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FOREWORD

It is not only a matter of pleasure but also of great relief that we are able to present to the readers the July 2017 issue of Victorian Journal of Arts, just in time to coincide with the occasion of the Annual Day and Founders' Day of the College, which is customarily the case every year. As is known to our readers, this August has witnessed a tragic flood situation over a vast area of North Bengal, and the town of Cooch Behar was not spared either. The dislocation that ensued threatened to jeopardise the timely publication of the journal. But the Editorial Board, and the Press, held up. Last but not the least, no word of gratitude is enough to appreciate the immense help that the esteemed reviewers have extended to the Editorial Board.

This all-out effort will be rewarded if the readers are satisfied.

Bimal Kumar Saha
Officer-in-Charge
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EDITORIAL

Sometimes a strange juxtaposition of the text and the reality makes the text look uncanny. At a time when the articles for this issue were shaping up in the editorial womb, rains became incessant and rivers in spate in North Bengal. Soon a vast swathe of land was under water and thousands of people, mostly poor, were rendered homeless. When, finally, the articles lined up for the press, the voice of the homeless it was that we heard from most of them – voice of women, the poor, the ethnic – drowned or marooned by the patriarchy, the rich, and the mainstream.

These voices do not always grudge and growl. Most of the times, they do not exist, like poor villagers' in the Gram Sabhas in West Bengal or in Joint Forest Management Committees in Puruliya, as the empirical studies of Mrinal Das and Anirban Roy, in that order, sadly claim. Again, Tista Das in her article *Revisiting The Partition*, finds in the narratives of the Partition refugees of Bengal a strange play of memories in which the reality cuddles the myth for comfort.

Sometimes the voices come out as autobiographies, like Rassundari's, to carve out an identity, as argued by Trayee Sinha. Sometimes, as we find in the article by Keshab Mandal and Prasanya Sarkar, the margin finds peace with the centre, as Rajbanshis have done in their food habits. At other times, at a literary level, they may subvert the dominant by simply self-effacing. By foregrounding the very male 'magic' and denying the female her agency and yet at the same time making a very quiet, almost inaudible, assertion that the magical males owe their magic to the ravaging of some female body, *Frankenstein* and *The Golden Key* in Suparno Banerjee's article point at the vacuous patriarchal claim to supremacy. In subversion the subject finds a non-violent way to fight the oppressive order. Thus when Jane Austen writes *Northanger Abbey* she subverts, as Manali Choudhury reminds us, the Gothic archetype which was the fashion of the day.

Sometimes, the voice from the margin is quite frank and candid. It may be the voice of a victim of rape in Mahasweta Devi's *প্রতি চুয়ান্ন মিনিটে (Prati Chuanno Minite-e)* or of a female protagonist in Suchitra Bhattacharya's *দহন (Dahan)* analysed in Kaushikottam Pramanik's article, or the sobering voice of the feminists staking a legitimate claim to decision-making in international politics (as one can read from the article by Shampa Dutta and Srijit Das); or it can also be a frightening one of the terrorists that has the potential to motivate the two Asian giants China and India, not exactly on friendly terms in the geopolitics of the region, to befriend each other, as argued by Bishnupriya Roy Choudhury.

Terror, unfortunately, is not the sole preserve of the violent margin. The state can own it too, and distribute it among a mass brought up on a diet of parochial, jingoistic, and totalitarian ideology. Democracy, in such a world, is marginalised. Democracy, a handmaiden of capitalism, is wont to play a second fiddle to the latter. But a direct political assault on it in various parts of the world in recent times is a phenomenon that raises the spectre of the pre-World War Germany. The article by Gaur Chandra Ghosh and Ram Krishna Biswas has turned to Swami Vivekananda's philosophy to engage us in an Oriental dialogue with democracy. Perhaps, literature has a role too. Literary images have a way of crossing boundaries and bringing people to understand one another. It is in this way that the mainstream can talk to the margin in a language that borrows from both the worlds without any effort at hierarchising. Arpan Roy Pramanik discusses the work of one such powerful writer of Bengali literature, Amiyabhushan Majumdar, who reached out to the Rajbanshi community by creating a bridge through language that people from both sides can cross.

At another level, at the level of our macro-existence, the human race has marginalised itself by destabilising the environment through the marauding march of an ironic progress. Satabdi Das in her article has furrowed in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* to bring out a non-anthropocentric view of life that self-aggrandizing capitalism has been undermining for far too long. An appeal to the ancient wisdom is also evident in Mithu Sinha Ray's article which locates Nature in the iconography of Vedic gods. Probably, when the present is threatening, it is time to turn the pages of history to imagine a future.

Debabrata Lahiri
Editor-in-Chief

CONTENTS

	Page No.
Sexual Reproduction and Textual Creation as Mutually Exclusive Processes in Science Fiction and Fantasy : a Comparative Study of <i>Frankenstein</i> and <i>The Golden Key</i> <i>Suparno Banerjee</i>	1
ꞑi ꞑqaé fsj J fsj-ej : a-šÄl Cꞑaqip, Cꞑaqi-pl ašÄ <i>čhÉaeꞑ cjn...ç</i>	11
čnrj Hhw fĕj čani-MÉ hZÑ °hčQœÉ <i>Al©f cjp</i>	15
Forlorn Corridors : an Exploration of the Functionality of ‘Northanger Abbey’ <i>Manali Choudhury</i>	19
čà-S¼cĕmj-ml pŁaj : AeeÉ -fĕjijhej <i>če-hčcaj Qœ²hšÉÑ (cš)</i>	24
NÒfl-pl pãj-e : "fꞑaꞑ-ml čQčW' <i>L«o-j e¾cŁ -i±čjL</i>	30
Ačjuj" oZ jSꞑjci-ll ijoi-čQč¹j J jčqoLꞑsij Eflbi <i>AfñZ lju fĕjij čZL</i>	34
<i>Amar Jiban (My Life): an Autobiography of Rassundari as Expressing the Self</i> <i>Trayee Sinha</i>	39
najĕf fĕjQĕe Lj-mjOščZÑ-a ejlĕl čSSEčhoj J œ²¾ce : jqj-nÄaj -chŁ J pꞑꞑčQœej i- jQj-kñl čꞑčV EfeÉj-pl B-mj-L <i>-L±čn-Lišj fĕjij čZL</i>	45
L«čø, LjmQil, pwú« ča : Abñjeꞑpãje, čhčnø hÉčš²-cl Ačija J ajl fkñj-mjQej <i>njč¹eꞑ j™m</i>	54
A Study of the Food Habits of Rajbanshi People <i>Keshab Mandal</i> <i>Prasanya Sarkar</i>	62
The Sino-Indian Affliction : is Terrorism a Panacea to the Abiding Constraints? <i>Bishnupriya Roy Choudhury</i>	68
Revisiting the Partition : Myths, Memories, Mirrors <i>Tista Das</i>	78
Raising the Issue of Gender Sensitisation and Empowerment : a Look at Women’s Participation in Foreign Policy Decision Making <i>Shampa Dutta</i> <i>Srijit Das</i>	83

A Philosophical Review of the Status of Women in Indian Literature <i>Mukul Bala</i>	88
A History of Women's Education in the Darjeeling Hills <i>Priti Ghatani</i>	93
Environmental Concerns in <i>Arthasastra</i> and its Contemporary Relevance <i>Satabdi Das</i>	99
<i>Vāstu</i> and <i>Vāstukāras</i> in the Tradition of Ancient Indian <i>Vāstusāstra</i> : a Special Reference to Mayamata. <i>Ripan Ghosh</i>	108
G-NÄ-cl -ch-ijheju fĒL«ça <i>çjW¥ çpwq lju</i>	113
ijla£ucnÑeni-Û» BaÈšÄpj£ri J a l Be¾cül©faiçhQ l <i>dĒæh-SÉjça i-jQjkÑ</i>	119
üij£ çh-hLje-¾cl -hcijhej <i>Aççça i-jQjkÑÉ</i>	128
The Concept of Democracy and the Relevance of Swami Vivekananda in the Indian Perspective <i>Gaur Chandra Ghosh</i> <i>Ram Krishna Biswas</i>	134
The Gram Sabha in West Bengal : Myth and Reality <i>Mrinal Das</i>	141
Participatory Management of Forests in Puruliya with Special Reference to the Role of Government Agencies and Local People of the District <i>Anirban Roy</i>	147
Cçaqi-ðl B-mju nql cæNÑifæ (1950-2000) <i>ljSnĒĒ cš</i>	155
Bpi-jl dæhs£ -Smil h-VlqiV NĒij f'i-u-al Ač¹NÑa °Ljil£ -j±S l a«a£u Aw-nl -S-m °LhaÑ-cl pjujç¹haÑ£ çnrj J -fnjNa fçlhaÑ-el çQœ <i>çhjm L¥jil piqi</i>	159
Pretence : The Other Side of Reality <i>Sutapa Chakraborty</i>	171
Locke's View on the Criterion of Truth : a Critical Assessment <i>Mrinal Kanti Basak</i>	176

Sexual Reproduction and Textual Creation as Mutually Exclusive Processes in Science Fiction and Fantasy

A Comparative Study of *Frankenstein* and *The Golden Key*

Suparno Banerjee [†]

Abstract

*In science fiction and fantasy, the negation of the feminine and of female agency, as a literary trope, frequently works as a tool of examining the politics of power and gender. By examining Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) and *The Golden Key* (1996) written by Melanie Rawn, Jennifer Roberson, and Kate Elliott, this article argues that the denial of the female agency in procreation, though, is often a way of dealing with another hidden, and perhaps more powerful, set of dialectics of creativity: that of textual and sexual creation. This article claims that both the texts under consideration, although written almost two centuries apart, foreground this binary of textual and sexual creation to destabilize the patriarchal structure that delegitimizes and circumscribes female creativity.*

Keywords

Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*, *The Golden Key*, science fiction, fantasy, Feminism

The negation of the feminine, and by consequence, of female agency in the process of procreation is a major theme in Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818; considered by many to be the first science fiction in English), and is often seen as a satire against nineteenth century patriarchy. The negation of the feminine as a literary trope, however, is not *only* a reflection of and satire against the nineteenth century patriarchy. Its scope is as much valid in the twentieth and the twenty-first century, especially in the genres of science fiction and fantasy that frequently become the tools of examining the politics of power and gender. According to Anne Balsamo, under the gaze of post-modern technology "the female body becomes fragmentable, semiotically deconstructable, and when pregnant invisible."¹ This denial of the female agency in procreation, though, is often a way of dealing with another hidden, and perhaps more powerful, set of dialectics of creativity: that of textual and sexual creation. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and *The Golden Key* (1996) written by Melanie Rawn, Jennifer Roberson and Kate Elliott, provide two excellent cases wherein this dialectics takes the center stage. Although authored more than one-and-a-half centuries apart, these two works powerfully foreground the mutual exclusivity of sexual reproduction and textual production in the dominant western discourse of creativity.

[†] Associate Professor of English, Texas State University, San Marcos, Texas, USA.

¹ Anne Balsamo, "Assembly Line Gender and the Postmodern Body" (Paper presented at the Midwest/Modern Language Association Conference, November 1991, Chicago, Ill, 7), quoted in Deborah Wilson's "Technologies of Misogyny: The Transparent Maternal Body and Alternate Reproductions in *Frankenstein*, *Dracula*, and Some Selected Media Discourses," in *Bodily Discursions: Genders, Representations, Technologies*, ed. Deborah S. Wilson and Christine Moneera Laennec (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 105

By text, I signify here something, the origin of which is not in heterosexual (natural or artificial) reproduction. Text is, as one of the definitions in *American Heritage Dictionary* (4th edition) explains, “Something, such as a literary work or other cultural product, regarded as an object of critical analysis.”² Although this meaning of text is unstable, especially from a Foucauldian view of man as a cultural product, I shall retain this understanding for the lack of a more appropriate word to encompass the diversity of asexual productions discussed in this essay. “Artistic production” can be an alternative term because *The Golden Key* deals extensively with art. However, to use the later term, the creature in *Frankenstein* will have to be considered as an allegory of art, which I will do later in the essay. For the moment, the term “text” will have to suffice.

We would not normally call the creature in Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* a “text.” Yet, the creature surely is an object formed through various cultural influences, within and without the novel—Agrippa, Paracelsus, University of Ingolstadt, Victor’s roaming among the “unhallowed damp of the grave,” the Delaceys, Plutarch, Milton, Galvani, Newton, Davy, death of Victor’s mother, the death of Mary Shelley’s mother, the revolution in France and the author’s desire for immortality through her work. The critical gaze is unwaveringly focused on the creature—Victor Frankenstein’s (his maker) Robert Walton’s (the reporter of the story), absent Mrs. Seville’s (the purported primary reader), of Mary Shelley herself, and ultimately the reader’s. The creature is continually being judged, though he exists outside our standards of moral judgment.

One aspect of the creature that this constant critical gaze renders certain is his “unnatural” origin—outside of heterosexual intercourse. Rather, that possibility is irrevocably barred from the novel. In “The Ambiguous Heritage of *Frankenstein*” George Levine observes, “In *Frankenstein* we are confronted immediately by the displacement of God and woman from the acts of conception and birth.”³ All the maternal figures are eradicated from the scope of the novel. Victor’s mother dies before he embarks on his career at the University of Ingolstadt; Justine, a potential mother, is killed by Victor’s silence; Victor Frankenstein destroys the female partner of the creature, a potential progenitor of a new race of devils; Elizabeth, Victor’s wife and the potential mother of his child is killed by the monster. Even Mrs. Seville, the intended recipient of the narration, is absent from the text. Victor’s search for the deepest secrets of nature and life leads him to the conclusion that the natural process of human birth, through heterosexual reproduction, cannot lead to the perpetuation of life. The circle of life rotates slowly but irrevocably from the first glimmer of birth to the cold darkness of death. Victor is painfully aware of that through the death of his mother. Nevertheless, as the story unfolds, Victor’s search becomes a complete negation of the natural process of creation; hence a negation of the female agency in the procreative process. In his search for the mysteries of life, Victor Frankenstein seeks out an alternative way of creation: a way not requiring submission to the laws of nature, and thus beyond the cycle of life.

² “text.” *American Heritage Dictionary*. 2017 (accessed Jul 22 2017).
<https://ahdictionary.com/word/search.html?q=text>

³ George Lewis Levine, “The Ambiguous Heritage of *Frankenstein*,” in *The Endurance of Frankenstein: Essays on Mary Shelley’s Novel*, ed. George Lewis Levine and U. C. Knoepfelmacher (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 8

Although some may argue that the death of his mother sets off the obsession of reanimating dead matter in Victor, his ambition for knowledge outside the normal laws of nature is apparent from the very beginning. On this point, Deborah Wilson argues:

Although he later disavows the hermetic model, the study of Agrippa, Paracelsus, and Albertus Magnus so dominates a critical period in his adolescence he deliberately invites mockery from his professors when he cites their work as the source of his scientific training (50–52). Victor repeatedly states that "Natural philosophy is the genius that has regulated my fate" (44), but his ambitions, which lead him to the "the creation of a human being" (53), independent of a woman, or even an isolated womb, resonate strongly of the alchemists' grandiose pursuits.⁴

Wilson's claim is substantiated by Victor's words:

Life and death appeared to me ideal bounds, which I should first break through and pour a torrent of light into a dark world. A new species would bless me as its creator and source; many happy and excellent natures would owe their being to me. No father could claim the gratitude of his children so completely as I should deserve theirs.⁵

Frankenstein seems to desire a complete proprietary right over the new creation. He also seeks to immortalize his own creative force through his creation. This is much like the author herself, as Diane Hoeveler suggests, "the writing of literature was, for Shelley as for so many others, one way of denying the power of death."⁶ While Shelley channels her creative force into her novel, Victor transfers all his vivacity into the creation of the monster. While Shelley bears within her womb the flame of a new life soon to be snuffed out, Victor is reluctant to enter into a possibility of a heterosexual reproduction. He continually defers his marriage to Elizabeth. He can consider the possibility of a "normal" generative process only after he has renounced what Wilson calls "technologies of misogyny."⁷ However, by then the choice has already been made for him.

Similar to *Frankenstein*, *The Golden Key* (1996), published more than one-and-a-half-centuries later, also foregrounds this same dichotomy between sexual reproduction and textual production. This novel, however, takes away the choice between the two forms from most of the protagonists. The novel traces the fortune of the Grijalva family in the alternative world of Tira Virte (roughly corresponding to modern-day Spain) through four centuries. The Grijalvas, who monopolize the world of art in Tira Virte, possess the magical Gift of manipulating space and time through their charmed paintings.⁸ This Gift, however, comes with the curse of brief life span and infertility. The gender division in Pallasso Grijalva is more of a division of labor—and evolved more out of a biological necessity than a tendency to propagate male hegemony.

⁴ Deborah S. Wilson, "Technologies of Misogyny: The Transparent Maternal Body and Alternate Reproductions in *Frankenstein*, *Dracula*, and Some Selected Media Discourses," in *Bodily Discursions: Genders, Representations, Technologies*, ed. Deborah S. Wilson and Christine Moneera Laennec (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 111

⁵ Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein: The 1818 Text* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 36

⁶ Diane L. Hoeveler, "Frankenstein, Feminism, and Literary Theory," in *The Cambridge companion to Mary Shelley*, ed. E. H. Schor (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52

⁷ Wilson, "Technologies of Misogyny," 105

⁸ All the important deals, from marriage of the commoners to the ducal treatises are recorded through paintings and are considered as official documents.

The incestual and intra-familial social structure can be laid out in the following manner: the male Grijalvas can possess the magical Gift by birth; the magically Gifted males have a very short life span and are infertile; the un-Gifted males are fertile, though they can be good painters without any magical power; the female Grijalvas work as the brood mares to produce children for the family greatly diminished from an epidemic; female Grijalvas also work as witnesses of a male's Gift as they go through sexual intercourse to prove his infertility; a female Grijalva can be a good painter but cannot possess the Gift, though the Gift flows in the family through the female blood line (the father of a Gifted male need not be a Grijalva); all the Grijalvas work for the benefit of the family, not for their own. There are exceptions to the rules and the family authority has ways to control the dissenters.

The dichotomy of the sexual and textual (here artistic) production is set out in stark contrast. Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar believe that under the western tradition the process of textual creation, i.e., any creation other than biological, is associated with the male body; their equation "pen=penis" clearly marks the gender of the textual creator.⁹ Although Gilbert and Gubar primarily analyze with the structure of linguistic creations, this model is equally applicable in the microcosm of *The Golden Key*. The Gifted male Grijalva literally channels his physical creative force into his magical paintings. The magic would not work if he does not mix his body fluids with the colors—"auguo" (tear, saliva, sweat, urine), "semminno" (semen), "sanguo" (blood). The magic is binding as long as the artist lives. The artist is consumed by the "luza d'Orro" (the golden light) or the inner vision, and ultimately dies in bringing forth his creation. He has no alternative as Victor Frankenstein has, to choose between sexual reproduction and artistic creation. They are mutually exclusive. The females and the fertile males are in the same position—a predestined servitude to the propagation of the family. They can aspire but can never have the power of magic. The crux of the story, though, depends on two deviants from the rule—Saavedra, the only female to have possessed the magical Gift, and Sario, the master painter, who moves out of the socialist structure of the family and strives for personal immortality through his creation. Immortality, in this instance, is literal.

Sario, like Victor, is aware of the unnaturalness of his act and yet is blinded by its glorious possibilities. He delves deep into the Kita'ab (the religious book of the Tza'ab, enemy of Tira Virte, possibly historically analogous to the North African Moors) and foreign magic to go beyond the limit of his society. He realizes that the knowledge of the other (i.e. the Tza'ab) is actually the other face of their own knowledge. Sario's method of incorporating immortality is more complex and morally culpable than Victor's. He can pass his own spirit into someone else's body by painting the subject with magic. He does not need to look for dead limbs in the charnel house as Victor does, but he needs to collect the subject's body fluids in order for the magic to work. While Victor seeks immortality by creating a new soul in a dead body, Sario seeks to immortalize his own soul by occupying a living body. Victor literally creates his text, his subject, by assembling the constitutive parts. Sario literally inhabits his text, his subject, by manipulating the constitutive parts. Sario goes beyond the common Grijalva practice of infusing their physical components into the production of their texts, their paintings. He rather instills his soul into the identity of his text.

⁹ Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 3-8

Sario outdoes Victor not only in terms of living inside his text, but also in creating a subject after Victor's fashion. He paints the dead princess of Ghillas, Alazais, into life by gathering her mortal remains from "the heap of corpses left in the throne room."¹⁰ What is more interesting, he could immortalize his subject through his work of art, both metaphorically and literally. Like the speaker in Shakespeare's sonnets addressed to his "fair friend," Sario paints Saavedra, his unrequited love, into immortality. Not only is Saavedra's beauty alive on the canvas, but Saavedra herself is alive inside the painting. By some obscure Tza'ab magic Sario traps Saavedra into a timeless limbo inside her portrait, where she lives for four centuries until she is delivered into the normal time and space.

Sario is obsessed with Saavedra's beauty and the notion of possessing and preserving it. However, his notion of preservation is far removed from the speaker's initial idea of conservation in Shakespeare's sonnets. While the speaker urges his "fair friend" to preserve his beauty through heterosexual reproduction, as a "mirror" image in his offspring ("When your sweet issue your sweet form should bear," Sonnet XIII, ll. 8),¹¹ Sario abhors the idea of an offspring in Saavedra. In fact, the very idea of her bearing anybody's child enrages him, and ultimately prompts him to spell her into the painting. His desire for Saavedra as a woman is far superseded by his desire as a companion soul who could share his "luza d'Orro," his inner vision. He also despairs of the choice that she has—to choose between mothering a child or to sublimate her own body in the service of art and magic. She chooses in favor of her womb rather than her hand—to give life to a living being within the laws of nature. This choice, however, turns her literally into an object of creation from an agent of the process.

Under Sario's gaze Saavedra's female body literally becomes a text, "becomes fragmentable, semiotically deconstructable, and when pregnant invisible."¹² Although she occupies the place of pride in the "Galleria do'Verrada," she is visible as a text, as Sario's painting, not as a living woman. Victor Frankenstein's negation of the normal procreative process comes out of a sense of lack—the inevitable dysfunction of human life in the face of death. His attempt at infusing life is an attempt at negating the fact of death. Sario's abhorrence of sexual reproduction, like many of the Gifted Grijalvas, springs from the lack of the very power he hates. It is a way of rebelling against a doom decided for them by the misfortune of their ancestors.

The mutual exclusivity of the textual and sexual creation is part of the system of binaries through which *The Golden Key* works. The various levels of operative binaries—Gifted/unGifted, purity/pollution, do'Verrada/Grijalva, Tira Virte/Tza'ab Rih, art/nature, textual production/sexual reproduction, male/female—privilege the first over the second. Yet, in subtle and unexpected ways the suppressed half comes back to subvert its oppressing counterpart. Each cannot exist without the other. The fortune of the Grijalva family depends on the Gifted males, while the unGifted males and the females are subordinate to them. The "Viehos Fratos," the brotherhood of the adult Grijalva limners,¹³ rule the family with iron hands, controlling every movement of the members. They are omniscient and omnipotent inside the Pallasso Grijalva. Nonetheless, their very existence

¹⁰ Melanie Rawn, Jennifer Roberson, and Kate Elliott, *The Golden Key* (London: Pan Books, 1997), 770

¹¹ William Shakespeare, "Sonnet XIII," in *the Complete Works of William Shakespeare*, ed. Jeremy Hylton, MIT.edu, 1993 (Accessed on Jul. 24, 2017). <http://shakespeare.mit.edu/Poetry/sonnet.XIII.html>

¹² Balsamo quoted in Wilson, "Technologies of Misogyny," 105

¹³ Grijalva painters with the magical Gift.

depends on the men and women they rule, because they themselves are impotent. They may live through their painted creations, but they cannot produce children in flesh and blood. Only the unGifted has such power. The do'Verradas rule the duchy of Tira Virte and provide protection to the "chi'patro"¹⁴ Grijalvas. Their power, however, is consolidated by the Grijalva magic. Tira Virte succeed in destroying the warriors of Tza'ab Rih, yet it is the Tza'ab blood flowing through the Grijalva vein that brings in the magical power that protects the political interests of Tira Virte. Only the male Grijalvas are allowed to take up the profession as artists, while the females serve as breeders. Nonetheless, only the female Grijalvas bear the genetic coding that can produce a Gifted male.

In a way, the production of art and the artificiality of creation are at the center of *The Golden Key*, even though that creative power is "natural" in the artist. Although he has to learn the techniques from the "folio," the ability to weave the magic is innate. The functioning of these binaries is peculiar in Saavedra—being a woman and Gifted, a mistress and a limner, a Grijalva carrying a do'Verrada son, a Tira Virtean with Tza'ab blood, she renounces the power of art for the love of a man and natural motherly instinct of heterosexual birth of her child.

In the French post-structural feminist terms (primarily following Helene Cixous and Luce Irigaray), female sexuality, and by inference female creativity, is defined by the male penis, or rather by the lack of it. Applied to the Grijalva household, this would mean by lack of the Gift. In *The Golden Key* the marginalized woman, whose creative role is limited to the biological necessity of the family, subverts the "phallogocentric" order to assert her own creativity.¹⁵ Although every attempt at subversion works in different ways in the text, they are not always what Cixous calls female writing or "l'écriture feminine,"¹⁶ or its equivalent in painting. Least of all Eleya, who breaks into the so-called male domain of power by virtue of certain qualities that aligns her more to the Gifted males than to the women: her barrenness and her passion for art. Sario says of her, "I should find the one and he be a woman, and unGifted."¹⁷ She does not possess the Gift and can never hope to use magic. Her brother, Augustine, the gifted limner, does not want to be a limner,

¹⁴ The bastards born of the rape by the Tza'ab.

¹⁵ Mary Klages, "Helene Cixous: "The Laugh of the Medusa"," *colorado.edu*, 2001 (Accessed: 4 May. 2006). <http://www.Colorado.EDU/English/engl2010mk/cixous.lec.html>. Klages explains,

Helene Cixous takes up where Lacan left off, in noting that women and men enter into the Symbolic Order, into language as structure, in different ways, or through different doors, and that the subject positions open to either sex within the Symbolic are also different. She understands that Lacan's naming the center of the Symbolic as the Phallus highlights what a patriarchal system language is--or, more specifically, what a phallo(go)centric system it is.

This idea, that the structure of language is centered by the phallus, produced the word "phallogocentric." Derrida's (*Of Grammatology*, 1976) idea that the structure of language relies on spoken words being privileged over written words, produced the word "logocentric" to describe Western culture in general, and he later combines the two notions into the neologism "phallogocentrism" (*Writing and Difference*, 1978). Both Helene Cixous (e.g. "The Laugh of the Medusa," 1975) and Luce Irigaray (e.g. "Sexual Difference," 1977) presents similar critiques of Western culture, based on the primacy of certain terms in an array of binary oppositions. Thus a phallogocentric culture is one which is structured by binary oppositions--male/female, order/chaos, language/silence, presence/absence, speech/writing, light/dark, good/evil, etc.--and in which the first term is valued over the second term; both Cixous and Irigaray insist that all valued terms (male, order, language, presence, speech, etc.) are aligned with each other, and that all of them together provide the basic structures of Western thought.

¹⁶ Helene Cixous, "Sorties," in *Modern Literary Theory 4e*, ed. Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (London: Arnold, 2002), 229-236

¹⁷ Rawn, Roberson, and Elliott, *The Golden Key*, 986

and hates the Gift. He wants the only thing he can never have—children. Augustine and Eleyna work as each other's alter egos; through Augustine, Eleyna can access the missing "penis"—the Gift. Saavedra, though, does not suffer from any such lack; rather, she refuses to acknowledge her Gift. Her entrapment inside her own portrait becomes a metaphorical and literal marginalization, from where she can emerge only after she has acknowledged her power. Perhaps it is not much ironic that another woman wielding the metaphorical penis would help in bringing her out. The moment Saavedra acknowledges her Gift within the circle of the males ("Chieva do'Orro," Chapter 88) she becomes the Freudian Medusa, threatening to unsettle the male order.¹⁸ Sario's numb surrender in her presence ("Chieva do'Orro," Chapter 88) originates from contradictory emotions—the triumph at the confirmation of his own faith in Saavedra's Gift and bewilderment at being at the receiving end of her empowered consciousness. Two other Grijalva women, Leilias and Beatriz, also subvert the patriarchal power structure of their family; but their subversions are completely devoid of any sense of lack. Leilias celebrates her ability of mothering children, yet her creative power is not limited to biological reproduction. She delves into the mysteries of nature, into the study of plants, to create perfumes, and as Beatriz's words suggest, to extract the medicinal elements. Leilias completely ignores the world of painting to chart out a new territory for herself. This is something akin to "l'écriture feminine," though without anything inherently feminine in it, except that it does not exist in a binary relationship to the male world of magic and painting. Leilias is not defined by the lack or existence of a metaphorical penis. In this instance, there is no conflict between the textual and sexual generation.

The exclusion of women from the scope of the textual production in both the novels perhaps can be explained from the violent origins of their central dichotomies. In *The Golden Key* the Gift of the Grijalva's has its origin in a family tragedy—rape of the Grijalva women by the Tza'ab marauders. By a paradoxical conspiracy of fate Verro Grijalva, the military chief of Tira Virte, destroys the Tza'ab army and supposedly their holy book the Kita'ab, but at the same time, he brings the magical manuscripts of the "folio," not knowing that it contains Tza'ab magic, into his own family. His campaign destroys the Tza'ab prophet, but it also leads to Verro's own death and the rape of his own sisters and the attendants of the Duchess Jasminia. This incident results in the birth of the bastards, whom the Grijalvas take in as their own, and thus infuse Tza'ab blood into the Grijalva family, bestowing them with the Gift of magic and the curse of impotency. As Miquellan Serrano's painting in the novel depicts:

All fourteen ladies are in various stages of undress, their expressions as they emerge from the tents ranging from the startled to the horrified—except for the Grijalvas . . . Larissa and Margatta are portrayed as angry and annoyed, as if the rescue party interrupted them in the midst of willing bed-sport . . . The twenty small children fleeing into the hills are naked, dirty, wild-eyed; close examination reveals they have not the features of children but of grown men and women, darkly and ominously Tza'ab.¹⁹

¹⁸ As Klages in "Helene Cixous" says, "Freud reads the Medusa as part of the fear of castration, the woman whose hair is writhing penises; she's scary, not because she's got too few penises, but because she has too many. Cixous says those are the fears that scare men into being complicit in upholding the phallogocentric order: they're scared of losing their one penis when they see women as having either no penis or too many penises."

¹⁹ Rawn, Roberson, and Elliott, *The Golden Key*, 4

Although this scene is painted through the lens of family hatred, Serrano's work hints at the violent and unnatural beginning of the new race. In a sense, the male seed of the Tza'ab warriors writes on the female body of the Grijalva women their own text—the genetic code of “Al Fanshihiro”²⁰—that creates the race of Grijalva “limners”; an unnatural race like Frankenstein's creature.

