6. Vernacular Astral Parallels in Khana's Sayings

Krishi-Parāśara's nakshatra-based calendric logic finds echoes in Khana's vachanas, a corpus of Bengali agrarian proverbs.²⁸ these sayings suggest a cosmic-cultural continuity shared between elite Sanskrit texts and subaltern oral traditions.²⁹

Appendix

Table 1

Caste Roles in Agricultural Practice in Ancient Bengal (Based on *Krishi-Parāśara* and Epigraphs)

Caste Group	Prescribed Role in Agriculture	Textual/Epigraphic Source	Comments
Brahmins (Vipra)	Allowed and even encouraged to practice agriculture if versed in Vedas	<i>Krishi-Parāśara</i> , v.5; Nidhanpur grant	Significant deviation from <i>Manusmṛti</i> orthodoxy
Vaishyas	Traditionally landowners and financiers of agriculture	<i>Manusmṛti</i> , Damodarpur plates	Often linked to tax obligations and surplus appropriation
Shudras	Primary agricultural labourers, ploughmen, water-drawers	<i>Krishi-Parāśara</i> , v.10; Belwa plates	Essential labor force but ritually impure in orthodox texts
Kutumbins	Local landholders or settled cultivators (often Shudra or mixed caste)	Bengal epigraphs (e.g., Mahasthan, Gunaighar)	Functionally equivalent to village elite in many areas
Kayasthas	Village scribes, land managers, cultivators	Gupta-period Bengal inscriptions	Played key intermediary roles between rulers and cultivators

Caste Group	Prescribed Role in Agriculture	Textual/Epigraphic Source	Comments
Artisan Castes	Often involved in making tools and ploughs	<i>Krishi-Parāśara</i> , v.21; copperplate evidence	Occupations passed through jati and family lines
Ganakas	Astrologers guiding sowing/harvest periods by Nakṣatras	<i>Krishi-Parāśara</i> , <i>Bṛhat-samhitā</i> , Khana lore	Held vital roles, yet often marginalized in orthodox texts
Marginal Castes	Occasionally noted in land donation borders or exclusions	Bṛhaddharma Purana; inscriptions in Rāḍha area	Peripheral to agrarian ownership but present in the system

TABLE 2:

Nakṣatra – Agriculture – Caste Correlation in Krishi -Parāśara and Bengali Vernacular Traditions

Nakṣatra	Associated Agrarian Activity	Caste Allowed / Advised to Act	Khānā or Local Lore Equivalent	Remarks
Rohini	Sowing rice, ideal growth cycle	All (esp. trained cultivators)	"Rohini chhilo Jodi Phalguner bhiton"	Auspicious; critical for rice economy
Mūla	Avoided for planting	Restricted for low castes	Noted as inauspicious for harvest	Seen as dangerous or ruinous
Hastā	Ideal for transplanting	Cultivators and landowners	Matches seasonal calendars in Bengal villages	Lunar-oriented timing system
Revati	Post-harvest processing	Open to all	Associated with festivals (e.g., Paush yatra)	Stars guide agricultural festivals
Māgha (full moon)	Predictive of future rains	Ganakas interpret, farmers follow	"Magher she Jodi brishti hoy"	Khānā–Parāśara convergence

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