Although in a different way, the birth of the creature also begins with violence. Victor Frankenstein's search for the power to bestow life is a violation of Mother Nature. Even though the context is metaphorical, it is no less in intensity. Wilson is quick to point that out:

Under conditions of both war and slavery, women frequently find themselves forced into concubinage; moreover, the rhetoric of even much contemporary scientific discourse constitutes the rhetoric of rape and sexual sadism ... Just as the mechanical model of science encourages the natural philosopher to force Nature's secrets from her, Victor himself does not hesitate to "rape" Nature. Relentless in his pursuit, he "dabbled among the unhallowed damps of the grave," and "tortured the living animal to animate lifeless clay," as he "pursued nature to her hiding places" (56). By forcibly taking the secrets of life from Nature, Victor forces a metaphorical conception and birth upon her, only to disavow immediately the product of that rape, the Creature, whom he finds hideous.²¹

However, the violence ultimately catches up. The Grijalva magic plays a key role in destroying the last remnants of the Tza'ab by turning their own hidden power, the power of “Al Fanshihiro” against them, and the monster persecutes Frankenstein to his death: “[T]he Creature's pursuit of Victor . . . becomes redolent of a son avenging his mother's rape, even though he himself knows he owes his existence to her violation.”²² Wilson quotes Mellor in noting, "Nature is not the passive, inert, or 'dead' matter that Frankenstein imagines. Frankenstein assumes that he can violate Nature with impunity. But Nature both resists and revenges herself upon his attempts.”²³

Sario's entrapment of Saavedra is also a violation of the feminine. It is a violation of her potential as a mother. Nevertheless, in a symbolic sense by forcing her into the painting Sario not only creates his masterpiece but also makes Saavedra go through a new birth. He forces her into a stasis—a metaphorical womb—from where she can emerge only if someone else opens the door from outside. In his effort to possess her, Sario in a twisted manner fathers a new being in Saavedra's form, who turns his own weapons upon him. The Gifted Saavedra paints Sario into his own prison—into immortality, into impotency—not only in terms of sexual generative process, but also in terms of artistic creation. He himself becomes the text. His own greatest creation: “Caught at last in a place where he would never age, never wither, never die. Looking at last at his greatest masterpiece: himself.”²⁴ The author himself becomes the text. As Sario has done through his many lives, he can now look upon his own image in the mirror of truth that he himself has created inside the painted prison. From a different perspective, however, Sario also becomes an assemblage: body fluids, his own and Saavedra's, brush strokes, his own and Saavedra's, paints, wood, frame,

²⁰ Tza'ab term for “Art and Magic”

²¹ Wilson, “Technologies of Misogyny,” 111

²² *Ibid.*, 112

²³ Anne K. Mellor, "Possessing Nature: The Female in *Frankenstein*," quoted in Wilson, “Technologies of Misogyny,” 112

²⁴ Rawn, Roberson, and Elliott, *The Golden Key*, 1048

the second Sario's body, and the first Sario's face. He becomes a text to be looked at and analyzed as the novel itself.

The Golden Key, composed by three different authors, cannot be traced back to a single authority. The omniscient narrative voice operates through short descriptions of paintings and very long stretches of narration. This apparent single voice is however, a combination of voices—Rawn's, Roberson's, and Elliott's—blending to create a single text, as Saavedra and Sario creates the ultimate masterwork. Separate voices of the three women lose their identity to the singular novel. Similarly, in spite of having a single author, Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein* is an echo chamber of many voices, directly or indirectly: of Mary's, of her mother Wollstonecraft's, of her father William Godwin's, of Milton, of Goethe, of Plutarch's and so on and so forth. This cacophony of voices ultimately drowns out any singular demand for authorial identity. In a way, thus, both texts assume and recreate the identities of their own authors, just as the authors give birth to their texts.

This curious characteristic is perhaps best presented in both texts through thematic echoes, parallels, and mirroring between the creator and the created. Sario paints his original likeness in a painted mirror within the picture where he traps his victims in order to possess their bodies. When he is finally trapped inside the picture himself, Sario's own face stares back at him—the creator and creation finally united through their gaze. Similarly, Victor's fierce disavowal of his own creature ends up being a quest to catch up with it, each mangling and destroying the other's world in the process. In birthing a monster into the world, Victor himself becomes a monster. Thus in a sense, both Sario and Victor engage in their "textual" productions in order to see their own reflections forever staring back at them, albeit in a darkly twisted manner, and while engaged in this pursuit, they exclude (by choice or by compulsion), and even shun, sexual reproduction.

The dialectical relationship between the natural generative process and the culturally or artificially induced production of a "text" works as a component of the central binaries of both the novels. The "texts" themselves, though brilliant in scope, cannot escape the fate of the stories they narrate. *Frankenstein* operating through multiple layers of narrative voices can hardly trace back its narrative parentage. It is, like the monster, a bastard narrative. *The Golden Key*, narrated through three distinctive parts written by three different authors, is hardly better than the "chi'patros," the bastards of the Pallasso Grijalva. Unlike the child in Saavedra's womb, our gaze is constantly fixed upon the texts, continually dissecting, semiotically deconstructing, and passing our judgments upon them. Both *Frankenstein* and *The Golden Key* (and their authors), thus, expose the denial of femininity in the creative process as a tool of patriarchal control, not only thematically but stylistically as well.

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pičqaÉ fsj J fsj-ej : a-šÄI Cčaqip, Cčaqi-pl ašÄ

čchÉaex cjn...č†

pilpw-rf

Ač'SÑim-Bæ²iž¹ čh-nÄ Ač'ONĵa J pč»i-pl Bh-q jieæo čg-l -cM-R aĵl Cčaqi-pl ASÑe LaMĵe Oĵapqz -jdihe a-LÑI Lpl-al čhmĵpV¥L¥ -T-s -g-m -p °alÉ Ll-a QiC-R Hje HL -ejBl -e±-Lĵ kĵ aĵl če-Sl qĵ-a °alÉ üuwčæ²-ul nÄĵp-lĵdÉ BNĒpe -b-L lĵl Ll-h piÉaĵ-Lz HC Lĵ-Sl fĒÜ¹¥ča-a pičq-aÉI Ahcĵe LÉ q-a fĵ-l, -p če-uC pčfĒčā jšmÉ čedÑĵlZ Llĵ q-µR jiečhLÉčhcÉĵlZ HLčc-L čhnÄĵu-el čeSü fæyčS-fĒhĵ-qĵ kæčš², AeÉčc-L ijhÉ čXčSVĵm jĵifĒm-ul aĵseĵ LĒĵ-h eaæe L-l °alÉ Ll-R pičqaÉ J aĵl fĵW-Ll jdÉhaÑÉ lĵĵu-el BZčhL NWe-L, aĵ HC fĒh-äl fĒĵbčĵL fĒčafĵcÉz -pC pšæ d-IC H-p-R pičqaÉĵi-Wl fĒčnr-Zl ašÄ J aĵl Cčaqip, E-W H-p-R fĵWfÜčā J h-sĵ A-bÑ °ečāLaj če-u Bĵĵa-čhpĒÜ¹ čLR¥ fĒnÄĵĵmĵz

pšæne

"Death"- Hl dĵlZĵ, pičq-aÉl jªaÉ¥, "Liquidation of the canon", pičq-aÉl AbÑčæ²uĵlĵčāÆ, LÒfeĵl fĒčnrZ

1883 pi-m Sĵĵĵe cĵnĵčēL čev-n "DnÄ-ll jªaÉ¥" -OĵoZĵ Llĵl fl -b-LC fčÖQĵ-l ČQč'ĵčhc jq-m eĵeĵ čĵĵšāÑ ĵĵheĵl jªaÉ¥ -OĵoZĵl ČqčsL f-s kĵuz lmyĵ ĵĵāÑ -OĵoZĵ L-le "čmčM-ul jªaÉ¥" ĵĵ "Death of the author", éĵč¾pL g¥L¥uĵĵĵl Lm-j lČQa qu "End of history"-l NčÉ-HčmčSsz f-l Xĵčĵĵe Vĵp-el "End of Times"-Hl fb Ačææ²ĵ L-l 1990 pi-m Bĵĵĵ H-p cyĵsĵC Hmčĵe Lĵleĵe Hl "The Death of literature" eĵĵL EcÚkĵčfa aĵčšÄL -nĵl fĒÜ¹ĵ-hl piĵ-ez AhnÉ Lĵleĵe fĒĵĵ ee, pičq-aÉl ĵĵhÉ čhfæaĵl Lĵĵ ayĵl B-N BmÚ-aĵĵĵ-h EµQĵlZ L-lčR-me Claudio Guillen Cahen (1924-2007) ayĵl "La Literature Comparada y la Crisis de las humanidades" ĵĵ "a¥meĵĵšmL pičqaÉ J jiečhLÉčhcÉĵl pwlV' eĵĵL lQeĵu¹z čāaÉu jĵkĵ-Ül fĒNĵt fĒĵĵ-h LĒĵĵ-h p-l kĵčµRm ĵĵehčhnÄĵ-pl hmu, ĵĵæ-ol ASÑe pčf-LÑ BÜÜĵ LĒĵĵ-h qĵčl-u -gmčRm aĵl dĒ¥fcÉ fĒp% -p-Lĵĵ -M-cl p-%C h-mčR-me ...C-uez

aĵĵl aLÑ-L±nm-L HčN-u če-u čN-uC Lĵleĵe -OĵoZĵ L-lčR-me pičq-aÉl jªaÉÉl Lĵĵ "jªaÉÉ" _ pĵĵS-Cčaqip J lĵSeÉčā p-% čmč q-u-bĵĵĵ HC lČflčV čLwhĵ B-lĵ čeM¥āĵĵ-h Am^ĵ-ll če-cnÑ AæpĵL L-l kĵ-L hm-a fĵčl pĵĵ-pĵčš² _ aĵl NĒ-l LĵS LlčRm kæNĵhpĵ-el fĒāÀLÒfz Lĵleĵ-el fĒčafĵcÉ fĒLĵčna qĵĵĵl fl čh-nÄl hC ĵĵSĵ-l pičq-aÉl hC fĒLĵn J aĵl čhčLčLčē -h-s-R hC L-ĵčez aĵčšÄ-Lĵĵ -b-ĵ bĵ-Lečez LčÒfa q-a öĵ! L-l-R pičq-aÉl ĵĵ-Zĵšĵ SĒhe - pičĵĵl kæ-Nl čXčSVĵm -Øf-pl Ač'ONĵĵ-a ašÄĵčua q-a öĵ! L-l-R "postliterature"-Hl ĵĵheĵJz

† AÉĵčpØVÉĵ¾V fĒ-gpl, ĵĵwmĵ čĵĵN, H. čh. He. nĒm L-mS, -LĵQčqĵl, fčÖQĵh%oz

Hmčie Ljleje mr L-lčR-me Na najëĹ B-VI cnL hljhl üaž» hNÑ ċq-p-h pičqaÉ qičl-u -gm-a öĹ| L-lčRm ail pĹjiz¹-IMiz hÉčš² ċeSü SN-a -kje -ajče pijičSL fčlp-l pičq-aÉĹ cĹnÉjjeail Aijh ail-L ČLÓØ L-lčRmz HI čfR-e cĹ-Vj Až¹OÑjaĹ nčš² -Mmj Aexjje L-le Ljleje : fĹbjčV qm "Liquidaton of the Canon' hij dĹŷfcĹ kĹ-NI pičqcaÉĹ Evfjic-el čhejnz AhnÉ H-L fĹij-hl čcL -b-L čàaĹuÙŪj-e -l-MčR-me čačez ayil j-a pičq-aÉĹ Lčg-e -no -f-ILčV -Ny-b čc-učRm -p pj-u jjičLÑe čhnÄčhcÉjhm-u hýQčQÑa čXLeØVĹjLne hij AčhčejÑjZ ašÄž kyjilj -cčlcilj SčVm kĹčš²fĹZimĹ fĹaÉrij-h AexplZ Llij -Qøj L-l-Re ayiljC Sj-ee, čeRL "the absence of stable meaning of language and text"²-HC ayil pičqcaÉ-fjWfÜčal AexnĹme gŷčl-u kju eiz ahĹ Hmčie Ljleje j-e L-le SĹhž¹ pičq-aÉĹ čÜŪča-L eø L-l-R -cčlcĹu ašÄ-Qaejz ayil -QijM čc-u -cM-m j-e q-a fi-l haÑj-el -fĹčr-a cyičs-u pičqcaÉ qm Až¹xpilnšeÉ jĹa HL erčej jioez

čLž¹ŷ LĹij-h kĹčš² LmLĹj čc-u dl-hij Hje HLčV hNÑ-L, kĹčš² -Q±qčŷĹ j-dÉ ph-Q-u lqĹÉju SjuNju kij Bei-Njei? hÉčš² Bŷjč heij kijčž»L -hij-dl fÜčal msiC-ul j-dÉ čL B-c± kbjbÑ fčlpf fju pičq-aÉĹ -LŷčĹijPi-čQž¹j J Bŷjč-el čeSaĹ? -k kĹ-N fĹčačeuia EμQčnril Bč%L-L "Aexhijc' LI q-μR fĹyčS fĹča-kijčNail fčlijoiu -p pj-u cyičs-u HC fĹnÀ...čml EšĹ če-u jibi Oijjhil čLRŷ čh-no LijZ B-Rz -jdiŪ¹-l -kjeC -qil EμQčnril HLVi čhlijV fčlpf HM-ej Sŷ-s l-u-R pičq-aÉĹ Rijelz abÉ-fĹkĹčš²-LijčINčlčhcÉĹ fĹča BNĹq fčlpwMĹjeNaij-h -h-s Q-m-R p-ŷčq -eCz jjičLÑe čhnÄčhcÉjmu...čm-a H-LI fl HL AdĹjflf-cl AhmĹčč O-V-R čh-noa aŷmeijšmL pičq-aÉ, a-bÉĹ čc-L aijčL-u -pčc-L čfRe čg-l bijLij AhLij -eC, H Lbij pčaÉž čLRŷ ijoiĹ fčlhaÑ-e pičq-aÉĹ Rijč-cl Lj-SI hijSi-l Qijčqčil LiVča-Ljčal Lbij jibiu -l-MJ H Lbij AüĹLij Llij Efju -eC -k, pičqcaÉ fĹčnr-ZI ašÄ pjŪ¹ ijoiĹ pLm pičq-aÉĹ -r-œC HLz

fjŪQij-aÉ pičqcaÉ fsi-eil -r-œ HLVi °hfŪčhL fčlhaÑe p'ijčla q-učRm -lijÉičŷVL ijheij pwNčWa B-mijQeil j-dÉž AÉičlØVvm -b-L öĹ| L-l EšĹli-ml -qil-lp, m"ijCeip fkÑž¹ ijhĹ-cl Lj-R pičq-aÉĹ fjWčie jje-eC čRm ijhĹ pičqcaÉĹ-L pičqcaÉ IQeil L«v-L±nm pčf-LÑ fĹčnčra L-l -ajmiz -fj-učV,, hCVij -k °ačlC q-učRm čœ²-učVi ljjččVw-HI fĹhqjie LjÑnijmju, HLbij A-el pju iĹ-m kie pičq-aÉĹ AdĹjfl-LijZ fjW-LI čcL -b-L pičqcaÉfj-WI hÉ"ej -k H-Lhij-l AexfčŪŪa čRm -l-epyip-EšĹ CE-lj-f, HjeVij euz a-h, čmčLljm hÉjmiXpŪ-HI i"čLij ECčmij JuiXÑpŪJuibÑ Lčh J A-Lčhl čhijSe-L pjpĹičua L-lčR-me h-mC fjW-LI fĹčnr-ZI fĹnÀVij -pC -b-L ...Ĺ|aĹ -f-a öĹ| L-lz LijĹĹĹ Am^ijčhcŪ -r-j-ŷčĹĹ KčQaÉčhQijQQÑijl če-cÑnjšmL fĹhZajVŷLŷ hij čc-m pjŪ¹ fĹQĹe ijlaĹu pičqcaÉašÄč jšma cnÑL/fjWL/Bŷjč-LI čcL -b-L ašÄičua q-u-Rz ahĹ -lijÉičŷVL fjWfÜčac f-l -hččŪL pijĹjSĹhij-cl f-b čhnÄičua q-u-Rz BS-LI fjW-L±n-m pwú«a fjWfÜčal fĹ-ujN jšma EfmrNaz pwú«a pičqcaÉa-šÄĹ -Q-u EšĹ--lijÉičŷVL fčŪQčj pičqcaÉ fsil ašÄ A-el -hčn hÉčš²pi-fr, čhouĹ-LčŷčĹĹ HC ijheij flhaÑĹ-a čhnÄčhcÉjim-ul čnm-jjq-l pidil-ZÉ jjeĹaj ASÑe L-lz hÉčš²-LčŷčĹĹ fjWfÜčac čhna-LI čelĹrinĹm cinÑčelajl Øf-nÑ dĹ-l dĹ-l hÉčš² -lijÉičŷVL fčlpf -b-L p-l čN-u HLSiaĹu °ehÑÉčš²Laj-L ØfnÑ LI-a öĹ| L-lz pwú«a pičqcaÉa-šÄĹ °ehÑÉčš²L NijčZčalaj J jjeĹ-ol pwúj-ll cinÑčel °ehÑÉčš²LĹLI-ZI p-% HI fijbÑĹĹ -jččmLz -p kijC -qil, HLbij AüĹLij Llij Efju -eC -k BS-LI -nĹZĹL-r pičq-aÉĹ fWe-fjW-el E-ŷnĹC qm pičq-aÉĹ fjWĹ LĹij-h fs-a qu ail fĹčnrZz Bji-cl hý EμQij-Z SÑĹZÑ "fsj' čœ²uifččV čWL

aaVi çelEq eu kaVi HI kš²irhçSÑa -Qqili Bfaij-h Bji-cl Li-R aŷ-m d-lz piçqaÉfi-WI Be¼c çexLjine Lihil -kijNÉajil Lbj hjc çc-uC hmi kju çej¹ BrçIL A-bÑ HLçV fiWÉ-L AexpiZ Lij jieh-jdil çl@qaj LiS...çml HLçVz -k çQž¹i-fĒhjq, pwú«ça J Cçaqip, -cqiç% J jeU¹šÄ HL HLçV n-ël p-% Aexο%opαα-œ BhÜ aj-L clcĒ -jdju Myŷ-s -hl L-l HI pñjhÉ ph LçV mrÉ-L çQç²a Ll-a filij cĒONĒ fĒçnrZ-pi-frz pwú«a Bm^içl-Lij hα-TçR-me n-ël LiS Lihil rjai l-u-R, fiçlijçol ij-h ki-L hmi qu "AbÑçœ²ujLiçlaÆ'z çĒçVn çjnÑçel J. L. Austin (1911-1960) Na na-Ll jiT hljhl çjnÑçel B-miQejl AeÉ -jl' -b-L HC fĒçafjçÉ çc-uC QjvLij HLçV hC -m-Me : *How to Do Things with Words* (1955)z BrçLaj-L ka çhñmC j-e Lçl ej -Le HI nçš²C Niçl -b-L °açl L-l fĒaj-fl Cçaqip-Lz piçqaÉ "fsi' eijL LiSVijl p-% hijiçml jiep pw-ki-NI Cçaqip AexpiZ Ll-m HI HLçV QjvLij çecnĒe fijuj ki-hz

ijl-al üjdĒejl çWL HL-nij hRI B-N *pðjc fĒijLI* fçœLijl pçfjçl DnÄI Q¼cĒ ...ç, çkçe Lçh J çl-ej piçq-aÉl pwNĒijl çq-p-hj fĒçpÜ çR-me, çaçe çmçMaij-h piÉajil Eæu-e piçq-aÉl Li-kÑijf-kiçNaj-L AüçLijl L-lez 1847 pi-ml 22-n SŷmijC *pðjc fĒijLI* fçœLijl pçfjçlçeu çc-hc-e HLVi Aáŷa jç'hÉ L-l h-pe DnÄI ...ç: ""-k-qaŷ CwlijçS -p,,fçul fçsuij -k pααM, pwú«a IOα, hijiçmi çhcÉipαα¼cl, filpÉ hijilci-ep fçsuij -pC pααM, pααÜ [kv] ijoiçl çæaj - Büic-el çæaj fĒju eijC, AaHh çh'ieçhcÉijl fĒçxiÑijh eij qC-m -Lje Iç-fC -c-nl j%om pñihej eijC ...z"³ aŷmejçšmlajil çičš çq-p-h çæaj-L -eçahiq-e üçLijl L-l -eJuj Hhw -pC kççš²-aC Bž¹:piwú«çal fijW-çhçejl-pçf'ZÑ epÉjv Ll-a-Qijuj HC jç'hÉçV piwú«çal e¼cea-šÄI çæçø-a eiej a-m çN-u fsi pñhz çLž¹ŷ Bfjaa LiS Qimihijl SeÉ HC ij-oÉl AeÉaj HLçV fĒjLÚ-naÑ-L NĒqZ Lij -k-a fi-lz fĒjLÚ-naÑçV qm : Kfçe-hçnl fçlçÜÜçaa-a fĒnip-Ll piwú«çal fijbÑLÉ-L Eççe-hçna -cnhijçl f-r hĒhçil Lihil -Qøiz çh'ie-el EµQajil pwújil -b-LC çc-S-cl ehSiNIZ-L çejÑijZ Ll-a -Q-uçR-me fĒjLÚ--jL-m fĒS-eÈl L-uLSe ççLÚfijm hijiçmz çLž¹ŷ DnÄI ...çl HC fĒçaa-hc-el çç'cnLj Açœæ²iž¹ q-a fi-lçe - DnÄI ...ç J AruLŷjil c-šl ffαmijl J ApwNçWa çh'ieçh-cl fçlh-aÑ hijiçml eaŷeLij-ml -Qaej, l'çQ J fĒLij çççjNa q-u kju fçŒQçj piçqaÉ J çnÑ-el çc-cÑnejuz HVij çerL mOα Aexjje jioe euz 1919 pi-m çĒçVn çnrjçhc pÉjXmijl pi-çh "LÉijmLijvi CEçeiÑijçpçV Lçjne'- HI -k çl-fjVÑ -fn L-le, aj-a hý -røpjçrij L-l çLRŷVij çain q-uC pÉjXmijl h-mçR-me, ijlaçu Riçç-cl ü'ij -p pju pidijZij-h Tŷy-L f-sçRm piçqaÉ J çnĒe AbÑjv HLLbij jieçhLĒçhcÉijl çc-lz çh'ie J LiçINçl çnril fĒçaa EæijçpL E-frj HaVijC -hççÜL AiÉj-p fçlza q-uçRm -k ijlaçu Sjæuaj J ehĒçmhijl CE-lifçuejeu çççra -p fĒS-eÈl Riçç-cl jSj L-IC "C-¼V-mLÚQŷujm fĒ-majçl-ua'⁴ h-m Açiçqa L-le pÉjXmijl hmi hijýmÉ, piçq-aÉl AbÑçœ²ujLiçl-aÆl -SijC °açl L-lçRm HC -hççÜL fçlçQçal HC fĒSeÈdijl kilij fĒLijž¹-l "IQej' L-lçRm ijil-a çĒçVn fĒaj-fl Cçah³šz

hijijçml piçqaÉfi-WI Cçaqip -jL-ml çnrjççaa AexOV-LI LiS LiçRm p-¼çq -eCz fĒnijçel HC fç-rfC eu, EµQçnrju piçqaÉ-L çc-u liS°eçal E-ŷñÉçl-ZI hÉijl-çl çĒçVn çnrjçhcçl-cl Kfçe-hçnl eççaa pααçfç çRmz çæ pwú«çal fijW-LI Jfl 'jeajçšÄL Bçdçæ AVŷV liMijl SeÉ pααQaŷlij-h çççjNa q-uçRm fijWœ²j J fWe fÜçaz pÉjXmijl-çl çl-fjVÑ -f-nl hRI LçmLij çhñÄçhcÉijm-u üaž» çhou çq-p-h hijwmi piçq-aÉl fwefijwe ölj quz Li-SC ajil B-N piçq-aÉl

LÓip hm-a -hiTia pwú«a eu, njp-Ll ce-Sl ijoil pičq-aÉl LÓipz Cw-lčS pičqaÉ-L Hje HLčV pwLÉZŇ fčlčQč-a čQčq²a LičR LjLZ ail fiWœ²j J fiWci-el fÜč-a-L, B-NC h-mčR, °ačl Lli q-učRm Kfče-hčnL fčlčÜŮčal Lbi -i-hz HI piRé fih čhn na-Li AeÉaj MÉičajie hiPičm hččÜSÉhÉ AaŷmQ³cÉŮ ...-čl RičejhŮŮju LÓipl¹-j pičqaÉfi-Wl Øj«č-a-az "Bji-cl RičejhŮŮ J lhÉ³cÉejb' ei-jl fĚh-ā AaŷmQ³cÉ ...č -m-Me :

Bjli kMe L-m-S fčs aMe hijwmi-c-nl EμQčnrju Qm-R Dark Agez Cw-lčS pičq-aÉl -k lp Bji-cl fšhŇae-cl čQš plp L-lčRm, CE-lj-fl -k eh čhcÉj J čQč¹i ayi-cl je-L -jijqjčš²i ejsi čc-učRm aj-L fĚpæ Kci-kŇl p-%o NĚqZ Ll-a Bji-cl j-e H-pčRm pw-LiQz J-čhcÉj J-čQč¹ju -k Bji-cl -c-nl -Lje cje -eC, AbQ aj-L Buš LliC EμQčnrj ...z

Bji-cl j³čij-NÉ Bji-cl pičq-aÉl fiWJ k-bčQa Be-³čl čRm eiz JI j-dÉJ čRm HLVi hs Ilj -hiTil ijlz pičqaÉ hm-a AhnÉ -hiTia Cw-lčS pičqaÉz pwú«a LihÉ ki čx'HLMiej fsj-ei qa ai pičqaÉ čq-p-h eu, LÉ čqpi-h hmi LčWez LihÉ-L ail LčhaÆ -b-L čhkŷš² L-l ail anatomy-l EcŮŮiVe čRm pwú«a AdÉjf-Li LjSz Hhw -p - anatomy-l -hčnl ijN osteology, AčŮŮčhcÉjz čLč¹ŷ Cw-lčS pičq-aÉl InĀkŇ Bji-cl -Lhm BLoŇZ L-lče, ail j-dÉ HLVi ØfdŇi -ke Bji-cl BOja Llaz fiWÉ čehŇiQ-e hs -RiV -mM-LI -ic čRm eiz CwmÉj-ä čLč'a pŷxiej bil-mC čače čR-me Bji-cl f-r k-bø -nĚŮ -mML, kčcl pŇha čhĚčVn àĚffx-”l hiC-l ayil -mMj CE-lj-f -LE f-sčez ...če-Sl -hid J l¹čQ čc-u Cw-lčS pičq-aÉl ij-mij³c čhQil AdÉjf-Li LMej Li-ae eiz -pVi qa d^aøaiz Cw-lčS pičq-aÉ Bji-cl Li-R A-elVi čRm LjSŇče Bj-ml čhĚčVn KŮ-aÉl HLVi čLz⁵

HC cĚŮŇ EŮ«č-a-a -mM-LI kččš² -no fkŇč¹ pičq-aÉl jdÉ čc-u Kfče-hčnL liSeččal E-ŷnÉčpčŮi LbiC fĚjiz L-lz fx-lj -mMjčV fs-m -hiTi kju, HC fiW-fĚ-L±nm -no fkŇč¹ čhfæ q-u kju AeÉal fiWfŮčal pcbŇL i”čjLjuz AbŇjv HLC pičqaÉ fshil ič%o LM-ej Bœ²ič¹ L-l LM-ej hi EŮjil L-lz ki čho, fĚ-uj-NI ...-Z ai-C Aj^aaz HC -mMjčV B-lj HLčV čhŮ¹«aal čpŮi-č¹ čc-L če-u kju Bji-clz ØfØ hčT-a fičl Bjli, pičq-aÉl rjai B-R fiW-LI ‘iejSŇ-el -jččmL čičš Hhw ‘i-el hŮ¹ŷ čejŇiz Ljil LmLêil Jfl ŮŮjuÉ fĚijh čhŮ¹il Ljilz

BS-LI čhnĀju-el jičLŇče -NjmLdyjdju kMe fĚnĀjaĚa LmÉjZ hi unquestioned good qJuiVi -Lj-ej čLRŷl čV-L bilil f-r k-bø kččš² q-a fi-l ej, kMe jÉj-eS-j-³VI -cijqC čc-u Rič °ačl LliL pejae cijuaÆčV-L -fĚjXilne--Lč³cÉL LÉjčVj mčS-LI ijoju hc-m ej če-a fil-m čnrjčh-cli ůčŮ¹ fie ej, kMe B-h-NI fčljif J čhčej-ul ScVm Ač¹SŇim-L čfličj-XI p-%o hi kičč¹»L al%o-c-OŇÉ -j-f če-a čnM-a qu fĚčačeua, aMe pičqaÉajčšĀ-Lli pičqaÉ fWe-fiW-el a-šĀJ H-e -g-me HC LjčŇf-kjčNajl fĚp%oz pičq-aÉl fiWcie q-u EW-a bi-L čhnĀ AliSlaj, pč»ip, čečŮQq²ie, h’ejl čhl¹-Ů l¹-M cyisihil Ef-kjNE ‘training of imagination’z Af-ll -QjM čc-u SNv-L -cMjil HLVi fĚjčjL fiW čq-p-h pičq-aÉl ...l¹aÆ -Myj-Se Martha Naussbaum, ayil ijoju : “Literary works typically invite their readers to put themselves in the places of people of many different kinds”⁶z 2012 pi-m fĚLjčna *An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization* hC-u

ajC pičq-aÉl fĕčnrZ-L čnr-Zl fšZŇjua h-NŇl jšmÉ čc-u-Re Njuœf Qœ²haŇf ĆØfiL čnmjl-hÉhq@a "Aesthetic Education" nĕčV-L eaŷe ajvf-kŇ hÉhqjl L-lz pili hC-u hijhlj čg-l H-p-R pičq-aÉl fjWci-el jšm E-ŸnÉ "uncoercive rearrangement of desire for epistemological performances"^{7z} SNv-L pčqo-ŷij-h Sjei J Sjei-ejl HC a-šĀl paÉaj fĕnÀjafa, ĆLč'ŷ HI ĆejŇi-Z Ešl--fjØVjXjeŇ Lj-ml hijSj-ll cijh ĆL ūfL«a qu -LijbJ HC Lj-kŇjif-kjčNajl fĕp-%o? pičq-aÉl j-dÉ -k Be¾c l-u-R aj-L hĕbjüicp-qicl hmh ĆLej -p Će-u čhaLŇ q-aC fi-l, ĆLč'ŷ ajl fĕčnr-Zl ijheju -pC Be¾cSeL čhĆej-ul Awnĕcicl bijL-h ej -Le kbi-kjNÉ čhŪ'ijlq, -pVi -i-h -cMhjl čhouz

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čnrj Hhw fĕjčanj-MÉ hZŇ °hčQœÉ

AlŌf cip†

pilpw-rf

-hčj%o RučV - čnrj, LŌf, hÉjLIZ, Ćel,š², R¾c Hhw -SÉjčaoz HC Ru -hčj-%ol j-dÉ čnrjl BčhiŇjh O-VčRm °hčcl j-č»l fjW J EμQil-Zl öŪaj hSju liMijl SeÉz BI fĕjčanjMÉ NĚžŪ...čml Eáh O-VčRm -h-cl čhčĕ pčfĕčju...čm -b-Lz -h-cl HC HL HLčV pčfĕčju-L nijMj hmj quz HC nijMj...čml p-%o kš² -k čnrjNĚžŪ aij eij fĕjčanjMÉz fĕjčanjMÉ jšma hZŇnjŪ»z čnrj J fĕjčanj-MÉl čhou fĕju HLz dĀčel pwMÉj čho-u čnrj, fĕjčanjMÉ fĕi«ča NĚ-žŪ čĕ jahic

† AÉjčpØVÉj¾V fĕ-gpl, pwú«a čhijN, H. čh. He. nĕm L-mS, -LjQčhqil, fčŌQjh%oz

fjJuj kjuz -kje, fjčZeEu čnrju -aoč-čV dÆče, ki'hóÉ čnrj NĚ-žŮ RjfxæčV, GÚLfĚjčani-MÉ HLjæčV, °ačšlEu fĚjčani-MÉ čafjæčV dÆče, hjSp-euĚ fĚjčani-MÉ dÆčel pwMÉj fyuoč-z dÆčel EμQjIZ ŮŮje Hhw fĚkaÀ čho-uj -hn čLR¥ čiaæ abÉ fjJuj kjuz fjčZeEu čnrju EμQjIZ-ŮŮje BVčV, ki'hóÉ čnrju fyjQčV, GÚLfĚjčani-MÉ pjačV, °ačšlEu fĚjčani-MÉ BVčV, Hhw hjSp-euĚ fĚjčani-MÉJ BVčVz

pšœeně

čnrj, fĚjčaniMÉ, dÆčez

A' fĚj' pLm -nĚZĚl jjeæ-ol mrÉ qm - fxl' oibŇ-L Su Lliz fxl' oibŇ Qil fĚLil - djŇ, AbŇ, Lij, -jirz HC QilčV fxl' oibŇ hi Qa¥hŇ-NŇl j-dÉ -k pLm hÉčš² AbŇ J Li-jl -phi L-l Q-m jiehSĚh-e aili föl p-% a¥čma quz H čho-u pšš² B-R -k-

""Bqilčeâiu°jbx'e' pijjeÉ-javföcieŇliZijÚz

d-jŇi čq -aoijčd-Li čh-n-oi d-jŇZ qfex föčix pjeix"zz

HI g-m pææØfØ qu - djŇ -jir pid-el HLjioe Efju, hŮ¹¥a jieh SĚhe pgm qu Hhw föaÆijh hčSŇa quz HI©fjhŮŮju nĚ¥čal če-cŇn - ""eij-hccheĚæ-a hĚp čLč'a" HC -nĚ±aEu -fĚLizu -hčidÉu-e -fĚLiz -kijuz kčc Hje ej qu aiq-m LĚij-h -h-cl AčdLičlaÆ hĚjβZĚaÆ pæxlčra q-hz aicjqčŇ fa"čm ayil jqiioÉ NĚ-žŮ h-m-Re -k -

""afx nĚ¥a' -kičeŮQ œuw hĚjβZLilLjÚz

afxnĚ¥ajjĚjw -ki qf-ej SičahĚjβZ Hh px"zz

HC ja Øj«caNĚžŮ...čml àilij pjčbŇaz AaHh -hčj% pq -hčidÉue BhnĚLz

HC -hc BkŇpiĚaj J pwú«čal Bdil NĚžŮ abi jiehpiĚajl Cčaqi-p pææfĚjQfē NĚžŮz HčV ödæ -Lje HLCV NĚžŮ hi njŮ»C eu, HLCV fšZŇi% pičqaÚÉz HC (AMä) pičqaÉčVI -hidNjĚajl SeÉ Hhw HI Až¹iŇ¥š² ž»pjš-ql k-' kbjkb fĚ-uj-NI SeÉ -Lje HL pj-u čnrj, LŮf, hĚjLIZ, čel|š², R³č Hhw -SĚjčao - HC RučV -hčj-%ol BchiŇjih O-Vz -k-qa¥ jqijj-oÉ hmi q-u-R - ""j-ž»j qfex ůl-aj hZŇ-aj hi čjbĚjĚkæ-š²i e ajbŇjijq'z -hčj% RučV -pC fĚ-ujSe pide L-lz HC RučV NĚžŮ-L -hčj% hmil ajvfkŇ qm - qja, fj CaĚjčc A%o -kij-h A%oĚl ůl©f-L fĚLjn L-l Hhw A%oĚl fĚ-ujSe...čm-L čpŮ L-l čWL -aje-C A%oĚ -h-cl nĚ-hid, AbŇ-hid, čœ²uil pi-b j-ž»l pđã, fi-WI lĚca fĚi«ca hĚjfi-l AfčlqjkŇ h-mC - čnrj fĚi«ca NĚžŮ-L A%o BMÉj -cJuj q-u-Rz HL HLCV A-%ol àilij HL HL fĚLil fĚ-ujSe pičda quz fjčZeEu čnrju -h-cl RučV A%o čqpi-h RučV -hčj%-L hZŇej Llij q-u-R -

""R³cx fj-c± a¥ -hčpÉ q-Ů¹± L-Ůfj'b fWÉ-az

-SĚjčaoijuew Qr¥čeŇl|š²w -nĚjœjæQÉ-azz

čnrj OĚjZw a¥ -hčpÉ jæMw hĚjLIZw Øj«ajÚz

aØjiv pi%jdf°aÉh hĚp-mi-L jqfēu-azz"(fi.čn.41,42)

HC Ru -hčj-%ol (-h-cl os i%ol hmi qu) j-dÉ čnrj BchiŇjih O-VčRm °hčcL j-ž»l fjW Hhw EμQi-Zl öŮaj hSju liMil SeÉ - ""hZŇ-ůlijčc EμQilZfĚLi-li k-œifčcnÉ-a pi čnrj"(G-NÄc

ij-oÉjfoe²jçZLi)z cho·¥çjœ ayil GLfËiçani-MÉl ij-oÉ çnril pw'í L-l-Re -
 ""ülh-ZÑiµQil-Zif-cnw niù»jú"z piueiQikÑ ayil G-NÄ-cl ij-oÉ çnrj fËp-%o h-m-Re -
 ""hZÑüliçæÉµQilZfËLi-lj k-œifçcnÉ-a pi çnrj"z çnril fËjQfE E-õM Bjli °açšif-ufçe-cl j-dÉ
 fjC - ""nÉriv hÉjMÉipÉijxz hZÑx ülzx jioei hmjúz pij pç'ieix Ca¥Éš²x nÉridÉjuxz" AbÑiv
 ALiçc hZÑ, Ecišjçc ül, qÊËü-cfOÑ fËi«ça jioei, n-ëiµQil-Z fËj-ZI fËkaÀl©f hm, EµQil-ZI
 pjai, çeuçja œ²jhÜ fc hi hJLÉ (pç'ie) - HC SjaEu çhou...çmC çnrjNË-žÛl çnrZfuz çnrj-L
 -h-cl eiçpLi çqpi-h a¥mei Lli q-u-R - ""çnrj OËjZw a¥ -hçpÉ"z BI hÉjLIZ-L -h-cl jæM -
 ""jæMw hÉjLIZw Øj^aajÚ"z OËj-ZI jidÉ-j Bjli -kjei-h -Lie hÜ'¥l çhnÜaj çhQil Li-a fiçl, çWL
 -ajeC hZÑ, ül, jioei, fËi«ça çnril çhou...çml jidÉ-j -hc j-ç»l fjW J EµQil-ZI çhÜaj çezÑu Li-a
 fjçl

fËiçaniMÉ NËžÛ...çml Eáh O-VçRm -h-cl çhçiae pçfËçju...çm -b-Lz fËjQfEli-m -h-cl
 jç»...çm ...l'|-çnoÉ pçfËçjuœ²-j lçra qaz flhaÑÉLi-m HC pçfËçju...çml j-dÉ j-ç»l EQQil-Z J
 fË-uj-N eiei fçlhaÑe OV-a bi-Lz -h-cl HC HL HLçV pçfËçju-L niMi hmi quz HC niMi...çml
 p-%o kš² -k çnrjNËžÛ ail eij fËiçaniMÉz hÉjLIZ -kje nëieænipe hi nëniù», jËjiwpi -kje
 hJLÉniù» hi hJLÉibÑ, -aje fËiçaniMÉ jšma hZÑniù»z çnrj J fËiçani-MÉl çhouhÜ'¥ fËju HLz
 a-h çnrjNËžÛ...çm-a pLm -h-cl -r-œC ki pidilZij-h fË-kjSÉ -p...çm çe-cÑn Lli q-u-Rz çLž'¥
 -h-cl fj-Wl çhöçÜ hSju liMij SeÉ -pC -h-cl -k niMi ...l'N^a-q AdÉue Lli q-u-R hi q-µR -pC
 çh-no çes niMij pwçqajl pLm °hnøÉC fËiçaniMÉ...çm-a -çmie q-u-Rz

Hifl Bpi kiL dÆçe fËp-%oz iioi p^açøl jš-m l-u-R dÆcez iioil jšm -fËlzi qm çhri hi hmij
 ÇµRiz BI HI jšm Eficie qm hijux hmij ÇµRi kMe j-el j-dÉ Si-N aMe ai fËj-ZI abi nlf-ll B...e-L
 EÿËç L-lz B...e -Wmi -cu nlf-ll hijux-Lz -pC hijux-C hæL -b-L E-W Nmij -b-L -WyivfkÑž¹
 jæMjä-ml çhçiae SjuNju di,j -M-u hi çeuçž»a q-u çhçiae hZÑ hi dÆçe q-u -hçl-u B-pz
 fjçZeEu çnrju dÆçel Evfçš çho-u hmi q-u-R -

""BaÈÉi hæÜÉi p-jaÉibÑjeÚ j-ei kæPÚ -š² çhruiz
 jex Lij çNÀjççž¹ p -fËluça jil'ajzz
 jil'aÜ'°lçp QleÚL-ã.....

p-Eçf-ZÑi jšçdÑ-Açiq-aj hš²jú BfcÉw jil'axz hZÑjeÚ Seu-a.....z"

dÆçel pwMÉj çho-u çnrj, fËiçaniMÉ fËi«ça NË-žÛ çhçiae jahic fijuj kjuz -kje, fjçZeEu
 çnrju -aoç- (fÔYa 9Lil hij çcu) hi -Q±oç-çV dÆçe hi h-ZÑl Lbi hmi q-u-R -

""çœoçøx Qa¥xoçøhÑi hZÑix nñ¥j-a jaij'z

HI j-dÉ ülhZÑ HL¥nçV (qÊËüül - A, C, E, G, 9; çfOÑül - B, D, F, G, H, J, I, K; fÔæaül - B3, D3,
 F3, G3, H3, J3, I3, K3), Hhw hÉ"ehZÑ çhuiçõnçVz ail j-dÉ fyçQnçV ØfnÑhZÑ, kLiljçc BVçV
 hZÑ - k,l,m,h+n,o,p,q (Aç'xÜÜ J FxjhZÑ); QilçV kjhZÑz kj-HI pw'í fËp-%o G-NÄc fËiçani-MÉ
 hmi q-u-R -

""ØfnÑix kjeeæejçpLix ülijef-loæ Øf-nÑüæejçp-Loæ"z

AbiŃv AexeiçpL ØfnŃhZŃ f-l biL-m çelexeiçpL ØfnŃhZŃ...çm kj pw'í fĕiç quz -kje - SOÀbæx>SOyÚebæ, AçNÀ>ANyÚçe, CaÉjçcz HRisi Aexüil ("üljæxfĕkæSÉ-a Cça Aexüilx", kbi-Ay,Cy), çhpNŃ, ("çhpæSÉ-a hiLÉjÚ A-ee Cça çhpNŃx"), çSqÄijšmĕu □L, EfdÚjieĕu □f, çæxØf«ø hZŃ AbŃjiv çæçV ü-ll jdÉhaŃĕ X-Li-ll s(□)-Lil IØ-f EµQilZz -kje-AçNÀjĕç<□<AçNÀjÚDXHz ki'hóÉ çnrj Nĕ-çÛ dÆçel pwMÉj RifjæçVz -pMi-e üldÆçe -aCnçV - fjçZeĕu çnrju E-ðçMa HLŃnçV üldÆçel p-%o Açaçlš² çæçV (çĕOŃ J fÔŃa 9-Lil) üldÆçe fjJuj kjuz hÉ"eh-ZŃl pwMÉj HC Nĕ-çÛ -aççençVz H-cl j-dÉ L-hZŃ -b-L BlŃ L-l j-hZŃ fkŃç¹ fycQnçV ØfnŃhZŃ, QilçV Aç¹xÛÛhZŃ J QilçV ExjhZŃz HMi-e fjçZeĕu çnril eĕju hZŃpjijÄi-ul j-dÉ A-kiNhiq kjjçc hZŃ...çml fçINĕqZ quçez GLĕĕiçani-MÉ Bhil HLjæçV dÆçel Lbi hmi q-u-Rz ail j-dÉ -QjŸçV ülhZŃ (qĕĕÛü - A,G,C,E,9, çĕOŃü - B,G,D,F,9, Hhw pãÉrl - H,J,I,K)z Hhw hÉ"ehZŃ piCçençV (fycQnçV ØfnŃhZŃ ki L-hNŃ,Q-hNŃ,V-hNŃ,a-hNŃ,f-hNŃ HC f[yiQçV h-NŃ çhiš², avflhaŃĕ k,l,m,h - QilçV Aç¹xÛÛ hZŃ Hhw q,n,o,p,x,□,□,□,□- BVçV ExjhZŃ)z fÔŃaü-ll E-ðM GÚLfĕiçani-MÉ biL-mj hZŃpjijÄi-ul -QjŸçV ülh-ZŃl j-dÉ -p...çm NZei Lli quçez °açšlĕu fĕiçani-MÉ çafjæçV dÆçe hi h-ZŃl E-ðM fjJuj kju - -oimçV ülhZŃ J piCçençV hÉ"ehZŃz -oimçV ülh-ZŃl j-dÉ qĕĕÛü - A,C,E,G,9, çĕOŃü - B,D,F,G,H,I,J,K, fÔŃaü - B3,D3,F3 CaÉçcz Bl piCçençV hÉ"ehZŃ GÚLfĕiçani-MÉl AexlØç °açšlĕu fĕiçani-MÉ h-ZŃl -nĕZĕçhijN biL-mj h-ZŃl aiçmLil -Lie E-ðM -eCz hiSp-euĕ fĕiçani-MÉ dÆçel pwMÉj fyuoç-z fjçZeĕu çnril (HLŃn) eĕju HMi-el ülh-ZŃl HLC çæ²j (-Lhm çĕOŃ J fÔŃa 9-Lil AçdL) -çM-a fjJuj kjuz hÉ"eh-ZŃl pwMÉj fjçZeĕu çnril (çhujçðn) eĕjuz

dÆçel EµQilZ ÛÛje J fĕkaÀ çho-u -hn çLRŃ abÉ HMi-e aŃ-m dli qmz fjçZeĕu çnrju BVçV EµQilZ ÛÛje-el Lbi hmi q-u-R - hr, Lã, jšdŃi, çSqÄijšm, ç¹, eiçpLi, Jù, Hhw aimæz Bhil GLĕĕiçani-MÉ pjaçV EµQilZ-ÛÛje-el E-ðM fjJuj kju - Lã, aimæ, jšdŃi, ç¹jšm, Jù, çSqÄijšm, eiçpLi (Lil Lil j-a EµQilZ-ÛÛje BVçV)z HRisi dÆçel EµQil-Z fĕk-aÀl i"çjLi B-Rz HC kaÀ hi fĕkaÀ çæC fĕLil - 1) BiÉç¹l fĕkaÀ 2) hiqÉ fĕkaÀz hZŃ Evfæ qJuil B-N -k kaÀ -pçV BiÉç¹l kaÀz HC BiÉç¹l kaÀ pidilZax fyjQ fĕLil - Øf«ø, DovØf«ø, Dov çhha, çhha J pwhaaz dÆçel Evfçš çho-u fš-hŃC hmi q-u-Rz HC dÆçe Evfæ qJuil kMe çSqÄil ANĕijN, A-Nĕl çLVÛÛ Awn, jdĕijN jæ-Ml Lã, aimæ fĕi«ça ÛÛje pjĕL ØfnŃ L-l aMe -pC fĕkaÀ "Øf«ø', Dov ØfnŃ Ll-m ai "DovØf«ø', -Lhm çel-V AhÛÛje Ll-m "pwha' Hhw çš-l AhÛÛje Ll-m ai "çhha' ei-j fĕkaÀz dÆçe Evfæ qJuil f-l fĕiZhiuæ jÛ¹-L fĕçaqa q-u çehaš q-m -k kaÀ ki hiqÉ fĕkaÀz HC hiqÉ kaÀ Bhil HNj-lj fĕLil-ll - 1)çhhil 2)pwhil 3)nÄip 4)EIC 5)-Oio 6)A-Oio 7) Aðffĕiz 8) jqifĕiz 9)Eciš 10)Aexciš 11)üçlaz hZŃçæ²j Aexpi-l ai-cl EµQilZ-ÛÛje J fĕkaÀ pð-ã çe-jÀ B-miQei Lli qmz

fjçZeĕu çnrju A,B,B3,q h-ZŃl EµQizÛÛje Lã; C,D,D3,Q-hNŃ,k,n h-ZŃl EµQilZ-ÛÛje aimæ, E,FF3,f-hNŃ,Efdjeĕu f h-ZŃl EµQilZ-ÛÛje Jù, G,G,G3,V-hNŃ,l,o h-ZŃl EµQilZ-ÛÛje jšdŃi, 9,a-hNŃ,m,p - HC hZŃ...çml EµQilZ-ÛÛje ç¹, H,l h-ZŃl EµQilZ-ÛÛje Lãaimæ, J,K h-ZŃl EµQilZ-ÛÛje L-ãiù, L-hNŃ,çSqÄijšmĕu L h-ZŃl EµQilZ-ÛÛje çSqÄijšm, Aç¹xÛÛ h h-ZŃl

ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje c-ζ¹ù Hhw kj hZÑ, AexüjI-HI ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje ejçpLiz GLfÉjçani-MÉl h-ZÑI
 ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje-el p-%o fiçZeFu çnrjI h-ZÑI ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje-el L-uLçV -roe Risi AçdLjwn -r-œC
 pic^anÉ -cMj kiuz -pMi-e (G.fÉi) A,B,q, çhpNÑ-HI ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje Lã hmi q-u-Rz -LE -LE q,
 çhpNÑ hZÑ-L hr hZÑ çqpi-h ü£LlI L-l-Rez HRisi G,9,çSqÄijšm£u L J L-h-NÑI ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje
 çSqÄijšm, C,D,H,I,Q-hNÑ,k-LlI,n-Li-ll ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje aimx E,F,J,K,f-hNÑ,Aç¹xÙÙ h,
 EfdÚjjeFu f - HC hZÑ...çm Jù hZÑz V-hNÑ,o - H-cl ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje jšdÑi, a-hNÑ,I,m,p h-ZÑI
 ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje çç¹jšmz HRisi kj h-ZÑI Lbi hmi q-u-R, kiI ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje ejçpLiz a-h HC kj hZÑ
 -Lje Açaçš² hZÑ eu, ØfnÑh-ZÑI AexejçpLl©fz ki'hóÉ çnrju h-ZÑI ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje...çm
 çpÜjç¹ -L±jçç£l eÉjuz -kje - A,L-hNÑ,q,x -H-cl ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje Lã, C,Q-hNÑ,k,n-Li-ll ΕμQilZ-
 ÙÙje aimx, G,V-hNÑ,I,o -H-cl ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje jšdÑi, 9,a-hNÑ,m,p - HC hZÑ...çml ΕμQilZ-
 ÙÙje çç¹, E,f-hNÑ,EfdjeFu f -H-cl ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje Jùz

hZÑ ΕμQil-ZI -r-œ ΕμQilZ-ÙÙje-el eÉju k-aÀl i"çjLi Lj euz fiçZeFu çnrju hmi q-u-R BiÉç¹
 fÉkaÀ Qil fÉLlI - AØf«ø AbÑjiv çhha, Dovf^aø, AdÑØf«ø, Øf«øz -pMi-e pLm ülh-ZÑI fÉkaÀ
 "AØf«ø", k-Liljçç fÉbj QilçV hZÑ(k,l,m,h) "Dovf^aø", n,o,p,q - HC QilçV h-ZÑI fÉkaÀ
 "AdÑØf«ø'z HRisi Ahçnø hÉ"ehZÑ...çm AbÑjiv ØfnÑhZÑ J kjh-ZÑI fÉkaÀ "Øf«ø'z Bhil
 GLfÉjçani-MÉ çae fÉLlI BiÉç¹ fÉk-aÀl Lbi hmi q-u-R - Øf«ø, Dovf^aø J AØf«øz H-cl j-dÉ
 ØfnÑhZÑ...çml BiÉç¹ fÉkaÀ "Øf«ø", k,l,m,h - HC QilçV h-ZÑI BiÉç¹ kaÀ "Dovf^aø", Hhw
 ülhZÑ, AexüjI J Exjh-ZÑI BiÉç¹ kaÀ AØf«ø -

açà-nox LIZw Øf«øjçÙÙaw
 çxØf«øç¹¥ fÉjNÉLilijμQa¥ZÑijÚz
 üljexüj-ljxZijØf«øw çÙÙaw
 °e-L LãÉpÉ çÙÙajijÝl©xjZxzz

hZÑ ΕμQil-ZI -r-œ çLl©f pihdjeai Ahmðe LlI EçQv -pC fÉp-%o fiçZeFu çnrjLil HLV¥ pçç¾cl
 Efji aç-m d-l-Re -

hiÉOÉ£ kbj q-lv fæçjeÚ cwøÉjijéjw e Q ffs-uvz
 ifaj fae-icijéjw aààZÑjeÚ fÉ-kjS-uvzz (fj.çn. 25)

AbÑjiv i£aNEÜ¹ij hijçOe£ -kje aij njhL-cl ki-a f-s ej kju hij çyja çhy-d ej kju Hje ij-h ççpiçl
 çyja çc-u AeÉ SjuNju çe-u kju, çWL -pC ij-h hZÑ...çm-L ΕμQilZ Ll-a q-hz AaHh hZÑ
 ΕμQil-ZI pju -Muim lijM-a q-h ki-a çyi-a çyi-a -Q-f çhL«a ΕμQilZ ej quz h-ZÑI pçWL
 ΕμQil-ZI Aij-h -hc j-ç»l AbÑ Ae-bÑ fçlZa q-a fi-l, HjeçL h-SÉl BOj-al eÉju fiW-Ll phÑejnJ
 OVj-a fi-l-

j-ç»i q£ex ül-ai hZÑ-ai hij
 çjbÉjifÉkx-š²i e ajbÑjijqz
 p hijNÄ-SÉj kSjiew çqeçÙ¹
 k-b¾cÊnoç¥x ül-aiqflidjaÚzz

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Forlorn Corridors

An Exploration of the Functionality of ‘Northanger Abbey’

Manali Choudhury[†]

Abstract

Baptised at birth as Susan, Jane Austen’s Northanger Abbey was renamed after considerable changes were made by the author upon bringing it out of banishment, as it were, from the shelves of her study. The novel received a somewhat lukewarm response upon publication, readers and critics considering it to be the product of a naïve and unskilled mind. However, the strains of burlesque and gothic that had been blended together by Austen to parody the latter were soon recognised by the same readership and the novel read and enjoyed. Austen’s heroine, as well as the readers, was made to anticipate the abbey as a gothic entity, from the perspective of the superficial ideas that were the product of the popular appeal of the gothic during Austen’s time. Eventually, the bubble of illusion was burst during the heroine’s stay within the abbey’s closed quarters. Nevertheless, the corridors of this abbey remained forlorn. From the time of the arrival of Northanger Abbey onto the literary scene, much attention has been paid to Catherine’s misgivings regarding the gothic nature of the abbey and its master. Hardly has it been explored as the breeding ground of reason and good sense. Its possibility of being the medium for the transformation of the heroine, Catherine, has been very much undermined. The purpose of the paper, thus, is to look at the abbey as a functional unit in the novel: as being instrumental in the turning of Catherine from an ordinary individual into a heroine and her ‘entrée’ into the social milieu of the times.

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Keywords

Burlesque, gothic, parody, reason, role of the abbey

As they drew near the end of their journey, her impatience for a sight of the Abbey... returned in full force, and every bend in the road was expected with solemn awe to afford a glimpse of its massy wall of grey stone... playing in beautiful splendour on its high Gothic windows. But so low did the building stand, that she found herself passing through the great gates of the lodge into the very grounds of Northanger, without having discerned even an antique chimney.

Northanger Abbey, 150

Across the pages of one of Jane Austen's earliest works lies the story of the transformation of her heroine, Catherine Morland, from a childishly naive young person into a mature adult. *Northanger Abbey* maps this transition that begins at the very entry of Catherine into the environs of a quasi-Gothic structure, the namesake of the novel. This ancient structure was anticipated by Catherine in its true Gothic spirit. However, Austen had different designs as regards the functionality of Northanger Abbey: an entity that finds mention across a hundred odd pages in the novel. It is thus important to explore these forlorn corridors in the light of the purpose to understand the exact dimensions of the role of this abbey in the novel.

Shortly after the novel begins, Catherine is found travelling to the town of Bath with the Allens—neighbours of the Morland family in Fullerton. During her stay in that fancy town, Catherine makes some acquaintances. Most of these acquaintances seem as if they were manifestations of the frivolities of life. An emergent fashion among such a population was novel reading, especially Gothic fiction, which was very much in vogue. One such novel was Anne Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*.

Before moving into the realm of influence of the Gothic novel, one needs to identify the misconceptions of the heroine. On mixing with the Thorpes, Catherine had initially been unable to read the real intentions of the brother-sister duo. Both Isabella and John Thorpe were pretentious, flamboyant, flirtatious and deceitful. Catherine is deceived into believing that Isabella was one of the greatest well-wishers she could ever wish for. Isabella lures Catherine into believing that the former was very much in love with the latter's brother, James, which was far from the truth. Catherine, however, gradually gets to enjoy the company of another of her new acquaintances, Henry Tilney and subsequently that of his sister Eleanor. Here, mention must be made of the growing interest of their father, General Tilney, in Catherine which, incidentally, was the result of a deceitful piece of information laid in his way by John Thorpe.

Amidst all these delusions, Catherine is offered a place in the family party of the Tilneys that was moving to their home, Northanger Abbey. Just before joining the Tilneys on their way home, Catherine comes into contact with the aforesaid Gothic novel. "Catherine hitherto ignorant of the world of illusion is instructed in its laws by Isabella, 'four years older than Miss Morland, and at least four years better informed', and surrenders to its enchantment" (Lascelles, 64). Apart from fascinating her a great deal, *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, had changed the way Catherine looked at things. She had begun to colour everything with hues of Gothicism. All she believed in, all she saw, all she heard, had begun to be coloured by her Gothic 'training.' Therefore, a lot of 'reasons' for her to believe that the late Mrs. Tilney had been murdered by her husband, and that she had been subjected to a long era of tyrannical behaviour by him, begin raging in her mind. The blind-

fold of gothicism had been so strongly tied that she anticipates a scary, mysterious abbey, full of medieval mysticism. However, “A moment’s glance was enough to satisfy Catherine that her apartment was very unlike the one which Henry had endeavoured to alarm her by the description of” (*Northanger Abbey*, 152).

The circumstance which principally renders the history of our heroine’s residence at Northanger Abbey amusing, arises from the mistake which she makes, in consequence of her imagination, (which had just come fresh from *The Mysteries of Udolpho*) leading her to anticipate, that the Abbey which she was on the point of adorning by her presence, was to be of the same class and character, as those which Mrs. Radcliffe paints. On her arrival, she was, as may be supposed, a little disappointed, by the unexpected elegance, convenience, and other advantages of General Tilney’s abode; but her prepossession was incurable. (*Northanger Abbey*, 45-46)

It is a stark reality, which Catherine initially refuses to accept, that Northanger Abbey was not exactly a Gothic place. It was a quite a modern residence. Catherine continues to look for concrete representations of her belief in the Gothic. Thus, she takes an old black chest for a potential mystery-holder and takes some crumpled old pieces of paper to be hidden manuscripts. Her misinterpretations reach the point of embarrassment when she realises that all she held were laundry bills. “The outrageous ideas that Miss Morland has admitted are clearly literary in origin” (Morrison, 1).

Further, in a stint to expose General Tilney’s ‘misdeeds,’ she sneaked into his wife’s quarters, expectant of finding some old logs of the deceased speaking of her miseries. “...Catherine becomes the victim of Gothic illusion at Northanger Abbey” (Glock, 33).

Moreover:

Catherine, in a few days was forced to resign all her hopes of discovering subterraneous passages, mysterious pictures, or old parchments, however, she still hoped to be able to detect a hidden secret, in the instance of the General, who having been an unkind husband to his late wife, and being, moreover, of a haughty and supercilious temper, she naturally concluded must have the weight of his late wife’s untimely end upon his conscience. A thousand little circumstances combined to give strength to her suspicions. (*Northanger Abbey*, 46)

This, however, was intercepted by Henry Tilney, who was the last person Catherine wanted to offend. On realising how deeply rooted Catherine’s misconceptions were Henry gave her a quick yet convincing view of the real situation behind his mother’s death. He explained to her the extent of his father’s love for his mother. The darkness of the corridors, the damp air, the blowing storms and the silent stones were enough to encourage the Gothic intricacies that Catherine’s mind desired.

Nevertheless, Henry Tilney’s explanation was enough for Catherine to recapitulate and comprehend things in a more rational fashion. Her flaws of judgement, if not cleared, were rather toned down. She began to realise that Gothic was perhaps meant more for novels than it was for practical life. This realisation was however aided by her comprehension of the true intentions of the Thorpe siblings. John had long been a source of irritation to Catherine; Isabella, on the other hand, was exposed when James ended his engagement with her owing to her inappropriate intimacy with Captain Tilney, Henry’s elder brother. The fog was lifted off Catherine’s mind and

she was on her way to realise that things had a more objective value to them and that they could be seen more naturally than she then did.

A mention here may be made of the character of Henry Tilney. Whatever the Abbey tried to show Catherine had been ably interpreted to her by this wise young man who explains to her the true nature of the Abbey. "He also acts in all seriousness as her guide on matters of propriety and right thinking and shows her the serious impropriety of her behaviour at Northanger" (Craik, 17). Together with this understanding, one might here begin to look at the Abbey as the platform which provides the basic foundation for the emancipation of Catherine. By presenting to her a difference of character, from that which was generally attributed to a country-side abbey and by showing to her how un-Gothic a modern abbey could be Northanger Abbey actually became a tool for Austen to satisfy her intentions to actually parody the very idea of Gothic exaggeration. Henry thus can be viewed as a human manifestation of the Abbey itself. He gave expression to what the Abbey actually wanted to show. Together they tried to prove to Catherine, the farcical nature of her suspicions and the farfetchedness of her assumptions that stemmed principally from her reading.

One thing, however, must be discussed at this juncture. General Tilney's sudden change of behaviour towards Catherine and his asking her to leave his abode in a most unceremonious way was a shocking experience for Austen's young heroine. One might wonder as to how the Abbey was related to this incident. The Abbey, along with its partial heir, was responsible in training Catherine's sense of judgement so much so that henceforth, she does not take any of the General's indifference towards her as a culmination of tyrannical actions, leading to a predicament befitting a Gothic heroine. Here lies the distinction between a conventional Gothic heroine and Austen's attempt to depart from such prevalent conventions. Catherine, now no longer deluded by her notions of the Gothic, can very plainly see the meanness and the gross impropriety of General Tilney's action in all its sordid pettiness in this case and here lies her true transformation and her triumph over mediocrity.

A number of times the setting has been used to manifest the Gothicism that a text wants to propagate. Serving one such example would be the old mansion in *The Fall of the House of Usher*. The structure was wisely Gothicised by Poe in order to portray the physical, and more importantly, the mental decay of the figure that haunted it. In the *Harry Potter* series, the Hogwarts castle has been depicted as being intensely Gothic in character. This a deliberate attempt on the part of its author, Rowling, to emphasise the very idea of the mysticism of the magical world, the castle being the seat of magical learning and home to the best minds of witchcraft and wizardry. The entire gamut of Gothic novels, to which *The Mysteries of Udolpho* belongs, used various castles, far-away locales and the like in order to authenticate the existence of true Gothic experience. The setting thus, played a significant role in the establishment of the Gothic spirit in any piece of this genre.

Ironically, Austen used this same trope to emphasise her rejection of this very idea of the Gothic. In any conventional Gothic piece, as pointed out in earlier, the Gothic setting is more of a mental space where the rationality of judgement is challenged, and in most cases, defeated. However, Austen, in *Northanger Abbey*, tries to subvert this theory by positing the Abbey as a space which is presented and enhanced by the hero, in order to shape the judgement of the heroine, so much so that she realises the true nature of the real world and comes out of the mystified world of illusions.

Jane Austen thus, through *Northanger Abbey*, is able to put something of a dent in the enormous popularity of the Gothic genre which she considered to be only a fancy means of entertainment with hardly any intellectual substance. In this attempt, she is aided by *Northanger Abbey*, which acts as a mechanism through which she is able to put a stop to the idea of old mansions acting as accessories in Gothic tales, meant to provide a breeding ground for Gothic ideals. *Northanger Abbey*, thus, acts as an anti-type of all those Gothic structures which were used for this purpose. "Rather than sublimity, when Catherine first sees the prosaic, modernised home of the Tilneys, essentially a highly renovated abbey, Austen creates an effect of bathos" (Duquette, page no. not available). This usage helps the novel to rise to the level which she desires and allows it to become her master-trope in her silent crusade against the Gothic conventions.

Northanger Abbey, the setting, thus can be seen to be serving the role of a guide for the damsel in need of some aide to help her gain a proper sense of judgement and an understanding of the various aspects of the world which she was not well acquainted with. The Abbey traces the journey of Catherine from the naive innocence of Fullerton to the wisdom and maturity of the greater (and more complicated) world. The Abbey thus can be seen as an important catalyst in the process of the heroine's coming of age.

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čà-S¼cÊmj-ml pŁaj : AeeÉ -fĚjijhei

če-hčcaj Qœ²hšĚŇ (cš)[†]

pilpw-rf

čà-S¼cÊmj-ml li-ul pŁaj ejV-LI -fĚjijhei-L -L-¼cÊ -I-M HC fĚhåčV-a fĚibčjLij-h fĚiQĚe fšhŇae pičq-aÉ fĚZčueŁ pŁajl Qčlœ EcÚOive Lij q-u-Rz pŁaj Qčlœ čho-u čà-S¼cÊmj-ml kijaĚu dijZi čh-nŎčoa q-u-R HMj-ez pŁaj-L J ayil SĚh-el OVeihmĚ če-u liju-ZI -k °ečal pwLV čà-S¼cÊmj-ml -jdihĚ čh-hQeju LĚij-h aj dli f-lčRm ajl pªSeĚ l©fjuZ čqpi-h pŁaj čh-no ...l' aĚšZŇz

pšœeně

pŁaj, Ečen na-LI jiehaihic, hÉčš²pšj J pjiSpšil à¼à

liju-ZI EšLiä Ahmĉ-e lčQa čà-S¼cÊmj-ml li-ul pŁaj 1307 h%oi-ël giŎNŷe pwMÉj -b-L 1309 HI -f±o jip fkŇž¹ q-l¼cÊmj-ml liu pčfičca ehfĚij fčœLiu diljihčqLij-h fĚLjčna q-učRmz ejVÉ LjhÉčVI NĚžŮjLi-l fĚLjn e-iđl1908z himĚĚčLI liju-ZI EšLiä, ihiičal EšlIjQčla J čà-S¼cÊmj-ml pŁajl lQeijLi-ml j-dÉ kšNNa hÉhdje AaĚh ØfØz Ečen na-LI ehSjNĚa -Qaeju kščš²hjc J pššŮŮ phm -f±l' -ol Efjpl čR-me čà-S¼cÊmj-ml ajl -f±ljčZL Ličqče-BnĚuĚ lQeju ajC kščš²hi-cl B-mjLpčfia pq-SC eS-l f-sz fjojZĚ-a (1900) liju-ZI AqmÉjLičqče-a

[†] AÉjčpØVÉj¼V fĚ-gpl, hijwmi čhijN, H. čh. He. nĚm L-mS, -LjQčhqil, fčŎQjh%oz

Eĉen naLfU eiĤE-QaeĤ LmÉjZ-ĉpÀ† cªĉøĤ B-mĭ-L jšMÉjue L-l-Re eaŷeĭj-hz pŁaj eiV-L J kªĉš²hĭ-cl B-mĭ-L -f±ĤĤZL Ĥĭĉqĉel eaŷe ĭjoÉ IQeĤ L-l-Re Aeĭuĭp craĭuz

EšĤĭjQĉĤ-a ĭhĭ"ĉa ĭĭju-ZĤ fĔQĉma Ĥĭĉqĉe -b-L OVeĭpšœ ĉe-uĭ phÑœ aĭ AeĥpĤZ L-leĉez ĭĭjpŁajĤ fœĉĵÑm-el ĵdÉ ĉc-u aĭyl eiV-LĤ fĉĤpĭĵĉ O-V-Rz ĉà-S¾ĉĔmĭm ĭmĔŁĉL ĭĭjuZ J ĭhĭ"ĉal EšĤĭjQĉĤa -b-L pŁajĤ EflĤZ pWNEq L-lj Bdœĉel j-eĭĭĉ%-a Ĥĭĉqĉe fĔ-uĭSe j-aj NEqZ J hSÑe L-l-Rez ĉh-noa ĭmĔŁĉL ĭĭju-Z pŁaj ĉhpSÑ-el OVeĭĉV -ĭĭ-h pWOCVa q-u-R ĉà-S¾ĉĔmĭ-mĤ -f±ĤĤocªĉ jee aĭ H-Lĭĭ-ĤC Aeĥ-jĭce L-lĉez ĭ"ĉĤĤju ĉaĉe ĉm-M-Re: ""ĭqĉoÑ ĭmĔŁĉL ĭĭju-Z ĭNhĭe ĭ-jĤ QĉĤœ -ĤĤf hĉZÑa B-R, aĭqĭ-a HĤĤf fĔaŁujĭe qu -k, ĭĭjQ¾ĉĔ öÜ hwnĭkÑĭĭĭ ĭrĭĤ SeÉ pŁajĤ heĭp ĉcuĭĉR-mez aĭqĭĤ Ef-l, mrĔ-ZĤ fĔĉa, a-fĭĭe cnÑeĭR-m pŁaj-L h-e mCui ĉNuĭ -pMĭ-e Rĭĉsui BĉphĭĤ B'ju HĤĤĭ ĉeùŷĤ RmeĭJ mĉra quz ĭqĭĤĉ ĭhĭ"ĉa H ĉªĉĉVI HĤĉV ÛÛ-mĭ ĭmĔŁĉL AeĥĤZ L-lĤ eĭĉz Bĉĭ heĭp BMÉĭeĉV-aĉ ĭhĭ"ĉal fĉĭeĥpĤZ ĤĤĤuĭĉRz HĤĤf ĤĤju, BĭĭĤ ĉh-hQeĭu, ĭ-jĤ QĉĤœ ĭmĔŁĉL ĉQĉœa QĉĤœ qĔe ei qCui ĭqv qCui-Rz"

ĭdœpšœe -jOeĭĉhd-H SĔh-el pĤm pœœM-hĉ'a pŁaj-L SeeĤ Siq²hĔ-ĉhĔĤ ĉªxMLĭal ĉQ-šĤ ĭĭ-nĀÑ hĉp-u Ĥĭ-hÉ AjĤaj ĉc-u-Rez ĉà-S¾ĉĔmĭm ĉĭĉfaÉ -fĔ-jĤ SuSuĭ¹Ĕ ĭĭ-N SĭeĤĤ ĭĭĭp%-ĉhĭqĔe Aĭ¹-ĤĤ qĭqĭĤĤ-eĭVÉĤĭ-hÉ ÛÛĭuĤĤf ĉc-mez -fĔ-jĤ HLĉeùajĭ kªNmĉĭm-el BĉaÑ pŁajĤ ĤpOe Efmĉĭz hÛ¹a pŁajĤ IQeĤĤ fĔaÉr -fĔĤZĭ ĉà-S¾ĉĔmĭ-mĤ ĉĭĉfaÉ SĔh-el HLĉeù -fĔ-jĭfmĉĭĤ NiĔĤaj -b-L EvpĭĉĤaz faÀĔ pœœĤĭmĭ -ĉhĔĤ p-% ĭĭĉfa pœœMĭju ĉĭĉf-aÉĤ qĉc-ĭĭRĀĭp ĤĉĤ ĤĭhÉ J Nĭ-e fĔĤĭn -f-u-R eĭeĭĭ-hz ĉhĭĉqĉa SĔh-el -oĭm hĤĤ Aĉahĭĉqĉa qĤuĭĤ fl Ĥĉ ĭMe pĭwĭĉĤĤ pœœM J pĭĉqĉaÉĤ fĔĉaùĭĤ nĔ-oÑ -f±y-R-Re aMe pœœĤĭmĭ -ĉhĔĤ fĔĤja (1903) qez faÀĔĉh-ĭĭ-NĤ -nĤ aĭyl avĤĭmĔe Nĭ-e Ĥĉhajĭu, B-m-MÉ Rĉs-u B-Rz ahœ -nĤ ĭŷ-m ĭja«qĭĤĤ ĉªĉ ĉnö pĭ¹e-L ĭja«ĉfa«-pÀ-q hs L-l -aĭmĭĤ ...ĤĭĉĭuaĔ hqe L-l Ĥĉ ĉh-noĭĭ-h j-eĭ-ĭĭN ĉc-uĉR-me eiVĤ IQeĭu z HC pĭuĤĭ-m ĤĉQa eiV-LĤ j-dÉ fĔaĭfĉpwq (1905), ĉªNÑĭĭĭĭĭ (1906), ešĤĭjQĉĤ (1908), -ĭhĭĤfae (1908) E-öMÉz pŁajĤ 1908 pĭ-m fĔĤĭĉna q-mĭ ĤĉQa q-uĉRm 1901 pĭ-mz HC eiV-LĤ fĔĭj -nĔĭaj ĉR-me ĤĉfaÀĔ pœœĤĭmĭ -ĉhĔĤ ĉà-S¾ĉĔmĭm fĔĤja faÀĔĤ Øĭ«ĉa-a ĤĭhÉĉV EvpNÑ L-lez EvpNÑf-œ -nĤ ĤĤal ĤĉĉQ-šĤ B-h-NĭĭRĀĭp Øføĭr-l ĭªĉa,

HC ĤĭhÉMĭĉe IQeĤ ĤĤĤuĭ fĔĭj -aĭĭĭ-Ĥĉ fĉsui öeĭĉz fĉs-a fĉs-a B-h-N BĭĭĤ ĤăĭĤ Nĭt J NĉNĉ qCui Bĉpa, ĭĭxĭĭĭĭĭš² cªĉøĤ pĉĭŷ-M ArĤ...ĉm AØfø qCui Bĉpa; BĤ ĭĉmaĭĭ "BS ĭĤ, BĤ fĉs-a ĭĭĉĤ-aĉR eĭz" aŷĉĭ H ĤĭĉqĔe öĉe-a öĉe-a Aĉĭĭ" a qC-az BĭĭĤ pĤm Ĥĭ-hÉĤ A-fĭĭ pŁajĤ -aĭĭĭĤ Ĥĭ-R pĭĉdĤ ĉĔĔ ĉRmz aĭĤ HC "ĤĭhÉMĭĉe" -aĭĭĭĤ Øĭ«ĉal-Öf EvpNÑ ĤĤĤmĭĭz -k eĭĤĤŷ-m HC ĉQĤØĭZĤuĭ pŁajĤ-ĉhĔĤ SeĔ, -pĤ Ĥŷ-mĤ -aĭĭĭĤ SeĔ qCuiĉRmz HC AĭĭĉNeĤĤ Apĭĉqo-ŷ faÀĔĉeùĭ fĔ-aÉĤ fĉahÉaj ĉq¾ĉŷ ĭĉqmĭĤ Ĥĭ-R Bĉ-ĤĤ, -N±Ĥ-hĤ J fššĭĤ ĉšĉepz BĤ, Bĉĭ ĭĭqĭ-L BS ĤÖfeĭĤ Q-r -ĉĉM-aĉR, aŷĉĭ BĉS aĭyqĭĤ pĉqĉa HĤĤ -mĭ-L ĭĭp ĤĤĤ-aR, BĤ aĭyqĭ-L fĔaÉr ĤĤĤuĭ aĭyqĭĤ fššĭu ĉĤaj BRz -pĤ fššĭĤ EflĤZĤĤf HC ĤĭhÉMĭĉe -aĭĭĭĤ q-Û¹ ĉcmĭĭz -aĭĭĭĤ -fĔ-j, ĉqĭ-L Aĉĭĭš² ĤĤĤuĭ mCui, HC R-¾ĉĭĭhĤ aĭyqĭĤ ĤĤ-Z Yĭĉmĭĭ ĉĉĭz

ciÇfaÉ SÉh-el jidækn̄ J fçhœajl Øj«çaSçsa pÉaj çjœjrl R-¾c lçQa fiyQ A-^l eiVÉLjhÉz A^-
cª-nÉl EfçÙÛça eiV-LI Bç%oLNa çhçnøajl pšQLz Lçh Ahné pÉajl i"çjLju IQejçV-L "LjhÉLmi
çqpi-h jçœ' çhQil Ljil çc-cñn çc-uçR-mez çà-S¾cÊmi-ml Lçhüij-h NEçafËjZajl üaxØg"añ
çhLjn çRm h-mC pÉaj NEçadjñÉz çjœjrl-ll finifjçn ÛÛj-e ÛÛj-e °Nçln R-¾cl fË-ujNJ l-u-Rz
Bhjl pwú«a eiV-LI fËij-h HI pwmjif cÉOÑ J hZñejhýmz pÉajl eiVÉlçf çà-S¾cÊmi-ml
LçhfËçaijl AeeÉ AçihÉçš²z ljjju-ZI fçlçQa Ljçqçe-a ehfe SÉhelp NEçadjñ eiVÉüjçf
ij-hj-àm Lj-hÉ fçlZa q-u pÉaj-L eiVÉLj-hÉl jkñjçju i"çoa L-l-Rz

ljhZh-dl fl hehiji-ç¹ ljjQ-¾cÊl A-kjdÉju fËaÉiNje J çpwqipej-liq-ZI jdÉ çc-u eiVÉLj-hÉl
pšQejz Aøihœ² jççel flj-nñ "jšm ljsdjñ HLjioe fËsjexl"e' -LC nËljj hËa çqpi-h NËqZ
L-l-Rez Hacp-šÄJ faÀççeu -fËçjL ljjQ-¾cÊl Qçlœi"e HC eiV-LI AeÉaj °hçnøÉz Stelçej-bl
-fËjçhçÄmaj J Aç¹añ¾à eiVÉlp Oeçl"ª L-l IQejçV-L çhçnøaj çie L-l-Rz fËbj A-^ ççjñ-MI
Lj-R "AmrËË, Apaç pÉaj' HC SenËçca ö-e IOçfçal B-h-NjµRÅjp E-àm q-u J-W -

ljSÉ çjmjCuj kjLÚ üfÀmì
lnÄ-kñÉl ja; -i-p kjLÚ plušl S-m
H A-kjdÉjçlÉz pškñÉhwn hËpni-f
iØj q-u kjLÚz - BS Bjil H fi-f
pªçø ein -qjLÚ! ahç qçc-u Bpçe,
pÉaj fçafËjZi pÉaj l-h çQlçce
HC h-r, iØjçl"ª çhnÄ QljQ-l,
-hÉjjhÉjçf hËbj-äl dÆw-pl çia-lz
(1j A^, 5j çªné çà-S¾cÊmjm IQejpwNËq 2u Mä fªùj 220)

ljjQ-¾cÊl hÉçš²Na Bni-BLj'ri ljsd-jñl Lj-R Apqiuji-h BaËpçfñ-e hidÉ quz çhçn-øh hjlÉSi-m
Bfe ÇµRipççM hçm çc-u çaçe pjiS çhdje-L -je -eez jçljjl-a ççxjç¹ ljspiju pçççÙÛa
nLçç¹mj-L faÀçlç-f NËqZ LI-a Apçja q-uçR-me; jçljjlajl pçç-Lçn-m Açi'j-el BnË-u ççxj-ç¹l
Afljñ-L Bsjm L-l-Rez çà-S¾cÊmjm pÉajl çehñipeç-äl çfR-e hçn-ùl i"çjLj-L çjuç L-l
ljjQ¾cÊ-L ALm^ ljmjl fËuip L-l-Rez hjmËççl elQ¾cÊjç IOçLçmçamL çà-S¾cÊmi-ml eiV-L
-fËçjL çlçç, çhñmçQš jjeçoz pÉaj -üµRiçehñipe -Q-u fçapaÉ fim-el jidÉ-j üjjç-L
çh-hLcwn-el SÆimj -b-L jçš² LI-mez

ah kn fæZÉ
lçq-h AVçV, lçq-h ArçZÀ;
çfa«paÉ aççj -l-MçR-m fËiç;
Bçj J lççMh fçapaÉz.....
-R-s kjh Bçj H A-kjdÉjçlçz (2u A^, 4bñ çªné fªùj 224)

ljjju-Z f'jjp Niñhaç pÉaj nËljj-çl àljj fçlæçš² q-uçR-me, pÉaj çhpšñ-e Rmejç BnËu çc-u
a-fjh-e jççefaÀç cnñe Açimi-o pççj-ç» l-b ayy-L çehñipe-fjWi-ei q-uçRmz -p Ovejç
hËaÉu OçV-u çà-S¾cÊmi-ml pÉaj fçapaÉ lrijç SeÉ -üµRju a-fjh-e kjçej LI-mez

ödæ aĳC eu, liĳju-Z liĳQ¾cĒ nšâ afü£ nð¥-LI ċnl-ÖRc L-l ALĳmjªa çàSe¾c-el SĔhecje L-lez
 ejlc àĳ-l nš-âl afpĒĳi fif h-m -OĳoZi Lĳju çaçe nð¥L qaĒĳu -Lĳe Aexaĳf fĒLĳn L-leçez
 çà-S¾cĒmj-ml ejV-L liĳQ¾cĒ hċn-ùl B-c-n nð¥L-L qaĒĳi Lĳ-mĳ nšâ afü£l a-fĳçeuĳu
 BaĒĳex-nĳQei fĒLĳn L-l-Rez hĒçš²pšĳi p-%o ĳSpšĳi HC Aĳ¹ċhÑĳ-lĳ-d Lċhl Bdæçel SĔhe fĒaĒu
 fĒçagçma q-u-Rz aĳC ayĳl liĳQ¾cĒ ALf-V ü£Lĳl L-l-Re -

paĒ, Bçĳ Aça çejÑĳ LçWe,

Bĳil q©cu ejC,

ĳĳil çhQil ĳĳiuiqĔez

Aexih Lçĳhlĳ

eafçal ejçq Açdĳlĳ,

eĔlp LahÑĒĳ pĳlz

-pÀq çĳbĒĳi üfÀ ĳĳœ aĳlz (3u A^, 5ĳ cªnĒ fª 233)

Lçhl Bdæçel jee ĳĳkÑĳlĳlz a-šĀ ċhnĀĳp£ h-mC çelfĳld afü£ nð¥-LI ĳĳfæĳĳi -oĳçQa ċnl-ÖR-cl
 OVeĳ -ĳ-e çe-a ĳĳ-leçez çelÙ» afü£-L hd ĳĳlĳ fl nð¥LfaÀ£ liĳQ¾cĒ-L Aĳinĳf çc-u-Re -

-kC AĳNÀ SÆĳçmuj-R BS,

çQĳçce -p AĳNÀ-a

-ke çĳ qĳ ĳĳilĳsz

Eçen na-Lĳ ĳĳehaiĳi-cl a "kÑĳçeeĳc -nĳei -N-R nð¥-LI L-ĳĳ - "nš-âl pñh ĳĳçhcĒĳhæçÜ
 eĒĳudçĳÑĳçā;/hĒĳĳZ qC-a ĳĳ-l nš-âl Adj -qu Açaz' Sĳçā-ĳĳi-ĳ-cl Lm^ ċnlS Ry¥-s -g-m nð¥L-L
 ĳĳie L-l-Re ejVĒLĳlz HfĒp-%o çà-S¾cĒmj-ml Q¾cĒ...ç ejV-Lĳi Øĳl-Z B-p- "nšâ ĳĳexo e-q?
 aĳl çL rçœ-ul ĳā qÙ¹fc ejC? ĳçÙ¹xL ejC? q©cu ejC? Q¾cĒ...çĳ HC ĳwmiĳf ödæ -fæĳĳi-ol
 BØgime eu, ĳĳlah-oÑĳl Sĳçā-ĳĳi fĒbĳil Efl çejÑĳ ĳĳiOĳaz H Sĳa£u ĳwmiĳf çà-S¾cĒmj-ml
 ĳĳehai-ĳĳi-dĳ Evpĳlz Bl ĳĳiĳ-hC çaçe -fæĳĳiçZL ĳĳçqçe-L kx-Nĳf-kĳNĒ L-l IQei L-l-Re fæĳĳi-Zĳ ea¥e
 ĳĳoĒz

üĳĳqĳil Aeĳb nð¥L faÀ£l Aĳinĳf HLçc-L ejVĒ£uaj pªçø L-l-R, AeĒçc-L liĳQ-¾cĒĒl Aĳ¹àÑ-¾àĳ
 üĳçf-L Øfðaj çc-u-Rz liĳQ¾cĒ fĒSĳi LmĒĳi-Zĳ çQĳ¹ĳu Ù»£-L aĒĳN L-lĳ çāa£uhĳl çĳl çĳNĒçq
 L-leçez AnĀ-jd k'ĳexùĳ-e p£ajĳ üZÑĳšçāÑ fĒçauĳ L-l-Rez "fxœĳ-bÑ çœ²u-a ĳĳkÑĳi' kMe
 nĳÙ»ĳĳĒĒ, fæĳĳi-ol hýçĳĳi-ql fb -pMĳi-e AaĒç¹ ĳĳªZ ĳĳiĳĳl-a aĳC hýçĳĳi-ql RĳĳRçsz Bl liĳQ¾cĒ
 p£ajçĳpSÑ-el ĳā ĳĳfæĳĳi-olçQa ĳĳÑ L-lĳ faÀ£çeuajū HçN-u l-u-Re ĳĳiĳĳl-al ĳĳĳh£ĳeĳuL
 L«o-ĳSÑ¥-el -Q-u L-ul Lçĳz ĳšma liĳQ-¾cĒĒl HLçeu faÀ£-fĒĳl SuNĳe IQei-bÑç ejVĒLĳl nĒ£ĳĳi-ĳl
 hĒçš²pšĳi ĳĳĳiSpšĳi Aĳ¹à¾à-L cr Lm-ĳ g¥çV-u a¥-m-Rez

kççĳ Lçĳfæç çcm£fl¥ĳĳil ĳĳu ayĳl Ecĳp£ çà-S¾cĒmjim NĒ-çÙ Sĳçe-u-Re, ""ĳĳ-L Lçĳ fR¾c ĳĳ-ae
 ej -aje, çLç¹¥ p£ajĳ ĳĳi hm-a ej hm-a EW-ae EçS-uz Bl mrĒ-Zĳ ĳĳaÆz B-Sĳi ĳĳe f-s p£ajū aĳl
 -pC Aflçf Bhªçš ĳĳi œe-a ĳš ĳš Aĳi-eaĳĳ Bp-aez" (Ecĳp£ çà-S¾cĒmjim, çcm£fl¥ĳĳil ĳĳu
 IQeiĳwNĒçq 2u Mä,fª243) üĳĳhaC Lçĳq©c-ul phV¥L¥ ĳĳĳexi" çā hçoÑā q-u-R p£ajĳ Qçĳ-œĳ
 Eflz üĳĳ çqĳi-h liĳQ¾cĒ-Lĳ AhnĒ ċhnĀĳp-kĳNĒ ĳĳÑĳĳĳu fĒçauĳ çc-a Lçĳ ĳĳfÑZĒ L-le çez ayĳl

kαcš²hjcE čh-hQL je lij-L QičlčœL qŕeai -b-L phÑhÉjfi-l jαš² lijM-a hčnù Qčlœ-L čnMäF
čqpi-h ciys Lli-a p-QØ q-u-Rz

pŕaij ünÑŕu rji B-mjčLa EfjMÉje lQeij jidÉ-j cičfaÉ -fĚ-jl Ajl jčqji -OjOziC Lčhl AiŕčĀpa
mrÉz fčahĚai pŕai fčapaÉ lri L-l -üµRičehÑipe NĚqZ L-l rji pαα¼cl -fĚ-jl cªøj-č¹ E«Æm q-u
E-W-Rez fĚbj A-^ pŕaij jα-M mrĚ-Zl fĚncÙ¹ -aj mrĚ-Zl jqšĀ pčf-LÑ Lčhl hĚčš²Na EfmčìSjaz

°L-nj-l -k fĚjpi-cl p-ñjN čhmip
a¥µR Lčl, ü-CµRju cŕOÑ hehip
pčqm lijMh p-%; čeaÉ fœœ pj
Ačeāju Aen-e Lčl -phi jj,
-k A-µRcÉ GZfi-n hyičdm Bji-L
aiqi q-a pidÉ eiC jαš² qčh-l
BSŕhez (1j A^, 2u cªnÉ fª214)

lijju-Z pŕaij mrĚ-Z l fl'ohi-LÉ čhÜ L-lčR-me üZÑqčlZ pđi-c, -pC fifrijme li-me Lčhz -Lhm
jiœ pŕaij jα-M mrĚ-Zl fĚncÙ¹-aC Lčh rič¹ qeče, mrĚ-Zl fĚča pcu q-u ayil cičfaÉ jαqÑ"-al
p-% fiW-Ll fčlQu Lčl-u-Rez pŕaij čhpSÑ-el ...l'ijl hq-el cičuaÆ -f-u čhøju čhjšt mrĚZ
EčjÑmil p-% Hli-č¹ Bmif L-l-Re H čho-uz Bl čfa«fčlQu EcÚOjV-el fl mh čfa«hÉ-L k-bjčQa
jkÑjiciu fĚčZfja L-l h-m-Re- "ijNÉhje Bčj a-fjde, H-qe čfa«hÉ kilz f-c fĚZčj čfa«hÉ jz' mrĚ-Zl
fĚča Lčhl jjaÆ pčf-LÑ Lčhfœ-œl ijoÉ H pjÙ¹ cªøj-č¹ jdÉ čc-u -fĚj«Æmz

Lčhl B-h-Nl il-L¼cĚ BhčaŇa q-u-R čecŔQal©-fc pŕaijQčlœ -L čO-lz mrĚ-Zl aÉjN čačaril
-kiNÉ pčjie če-hc-el j-dÉ čc-u eiV-Ll eičuli Bp-e pŕaij ÙÙiuŕ fĚčaùjz Aaxfl čehÑičpai
lOαfaÀŕl fĚča fiW-Ll pqjexi"čalp ka Nitaj mji L-l eiVL aa â¥a fčlZčal f-b ANĚpl quz
himĚŕčl a-fjh-e čehÑipeLi-m fœœ-cl Li-R čfa«fčlQu hĚš² Li-a ei filil Ač¹cÑj-q SjeLŕ
afčüeŕ-cl p-% J pqS pčf-LÑ Sčsa q-a fi-le čez li-ji pααjdxl pičædÉ deÉ AaŕaØj«ča ai-L
čhjej L-l li-M "liO-hl jαM j-e Si-N,' Øj«ča-hcejl jimi -Ny-b cαxčMeŕ pŕaij čce Li-Vz

Hčc-L hčn-ùl flij-nÑ lijQ¼cĚ AnÄ-jd k-'l B-ujS-e laz k-'jfm-r A-kičÉju pj-ha q-u-Re hčnù
Aøjhœ² pq jαčeGčoliz lijpcædj-e EfčÙÙa q-me Gčo himĚŕčl Ačejčč»a, AkjčQaz Hje pj-u
cšajα-M pwhic Bpm AnÄ-jd k-'l AnÄ BV-L -l-M nœ²OÀ-L h¼cŕ L-l-R HL himLhŕlz iNÀÀcša-L
čS'ipi L-l himĚŕčl 'ja q-me pčcnhoŇŕu mh eijL himL cälil-ZÉ k-'l AnÄ BVL L-l-R nœ¥OÀ-L
pčj¥M pj-l fljÙ¹ L-lz himĚŕčl mhL¥-nl SeÈhªšjč¹ 'jfe L-l lijQ¼cĚ-L ppčji-e pŕaij-L čgčl-u
Be-a Aeα-ljd li-mez aiRijs AnÄ-jdk-' liSij fi-nÄŇ liZŕl EfčÙÙča njÙ»ŕu čhdiez liS...l' hčnù
H fĚÙ¹j-h pčja q-me eiz ayil hš²hÉ- "-fĚj hs ei LaŇhÉ hs'z himĚŕčl -niLµR-¼cl -fĚj Ù'h
EµQilZ li-me pααmčma Lčhl-ã -

LaŇhÉ čl EµQ -fĚj -Q-u?
-Q-u -cM jqiliS,
-Q-u -cM Gčo, H pαα¼cl

čhnÄ jx" čla -fĚ-jz
 čcNĹ¹ čhaa e£mjĉł
 -fĚ-j Eáı čpaz
 -fĚ-j pškŇÉ E-W, -fĚ-j e£mjLi-n
 fx-" fx-" Sj-N mr erœ
 Q¾cĚji -fĚ-j qi-p
 -fĚ-j h-q hj čldili;
 -fĚ-j čh-nÄ ceTŇčle£ R¥-Vz
 -fĚ-j čhLi čna L¥-",
 -fĚ-j li čn li čn fxxf g¥-Vz
 AåLi-l -fĚj -cu B-mi,
 čhnÄ qiqiLił ji-T
 üNŇ£u p%œ-a čeaÉ
 čeua -fĚ-jl h£Zi hi-Sz (5j A[^], 2u c^{an}É f^a 247)

hjmĚ£čli Lă čexp^aa H -fĚjŮ¹h hÉčš² čà-S¾cĚmi-ml čeS -fĚjiihejl l-p Si člaz čcm£fL¥jil lju
 čm-M-Re ""j-e f-s, L£ EµRĀip -S-N EWa kMe H AfšhŇ -fĚj-Ů¹hčV aıyl AfšhŇ L-ă dÆčea qaz
 paÉC j-e qa, jidx-kŇ pjŮ¹ Ol i'-l -N-Rz j-e fsa čhmĀj%o-ml EµRĀip -fĚj če-u -pC Afł©f T[^]il
 -ajVL R-¾c -

jdxlw jdxlw čhfłpÉ čh-ijx
 jdxlw jdxlw hcew jdxljÚz
 jdxNå j^acxčŦja -jac-qi
 jdxlw jdxlw jdxlw jdxlwzz

-p BS Lačc-el Lbiz čLč¹¥ -fĚj pđ-å ayil HC Ů¹hčV -pčcej Bjil Li-e j-č»l T[^]il -h-S EWa B-Si
 -ajče -h-S J-Wz" (*Ecıpe čà-S¾cĚmim, čcm£fL¥jil lju IQeıpwNĚq-2u Mă f^a245*)

HC -fĚjj-č» čh-jıčqa Lčhfłœ CE-lı-fl čhčiae -c-n Lčhčfajl -cnjaÈ-hjdL Ni-el p-%o p-%o "p£ai'
 eıV-LI hjmĚ£čli -fĚjŮ¹hJ fčl-hne li-ae ayil pxxjdxl L-ăz H -ke fı člhičli -fĚj Iča-qÉl dıli-pĚjaz
 -fĚ-jl Hje Afł©f Ů¹h čhnĀpičq-aÉl Mxh Lj Lčhl Li-hÉC -j-mz

hjmĚ£čli -fĚjŮ¹-h hčnù fljih ü£lił li-mez lijq¾cĚ-L čače p£ai-L čgčl-u če-u Bpıl B'ı
 čc-mez mrĚZ pq c^mL h-e -N-me lijq¾cĚ p£aipLi-nz L¥n kbıčhčqa fĚbju čfai-L pñioZ
 Siej-mj mh pičiji-e čfai-L p£aičhpSŇ-el AeÉju L-jŇli SeÉ Ačikxš² li-m lijq¾cĚ fx-œel Li-R
 jisŇei čiri Qiez Eš-l mh Sieju "Qi-qi rji čfai, čeS faÀ£ Li-R!"

ihi"ča Ešl lijqčl-a lijp£ajl fxecjŇme OčV-učR-mez fiW-LI EvLăi hSiu -l-M čjm-el B-ıiSe
 pčfæ L-lj Lčh fĚaÉjčna f-b -N-me eız H čho-u Lčhl kxčš² čRm - "ihi"ča -k Ačč¹-j
 fĚZčukxN-ml čQlčh-µRcŮŮ-m čjme pčfıce Lčlui-Re, aıqi Am[^]il ni-Ů»l HLCV čeuj lri-bŇz"
 čà-S¾cĚmim jdx-lz pjif-uv OčV-u Am[^]il ni-Ů»l -ciqiC ei -j-e LjhÉLmi-L Su£ L-l-Rez aıC

lijju-ZI Aexpi-Z "fijaim fĕ-h-nl' Ovej-L i"ĉjL-Ĉfl AhajlZiu dIZEN-iÑ pĕajl ĉQlĉhci-u ejV-LI khĉeLijfae OĉV-u-Rez

i"ĉjL-Ĉfl AhajlZi ejVĒlp rŕZÀ L-l-R p-¾ĉq -eCz Eciš -fĒjj-ĉ» ĉjm-el -k fvi"ĉj fĒÙ¹ŕa q-uĉRm i"ĉjL-Ĉfl AhajlZiu LjhĒlp hĒiqa L-l-Rz ĉà-S¾ĉĒmjm fijaim fĕ-h-nl °h'ĉeL hĒjMĒj cyis Lli-a -Q-uĉR-me, ĉLĉ¹ŕ ejVĒc³-nĒl fĒaĒjĉna fĉIZĉal fĉlh-aÑ i"ĉjL-Ĉfl BLĉØjLaj ejVĒ...Zpĉja fĉIZij -b-L hĉ'a L-l-R fijWL -nĒjajl HLjNĒ -Lĉa"qm-Lz

ejV-LI lpfĉIZij Liĉ'ra -Lĉa"qm fšl-Z œŕ"ĉV jŕš² ej q-mJ "pĕaj' ĉà-S¾ĉĒmji-ml LĉhfĒĉaijl AeĒaj ĉecnÑez ejVĒ...-Z ĉLRŕ °nĉbmĒ bjL-mJ NĒĉad-jÑl pijhmĒm fĒLj-n Lĉh ĉhĉnØajl fĉlQu ĉc-u-Rez pijĉhÑL ĉhQj-l -fĉljĉZL Bh-q lĉQa ejVL...ĉml j-dĒ ĉà-S¾ĉĒmji-ml "pĕaj' -nĒùalz

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NÒfl-pl pãj-e : "fãa¥-ml çQçW'

L«o·j e¾ç£ -i±çJL[†]

pilpw-rf

hijwmi piçq-aÉ pãx-hjd -Ojo Hje HL hÉçacæ²j£ piçqçacÉL kyjl -mMe£-a çia çia niMjl BÕQkÑ pji-hn mr Llj -N-Rz HjeC HL pªçø fãa¥-ml çQçWz ijççT fãa¥m ajl -jSLjL¥l Lj-R öe-a -Q-uçRm NÒfz çLç¹¥ LE L-l -njej-he çacæ NÒf, fãa¥m -k Lj-R -eC, aJC-aj -mML-L çmM-a qm çQçWz cnji-p -jjV BVçV çQçW çm-M pãx-hjd -Ojo ijççT fãa¥m-L -kje niç¹ L-l-Re finijfiçn hijwmi piçq-aÉ fæpiçq-aÉl pñil-LJ L-l-Re pjªÜz ödã aJC eu çnö j-ejl"-el SeÉ -k Ljçqçe...çml AhajlZi çacæ Ll-me ajl Bfja Aç¹li-m S£h-el HL hijÙ¹h paÉ-LC Bjli Efmçì Lçlz NÒflp A-eÄo-Zl Açieh HC Bç%LçV hijwmi piçq-aÉ BSJ ijülz

pşæne

ijexçpw-ql fæihm£, çRæfæ, Léjpiçhuj¹i, hmjpxxl, çieh£, WNE, lhjVÑN"

hijwmiu çQçWl jdÉ çc-u piçq-aÉl üjç -k fã-ljççl fjJu j pñh lh£¾çÊejb ayil ApwMÉ çQçW-a H çhouçV fËLjn L-l-Rez çQçWl Ryj-Q fËhå lQejl l£ça lh£¾çÊej-bic Eájhez çQçWf-œl j-dÉ S£h-el çQç¹il J Acíajl -RjV -RjV çhou-L -l-M-Rez ayil hÉçš²Na çQçWfœ...-miJ piçqçÉjşmÉ mji L-l-Rz Sçjçl£l ij çc-u fcËi-miçma hijwmi-c-nl çhçiaç A'-m Oã-l -hsihjl pju çacæ hã¥hãh-BaË£u-üSe-L -k çQçW çm-M-Re çRæfæ eij çc-u -p...çm fËLjçna quz ""lh£¾çÊej-bl jdÉ -k±h-el A-el Lçhajl J A-el N-Òfl dçœ£, NËj-ji J SeËi"çjl çc-cÑn Hhw -noS£h-e AyjLi -Lj-ej -Lj-ej çQçWçijhejl Cç%oya HC çRæfæjhm£l j-dÉ Rsj-ej B-Rz"¹ çRæfæjhm£ J ijexçpw-ql fæihm£-a eiej jjeçsoSe, fËL«ça, S£he-jªaÉ¥ pççLÑa çQç¹i, piçqçacÉ çnÒf çho-u eiej ijhej J -pC p-%o Lçh hÉçš²-aÆl Bç¹çl Rçh g¥-V E-W-Rz HljC HL hÉçš²-aÆl Rçh pãx-hjd -Oj-ol "fãa¥-ml çQçW' eijl lQej u dli f-sz

pãx-hjd -Oj-ol hs çjç pãxçd£l -Ojo jqin-ul a«a£uj LeÉj fãa¥m-L -mMi çQçW qjSjçlhi-N -fy±Ra Aá¥a HL paÉ-L fËLjn Ll-az -jSLjL¥l (pãx-hjd -Ojo) Lj-R çQçW çm-M fãa¥m öe-a Qju pçacÉ NÒf, ayil çc-Sl NÒfz Lmlajl LyjL¥çmuj -b-L pãx-hjd -Ojo paÉ NÒf öçc-u-Re ijççT

[†] AÉjçpøVÉj,V fË-gpl, hijwmi çhijN, H.çh.He n£m L-mS, -LjQçhçjl, fçÕQjh%oz

fæam-Lz BÖQkÑ HC NÒf hmjl dlez çQçWI BLil -mMj HCph N-Òfl Evp jeÄ¹-ll -fÈrjVz fumi °hni-MI fæZÉfEii-a fçMI XiL BI fÈL«çal -jimi-uj I©-fl j-dÉ HLçV L-Wjl hiÙ¹h ail I|rai ce-u fÈLjn -fmz-cM-me -""nœæçV -cM-a Mæh -Ri-z eÉjwVi -liNi I|r I|NÀz ail qi-a HLVi çV-el jNz Ljæil pææ-l LyçL-u LyçL-u çir QiççRm -R-mViz fupi Qiu ei, -finjL Qiu ei, çjçø p-¾cn-V-¾cn çLR¥ Qiu ei -pz çæçV ija çj, çLðj ij-al -gez MjC MjC MjC-ödæ -M-a Qiuuz¹² pææ¼cl pLi-ml pLm ljeEuai HC L-Wjl hiÙ¹-hl jæ-MijæçM q-u Qlj BOja -fmz çæce fæam-L -niej-ejl NÒf -f-mez HLC p-%o ayil -R-m-hmjil NÒf, hæ-sj-hmjil NÒf, pææ-MI NÒf, çæx-MI NÒf-L çQçWI jdÉ çc-u fÈLjn Ll-mez çQçWI pçf"ZÑ çhou HLçV NÒfz çL¹¥ çQçWI Y-PC HI pšQei -""fumi °hniMz LyjL¥çmuiz -pÀ-ql fæamz" BI pjiçç-a -""BS-LI çQçW HCMi-e -no lImij, fæamz.....Cça -jS LjL¥z¹³ fæam-L -mMj çQçW...çm-a N-Òfl çn-ljeij-LJ hSju -l-M-Re -1mj °hni-M -mMj "A-ni-LI çnmjçmçf Lyjç-mj", 1mj "SÉ-ù -mMj -"BLjn -b-L çjçø T-s fs-mj", 1mj BojY "hmjææ-ll qis My¥-S -fmij", 1mj nÉjhZ "çhçm hijçOeEl çæx-MI LjIZ çL?", 1mj LjçaÑL -mMj "HLçce miVpi-qh q-uçRmij", 1mj ANÉqiuZ "hæo-La¥, LÉipiçhui¹i BI Bji-cl ...I|"; 1mj -f±o "MI-Nj-pl i-u hijO fimju -Le?" Hhw 1mj jiO "cieh£ jieh£ -ch£'--jiv BVçV çQçWI pjuLjm çn jipz fÈçæçV çQçWC -mM-LI Sæhe paÉ J Sæhe-hj-dl NÒfz öðæjæ fçl-hn-el jæç¾puieju çnö-cl Ef-ijNÉ piçqæÉ q-u E-W-Rz

fÈbj çQçW-a HLçV çimjçl -R-ml NÒf öçe-u-Rez H ayil A-eLçce B-N -cMj HLçV OVeiz qiSiçihjN -b-L pipilij kihjil f-b HLçV fib-ll Jfl E-W Oæçj-u f-sez jITli-a Oæj -i-P fæçbhEl AØfØ -lijççVL I©f Aææih Ll-Re, Hje pju öe-a fie Ljæil nëz n-èl Evp çezÑu Ll-a çN-u -Qj-M f-s HLçV çnmjçmçf, -kMj-e -mMj l-u-R çfÈucnÑ£ pæÉip£ jqiljS A-ni-LI hijZ£ ""jieæo pææM£ q-h pææM£ q-hz" (fæ. 431) Ljæil në Aææpi-l My¥-S fjJui -Nm fib-ll ...qil HLçV BnÈ-u HL çimjçl -j-ul -Lj-m pçÉSja HLçV çnö-Lz A-ni-LI çnmjçmçf J ayil hijZ£-L çj-bÉ L-l çc-u HLçV çimjçl ji SeÈ çcm BI HLçV çimjçl pç¹ie-Lz fæçbhEl °hçQœÉju fÈL«çal IçPe I©-fl j-dÉJ kæ-N kæ-N çicMçllj SeÈ -eu HC paÉ fÈLjnC H N-Òfl LjIZz

çàæEu çQçW-a B-lj HLçV paÉ OVeiz -cn-eaj Njå£S£ -Sm -b-L Rjij -f-u-Re HC Be¾c j-e j-e mjme Ll-a çN-u hijwmj ú¥-m fj-WÉl HLçV çh-no çc-el Lbj j-e f-s kju -mM-Llz jqiaÈi Njå£l BNjehjaÑi ö-e hijwmj ú¥-ml Rjæ-cl j-dÉ E-šSejl pæçø qu, çL¹¥ HC E-šSej -Sjl L-l Ahççja L-l çc-u-Re -qXjiØVjl -Løde ...ç JI-g -Lø pÉjiz çkçe çc-S -Ljeçce ú¥m -b-L R¥çV -eeçe, ayjIC Lj-R ú¥-ml Rjælj R¥çV QjC-a -N-m fÈQ™ çrç q-u J-We -Lø pÉjiz jqiaÈi Njå£l pçf-LÑ eiejllj LV"hiLÉj hoÑZ L-lez hidÉ q-u Rjælj -k kil LÓi-p çN-u h-p bj-Lz pL-mC j-e j-e -cM-a fju jqiaÈi Njå£l qi-pÉjçÆm jšçaÑz çXÉ-ml LÓi-p pL-mC öe-a fju jqiaÈi Njå£ Q-m -N-me BI BLjn -b-L çjçø hæçø qmz NyiSi-Mijl çnhæjimEl HC hijLÉ-L -hchjLÉ -j-e -R-mlij pL-m -c±-s Q-m kju -Lø pÉj-ll Bfçš-L NÉjQÉ ei L-ICz ji-WI H fÈjç¹ -b-L JfÈjç¹ R¥-V R¥-V HmiQ cieil ja çjçø My¥-S -hsj-a -hsj-a pL-mC -cM-a fju -Lø pÉjIJ H-p-Rezpl-m çj-m fÈçæ-njd a¥mm pÉj-ll Jflz ji-WI HfÈjç¹ -b-L JfÈjç¹ R¥-V R¥-V qiyçf-u J-We -Lø pÉjIJ, ayi-L Hii-h -hjLj hijce-u pL-mC -pçce i¥m-a -Qøj L-l jqiaÈi Njå£-L -cM-a ei fihjil -hcejz

Bojt ji-pl fĕbj ĉeĉV-a BLi-nl ĉc-L aiĉL-u Boj-tl -Lje mrZ -cM-a ei -f-u a«aĕu ĉQĉWĉV -m-Mez hjwmi úŷ-mIc BIJ HLĉV OVeil Lbi j-e f-s kju, kĭl OVeiljmĉVJ Bojt jipz dlĉe fĉ™a Hhw ĉQšci pjhupĕ ĉxS-el hãŷaÆ AaÉĭ¹ Niĕlz HLC p-%o Mijui cijui -b-L ö!ĭ L-l B—i fkÑĭ¹ -cez qWivC Bmicj L-l Ijæj L-l -M-a -cMj -Nm ĉxSe-Lz LÓj-pl Riœlij ayi-cl HC jafjbÑLÉ hãT-a -f-l kjuz nl-al qi-al BwĉV-a -fjMliS -cM-a -f-u dlĉe fĉ™a cijĕ fib-l Aj%o-ml Lbi h-mez ĉhflĕa ĉc-L ĉQšci h-me cijĕ fib-l Mxh j%om quz dlĉe fĉ™a H fĕp-%o hmipxã-ll Nòf öĉe-u h-me, hmipxã-ll nlĕl M™ M™ q-uC fãĉbhĕl ka cijĕ fib-l fĉlZa q-u-Rz ĉQšci HC Ljĉqĉe Sje-a -f-l ĉaĉe fĕjL«ĉal LjL-ZC fibl pãĉøĭ Nòf -nieje Hhw -k-Lj-ej hãĉÜjie hÉĉš² piqp Bl j-el -Sj-l HC laÀ ĉnLil Ll-a fi-l h-m -R-m-cl Sjejez ayilC Lbi ja -R-mlj laÀĉnLil-l -hl q-m ĉLRŷC Myŷ-S ei -f-u dlĉe fĉ™a jniC-LC MyjĉV -mjL h-m j-e quz flĉceC Lŷ-uil j-dÉ -hBCeĕ ĉfÙ¹m -Njfe IjMij Afli-d ĉQšci-L -Nĕĉil L-l fãĉmnz -pĉce ĉQšcil Jfl IjN Ll-a iŷ-m kju Riœliz l p-ã-aĉ aili Bhil laÀĉnLil-l -hl qu, -rœ Lŷ-uil -ajimi jĉĉVz Bp-m aili ĉfÙ¹mC MyŷS-Rz ĉaeĉce fl fĉ™ajniC HI BaÈqaÉjil fl -njej kju, ĉaĉeC fãĉm-n Mhl ĉc-u ĉQšci-L dĉl-u ĉc-u-Rez dlĉe fĉ™-al ĉh-ul ĉWL ĉRm ĉeijĉcl p-%o, qWivC -pVi -i-P ĉN-u ĉQšcil p-%o ĉeijĉcl ĉh-u fiLi q-u kju, Bl ĉQšcil fĕĉa Ij-NI fĕĉa-nid aŷm-aC dlĉe fĉ™-al Hje LjÑz ĉLĭ¹ŷ ph ĉLRŷl fl ĉe-S-LC ĉe-S rji Ll-a fi-leĉez aiC-aj BaÈqaÉj L-le ĉaĉez fĉ™ajniC HI ĉeiz¹ ĉQajl Jfl V-QÑl B-mj Rĉs-u fs-aC ""-RjV -RjV mijm SÆmĭ¹ A%oyil...ĉm ĉpÀĕ phãS B-mj-LI VŷL-lj ja -nijiju q-u EW-miz" (fã.443) him-Llj -cM-a -fm hmipxã-ll VŷL-lj VŷL-lj qis pĉaÉĕ laÀ q-u -N-Rz

a«aĕu ĉQĉW-a HLĉV hjĉOeĕl Nòf öĉe-u-Rez Qialil S%om -b-L HL -piejĉQaj EÜjil L-lĉR-me -mML J -jivIhip -Liĉfjeĕl p%oĕliz ĉnö ĉQajĉV-L Bcl L-l eij IjMi qu ĉhĉmz œ²jn ail BQl-Z Si-eiui-ll ĉqwpĕajJ gŷ-V EW-a bi-Lz jje HLĉce -p jjeã-ol pĉjje J pjpÉj hãT-a -f-l-Rz ĉLĭ¹ŷ fĕL«aĉ ail j-dÉ Si-eiui-ll üijh mr L-l B-rf L-le ayili -""jjeã-ol pwpil -b-LJ jjeão ĉQe-a ĉnM-mj ei Si-eiuiIvz" (fã..517) aiC SeN-ZI ĉhQi-l ai-L ĉehÑjpe -ĉhil ĉpÜiĭ¹ quz ĉhĉmJ Lŷpãxjij S%o-ml -SÉjvpÀj Bl N-ál -enju EeÈš q-u J-Wz AbQ ai-L jãĉš² -ĉJuĭ q-mJ -p ĉe-SI jãĉš²-L ĉj-bÉ L-l ĉc-u ĉg-l B-pzhidÉ q-u ĉhĉm-L Bhil p-%o L-l ĉe-u Bpi qu, Hhil ail WyjC qu LmLiaj ĉQĉsuiMjejuz ĉhĉm hijOJ q-a fi-lĉe, jjeãoJ q-a fi-lĉe aiC ai-L ĉQĉsuiMjeju fiWi-ej quz jipMi-eL fl ĉhĉm-L -cM-a ĉN-u -mML EÜjil L-le ""ĉhĉml Lfi-ml -lyjui...-mj Opi -M-u E-W ĉN-u-R, -miqil Nlj-c jibi Wŷ-L Wŷ-L HC cni q-u-R ĉhĉmlz" (fã.517) -Le ĉhĉm jibi Wŷ-L-R? HI kbjbÑ Ešl MyŷS-a hmi qu fããŷm-Lz -Ljiju q-a fĭla ĉhĉml fĕL«a WyjCz HI ĉfR-e -k paÉ ĉeĉqa l-u-R ai -aj ĉRæjšm jjeã-ol kĉ»Zil Lbiz aiC -mML ĉQĉWI -n-o h-me -""hj-ol Nòfvij jjeã-ol N-òfl ja q-u -Nmz" (fã.517) üijhaC NòfĉV fããŷm-L -njej-eil SeÉ -h-R -eJui q-mJ N-òfl B-hceĉV ĉLĭ¹ŷ phÑSeĕez ĉh-no L-l ĉhĉml LmLiaj kihil ĉe ka HĉN-u H-p-R -fiqim ĉpw ail -RjV -RjV -Qi-MI SÆmĭ¹ ĉãĉø ĉe-u ĉQvLil Lla -""fö qÉju! fö qÉjuz" (fã. 516) -mML h-m-Re - ""Bjli hãT-a filajj, -fiqim ĉpw BSLim Bji-clC ĉc-L aiĉL-u HC Lbi h-mz ĉhĉml E-ŷ-nÉ h-m eiz" (fã.516) fiĉlfiĉnÄÑL AhÜÜj Hhw pwmj-fl dl-e NòfĉVI ĉãĉV Qĉlœ ĉhĉm J -fiqim ĉpw HI jeÜ¹šÄ-L hÉjMÉj Llj kjuz

"HLĉce miVpi-qh q-uĉRmij' nĕoÑL f'j ĉQĉW-a -mM-LI B-lj HLĉV ĉh-no ĉc-el Aĉi'aj-L aŷ-m d-l-Rez Cĉaqi-p WNE-cl Liĉqĉe l-u-R, MæeF jjeæ-ol cm fĉb-LI p-%o Aĉ'1%o q-u pææ-kjN hæ-T aj-cl HLĉV jĉe NijRil gyi-p -p ph kĉæF-cl aili -j-l -gmaz BI -p pjÛ' min aŷ-m HLĉV N-aÑI j-dÉ -g-m ĉcaz HI eij WNE NXqiz qiSiĉlhiN nql -b-L ĉœn jĉm cŝ-l HC WNE NXqi l-u-R, kil eij lhjVN"z hýĉce B-N -njej WNE-cl hipi"ĉj lhjVN" SjuNiĉV -cM-a ĉN-uC -mM-LI SĕH-e HL Aĉieh Efmĉi O-Vz -pMi-eC O,Vj ĉa-e-LI SeÉ ĉaĉe -ke miVpi-q-h fĉlZa q-u kiez icyŷ JÛ'1-cl Bĉa-buaju miVpi-qh q-u E-WJ ail Lyi-dl NijRi -c-M Byv-L E-W-Rez ĉLĉ'ŷ ej NijRil -cimĉe ail fĕjZ ĉem ej ĉWLC, haÑji-e WNĕl cm -k pijhdi-e ija BI -tys-pl -Tĉm MiC-u ĉae ViLi HL Bej Bciu L-l ĉe-u-R, ki -mM-LI HLjĉe fb pĉm ĉRmz -jiVI Niĉsl ijsi VŷLŷJ ayil ICm ej a-h qWiv q-u JWj miVpi-qh WNĕl pwØfnÑ -b-L -c±-s fiĉm-u ĉe-SI fĕjZĉV hyiQi-mez

fumj ANĕqjuZ -mMi f-ll ĉQĉW-a ĉaĉe NhæL Liĉqĉe Sjei-a ĉN-u hæo-Laŷ J Lĕjpiĉhui^il p-%o ail aŷmej L-l-Re, -mML Lĉhli A-eLpjuC cæØŷ -R-ml Lbi -m-Me eiz lhĕŷĉĕejbJ ĉnĉ-cl fr ĉe-u ĉnĉ-cl ĉe-SI SN-al Lbi h-m-Rez ĉkĉe ĉnĉl jĉeĉpL AhÛÛj hæT-hez a-h HC ĉnĉlC Nĉf L-l-Re pææ-hjd -Oioz L-ZÑI djÑ lri Llij SeÉ fĕjZ ĉc-a fĕÛ'ŷa fæœ hæo-Laŷ, Lĕjpiĉhui^i ail ĉfajl hiLÉ-L jje-a ĉN-u B...-e fæ-s jæaÉŷhIZ Llm, BI Nhæ (-m-MLI hijmÉhåŷ) N-Øfl ejuL ail ĉfajl NyiSij -eni fŝlZ LI-a ĉeS fĕjZ ĉc-a °alfz pL-m NhæL ĉfajl ei-j ĉeŷĉi LI-m Nhæ aj-cl ĉeŷĉi-L -j-e ĉe-a fi-l eiz hlw hijil fr pjbÑe Lla, -pC ĉnĉ ail °nn-h ĉfajl Lij-Z liSj pi-q-hl -liN ĉe-SI nĕ-l ĉe-a fĕÛ'ŷa q-u-R, jæaÉŷ Ahdiĉla -S-eJz -pĉce -p hæŷ-cl XiLiXiĉL-LJ pĉf"ZÑ E-fri L-l LijZ ""J -k hæo-Laŷ BI Lĕjpiĉhui^il -Q-u A-eL hsz hij-fl d-jÑI SeÉ eu, hij-fl jæ-MI Lbij SeÉ eu, ödæ hijil NyiSij SeÉ fĕjZ ĉc-a °alĕ q-u H-p-R Nhæz" (fæ.454) NĉfĉV -ke -mM-LI AæµQjĉla fĕĉahjcz NhæL q©cu hæThij ja Lĉh -LE -eCz "Lĉhli jÛ'1 hs' ĉLĉ'ŷ NhæL jqŝÅ BI ĉhliVaÆ-L -hiTij ja -LE -eCz aiC SĕH-el Hje HL paÉ-L ĉnĉl j-e p'ijĉla L-l ĉc-a Qie ĉaĉez

pgj ĉQĉW, 1mi -f±o -mMiz ĉQĉWl ĉn-ljeijĉV-a qipÉLI HLĉV ĉhou-L mr Lij kiuz ""MI-Nij-pl i-u hijO fimju -Le?" -mMiĉV-a Nĕj-ij -RijV -RijV R'piaĉV -R-ml E-ðM l-u-Rz -R-m-cl LŷĉÛ'1 BMsi-L Efqip Lla liSihiqicæ-ll -fioj fi-miue cæ-hSĕ, Apñh nĉŝ²nimĕ qiĉal ja -Qqilil l -mjLĉV -R-m-cl-LC ĉe-SI nœŷ h-m ijhaz HjeC ĉc-e hijææ-ĉh ei-j HL LŷĉÛ'1Nĕl HI p-%o -R-m-cl -cMi quz AaÉĉ'1 cæÛÛ I LŷĉÛ'1Nĕl-L -Lŷĉĕ L-l -R-m-cl Evpjq -h-s J-Wz hijææ-c-hl °ĉĉeL cæ-pl BVijl -kijNje ĉc-u -R-mlj ail LijR -b-L LŷĉÛ'1 ĉn-M -euz ödæ ajC eu cæ-hSĕl p-%o hijææ-c-hl LŷĉÛ'1 Qĕj-m" Lij quz fĕb-j Efqip L-l cæ-hSĕ HC fĕÛ'1-h pĉjĉa -cuz ĉLĉ'ŷ ĉc-el fl ĉce -pĉV ĉfĉR-u -cluj quz hijææ-c-hlj fĉlhaÑe q-a bi-Lz HLĉce ailj Ei-u Qĕj-m-"l jæ-MijæM quz cæ-hSĕ-L hij-N -f-uj hijææ-ĉh -pĉce ail LijR fljSu üfLij L-lz f-l -R-mlj Sje-a fi-l HLĉV LĉWe paÉ, cæ-hSĕl LijR -b-L -jivi ViLi Oæo ĉe-u C-µR L-l hijææ-ĉh qil üfLij L-lz HC paÉ Sje-a -f-l -pĉce -R-mlj hijææ-c-hl LijR °Lĉguy QiC-m ""hijææ-ĉh JÛ'1ic FdÆÑNÄj-p -c±s-a Blñ LI-mez HLVij hijO -ke pijwOjĉal iu -f-u fiĉm-u ki-µR, BI Bjli R-piaĉV -RijV -RijV MI-Nij ai-L aisi L-l Q-mĉRz" (fæ.523) eĕju eĕĉa ĉhpSÑe ĉc-u cæ-hSĕl LijR -b-L Oæo ĉe-mj -RijV -R-m-cl °Lĉgu-al pij-e f-s ail ĉh-h-LI LijR -b-LJ hijææ-ĉh JÛ'1ic -ke fiĉm-u hyiQ-a QiC-Rz pji-SI HC œ²"l I©fĉv pĉf-LÑJ fæaŷm-L ödæ eu fiWL-L p-Qae L-l ĉc-a QiC-Re -mMLz

pji-Sl B-lj HLčV üjijčhL paÉ-L čače -njej-a -Q-u-Re -no čQčW-az 1mj jiO LyjLčmuj -b-L -mMj HC čQčW-a čače l©flbj eu, a-h l©-fl Lbj öče-u-Rez LjIZ B-Nl čQčW-a fxažm l©flbj öe-a -Q-u-Rz gžVhm jÉjQ -n-o -gljl f-b čpwčXčq S%-m HL ejlÉ jšcañ -c-MčR-mez -pčce fřčm-nl -mj-Llj jiljřMÉ Seajl qia -b-L čgčl-u čc-u-R HL cjeHÉ-Lz cjeHÉ HLjl-ZC, ail -Qqjli cnñ-e Nj-u LyjVj čc-u J-W -""fjLj Qž-m SVju ilj jibi, Lj-mj LžQLž-Q jř-Ml QijsjVj öčL-u LyžQ-L l-u-Rz cřLo čc-u lš² Nčs-u fs-Rz HLvj -QjM LiejzfjLj Qž-m SVjl p-% -Rysj -Rysj čejfjaj -m-N l-u-Rz" (f^a.525) HC hřčs-LC HLčce hãžlj -cM-a fju LjWLžsžeÉ hřčs l©-fz hřčs ail če-Sl fčlQu -cu čejž¹ HL pž¹ie čilžl jil l©-fz pL-m -cMm -""fj-u LyjVj čhyd-m Lø fju, Apqiu ij-h -Ly-c -g-m, -QjM čc-u Bhjl SmJ Nčs-u f-sz H -k HL cřxčMeÉ jjeHžz" (f^a.526) B-lj HLhlj pÉajNs fjiqj-sl Lj-R njmh-e čflčeL Ll-a čN-u -SÉjvpÀjju ljčoe-a jjujqčIZ -cM-a čN-u Sjici-ll Lj-R pL-m öe-a fju HL he-čHÉ -pMj-e -ljS B-pež AčhnÄjp Ll-a čN-uJ aj-cl eS-l f-s he-čHÉ Bp-Rez LjR -b-L he-čHÉ-L -cMjl -mji pwhlZ Ll-a ej -f-l HčN-u čN-u -cMj kju l -pC hřčs čimřl jiz cř-Vj ij-al SeÉ ljčoe-hmj mřčL-u jlj Sž¹žl qjs Lžčs-u ljsie čjUjl Bs-a če-u čN-u čhčoe² L-lz HC jieř-ol j-dÉ čaečV l©f Bčhxljl L-l-Re -mMLz cjeHÉ, jjeHÉ J -čHÉ l©f q-mJ čilžl jil -k paÉ Hhw pijjčSL fčlQ-u ail čaečV pšj q-mJ ail cfeaj hi cčlčáÉ HčV Qlj paÉ HC LbjčVC fjW-Ll Lj-R fÉLjn L-le přř-hjd -Ojuz

fřaž-mj ja -RjVlj qua H N-òfl Bfja Bsj-m mřčL-u bjLj Niél paÉ J -mM-Ll SÉhe-hjd-L hř-T EW-a fj-l ej, čLž¹ž fjWL jq-m fřaž-mj čQčW pčaÉC HLčV AehčÉ čnmfz pčf¹žñ AehčÉ ič%-a čnö-cl SeÉ lQej L-l-Re "fřaž-mj čQčW'z Hl NWe fœjLi-l q-mJ -RjV -RjV L-uLčV Ovej-L NòfjLi-l čm-M fjčW-u-Re ayil ijččT fřaž-m-Lz čače LmLjaju hipLj-m -Rj- fřaž-m-L čQčW čm-M-R -""jSLjLžz Lačce qu ažčj LmLjaju Q-m -NRz Bjli Bl Nòf öe-a fjC ejz Hhjl -b-L čQčW-a Nòf čm-M fjWj-hz" (f^a.429/1j MTM) HIC Eš-l přř-hjd -Ojo čmM-me -""fumi °hniM/LyjLčmuj/-pÀ-ql fřaž-m/HLvj Nòf čm-M fjWjčmRz čj-bÉ ej paÉ, ai hm-hj ejz B-lj Nòf fjWjhz" (f^a.429/1j MTM) H-lj fl HL Nòf čm-M fjWj-me, kjl ph...čml ijoju čnòfjWÉ N-òfl fl-a fl-a čmM-me hjù¹-hl paÉl©fz -mM-Ll ph-Q-u hs °hčnøÉ qm HVjC - čhčiae lQejdjlil pijjkÉ če-u čače pÉčaijl fčlQu čc-u fÉjiz L-l-Re *Style is the man* C paÉz

abÉpšce

1. -pe, přřLžjil, *hijojmi pijčq-aÉl Cčaqjp*, Qažbñ MTM
2. -Ojo, přř-hjd, *lQej pjNÉ*, fÉbj MTM, ejb hÉjčipñ, fÉbj fÉLjn, Sjexujčl 1998
3. a-ch

Ačjuj¹oZ jSžjci-ll ijoi-čQč¹i J jčqoLžsil Eflbj

AfñZ lju fÉjijčZL[†]

[†] AÉjčpøVÉjžV fÉ-gpl, hijwmi čhijN, H. čh. He. nÉm L-mS, -LjQčhqjl, fčŮQjh%

pilpw-rf

Ačjuí"oZ jS¥jci-ll -kje p^aSen£m pičqáÉ IQeju -aje -pC pčfŇ-L čQč¹i-ijheju üač» jeen£majl fčlQu čc-u-Rez EfeÉi-pl iioj -Lje qJuj EčQv HC fĚp-%o -c-n čh-c-n EfeÉi-p, fĚh-ã hý fb-IMi g¥-V E-W-Rz čhn na-Ll f'j-nl cn-L pičq-aÉl SN-a BčhŇijh OVj Ačjuí"oZ jS¥jci-ll EfeÉi-pl iioj -Lč¼cĚL čQč¹i-ijhej Hhw aj ce-Sl -mMj jčqoL¥sil EfLbj EfeÉi-p LaVi hij¹h fĚčagme O-V-R, c^aøjč¹ pq-ki-N a¥-m dlj q-u-Rz a-h -mML fĚb-j EfeÉip hm-a čače L£ -hj-Te - -pC dijZi hĚš² L-l-Rez HC B-mjQeij pšæ d-IC E-W H-p-R čbj J N-cÉl fĚp%oz -mM-LI j-a, HC cǻčV čhou HLC p-%o q-uJ-W Bl HC q-u JWj N-cÉ bj-L -mM-LI čeSü hĚčš²-aÆl IPz aij-mC HLCV EfeÉip pijbŇLajl fb Mǻy-S fjuz -k NcÉ -mML EfeÉi-p hĚhqil Ll-he, aj LMeC -pC EfeÉi-pl Qčl-œl ýhý jǻ-Ml iioj q-h ejz aj q-h -mM-LI HLjč¹ij-h ũLčÒfaz Hii-hC EfeÉi-pl iioj -mM-LI čeSü iioj q-u J-Wz HC ijheij čh¹ijčla B-mjQeij Bjli B-mjQÉ fĚh-ã L-lčRz

pšœeně

pju-hiyd, čbj, BaĚhĚčš²aÆ, iiojEm%o, jjephãj, -fĚajaĚi, efǻwpL, AmwLIZ

HLbj Bjli pL-mC Siče -k, fĚL«čahj-cl fĚijh -kje EfeÉi-pl fVi"čjLi-L pij-e če-u H-pčRm -aje EfeÉi-pl iioj--Lč¼cĚL čQč¹i-ijhej -mML-cl B-mjQeij AeÉaj -L¼cĚčh¼c¥ q-u E-WčRmz HILj eu fšhŇS pičqčáÉLNZ HC čho-u -Li-ej B-mjQeij L-lečez¹ Bji-cl B-mjQÉ čho-ul fčlpl Blj fšhŇhaŇ£ Ll -k-a fi-l kčc Bjli e,,i Sia£u IQeij iioj-L B-mjQeij Ač¹Ňi¥š² Lčlz a-h Bjli L-öim-fšhŇhaŇ£ EfeÉi-pl iioj čhouL flĚrij-čelĚrij-L fĚbj fhŇ čq-p-h čQčq²a L-lčRz čaa£u f-hŇl pšQeijčh¼c¥ čq-p-h dl-a fičl "L-öim'-Hl pjuLjm-Lz HC f-hŇ SNc£n ...č, jičel h-¼cĚifidÉju fĚjǻM -mML-cl eij ØjZ£uz üid£eai-flhaŇ£ pjučV-L Bjli a«a£u fhŇ čq-p-h čQčq²a Ll-a QiCz Hl AeÉaj LiZ qm pičq-aÉl SN-a pj-lh hǻǻ, LjmL¥jil jS¥jci, Ačjuí"oZ jS¥jci fĚjǻ-Ml BčhŇijhz hmj hijýmÉ HC fhŇ-čhijN LM-eiC œ¥čV jǻš² euz pičq-aÉl fĚhqjie Nčadilju -LC hi L-h pju-hiyd čejŇiz Ll-a -f-l-R!

kjC-qjL, 1972 čMĚx pjaV pw¹Üj B-ujčSa hijwmi NcÉ čhouL -pčjei-ll (fĚbj fhŇ) SeÉ čmčMa Ačjuí"oZ jS¥jci-ll fĚhã HL üač» f-bl páje -cuz Bji-cl -pĚi-a -i-p-kiJuj je-L MičelVj B-¼ci čma L-lz a-h fĚhijčqa j-el B-¼ci čma AhĚhqča Ah¹Üj če-u -mML čLwhj Bjli -LEC qu-aj ijčha eCz -mML Ačjuí"oZ jS¥jci EfeÉi-pl iioj če-u hm-a čN-u fĚb-j EfeÉip fĚp-%o čLǻ Lbj h-m-Rez fĚju BsjC qijil hRI B-N fĚMÉja čNĚL cijŇčel AÉičlØVvm VĚÉi-SčX pčf-LŇ hm-a čN-u fĚb-j AexLl-Zl fÜča, jidÉj J čho-ul čičš-a VĚÉi-SčX-L f^abl L-lčR-mez HMi-e -mML A-elVj -plLjC L-l-Re HLV¥ čiaij-hz aij-m fĚnÀ EW-a fi-l, EfeÉip -k HLCV üač» čnŇf; -p -aj Bjli phjC 'ia Hhw hýQčQŇa ...čZSe àiliz čLč¹¥ -mML Bji-cl fĚQčma hi Lj fĚQčma fĚju pj¹ dijZi-LC Bœ²jZ L-l-Rez

""fĚL«af-r EfeÉip -fjVŇjÉj-¼Vi eu -k aij j-dÉ HLC p-%o jji-ul čQčW, g¥-Vi -jjSi J C-Ü¹qil fǻ-l Bdǻčelajl Ničs-a Qsj ki-hz EfeÉip Bji-cl -L±a"qm čehjZ L-l ej Hhw Bji-cl AÉi-Xi-m-p¼V -k±e fĚh^ačšl fčla«ččl EfjuJ euz¹² ijP-a ijP-a Hii-hC HčN-u kie -mMLz -Li-ej pji-miQL EfeÉip

čh-nÔozpš-œ -Lj-ej a-šÄl Lbj hm-a fj-le çLž¹¥ ašÄ LM-ej EfeÉip q-a fj-l ejz ödæ aĭC eu, NÒf-hmj, pjwhičclaj çLwhi ijoiQQÑil -rœ eu EfeÉipz -mML E-õM L-le C. Hj. gØVÑil EčõčMa -pC a«aEu hÉčš²l Ešl, "...And a third man, he says in a sort of drooping regretful voice: 'Yes-oh dear yes- the novel tells a story'"³ çpyčsl -no di-f EfeÉip hm-a ki-L Bji-cl pij-e cijys Llje, aĭ q-mi "čbj'z a-h "q-u-JWj', "q-a--cuj' AeÉčc-L hZÑej Lj HL čhou euz LjLZ HMj-eC čečqa bj-L EfeÉi-pl pgmaj çLwhi hÉbÑajz Bl čb-jl q-a -cujl j-dÉC ijoi i" čjLi AaÉž¹ ...l| aÆfšZÑ q-u J-Wz LjLZ fĚčacce Mh-ll LjNS fsj hj čhčiaē čehā, pČfjclEu čmM-m -k N-cÉ fĭlcčnÑaj SeĚju aĭ čc-u Bl ki çLR¥C -mMj kiL, EfeÉip euz -Lj-ej čh-no ašÄ hj jahic jibju ...y-S -mMj EfeÉip LM-ejC čbj-L SĚhž¹ L-l -aj-m ejz LjLZ N-cÉl A-kiNÉai-aC čbj q-u J-W ejz

Ečen na-L čhnÄpjčq-aÉ čh-no L-l EfeÉi-p HLCV fĚhZaj fĚhm q-u J-Wz Qčlœ aa -hčn SĚhž¹ q-h ka aĭl jæ-Ml ijoi -nĚZĚčičšL, ÛŮječičšL CaÉjčc q-hz Bji-cl čQčq²a čaaEu f-hŇJ (hĭwmi EfeÉip) HC dl-el fĚhZaj fĚjdjeÉ čhŮ¹il L-lčRmz a«aEu f-hŇJ Hl -ln Bjli pq-SC -cM-a fĭčlZ HMj-eC -mML EfeÉip J ejV-Ll cæčV čiaē °hčnØÉ Eáičpa L-l-Rez LjLZ ejVL Qčlœ Ef-kiNĚ pwmj-fl SeÉ kaVi cijuhŮ, EfeÉip -Lj-eij-hC euz aĭRisi NiĚlij-h ijhi çLwhi Aexih Lj LM-ejC Bji-cl NZaičž»L cičh q-a fj-l ejz ""HC NiĚl L-l ijhi LjSVj KfeÉičp-Ll Hhw aĭl ijhej...-mj al-%o al-%o čbjVi-L SĚhž¹ L-lz -p Lj-S Xiujm-NJ -k NcÉ -p hÉhqil Ll-h aĭ čhnÄip Evfjic-el SeÉ (kiĭ AeÉ eij Apij"pÉ Hsi-ei)z⁴ HC čho-u -mML jičel h-¾cÉjfidÉj-ul fčĚjecEl jĭčT J fæa¥m ej-Ql CčaLbj EfeÉipà-ul E-õM L-l-Rez jĭčT-cl ijoi jĭčT-cl j-aj, -kMj-e HLSe -mM-Ll BaĚhÉčš²-aĚl Rif jæčaa q-hz çLž¹¥ EčõčMa fĚbj EfeÉi-p -pVi ej q-mj fæa¥m ej-Ql CčaLbj-l ijoi Hliž¹ij-hC jiče-Ll NcÉ, aĭC pibŇLz Bhil Qčl-œl jæ-M hilhil pŮÉiw Hl fĚ-uj-NC LmLjail BdæceL -Lj-ej pji-Sl Rčh g¥-V J-W ejz ödæ aĭC eu, Qčl-œl qainj çLwhi NiĚlij-h SĚh-el -Lj-ej čcL g¥čV-u a¥-m-R , HaVi plmĚLIZJ Lj kju ejz çLž¹¥ Bji-cl hĭwmi EfeÉi-p HC pjŮ¹ hĚli"čj, YiLiC J LmLjail čhčnØ ũlkæš² ijoi fĚjdjeÉ čhŮ¹il L-l-Rz çLR¥Vj hÉ-%ol pææ-IC -ke Ačjui"oZ jS¥jciĭ h-me, ""Bjli i¥-m -NčR, EfeÉi-pl h-e -k fajaiVjai bj-L aj -pjeil °alÉ, RiN-m -M-m EfLil q-h Hje -LŮj-lj čgmkaš² çLR¥ eu HječL phæS jĚej Llj q-mJz"⁵ BaĚfr pjbŇ-e Vjip qičXŇl J-u-pL-pl QjoĚ CaÉjčcl -mML-LčŮfa ijoiĭ E-õMz

Hhil HLV¥ jčqoL¥sil EfLbj (1981) EfeÉi-pl čc-L eSl -cJui kiLz Bjli pL-mC Siče -k, HC EfeÉi-pl fVi"čj -LiQčhqil -Bčmfælcæujl A'mz Bl HMjeLil pwmÉiNčlù jjeæo (-k -Lj-ei d-jŇl jjeæo -qiLŮ ej -Le) liShwnĚ ijoiu Lbj h-mz EfeÉi-pl AčdLjwn Qčlœl liShwnĚ ijoĚz ũijhaC ai-cl jæ-M liShwnĚ ijoi bjL-hz çLR¥ L-bjflbe fsj kiL -

(L) ""Ah-n-o BpgjLC hmm, "-Le, Ljm -ljuj Ni-se?"

"ej -aj LÉ?"

Bl LjuyJ Qjo -cu ej çLž¹¥Lz Sm-Tčl ejCz"

(f^a.pw.256)

(M) ""BpgjL qia hisimz čRčmjVi čcm pišjilz

pišjil hmm, ""čfyfsj Q-m, Tčl qhil fjuz"

(f^a.pw.259)

(N) ""Rčjl hmm, HL Lbjz BCS -aj -ajlj B-Riz aj Bčj Ola kjCz LE LJz"

(f^a.pw.261)

(O) ""-jSčhčh hmm,"ełEL Lex fj cihicjlz'

"Hčc-LJ BejS -LjVj Mjuz'

"jječol -aj hÉbjčho qhil fjuz'

"hjîjz HL BCa Ola ejC aja Hš Nj-u čhoz'

"-p čho -ajjilz"

(f^a.pw.275)

(P) ""qWjv BpgjL h-m hpm, çWL - H -ajz jřC kjwz ačC -Lje BčRp Lčjl, ajl -cčMI hi-c BpRwz ačC ljn ej Lčlp, BpgjL, ljn ej Mčqpz"

(f^a.pw.278)

kyi-cl liShwnÉ ijoj pčF-LŇ 'ie B-R, ayili AhnÉC hm-he, HC pwmif...-mj-a liShwnÉ J jieÉ Qčma hijwmil čjnÉZ B-Rz čLč¹č Bjlj hmh, HčV Ačjui"oZ jSčjci-ll ũLčŎfa ijoj kil jřm či-a l-u-R liShwnÉ ijojz HC A'-ml pwMÉjNčlũ liShwnÉ jieřo Colloquial Language čq-p-h HC ijoj LM-ejC hÉhqil L-l ejz EfčIEš² EciqlZ...čm HLVč čh-nŎoZ LI-mC hÉjfilčV fčlxlil q-hz -kje, fĚbj EciqlZčV-a "Tčl' n-ě "h^ačø' -hijTi-ej q-u-Rz "Tčl' nččV liShwnÉ ijoj u hým hÉhq@a q-mJ, ail p-%o -mML -ke -üμRiL«a ij-hC "Sm' nččV hÉhqil L-l-Re AliShwnÉ-cl -hijTi-eil SeÉz ajC čàaFu EciqlZčV-a Bl "Sm' nččVI E-öM fjC ejz a«aFu Eciql-ZJ "-ajlj' "Bčj'- HCph p-đjde p^aQL nč hÉhqil-ll E-ŸnÉC q-mj -hidNjÉajz čWL HLC lLj c^aøič¹ -cčM Bji-cl QačbŇ EciqlčV-ajz "hÉbj' A-bŇ HC A'-ml jieř-olj "čho' nččV hÉhqil L-lez ajC fĚb-j "hÉbjčho' Hlp-%o čLč¹č f-ll hij-LÉC "hÉbj' nččV EdjJz f'j EciqlZčV-aj HC dl-ZI čjnÉZ mrZčuz EfeÉjP Sč-sC Bjlj HCph -cM-a fjCz

jčqoLčsij Eflbj EfeÉj-p ajC AčdLjwn Qčlœ...čml jř-MI ijoj HLič¹ij-hC Ačjui"oZ jSčjci-ll ũLčŎfa, kil čičšjš-m l-u-R liShwnÉ ijoj (kil g-m čhnĀip Evfice J Apij"pÉ Hsi-ei - cř-VjC q-u-Rz) čLč¹č HC A'-ml L-uL mr liShwnÉ pčFĚci-ul HLSej (AeÉ djŇ J pčFĚci-ul liShwnÉ ijoE jieřo) HC ijoj u Lbi h-m ejz HC -Lčnm NÉq-ZI LjLZ čq-p-h -mML Siej-μRe, "-ke HLčV -mjLjm Ljmil B-R, čLč¹č -Lj-ej -mjLjčmčVI eu, LjLZ -LjQčhqj-ll ijojL XjujmN čmM-a bjL-m "-pVj h^aqšl h-%ol AeÉ -LjbjL LjčÉče-LV LI-a fjil-h eiz¹⁶ čm-M kJujC -kje -mM-LI HLjiae LiS q-a fi-l ei, -aje -hijTil ciuijl öđř fijW-LI JflJ haŇju ejz Ačjui"oZ jSčjci-ll ijojčQč¹j EfčIEš² Eiu čœ²ujl j-dÉ HLCV pjeĀu pšœ ŨŮjif-e prjz

NčÉ°nmÉl čcl -b-L B-mjQÉ EfeÉj-p Bl HLCV Ačieh čcl če-u B-mjQej Lli kilz ř-lj EfeÉjP Sč-sC Bjlj Bpgj-LI čhčnø qičp J ail Nmju HLdl-ZI oyi-sl XiL öe-a fjCz fĚb-j Bčj Bpgj-LI qičpl hÉjfi-lz ö!¹ -b-L -no fkŇč¹ BpgjL "Mřya Myča' L-l qičp pidilZa jieř-ol qičp ijoj u fĚLjn LI-a -kph -Lčnm hÉhqil Lli qu, ail j-dÉ HčV HLVč AeÉlljz Bjlj Siče, BpgjL HLSe "iioiEm%o' jieřoz če-SI -Lj-eilLj Aexi"čac přřøføl©-f ijoj u fĚLjn LI-a fi-l eiz ajC qu-aj HC qičp öđř qičp fihjil ijh-L fĚLjn L-l ei, Bpgj-LI A-eL Aexi"čal fĚLjnL q-u J-Wz HL jiephĀÉi ř!¹-ol qičpz kil j-dÉ jji-T jji-T -S-N J-W HL Bčcj ũjđĚe hř-ej-jio (EfeÉj-p HLjiae Bpgj-LI j-dÉC), kilj HMe čhmřcz

g-m HC lLj jjeæ-ol qičpJ -k čh-no °hčnøÉjčäa q-h ai hmiC hiýmÉz "Myŷa Myŷa' nē -mM-LI
čeSü Lðfejl I-P EçÆmz

Hlfl Bčp hæ-ej -ji-ol XiL-Hz HC XiL-J Bji-cl Li-R čh-no hjaŇi hqe L-l B-ez Ačjui"oZ jSŷjciL aiyl
jčqoLŷsil Eflbj EfeÉi-p Bji-cl Bčcj kč»Zil Lbi čmčfhÜ L-lez čeuč»Z Llil čeua fĚ-Qøj fĚhqjie
pj-u pWMÉiNčlù jjeæo-L -fjo jjei-a hidÉ L-l-R, kil j-dÉ čj-n B-R qu-ai çLRŷVi hÉčæœ²jĚ
CμRiz g-m dĚ-l dĚ-l mæç q-u çN-u-R hæ-ej -jioz ail SiuNi če-u-R hibj-el -jjo çLwhj pijičSL
fĚjZĚ jjeæoz kčCJ hÉčæœ²jĚ CμRi hæ-ej -ji-ol -fĚajaÈi q-u il L-l Bji-cl Jflz aiC Hllj -ji-ol XiL
-aj Bl pidilZ -ji-ol j-aj q-a fi-l eiz HRisj Blj HLCV LjLZ čečqa bjL-a fi-lz Bji-cl Bčcj üjdĚeai
-b-L BdæceL flidĚeai - HC f-b œ²jieÄ-u nā'Mčma qhil kč»Zil hčqxfĚLinz "By-By-s' XiLčVI
p-% MjčeLVi čmj B-R Bji-cl kč»Zi fihjl fljæq"-añ -hl-qJui üaxØg"-añ ü-llz a-h j-e qu H ödæ
kč»Zi eu; aiq-m BpgiL LM-ejC fĚiZi-l -X-L EW-a fil-aj eiz Be¾c J fĚčahic çLRŷVi ijNijčN L-l
-pMj-e čj-n B-Rz çL-pl Be¾c? L-ul qiSij hR-ll -Qøi-aj hÉčæœ²jĚ CμRi-L pčf"ZŇ čejŇ"m Ll-a
ej filiz çL-pl fĚčahic? hmiC hiýmÉz

-mML -ke Bji-cl j-e Lčl-u čc-a -Q-u-Re Bji-cl -pC pši-L ki -Li-ej cičuaÆ, LaŇhÉ HjeçL L«a'aj
àilj nā'Mčma euz çLč¹ŷ jieh piÉaj ka ANĚpl q-a bi-L, jjeæo aa flidĚeajl nā'M-m BhÜ q-a
bi-Lz Bji-cl B-miQÉ EfeÉi-p BpgiL jječpLij-h HL efæwpL Qčlœez kčCJ ail j-dÉ ji-T ji-T hæ-ej
-ji-ol -fĚajaÈi il L-lz aMe haŇjje pj-ul pčjŷMĚe qJuil SeÉ "Rmjv Rmjv L-l MjčeLVj Lj-mj
Lj-mj piqp"⁷ ail hæ-ll j-dÉ f-sz

Bjli Siče, Aålil J Sm -b-LC ö! qu SĚh-el Sukioejz Bl -k i-ul ülčf Bji-cl Li-R pææØfø eu, -pVi
Bji-cl Li-R Aålil-llC pjjez aiC ail p-% msil SeÉJ QiC "Lj-mj Lj-mj piqp'z mrZĚu HMj-e
"Lj-mj' J "Rmjv' nē çčçVI čàaÆ fĚ-ujN j-e qu -r-f -r-f Aðf Aðf L-l piqp p'ičla qJuil Cč%oa
-cuz -k-qaŷ BpgiL Bji-cl Bčcj, üjdĚe pši -b-L hýçš-l Q-m H-p-R çLč¹ŷ HM-ej pčf"ZŇlč-f
-kiNpšœ qiljučez Bhil "Lj-mj' nēçVI čàaÆfĚ-ujN fčlZi-jl BčdLÉJ -hijTi-a fi-lz

aiC -cMj ki-μR *jčqoLŷsil Eflbj*-l čb-jl p-% iioj Ja-fĚjaij-h Sčsaz ""Bpm Lbj, EfeÉip HLVi
Lmj-fčlZčaz ail NcÉ-L ail -b-L Bmjci Ll fĚL«af-r kju eiz -Lje ù»Ě-mj-ll Qijsi Bmjci Ll aMeC
kju kMe -p jæaz.... JVj čb-jl p-% AčhμRcÉ ù»Ě -mj-ll Bčcj ničsl j-ajCz"⁸ aiC -mM-LI ijheju
čbj J NcÉ HLC p-% H-p EfčÜŪa quz a-h kčc -Li-ej -mML čbj pčf-LŇ çLRŷVi EcipĚe q-u
N-cÉl L«čœj Amwll-Z hÉÜ¹ q-u f-s, aiq-m HLCV pijbŇL EfeÉip q-u JWj -Q-u -pčV A-eL -hčn
iiojQQŇi q-u J-Wz HC fĚp-% -mML lhĚ¾cĚejb WjLŷ-ll -n-ol *Lčhajl* E-ðM cæðjč¹jšmLz Bji-cl
B-miQÉ EfeÉi-pl čbj liShwnĚ iiojioĚ jjeæo-cl SĚhekiœej aŷ-m dli LM-ejC çRm eiz HCSeÉ
HC iioj fĚča HLčeu cjuhŪaj hi hÉjLIZNa cjuhŪaj -mML -cMječez Ačjui"oZ jSŷjci-ll HC
Ačieh üjač»Ékš² iioj-çQč¹il AeÉaj pgm fĚ-ujN cæðjč¹ jčqoLŷsil Eflbjz

abĚpšœ

1. hi%ojmil ehÉ -mMLčc-NI fĚča če-hce, hi%ojmi iioj -hč¹j Q¾cĚ Q—ifidÉi-ul *čhčhd fĚhå*
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Amar Jiban (My Life)
An Autobiography of Rassundari as Expressing the Self

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Abstract

*Women have been facing discrimination in different societal spheres. The status of women, irrespective of caste, class, ethnicity, has always been secondary and Simone de Beauvoir has very explicitly and lucidly explained the reason behind it in her famous work *The Second Sex*. Kate Millett, in her famous work *Sexual Politics* has shown that the discrimination between a man and a woman mainly stems from the power structured relationship between the two sexes. Colonial Bengal has witnessed the miserable condition of women. At the same time, colonial Bengal has also witnessed the emergence of some women who challenged the stereotypes and wanted to find their identity through their voices. The present paper attempts to discuss feminisms' search for identity by exploring the voice of Rassundari Devi who is the first woman from Bengal to publish her autobiography. Going through Rassundari's narrative, the paper will analyse how autobiography served the purpose of expressing the inner voice of women and how it helped to develop their identity in the male dominated society.*

Keywords

Autobiography, Rassundari Devi, women's writing, colonial Bengal

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So long as you write what you wish to write, that is all that matters; and whether it matters for ages or only for hours, nobody can say.

Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*

This is what Virginia Woolf said in 1929 in her famous work *A Room of One's Own*. This is an extended essay written on the basis of some of Woolf's lectures delivered at the colleges under Cambridge University. Her work mainly concentrates on women's access to education and the history of women's writing. This was happening in the mid 20th century in London. This essay is considered as a representative feminist text in the field of feminist criticism. What was happening on the other side of the Atlantic is also interesting to discuss. Colonial Bengal took immense pain to reproduce the women writers in the field of literary historiography. The prejudice stricken society had weird notions regarding women's education.

Lack of women's education in any country originates from the social construct. Most of the societies are patriarchal in nature and colonial Bengal was no exception. The patriarchal society convinced its members that if a woman were educated, she would have to lead the life of a widow. Such constructs reduced women's status—they were left uneducated, therefore ignorant. Society took advantage of women's ignorance and the most disastrous consequence women had to face was that they were deprived of the property rights. They could not go beyond the domain of the household. So, it was a common belief among all women that the desire to study was a curse and it would bring bad luck for them.

Is this the end of the story of women's education? Did they ever dream of reading and writing in spite of such prejudices? Had any of them ever wished to write in any of the phases of their lives? Such questions stimulate the Bengali intelligentsia to seek the answer and thus we find Rassundari Devi (preferred to be known as Rassundari Dasi), who happened to be the first woman from Bengal to write her autobiography which was published in 1876 as *Amar Jiban (My Life)*. Is it Rassundari who happened to be the only woman in Bengal to read and write? Such questions take us back to the study of the literary historiography of the women in Bengal. Class and education are the two significant parameters when we look at the writings by women in the 19th century. Respectable Bengali women were known as *bhadramahila*. Meredith Borthwick, in her celebrated work *The Changing Role of Women in Bengal (1849-1905)* has defined a *bhadramahila* as 'the mothers, wives, and daughters of the many school masters.' In addition to this she defined *bhadramahila* as

[*Bhadramahila*] crystallised into the term for an ideal type, embodying a specific set of qualities and denoting a certain lifestyle. The model of *bhadramahila* was created by Brahma reformers, and initially was emulated mainly by Brahma women. In the 1860s, the few women to break with orthodox custom in matters of education dress, or discarding of purdah were Brahmos. They were consciously welded into a body with a progressive image, and seen as pioneers of a new way of life to be adopted by other non-Brahma women. This was clear from as early as 1870. (Borthwick, 54)

Women from Bengal like Janhabi Devi, Subhadra Devi, and Hemlata Devi were famous writers. Even in the Vaishnavite tradition there were anonymous women who could read the religious texts and scriptures. The late 18th and early 19th century witnessed the fame of the women writers such

as Anandamoyi Devi, Gangamoni Devi, Hotee Bidyalankar, and Shyam Mohini Devi, who enriched the field of writing.

But the names of the women mentioned here were exceptional identities. The fame of such limited women writers does not represent the original scenario. In the beginning of the 19th century the idea of women's education was like a nightmare. The Kulin Brahmins used to marry as many girls as they could to celebrate the status of being a Kulin. The age of their brides did not matter at all. Girls were married at a very early age. Therefore it was not an exception for a man to marry a girl of his daughter's age. Such practice was very common. Marriage at an early age, the prejudice of being a widow, the fear of being an outcast if not married at the 'appropriate age' – all these factors hampered women's education. Rassundari was also affected by such prejudices and, as a consequence, she was unable to even dream of reading. A large number of the male members of the society of Bengal discouraged and discarded the idea of women's education. But we cannot ignore the contribution of the personalities like Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Radhakanta Deb, Raja Rammohan Roy, or Prasannakumar Thakur who made relentless attempts to introduce women's education on a larger scale. The Christian Missionaries took the first official initiative to introduce Bengali women's education in the 19th century.

In 1819 a group of Baptist Missionaries of Calcutta made an appeal to the common people to materialise the initiative of women's education. Some of the British women turned up; they took the initiative and made significant contributions for the education of women in Bengal. The joint initiative of these women, the Baptist Missionaries and Reverend W. H. Pierce's supervision made the project successful and thus The Female Juvenile Society for the Establishment and Support of Bengali Female Schools was formed. Some of the famous publications on women's education in the 19th century Bengal include "Streeshiksha Bidhayak" (1822) by Gourmohan Vidyalkar, "A Prize Essay on Native Female Education" by Krishnamohan Bandyopadhyay, "Bharatbarshio Streegoner Bidyashiksha" (1850) by Tarashankar Tarkaratno, "An Address on Native Female Education" (1856) by Harochandra Dutta.

This is the background in which we intend to locate Rassundari and her attempt to read and write. A 21st century reader can hardly dream of the pains taken by Rassundari to read *Chaitanya Bhagabat*. Born in 1809 at Potajia village in Pabna district Rassundari never received formal education. Her father Padmalochan Roy died when she was four and her mother brought her up in a manner common in every middle class prejudiced family of colonial Bengal. It was impossible for a girl of Rassundari's background to dream of reading books. She was married at the very early age of 12 years to a much older man, Sitanath Roy.

While one attempts to think of a woman like Rassundari, to know about her educational background, it is worth noting that Indian women were not privileged enough to write their autobiographies in the 19th century. Some Indian women started writing their personal narratives with immense hardship. Such writings include full length structured autobiographies, personal letters, diaries, memoirs. We find the earliest women's autobiographies in India in the Bengali and Marathi traditions. One of the possible reasons behind it may be the contact of these two cultures with British culture and English education. The society was in a mode of transition and started forming the liberal ideas through debates and discussions. In spite of that women's traditional role playing was the most dominant determinant of their lives. Many autobiographies were written

around this time. Among them were Saradasundari Devi's (1819-1907) *Atmakatha* (edited and published in Dhaka 1913), Kailashbasini Devi's (1830-1895) *Janaika Grihabadhur Diary* (published in 1952) and Prasanyamayi Devi's (1857-1939) *Purva Katha* (published in 1917), Rassundari Devi's two part autobiography *Amar Jiban* or *My Life* (1868 and 1897) and Binodini Dasi's two part autobiography *Amar Katha* (1912) and *Amar Abhinetri Jiban* (1924-25).

Autobiography, according to Julia Swindells,

...has the potential to be the text of the oppressed and the culturally displaced, forging a right to speak both for and beyond the individual. People in a position of powerlessness—women, black people, working class people have more than begun to insert themselves into the culture via autobiography, via the assertion of a 'personal' voice, which speaks beyond itself (Swindells, quoted in Anderson, 103-104).

Bahinabai, who is considered to be the first woman autobiographer in India, attacked the Shastras and Puranas which declare women as "worthless." In her Marathi abhanga she questions the scriptures.

The Vedas cry aloud, the Puranas shout
No good may come to woman
I was born with a woman's body
How am I to attain truth? (Bahinabai, 107)

In her book on the early personal narratives of Bengali women, Malavika Karlekar notes that any personal writing by a woman is a conscious act in which her 'inner self' gets reflected: "Writing about oneself is a conscious act as it represents the subject's desire to express—and thus record—feelings and emotions, as well as events"(Karlekar, 15).

Rassundari's early marriage made life more challenging for her. One feels surprised to find that she did not have the slightest idea of what marriage is. A twelve year old girl finds it quite puzzling to feel the true worth of marriage. Rassundari writes in her autobiography that after her marriage she only cried and cried because she could find none from her family in her in-laws' place. From her early childhood up to the last days of her life, she consistently believed in "Dayamadhab," the prescribed god of her mother. She was instructed by her mother that whenever she felt sad or insecure she must call "Dayamadhab" and the god would save her from all dangers. Before her marriage, while staying at her mother's place, she used to sit in the elementary school set up at their house for her brothers. She was a "meyechhele" (a woman) who was not supposed to express her desire to read.

Rassundari's autobiography is in two parts, the first being slightly longer than the second. In her work she has dedicated poems to various gods and goddesses— Saraswati, Dayamadhab. She has simultaneously used prose and poetry which is worthy to be noted by the readers. The narrative is written in a lucid language. She mentions in her autobiography how she has played the roles defined for her— daughter-in-law, wife, and mother of many children.

The life of women in her contemporary society was miserable enough. They were not allowed to step outside without a male companion. Rassundari was not an exception to this. She felt confined, like a "caged bird," as she mentions in her autobiography. She expresses her confinement and frustration in the following words

Wasn't it a matter to be regretted, that I had to go through all this humiliation just because I was a woman? Shut up like a thief, even trying to learn was considered an offence. It is such a pleasure to see the women today enjoying so much freedom. These days parents of a single girl child take so much care to educate her. But we had to struggle so much just for that. The little that I have learned is only because God did me the favour? (Rassundari, 54)

Rassundari considered her life entirely as God's design and it was her firm belief in one particular God that made her confident enough to read and write even though it was in the final phase of her life. She wanted to feel the spiritual pleasure of reading the religious books. She then made a journey from reading to writing. It had been immensely challenging for her, but finally it made her the woman who became a living symbol of hard work and tenacity.

Rassundari's intense desire to read *Chaitanyabhagabat* made her overtly enthusiastic to recognise the alphabets. But that was a very hard journey for a woman like Rassundari to make. At the age of fourteen, after her marriage, she started learning alphabets in a very strange way. She stole a page from her husband's *Chaitanyabhagabat* and hid it under the hearth of the kitchen. That was not the end of the story. The page was stolen, but how could she recognise the alphabets? It is interesting to note that she started learning the alphabets at the age of fourteen and finished learning after she became the mother of twelve children. She first conceived at the age of seventeen and continued giving birth to her twelve children till the age of forty-one. Her way of recognising the alphabets was initiated by her son's reading. When one of her sons started reading she used to sit on the opposite side and tried to recognise the alphabets. She did so because women were not allowed to read and write and it was unthinkable of a married woman like Rassundari to read. In spite of all the hardships she managed to read and write and finally at the age of eighty-eight her autobiography was published. Her faith in the Almighty was her only solace and strength. Whenever she felt helpless she started praying to Dayamadhab and it was her firm belief that the Almighty would save her from all hardships.

Tanika Sarkar, while going through *Amar Jiban*, has realised something which can be regarded as one of the innovative ways of interpreting Rassundari's work. According to Sarkar, by invoking the grace of god Rassundari advocated a kind of social policy which can be called "social making." In her autobiography Rassundari dealt with the issues which have always been the part and parcel of women's life. These issues are always worthy of discussion whether it may be the discourse of the 19th century women or the women of the 21st century. Sarkar notices

She (Rassundari) refers to her life as entirely of God's designing, but she does, nonetheless, have a clear sense of social making of it. On certain issues, she speaks in a declamatory voice, where she describes the painful consequences of social regulations. She, clearly, is addressing a modern readership here which is already debating these matters on women's education, about the restrictions of old times, about the relentless pressure of domestic labour, the problems of motherhood. (Sarkar, 220)

Rassundari was not privileged to receive formal education, but her thought was more updated and she, in spite of doing all the domestic chores, wanted to explore some space for her own. Her autobiography is clearly indicative of that. She had twelve children. After the death of her mother-in-law she had to take up the responsibility of the entire household. So it was almost impossible for

her to get some time to think for her own. Women's role playing was confined to such a restricted domain, as Rassundari has pointed out. She describes her daily routine in the following words

As was the custom, I had to do all the work and look after the children as well. I had to work right through the day and the night, without a moment's rest. Suffice it to say that I had no time to think about my own health. So much so that I often did not eat either of the two meals. There were days when the pressure of work did not let me even have one meal during the course of the day (Rassundari, 46-47)

Religious seclusion gave her patience and courage to endure all pains. Malavika Karlekar's observation is worth mentioning.

Recounting details of events which occurred several decades earlier Rassundari's memoirs are alive with the tensions and anguish she had to silently bear. They also speak of a single minded determination to overcome the situation. She turned to religion as a source of comfort from a life of dependence and subordination...The right to seek her God was not one which could be questioned or curtailed by temporal authorities (Karlekar, 117).

Rassundari, till the end of her life has tried to satisfy everyone with her duties. She had a firm belief throughout her life that god would show grace and she could ignore all the obstacles. Her prayers were said in many ways. One of those prayers indicate her thoughts

*Eso go maa Saraswati puruk abhilash
Narayan sange amar kanthe koro bas
Pati songe eso amar hrid simhasane
Padasparshey dhonyo hoi jibone morone
Prasanna badone baiso hoe kutuholi
Moner sadhe jugol pade dii pushpanjali
Chaitanya-chorito-sindhu taranger ek bindu, tar kona likhe krishnadas
Rassundari murhomati, tahe shunyo prembhakti, jugol choron abhilash (Rassundari, 112)*

So it was Rassundari who was finally able to complete her autobiography which inspired thousands of women belonging to Rassundari's background. It is also representative of the new voice and freedom of expression. Such freedom was not intentionally sanctioned at that point of time but women like Rassundari have made relentless attempts to express themselves in terms of words and phrases, both in prose and verse. Other women, in their individual ways, thus also began to interrogate contemporary social, moral, historical issues which had been occupying the mainstream culture for quite a long time.

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naiëf fëiQfe Lj-miOŝçZÑ-a eilëi çSSëçhoi J œ²³/₄ce jqj-nÄaj -chë J pææçQœi i-iQi-kÑi çæçV EfeÉi-pl B-mi-L

-L±çn-Liŝj fëijiçZL[†]

pilpw-rf

*eilëi fëça pijiçSL Aflið Eš-ljšl -h-sC Q-m-Rz piapLi-ml pwhic f-œl -Liejv V¥L-lj V¥L-lj ij-h
-i-p J-W hdŝqaÉi, hdŝçekÑjæe, NZdoÑZ, nÔëmaiçiqe, XiCçe Afhi-c qaÉil ja eilëi fëça
pijiçSL Afli-dl pwçrç çhhlZzjqjLi-ml ANËNça-a piÉaj ka HçN-u-R pjiS J lj-øÉl LmÉj-Z
eilëncš² J rjajl pææç^{at}ELIZ q-mJ eilëi fëça HC pLm pijiçSL Afli-dl -Qilijhçml LlimNëip -b-L
pjiS BSJ jæçš² fi-µR eiz HL ç¥li-ljNÉ r-al ja pji-Sl hæ-L HC pLm Afli-dl AhÛÛjez hijwmi
piçq-aÉl AeÉaj çæç -mçMLi jqj-nÄaj -chë (1926-2016) J pææçQœi i-iQi-kÑi (1950-2008)
-mMeë-a fçlØg¥V q-u-R doÑZ J nÔëmaiçiqe hçmfëçš eilëi pjiçSL AhÛÛje J aj-cl çhfæajz*

pŝæë

eilëi çhfæaj, çSSëçhoi, pwNëij

[†] fëiŝ²e Riœ N-hoL, hijwmi çhijN, -heilp çq³/₄c¥ çhnÄçhcÉimu, -heilp, Ešlfë-cnz

jqj-nÄai -chÉl fĕċa Qŷuiæ ċjċe-V (1994) EfeÉipċV N-s E-W-R -L¼cĕĕu eiċuLi fġaċm eijL HL EµQjDÉċhš fċlhi-ll -j-u-L -L¼cĕĕ L-lz EfeÉipċV-a pjaċV AdÉi-u -mċMLi pġġċefġZij-h Liċqċe-L HċN-u ċe-u -N-Re fċlZċal ċc-Lz EfeÉi-p AeÉaj -L¼cĕĕu eijLÉQċlœ fġaċmz QċlœċVl jdÉ ċc-u -mċMLi Bhqjje Lim d-l Q-m Bpi fġl'oiċċċ»L pji-S HLSe dċoÑaj eijLÉ ċhfæaj-L -ċċM-u-Rez fġaċml fċlQu -p eĒqil J AnĒŷLZil -RiV -j-uz hiji eĒqil J ji AnĒŷLZi ċġS-eC L-m-Sl fĕ-gplz ċjċi Lŷjil, J ċċċ ċffċm Ei-uC ċe-S-cl "hĒiCV' -Lċluil ċe-u LmLijal hij-C-lz EµQ-jdÉċhš fċlhi-l -b-L E-W Bp-mJ fġaċm ail ċjċi- ċċċl ja q-a Qjuċez ċe-Sl -Lċluil-L "hĒiCV' Ll-a hijwmil hij-C-l -k-a Qjuċe -pz ail -Q-u ċe-Sl nq-IC HLSe pjiSljŃĒ Iċ-f pjiS -phi Ll-a -Q-u-Rz Hl S-eÉ -p pġġSijai ċċċl Nsi pijċSL pwnWe "fċl-hn ċġoZ fĕċa-lid LÓi-h'l pċpÉ q-u-Rz HRisi eijLÉ Efl fġl' -ol ċekŃjæ J AaÉiQi-ll ċhl' -Ü ċċċæ B-¼ċim-e -p niċjm q-u-R -üµRju- "fġaċm pwú«ċa LÓi-h kju, fċl-hn ċġoZ ċe-u ċjċVw L-l, -j-u-cl Efl pjiS J fċlhi-ll ċekŃjæ ċe-u pġġSijail p-%o pwnW-e kijuz' (-chÉ, 20)

ċe-S-L ESjs L-l ċc-a -Q-uċRm fġaċm pjiS -phil jidÉ-jz HC pjiS J pwnW-el Li-SC pjiSljŃĒ pġġl p-%o ij-mihijpil pċfLŃ N-s E-W ailz pġġl p-%o fġaċml ċh-u qhil Lbi ċRmz ċLċ'ŷ L-uLċce f-IC 1987 Hl BNØV ji-p pġġSijail jil ApġġŰŰajil li-œ Hli hijċs ċgl-a ċN-u fġaċm La...ċm BaajuÉl àili dċoÑa quz dċoÑa qhil f-IC pjiSljŃĒ fġaċml SĒhe BjŃm hc-m kijuz -k pji-Sl SeÉ -p ċe-Sl -Lċluil-L aÉiN L-lċRm -pċ pji-SC -p ċe-S-L ċhfæ j-e L-lz dċoÑa qhil f-l fġaċm-L pġġl ji ail NªqhdŃ Ll-a liSÉ euz LjL HLSe dċoÑaj -j-u-L NªqhdŃ Lli ji-eC -aj pjiS -b-L ċhajċla qJui, -mijLmċil pċjŷMĒe qJuiz Eflċ'ŷ l-u-R ċe-Sl -j-u -"pġġl ji Lial Nmju hm-me, rji ċce Bfeijl HLVŷz -p -j-ul -aj ki Lfi-m ċRm ai qmz Bjil -j-ul ċh-u -k L-uLċce hij-cz -pVi -aj eġ q-u ki-hz'

dċoÑa qhil fl fġaċml Qċl-œl j-dÉJ -cMi kju fċlhaÑez HLSe pidilZ eijLÉ -b-L hªqŃl pjiS-phil -Qaeju Eáċpa q-u-R ail pŃjz dċoÑa q-uJ fġaċm ail pwnWe-L fi-n -f-uċRmz pġġSijai ċċċ, pwnW-el ċpċeul pċpÉ ċenĒb, ail -fĕċjL pġġ, ...mċa, aifp phil piqikÉ -f-uċRm -pz ċLċ'ŷ Ha pq-kiċNaj -f-uj HL jieċpL Ahpic aj-L NĒip L-lz A-eLċce fl eiċpŃw-qij -b-L pġġŰŰ qhil fl ċċċ ċffċm aj-L LmLijau ċe-Sl hijċs-a ċe-u kijuz aj-cl -pċ °fa«L i''-ch fisil hijċs ċċœ² L-l ċc-a Qju ċffċmz LmLijau ċċċl hijċs-a H-pj fġaċm ċe-S-L ċhfæ j-e L-lz HjeċL hiji eĒqilJ -nofkŃċ' HL ASiej Aflid-hij-d hijLÉ SĒheVi fġaċm-L ċe-u -Lje djŃjinĒ-j LiċV-u ċc-a Qju HLSe -j-u dċoÑa qhil ċfR-e ail -Lje Aflid bij-L-a fi-l eiz HC ijheju fġaċm ċe-S-L ċe-cŃjo j-e L-lz ajC -p ail ċċċ ċffċm-L ALŷãċQ-š h-m-R- "ċffċml ċc-L ajLim fġaċmz hmm,ajC L-lj, ajC L-liz ċLċ'ŷ -S-eiz hijċs bijL hij ei bijL, Bċj JC ViE-e kih HLċce, jibi aŷ-m kihz -Le kih ei? Bċj -aj -Lje Aflid Lċlċe? Bċj Bċj kihz' (-chÉ, 76) fġaċml HC ċċċŃjeĒu ċµRi -b-L aj-L -LE ċhla Ll-a fi-lċez ċe-Sl fċlhi-l, hiji ċenĒb, ċċċ ċffċm, ċjċi Lŷji-ll Li-R -p -f-uċRm pqjæxi''ċaz ċLċ'ŷ -p pqjæxi''ċa fġaċml j-e q-uċRm SĒhe pwnĒi-jl EfkŃš² eu, HLSe dċoÑaj eijLÉ ċqpi-h fċlhi-l aj-L -Lhmjioe Li'Zi Li-Rz HjeċL ċe-Sl hiji eĒqilJ aj-cl °fa«L hijċs ċċœ² L-l ċc-u fġaċm-L ċe-u -Lje djŃjinĒ-j ċN-u hijLÉ SĒheVi LiċV-u -ċhil fĒŰ'ŷċa ċe-uċRmz LjLZ dċoÑaj fġaċm-L ċe-u fċlċQa pji-Sl Li-R ċaċe ċhfæz dċoÑaj -j-u-L ċe-u ċaċe pji-S LĒij-h jġM -cMi-he HC ijheju ijċha q-u pji-S ċaċe Bl ċgl-a Qieeiz

çLç¹¥ fxaçm -pC pji-SC biL-a Qiu -k pjiS -b-L -p dcoÑa q-uçRmz jibi EyQ¥ L-l -pC pji-SC
 hiyQ-a Qiuz aiC -p ph -R-s çc-u pjiSLjÑÉ pæSiaij Li-R B-p çe-S-L çe-Sl ja L-l hiyQil
 fĒ-Qøiu, Lil|l Li|Ziu J cui-ciçr-ZÉ euz jibi a¥-m hiyQil AcdLil flhaÑÉ-a fxaçm çesü -Qøiu
 Bciju L-l-R pji-Sl Li-Rz "gl EC-je Ce eFX' ei-jl pwnw-e çe-S-L kš² L-l-Rz -k ph -j-u-cl çhl| -Ü
 Bceaij-h -Lje QisÑ -eC (ee-çæ²çejm mæ-eçVL), -eC -Lje Nç¹hÉÛÛm AbQ -S-m aj-cl Efl
 Q-m ALbé AaÉiQil, aj-cl S-eÉC "gl EC-je Ce eFX'z HMi-e H-p fxaçml çcævljeÉ fim, A"¥
 cip, g¥mL¥jilÉ, çjeæ, çffçm eúl, j-eilji Hje çLR¥ -j-ul p-% çlQ Qu q-uçRm ki-cl piÉ pjiS
 HLjçdLhij doÑZ L-lçRmz Ah-n-o fxaçm H-cl pwøf-nÑ H-p hiyQil pibÑLai Mxy-S fiu, fðhÉ
 -ch ei-j ea¥e fçlçQca fiuz EfeÉi-pl -n-o -mçMLi fxaçm QçlœçVI jdÉ çc-u HLSe dcoÑaj pjiS
 pwpil fçlaÉš²j eilÉl Sĕhe-L pibÑL Içf cje L-l-Rez HLSe dcoÑaj -j-u LÉij-h HC fç^m pjiS
 pwpil Li-R hiyQil AcdLil Bciju Llm aj çaçe fxaçm QçlœçVI jdÉ çc-u a¥-m d-l-Rez eilÉ
 dcoÑaj q-mC ail Sĕhe -no q-u kju ei HC hjaÑiç çaçe çc-u-Re eilÉ-cl, -pC p-% pJNÉ pjiS-Lz
fĒça Q¥uiæ çjçe-V EfeÉi-pl -fĒrij-VC Bjli fiC HL doÑL pji-Sl Lbiz Bmici L-l -Lje doÑL pjiS
 h-m -Lje pjiS -eCz fæçbhÉl pæçøl SeÈmNÀ -b-LC HC doÑ-Lli piÉ pji-SC hphij L-l Bp-Rz hhÑl
 Siça -b-L piÉ Siça, Bçcj -b-L Bdæçel ph pji-SC H-cl pQliQl EfcÛÛçaz fæçbhÉl ph-Q-u Eæa
 -cn B-jçlLi -kje HC Açinif -b-L BS HLçhwn najĕf-aj jæçš² fiuçe, -ajçe a«aÉu çh-nÄl -cn
 ijlahoÑJ HC Açinif -b-L jæçš² fiuçez HL pijjçSL jšmÉ-hi-dl Ahru NÉÛ¹ pJNÉ fæçbhÉz fxl|o
 doÑZ L-l -Le? HC fĒ-nÄl Ešl AeÄo-Z HL çhMÉja -mML ayil hC-a çaeçV a-šÄl Lbi h-m-Re-

"fxl|o -Le doÑZ L-l? H-pçf-LÑ fiJui kju çaeçV ašÄ: HLçV eilÉhi-cl, HLçV pjiSçh'ieÉ J
 j-eiçh'ieÉ-cl, J HLçV Sĕhçh'ieÉ-clz pjiSçh'ieÉ J j-eiçh'ieÉ-cl a-šÄ doÑZ HLvi pijjçSL hÉiçd,
 kil Eáh O-V-R çnðfçeiÑl pji-Sl SçVmai -b-Lz H ašÄçV hiçam q-u kju pq-SC; -Leej doÑZ öðæ
 çnðfçeiÑl pji-S pÉjihÛ euz doÑZ B-NJ çRm, HMe J B-R ; çn-ðfjæa pji-S -kje l-u-R doÑZ,
 -ajçe l-u-R H-Li-ml Bçcj J AdÑBçcj pjiS...-mi-az doÑZ Bç¹xpjwú«çalZ doÑZ pçf-LÑ eilÉhicÉ
 J Sĕhçh'ieÉ-cl a-šÄl pjeÄu Li-m fiJui kju doÑZ pçf-LÑ -hn üµR dijZiz doÑZ pçf-LÑ
 eilÉhicÉ-cl a-šÄl jšmLbi q-µR eilÉl Efl çfa«ajçç»L fxl|oiçdf-aÉl HLçV -L±nm çqpi-hC
 çfa«aç» mjme L-l Bp-R doÑZ; Bl Sĕhçh'ieÉ-cl a-šÄl pijlbi q-µR çhñNa-el g-mC fxl|ol
 Lija«ççl HLçV fĒçæ²ujlç-f Eá" a q-u-R doÑZz eilÉhicÉli doÑZ pçf-LÑ çæçV çpÛi-ç¹
 -fy±-R-Re:fĒbjçV q-µR doÑZ öðæ doÑZLilÉl B-mi-L -hiTj pñh eu, hæT-a q-h fxl|ol pJNÉ
 jšmÉ-hi-dl B-mi-L; Bl çàaÉuçV q-µR doÑZ kaVi Ahççja Li-jl fĒLjn ail -Q-u A-el -hçn fĒLjn
 eilÉ çh-à-olz' (BSic, 252)

-mçMLi jqi-nÄai -chÉ eilÉhi-cl a-šÄl B-mi-L çLç¹¥ ayil *fĒça Q¥uiæ çjçe-V* EfeÉipçV-L
 fĒçaÛÛife L-leçez EfeÉipçV-a -mçMLi HLSe dcoÑa eilÉ-L -L¾çÉÉu ÛÛi-e EfÛÛife L-l-Re
 Hhw -pC p-% Bji-cl HC ijlahoÑÉu fxl|oiççç»L pji-Sl Nçma, LÉjepil Bæ²iç¹ pji-Sl fĒça
 A%ççm çe-cÑn L-l EfeÉi-p dcoÑa eilÉl pjpÉil B-miLfiç L-l-Rez EfeÉi-pl -L¾çÉÉu eilÉ Qçlœ
 fxaçm ailC pijjçSL pwnw-el fĒçaùiaj pæSiaij çççl jil ApææÛÛaij li-œ hiçs çgl-a çN-u
 La...çm çæxL«çal àilj dcoÑa q-uçRmz dcoÑa qhil fl fxaçm ail fšhÑ Sĕh-el pijjçSL jkÑijci
 çg-l -k-a fi-lçez pjiS ai-L Bmici L-l çc-u-Rz HjeçL çe-Sl hihi eÉqil, çççç, çffçm, çici L¥jil

phjC dčoŇaj fxačm-L pji-Sl -hiTi j-e L-l-R, -LE ödaxjœ LI|Zi fĚLjn L-l-Rz fxačm -p LbjC ail
paxSiaj ččcl Lj-R hĚš² L-l-R -

"cici kMe hmm, ččĚ-aJ -lf qu, čĚŌQu čWL h-m-R, qu , phŇœ quz čLĚ¹ŷ Bčj -N-m BhjJ
-lfX qh, HVi ijhm? ei ph čLRŷ fl, cici-hĚčcl j-aj -pi -LmXÚ Ec|čQš -mi-L-cl j-eJ -lf qJui
-j-u-cl čho-u čISŇj-ine B-R?

- j-e q-μR, -lfX q-u Bčj HLVi AeÉ NĚ-ql jjeœo q-u -NčRz Bjil p-%o čLij-h Lbj hm-h, čL BQIZ
Ll-h, aj Jlj Si-e eiz' (-chĚ, 79)

AeÉčc-L če-Sl čfajl Lj-RC HLSe dčoŇajejlĚ q-u E-W -miLmčil J pčjieqičel čhou-

".....hijh Bji-L djŇinĚ-j -l-M čc-a Qiu, -ke Bčj fifĚ, fĚjučŌQš Lhz ččc Bl cici Bji-L Lj-R
lijM-a q-h ijh-mj AüčŮ¹-a f-lz Jlj -LE je -b-L Bji-L pqS üijčhL ij-h če-a fi-l eiz -LE HLhijJ
hmm ei -lfX q-učRm? ai-a čL? jibi aŷ-m -hy-Q -cčM-u -c -k, dčoŇaj -j-učVl jibi aŷ-m
hyiQil AčdLil B-Rz' (-chĚ, 80)

HMj-eC fxačm QčlœčVl B-rfz B-rf ödœ fxačml eu ijlahoŇĚu fĚ-aĚLčV dčoŇaj ejlĚl
jjŇhizĚ-L -mčMLi HC QčlœčVl jidĚ-j hĚš² L-l-Rez Bji-cl pji-S -Lje ejlĚ HLhij dčoŇa q-m aj-L
pjiS AflidĚ čqpi-h j-e L-lz -ke dčoŇa qJui -j-učVIC Aflidz fxl¹o J pjiS ail čju če-a AüĚLil L-lz
čQĚ¹e dčoŇajejlĚl fĚča AčmčMaij-h čQĚ¹e pji-Sl c-™ fĚ-aĚL dčoŇaj ejlĚC čhfæ -hid L-lz
EfeÉj-p fxačm-LJ pji-Sl pij-e Hjeij-h čhfæ q-a q-u-Rz -mčMLi EfeÉj-p HIC hZŇej čc-a čN-u
čm-M-Re-"ki-cl -j-uli Hje ij-h čeN^aqĚa quče, aili hm-a bi-L, eĚqil J AnĚŷ JC -j-u-L
miNijRisij üidĚeaj čc-učR-me hm-a q-hz' ajq-m čL Bji-cl pji-S -j-uli Hlmj fb Qm-a fil-h ei ?
-Lje pji čSL paxlriC čL -j-u-cl -eC? HC fĚnĚC -mčMLil hš²hĚz Bhil -Lje -j-u dčoŇa qhil f-l ail
Lfi-m -Si-V pijjčSL Apq-kičNai J mi"eiz -pLbjC EfeÉj-p paxSiaj Ačja-L h-m-R-"La S-el jxM
h³d Ll-h.? H -c-n -ai dilZi phŇhĚifĚ Ačja -k, kčc -Lje -j-u dčoŇaj qu, HVi ailC Aflid!¹(-chĚ,
53)

pji-Sl HC iu¹ Aflj-dl hčmcš -j-u-cl paxčhQi-ll cijuaĚ -k fxačmnhĚhŮŮj J čhQilhĚhŮŮj Efl,
-pC fxačmn J čhQilhĚhŮŮjC dčoŇaj -j-u-cl fi-n bi-L eiz Bji-cl HC Efjqj-cnĚu pjiShĚhŮŮju;
fxačmn J čhQil hĚhŮŮju dčoŇa ejlĚ-L načdLhil dčoŇa qhil SeÉ m"ej pqĚ Ll-a quz HL
pji-miQL ayil hC-a HC pčf-LŇ čm-M-Re-

dčoŇa AčdLjwn ejlĚC doŇZLilĚl čhl¹-Ů Ačj-kiN -aj-m ei, -Leej pjiS A-eLVj
doŇZLilĚl f-rCz aij AčdLjwn dčoŇa ejlĚC doŇZLilĚl čhl¹-Ů Ačj-kiN ei aŷ-m
OveičV-L ijNĚ h-m -j-e -euz dčoŇa ejlĚ čLRŷVj pič¹Ěej -f-a fil-aj čhQil čhij-Nl
Lj-R; čLĚ¹ŷ čhQil čhijN, ki fxl¹-olC p^ačø, aj-L če-u A-eLVj -Mmju -ja E-Wz čhQil
čhij-Nl pijqkĚ QjJuil fl dčoŇa ejlĚ dčoŇa qJuil čhiĚčolil fl f-s čhQilhĚhŮŮj
chiĚčolil j-dĚz f^ačbhĚ Sŷ-sC čhQil čhij-Nl čœ²ujLmif dčoŇa-cl fĚčsa L-l fĚQäij-h;
čhQil čhij-Nl BQl-Z dčoŇa-cl j-e qu aili dčoŇa q-μR BhilzdčoŇa ejlĚ fxačmn
fil q-u čhQilim-u kiJuil fl ö¹ qu eaŷe čhijčolij ; fxačm-nl čeuŷl BQl-Zl fl čhQilim-u
-ja J-W B-lj čeuŷl BQl-Zz fxl¹o dčoŇa ejlĚl Ačj-kiN čhQil-ll -k fĚčœ²uj -hl L-l-R ,aj

-c-M j-e qu doÑZLilEl çhQil aj-cl mrÉ eu, aj-cl mrÉ dcoÑa eilEl çhQilz -ke dcoÑa
q-u -p Aflið L-l-R; çhQilimu -p AfliðV¥L¥C My¥-S -hl LI-a Qiuz (BSic, 250)

EfeÉj-p fxaçm dcoÑa qhil fl ail hiji çenEb, cici L¥jil, çcçc çffçm, pijjçSL pwnw-el AeÉaj
pcpÉ paxSiaj J AeÉjeÉ pcpÉli phjC çN-uçRm paxçhQi-ll Bni u fxaçmn J çhQilhéhÛÛil Li-Rz
çLç¹¥ -LEC -Lje paxçhQi-ll Bni çc-a fi-lçez çhMÉja EçLm hoÑi fÉj-V-mli Li-R paxSiaj
çN-uçRm fxaçml doÑ-ZI -L-pl paxçhQi-ll fÉaÉnijuz çLç¹¥ paxSiaj-L ØfðaC hoÑi fÉj-Vm
Sjçe-u -cu HC -L-pl paxçhQil fiJuji çxlini jioe LjZ BCehÉhÛÛiz fxaçmçn J çhQil héhÛÛil HL
AjjeçhL çQoe E-W H-p-R paxSiaj J héjçløjil hoÑi fÉj-V-mli L-bjflb-el jdÉ çc-u -

paxSiaj B-Û¹ CwliSÉ-a h-me, J Bjil hijçs -b-L páÉil jx-M -h-liu, çLR¥çxl -k-a
-miX-nçXw Hhw çe-MyjSz Qilçce hij-c qjçJ-ul fi-n J-L fiJuji kijuz eNÀ, hç-L ByQl,
Lij-sl çin, mçjÛÛi-e Qif Qif lš², J -hqyçnz qipfjai-m Ha çQçLvpil fl HM-ej JI VÉji
Lj-Vçez ailj-µR, LjE-L -cM-m L¥yL-s kj-µR, A'je q-u kj-µRz

---H -Lp -aj cyis Lli-eiC LçWez Bçj Bjil ças² Ací'aj -b-L hmçR fxaçm-nl kj AeÉçVQ¥X
..fÉfil -jçXLÉjm HLSjçj-ene Lhijl héhÛÛi -Lijju -Smj qipfjai-m? k-bù fÉjiz -f-m a-h
-aj fxaçmn QjSÑnÉV -cuz çL L-l dcoÑaj -j-uçV paxçhQil fi-hz fxaçmn çL Lj -j-u doÑZ
L-l?

--- mÉNÉjçm çLR¥ Lli kj-h ej a-h?

---Mæh LçWez kçc -j-uçV k-bø çLlil L-l, kçc Bpijç-cl çQe-a -f-l bi-L, "SjçeÑ V¥
SipçVp' hçVj çc-u -Nmij, H-a phC -mMj B-Rz -Lp Lhijl k-bø NÉjEä bil-m Sjei-hez
Bçj pie-¾c Bphz

---Ha ph Sjçeeiz

---Sjæe, mÉNÉjm -pmp N-s a¥mæez B-¾cime N-s a¥mæez qjSijl qjSijl -j-u dcoÑa
qu, L'Se doÑZLilÉ -Lijju nijçÛ¹ fju?çL L-l fi-h?

çeQ¥ AbQ aÉhÉ Nmju hm-me, -k -c-n fÉça Q¥uiæ çjçe-V HLVj L-l eilÉ doÑZ qu,
fÉça çx'O¾Vju f-ZI Lj-Z HLCV L-l hdšqaÉj qu, fÉça -aaççon çjçe-V HLCV -j-u
Afqçai qu, çekÑiçaaaj qu fÉça Riçin çjçe-V, -p -c-n -Lje -j-u HC jãiaj Bjmli
fxl|o-cl °alÉ çhQil-héhÛÛil Li-R paxçhQil fi-h?

.....Oçs -c-M E-W fs-mez Li-Sj-s hm-me, Bçj Bfej-cl -Lje piqikÉC Li-a filmij eiz
çLç¹¥ -lf fÉjiz J -lf -Lp Li-a Li-a Bçj ças²C q-u -NçRz BCe...-mj Ha AjjeçhL! (-chÉ, 69)

HC AjjeçhL ljøÉEu J pjiçSL nijehÉhÛÛiu -Lje -j-uç ail fÉça Afli-dl paxçhQil fju fju eiz
EfeÉj-p fxaçmj -Lje paxçhQil fjuçez HjeçL dcoÑa qhil fl -fÉçjL pjxl ji fkÑç¹ aj-L çe-SI -R-ml
hdšlç-f NÉqZ Li-a Qiuçe, LjZ pjiSz fxaçm-L hdšlç-f NÉqZ Li-m pji-S ail çe-SI -j-ul çh-u
q-h ei-"pjxl ji Ljal Nmju hm-me, rji çce Bfeili HLV¥z -p -j-ul -aj kj Lfi-m çRm aj q-miz Bjil
-j-ul çh-u -k L'çce hij-cz -pVi -aj ø q-u kj-hz' (-chÉ, 52) HMi-e -mçMLi -Ljeii-hç pjxl ji-L ail
HC ijhej S-eÉ LMeC çiuÉ L-leçez çiuÉ L-l-Re dcoÑaj eilEl fÉça Bji-cl HC pjiSijhei-Lz pjiS
-j-uçV-L çš-l -g-m li-M, BCehÉhÛÛil Li-R -aj çš-ll Lbj HjeçL pjiS -b-L -Lje jieçhL çhQil -p fju

eiz EfeÉi-p -mčMLi p̄x̄Siajil j̄x̄M čc-u p̄j̄xl fĕča hĕš² L-l-Re -pLb̄j-LC -"dčoŇaj -j-u-cl Vĕj-SčX čL Sje? -Lp -b-L p̄x̄čhQil fih̄il fb Aaĕh -Ojli-miz Vĕj-SčX q-mi p̄jiS B-N ij-NC lju čc-u li-M dčoŇaj -j-učVC -cjoFz f̄x̄čmn hi SS hi EčLm, HC p̄ji-SIC -m̄lSez ājC dčoŇaj -j-učV j̄iečhL čhQil f̄ju eiz' (-chĕ, 64)

jqi-nĀaj -chĕ -kje HLSe p̄ji-S HLSe dčoŇaj eilĕl čhf̄aeai -cčM-u-Re -ajče AeÉčc-L p̄x̄x̄Qœi i-ijQi-kŇil (1950-2008) cqe EfeÉi-p Bjli fiC eilĕl nŌĕmaiqiče J p̄jiS fčlhi-l āj čhf̄aeai-Lz EfeÉipčVI IQeijLim čhwn najĕl e-ul cnLz HC p̄juLimĕe -fĕčr-a čhnĀju-el -Ti-sj fĕijh-L pij-e -l-MC -mčMLi EfeÉipčV IQeij L-l-Rez čhnĀju-e p̄qS q-u ki-μR f̄ačbhĕz -ij-Nl fĕča j̄ieĕ-ol -Qaej hs -hnĕ hĕNĕ q-u E-W-Rz f̄ačbhĕ A-eL -hnĕ q-u-R -M̄imi-jmi, j̄x̄š² J Ah̄idz čhnĀju-el k̄x̄-N eilĕl A-eL -hčn čhf̄ae -h̄id L-l-Rz eilĕl nĕl-ll -ijNĕfZĕ j̄jwpl©fĕ B-hce BlJ A-eL -hčn q-u-R hčdŇaz piĕaj kaC Bđx̄ceL q-u EW¥L ei -Le, f̄xl'oa-č»l Li-R eilĕl fĕča HC peiaeĕ j̄šmĕ-h̄id HMeJ čx̄jŇilz eilĕ q-u E-W-R A-eL -hnĕ m̄imp̄ijuĕ J L̄ijeijuĕz p̄ji-Sl HC j̄šmĕ-h̄i-dl -p̄if̄je-L čičš L-IC -mčMLi HC EfeÉi-pl -fĕrifV N-s a¥-m-Rez Qčlœp̄ačø-a -mčMLi če-SC h-m-Re ayil HC EfeÉi-pl Qčlœ...čm LiŌfčelz čLč¹¥ HLb̄j paĕ -k, Qčlœ...čm-L -mčMLi LiŌfčel l©-f N-s a¥m-mj p̄jiSp-aĕl -Lib̄j °hLmĕ OViečez p̄jiSp-aĕl Efl N-s EWj j̄šcaŇfĕčajil Efl čače öđx̄jœ LŌfeil a¥čm čc-u ličP-u a¥-m-Re ayil čnŌf-Lz

EfeÉi-p -mčMLi čx̄čV Ličqčel EfŪŪifej L-l-Rez HLčc-L čT̄ex̄L J āj fčlhi-ll Ličqče, AeÉčc-L lčjai-fmi-nl c̄jčfaĕSĕhe J āj-cl fčlhi-ll Ličqčez EfeÉi-pl fĕbj čc-L HC čx̄C fčlhi-ll Ličqče p̄jič¹lim ij-h hčdŇa q-mj filhaŇĕ-a H-L Af-ll pi-b Sčs-u -N-Rz Bđx̄ceL k̄x̄-N p̄ji-S eilĕl fĕča doŇZ, hdščekŇiaē, nŌĕmaiqiče, eilĕ čeNĕ-ql ja pijčSL Afliđ Eš-ljšl -h-sC Q-m-Rz pijčSL HC ph Ačini-fl g-m p̄ji-Sl Ač¹x̄rlZ čelč¹ -h-N fĕhq̄jiez n̄y-l LmL̄iajil Ef-l eilĕl fĕča -h-s Qmi Afliđ-L fvi¹čj L-IC B-m̄iQĕ EfeÉipčVI L̄juj čec̄jŇaz VičmN¹ -j-Vĕj -ØVn-e l̄ja eVil p̄ju hi čs čgl-a čN-u La...čm mčf-Vl àilj nŌĕmaiqiče O-V lčjaiz üjĕ fmi-nl p-% BlJ A-eL Seai EfčŪŪa b̄jL-mj lčjaiz nŌĕmaiqiče q-a q-učRmz HLj fm̄jn l̄ri Ll-a fi-lče Ū»ĕ lčjai-Lz AeÉčc-L j̄šL, ef̄x̄wpl Seai nŌĕmaiqičel HC c̄aĕĕ-L ājčs-u ājčs-u Ef-ijN L-l-Rz čLč¹¥ HLSe -j-u q-u HLSe -j-ul m̄i¹ej-L cyičs-u Ef-ijN Ll-a fi-lče čT̄ex̄Lz čT̄ex̄-Ll čhœ²-j -nofkŇč¹ čx̄hŇ«š-cl àilj dčoŇaj q̄juj -b-L EŪil f̄ju lčjaiz

EfeÉi-p Aeĕaj eilĕ nĕhZi čjœ Jl-g čT̄ex̄L p̄jŪ¹ AeÉi-ul čhl'Ū fĕčaØfdŇĕ HL Qčlœz nqlj¹-m čh-noa LmL̄iaju -kM̄i-e hĕčš²üja-č»ĕl B-m̄i čN-u -f̄ty-R-R -pM̄i-e üjijčhLij-hC eilĕ āj AčdL̄i-ll c̄jhĕ li-M f̄xl'oa-č»l Li-Rz HLSe üuđ̄il̄j ja če-Sl ij-m̄ih̄ijil fiœ a¹Zĕl-L Que Ll̄j, če-Sl Sĕhe-L C̄μR̄ija fčlQ̄imej Ll̄j āj hĕčš²üjač»-LC cčnŇa L-lz ú¥m čVQ̄il -b-L ušceijčpŇčV kiJui phC āj C̄μR̄ieœ²-jz lčjaiz nŌĕmaiqičel OVeil pi-b čT̄ex̄L-L -mčMLi k̄x̄š² L-l-Re A-eLVj čT̄ex̄L QčlœčVI čhL̄i-nl fĕ-ujSel©-fz čeiŇĕL, piq̄pĕ HC fl̄jœ²-j čT̄ex̄L BlJ -hčn EŸĕčfa q-u-Rz AeÉi-ul čhl'Ū l'Ū-M cyis̄ijil nčš² āj na...-Z -h-s -N-Rz āj j-e q-u-R HLSe eilĕ C̄μR̄j Ll-mC f̄xl'oaic̄č»L p̄ji-S eilĕl m̄i¹ej, čekŇiaē J Afli-dl čhl'Ū fĕčah̄ic L-IC p̄jiS-L pw-n̄ide Ll-a fi-lz Ač¹-ll HC čhnĀjP̄c āj-L ājčsa L-l-R, Qičma L-l-R eilĕl fĕča pijčSL Afli-dl

čhl' -Ü kxThilz lčjai-L bjeju ce-u kJui, cxxLjñLlE kxhL-cl čhl' -Ü bjeju Aci-kjN ci-ul Ll
ajlC AeÉaj pjrÉ hqe L-lz

čTex-LI HC hfl-aÆl Ljčqče pwhjč jidÉ-j Sepidjil-Zl Ef-ij-Nl čhouhÙ'¥ q-u E-Wz čTex-LI fĚča
hčoŇa qu ApwMÉ deÉhjc J ö-ïmRiz čLč'¥ čTex-LI HC Aijhefu L-jñ hč-ll pjiS kaVi ej EYĚčfa
ajl -b-L -hčn cxxčŮQč'1iNĚŮ'1 ajl ji - hijz čTex-LI ijhĚ čhf-cl Bn^i -b-LC aijl hijl hijl fĚča-ljd
L-l-R čTexL-L cxxL«čalilE BpijĚ-cl čhl' -Ü -Lj-Vñ pjrÉ ej -cjuil SeÉz fĚčahjčĚ -Qaeju ijül
čTexL hĚ-T EW-a fi-lej -Le aj-L Evpi-ql fčlh-añ fĚča-ljd LI-R fčlhil? Lbj fĚp-%o hiji jie-pl
Ečš² -b-LC g¥-V E-W pji-S HLSe eilĚl fĚča pñjhÉ čhf-cl Aeꝛo%o -"-aj-L -Lj-Vñ kJui ce-u
-hij-a -Nmij, aꝛč jꝛM ijl L-l h-p ICčmz HVj čgm Llčm ej -R-m...-mj -aj-L -c-M H,,iC-VX q-a
fi-lz HC -aj čceLi-ml AhŮŮiz -Ljbi -b-L čL q-u kijuz qu-aj liŮ'ju BÉčpX himÚhÚC Ry¥-s
jilmz' (i-iQikñ, 82)

ji pꝛꝛSiajl Lbj-u-

"pꝛꝛSiaj -gyip L-l nÄip -gmm, cijNĚ q-h, -hy-Q bji j-l kJuil -b-L -hčn kč»Zilz -Le
fxl'ohičqa Aeči-fĚa OVeju -Le öðꝛ -j-u-cl Ni-uC Ljčm mj-N? -j-uli čL? ječhqĚe
jčŮ'účhqĚe öðꝛč HLVj nĚlĚ ? HLVj SWI ? Niñinu ?

čTexL hmm, Jph čce Bl -eC ji z

-R-mlj hčiča Ll-m -j-uli -fĚi-VØV Ll-hCz

- -p -aj aꝛčj LIRCz A-eL q-u-Rz Hhil bi-jiz -j-u hs q-u -N-m hiji-jil ai-L ce-u LĚ -k čQč'1j, ai
aꝛčj čL hĚT-hz' (i-iQikñ, cqe)

čTex-LI fĚča ji pꝛꝛSiajl HC Ečš² čhwn najĚl e-ul cn-LI Bdꝛčel čnril B-mju B-mičLa eilĚl
Ečš² h-m j-e qu eiz hl' ajl jꝛ-MC dÆčea qu BhqjjeLim d-l Q-m Bpi eilĚl fĚča fxl'oaičč»L
pji-Sl jšmÉ-hi-dl jšmÉjuez "ječhqĚe, jčŮ'účhqĚe öðꝛč HLVj nĚlĚ ? HLVj SWI? HLVj
Niñinuz' pĚjijua jšmÉ-hi-d Bhªa čQč'1j -Qaejl hč-ll fčlpl -eC aijz -Leej ajl j-e q-u-R eilĚ
kaC Adꝛčel B-mju B-mičLa -qil ej -Le, eilĚ-l bil-a q-h fxl' -ol NÄĚ-aCz

eilĚl -LječceC fxl' -ol -fčnnčš²l pja¥mÉ q-a fil-h eiz eilĚl Ačdlil J üjdfēai eilĚl aaViC
-f-u-R, kaVi fxl'o J fxl'oaičč»L pjiS aj-cl -R-s čc-u-Rz ji pꝛꝛSiajl Lbj-u -p hÉ"ejC dli f-l-

"-mMjfsj -nMj-ej q-u-R q-u-R, Qilčl Ll-a -cjuj q-u-R, ai-aC čL aꝛčj fxl'ojeꝛ-ol pjie q-u
-N-m ejčL?

čTex-LI Nmjl Lj-R HLVj Ljæj cmj filičmRmz

-L h-m-R -p fxl'ojeꝛo q-a Qiu? LMM-ej eiz

-p HLVj jjeꝛo q-a Qjuz

fxl-li jjeꝛoz" (fªüi- 88, cqe, pꝛꝛčQœj i-iQikñ, čjœ J -Oio fihčmniþñ)

fxl-li jjeꝛ-ol ji-eC Sje-a -Q-u-R čTexLz "ji-e QiC -NiVi jjeꝛ-ol' fxl'oaičč»L pjiShÉhŮŮju
čm%očičšL -k pčfLñ njnÄaLim d-l Q-m Bp-R -pC pčf-Lñl pĚjijua pw'ju EšĚZñ q-u HLSe
jjeꝛ-ol ji-e Mxy-S-R čTexLz fxl'o kčc pjŮ'1 AeÉj-ul čhl' -Ü fĚčahjč Ll-a fi-l aij-m HLSe eilĚC

hi fjl-h ei -Le? HC fĕ-nÀC račhra q-u-R cTɛɹLz cTɛɹ-LI hĕlaÆjSmL BQIZ-L ji pɹɹSjai hĕ%oiaĕL fɹl'oiçm h-m j-e L-lez LjIZ ayil pjÙ¹ -Qaeju SN-al pjÙ¹ AeÉi-ul fĕčahjç J fĕča-ljd Lli HLjœ fɹl'oiçm HLRœ AčdLilz aIç üij çhL hçqxfĕLjn, HL AčmčMa -nĕčZ^oho-jÉl pɹɹ dli f-s ayil hš²-hÉ-

"ki -q,s q-uR HMe! hÉjVi-R-ml hijz C-μR qm çɹŸjil bjeju HçN-u Q-m -N-mz C-μR qm -Lj-VŇ çN-u ...äjhçjin-cl pij-e hɹL çQça-u cyiçs-u -N-mz -j-uçmaÆ çLR¥ BI B-R -ajjilz nĕhZi, a¥çj hs fɹl'oiçm q-u kμR! nĕhZi a¥çj l'r! nĕhZi a¥çj H-Nĕçpi! hÉjVi-R-ml hij! HaV¥L¥ -j-uçmaÆ -eC -ajjilz' (i-iQikŇ, 106)

öðɹ ji pɹɹSjaiC eu, ú¥-ml hijâhĕ cTɛɹL-L h-m-R aij fɹl'oiçm üij-hl Lbi-

- a¥çj Si-ei ei hp, -ajjil j-dÉ -hn HLVi jÉi-Qi hÉjfil -Ximf LI-Rz -Si-l -Si-l hjaip ny¥Lm çhniMi, - qyEE HLVi -jm AeÉi-li-N¥p HI Nâ fiçμR -ke? -piyci -piyci? Tim Tjm?'

eilĕ fɹl'-ol pJAčdLil pçfæ pji-SI ijhei-aC cTɛɹL jieɹ-ol ji-e MɹyS-a -Q-u-Rz eilĕ-L HLSe pçf^zNĭ jieɹo Iç-f -f-a -Q-u-R aij -fĕçjL a^zZĕ-ll -Qaeil j-dÉJz -fĕçjL, -cipI a^zZĕ-ll -fĕ-jl pçf-LŇl j-dÉ -p eilĕ fɹl'-ol -icqĕe pjiShÉjhÛÛil pijÉ-L A-eÄoZ L-l-RzçLç¹¥ çTɛɹ-LI HC hĕlaÆjSmL BQI-Z a^zZĕl jɹ-M fĕnwpi LI-mj aij jiep -Qaeju l-u-R fɹl'oiçm çç»L pji-SI fɹl'-ol -fçnnçš²l fĕjdi-eÉl çjb-"kaC a^zZĕl-L -MiyQij BI kaC cTɛɹL-L Nĕip çc-u hij-Qççĕĕ fim L-l -aj-mi, HLVi Lbi -aj i¥m-m Qm-h ei, çhRjei-a cTɛɹL a^zZĕ-ll çe-QC biL-hz (i-iQikŇ, 121)

eilĕl hĕlaÆ J aij fĕčahjç-L -LjeçceC fɹl'oiçm aij pjaju çgçl-u çe-u Bp-h eiz aij g-m Bjli a^zZĕ-ll j-dÉ -pC ijhejIç fĕčagme -çM-a fiçz EμQil'riju çesü f-çjæçal J çgei¥p çX-lf-ll -pÀqijSe qjuil SeÉ a^zZĕl, nŌĕmaiçiqiçel hijçmN-"l OVeil AeÉaj Bpiçj çX-lfi pi-q-hl -R-m-L hijQi-a -fĕçjLj cTɛɹL-L -Lj-VŇ pjrĕ bilil çho-u çeçmŇ-çl i^zçjLj çe-a h-m-Rz HL B-fi-nl pɹɹ dÆçea q-u-R a^zZĕ-ll L-ãz çLç¹¥ hĕçš²üiaç»juĕ eilĕ cTɛɹL -fĕçjL a^zZĕ-ll Lj-R HC fĕaÉinj L-lçez LjIZ pçf^zNĭ jieɹ-ol ji-e My¥S-a -Q-u-R cTɛɹLzaiç fĕčahjçĕ eilĕ cTɛɹL, a^zZĕ-ll HC AeikÉ, AeÉju Aeɹ-ljd-L ANĕiqÉ L-l-Rz HjeçL cTɛɹ-LI Aejeĕu j-eij-hl SeÉ çe-S-cl pçf-LŇl Aheje OVj-a -Q-u-R a^zZĕlz -i-% çc-a -Q-u-R aij-cl -fĕ-jl pçfLŇ-Lz hýçç-el fĕZu pçf-LŇl ij%-el çççÖQç¹j cTɛɹL-L Nĕip LI-mj -p aij çatçpÛj-ç¹ AVm -b-L-Rz aij g-mC -Lj-VŇl Q^zsiç¹ œeiçel çce pijjçSL Apqiuaiju Içjai çɹxLjŇlilĕ-cl A-Qeij ije LI-mj cTɛɹL aij fšhŇNa AhÛÛj-eC AçhQm -b-L Bpijĕ-cl pejš²LIZ L-l-Rz -p çQe-a -f-l-R çɹxL«çalilĕ-cl, kilj -pçce Içjai fĕča HL finçhL mĕmjju -j-a E-WçRmz -nofkŇç¹ cy¥-c EçL-ml Apidilz craju Bpijĕl Risi -f-mj çesü fĕjZiu-L E-frj L-lj -p aij huje -b-L HL çhçç¥ p-l B-pçez

HLSe hĕçš²üiaç»juĕ ApjpiççpL eilĕl fçlQu çc-uC -mçMLj EfeÉi-pl pji çç OVj-a fil-aez çLç¹¥ -mçMLj -p Ačifĕju çRm eiz EfeÉi-pl çnŌflç-fl fĕ-ujS-e Ljçqçe-L çaçe BI HLV¥ çhÛ¹il OçV-u-Rez eilĕ fɹl'-ol pijÉ AhÛÛje-L hij hij A-eÄoZ LI-a çN-uC cTɛɹ-LI ijhe-L fĕčaçeua -hN -f-a q-u-Rz WjL¥ji j^aZiçmeĕl Lbiju cTɛɹL hɹT-a -f-l-R çɹjŇl fɹl'oiçm çç»L pij-SI pjiSpaÉ-

-ajlj HMe A-eL -hčn üidŕe, čjčmVičl-a kičµRp, čqjim-u EWčRp, -R-m-cl pi-b fiöi
 čc-u -mMifsj čnMčRp, QiLčl LičRp! ahx hx-L qia čc-u hm -aj, pčáÉ LaVi Rjs
 -f-učRp -ajlj? HVj hčTp ej, -R-mlj kaVi Rjs-h čWL aaViC Sčj fičh -ajlj? -R-mlj
 pwpj-ll -ia-l BV-L bjLj Shxhbx -j-u Bl fr%c LičRm ej, ajC -aj-cl fsjö-ej Ll-a
 čc-u-Rz.... HMe -R-mlj -aj-cl -Mimi-jmi -cM-a Qjuz ajC čVci-a čp-ejju čh'f-e
 -aj-cl -Mimi-jmi q-u -hsi-a q-µRz -R-m-cl je Mxčn liMjl SeÉz Bl -pVi-aC -ajlj
 üidŕeaj -i-h RiNmRieil j-aj mijičµRpz HVj üidŕeaj eu -l čččc, üidŕeajlj čQLiz
 üidŕeaj qm j-el Aexi"čaz -aj-cl -pC j-el Aexi"ča -R-mlj LM-ejC jie-h eiz jie-hC hi
 -Le? Bjli piÉ q-mj fčbhŕ-a HMej BččÉLj-ml čeuVjC Q-mz kij nčš² -hčn, ajl LbjC
 BCez -SjIVjJ ajlz (i-iQjkŇ, 166)

ajC -nofkŇž¹ WjLŕj jžZičmeŕl Lbjū pji-S eilŕl n-ël hÉjMÉj J pijičSL AhŪŪj-el fčlQu -f-u-R
 čTexLz -fčn nčš²l Lj-R Wŕe-Lj q-u -N-R čTex-Ll pjŪ¹ fÉčahjcz a"Zŕl-LC -nofkŇž¹ čh-u Ll-a
 q-u-R čTexL-Lz čLž¹ŕ NÉjwV-L čh-ul qičejx-el nkÉju ajl cŕOŇčenÄj-p T-s f-s-R Bhqji-el
 cijÉ eilŕSjčal -hcejl B...e -

"HC cŕOŇčnÄjp -Q-e ej fxl'oz Sj-e ej La Ačijje Afjje Bl kž»Zi -Njfe L-l eilŕ ij-mi-h-p-R aj-Lz
 kxNkxNjž¹ d-lz fmjn Sj-e eiz a"ZŕlJ Sje-h ej -Lječcez'(i-iQjkŇ, 174)

-k B...-e fx-s cijÉ q-a q-u-R čTexL-L -pC B...-eC ča-m ča-m če-Sl üjaž»aj-L -no Ll-a q-u-R
 EfeÉj-pl Bl HL AeÉaj ejčl Qčlœ lčjajz üjŕf fmj-nl p-%o čeEji-LŇV -b-L hijčs -glil f-b VjčmN"
 -j-VÉj -ØVn-e L-ulSe čxL«ča àilj phŇp-j-r nŖŕmaiqiče qu ajlz čil' Seajl Be-čcl -MjilL q-u
 E-W lčjajz čTexL J üjŕf fmj-nl fÉ-Qøju lčjai -pčce doŇZ -b-L -p EŪjil -f-mJ HLSe lrZnŕm
 fčlhj-ll Nžqhdš qhil cl'e ai-L jječpL ij-h fčlhj-ll Lj-R čhfæ q-a quz AbQ ajl če-Sl nÄölhjčs
 Bdžčel ijhdilijū mīčmaz Bdžčel piS pl"i-jl -Lje Mijča čRm ej aj-cl fičlhjčl Sŕh-ez HječL
 če-Sl nÄöl niöčsJ pji-Sl Bdžčel QiLčQ-LÉ Nj ijčp-u čc-u-RezHacŪp-šÄJ Bdžčel ijhdilijū
 mīčma fičlhjčl lš²-pÉj-a čLž¹ŕ gŖŇŕdilijū ja h-u Q-m-R eilŕl fÉča pejae, najŕf pč'a
 lrZnŕm jšmÉ-hjdz Bdžčel q-uj fčlhj-ll pcpÉ-cl lš² -b-L EvfičVa quče fxl'oaičž»L pji-Sl
 lrZnŕm OžZz -pLil-ZC lčjajl nÄöl LM-ejC Qjuče lčjajl fÉča OčVa Aijheŕu OVeil-L -LžčÉ L-l
 fčlhj-ll pčjieqiče OVŕLz jŕŕčmčq -qjL pji-S aj-cl fčlhjčl h-ecŕ AhŪŪjiez

HLSe eilŕl fÉča SOeÉ finčhL AaÉjQi-ll -Lje fÉčalil lčjajl fčlhj-ll pcpÉlj Qjučez fčlh-aŇ
 -Lj-VŇ čxLjŇLlŕ-cl čQčq²aLIZ Llil -r-œ lčjai-L jječpLij-h Qif fÉ-ujN Llī qu čečmŇč i"čjLj
 NÉqZ Ll-az lčjajl fÉča OčVa SOeÉ finčhL OVeil S-eÉ ajl če-Sl fčlhj J pjiS aj-L AfličdZŕl
 -LjVju -g-m -cuz H-r-œ Bji-cl pjiS eilŕl fÉča čxL«čalilŕ-cl Afličŕ čqpi-h ŕŕLlī Ll-a Qju ej,
 fčlh-aŇ eilŕ-LC pjiS -cioŕ lŕ-f pejš² L-lz lčjajl -pC fičlhjčl AhŪŪjiez fčlŕgŕV q-u E-W hs Si
 mŕej J ajl Lb-fjLb-e-

lčjai če-Sl j-e h-m EWm

- fi-lčeC -ajz iŕ-m kj Jph Lbiz mŕej lčjajl Lyi-dC qia liMm, - -hy-Q -NčRp -ajz kčc
 aŕ-m če-u -kaz

- çLR¥C kMe qu çe, a-h -Le ji Miçm hm-Re -j-ujjeæ-ol Ni-u HLVj ciN fs-mC jªaÉ¥
fkÑç¹ -p My¥-aj q-u kiu!
- h-eçc hjçsl hÉifjl -aj, H-cl Lbjl diljC HLLjz
- -Le! ji -aj -hn jXjZÑ! Qm-e hm-e! -fjojL Bni-L!
- Siçe ei -l iic jXjZÑ Li-L h-mz mÆei -WjV EÒVj-mj
- çh-u q-u CÙ¹L Qjl hRl d-l -aj -cMçRz Jph jXjZÑ gXi-ZÑl f-mÙ¹ilj hjC-l -b-L HLVj
- VjLi fs-mC T¥IT¥l L-l M-p f-sz (i-iQikÑ, 49)

IçjaiI çe-Sl niöçs çHEçV fimÑj-l kju AbQ eilEl fĚça AaÉjQil-L eilEl My¥-aj çqpi-hC -p -cM-a AiÉÙ¹z AeÉçC-l çe-Sl nÄöJ fæhdšl fĚça HC OVeju çhijç¹ J çhš²z ajC -Li-VÑl pjrEl pje-L kaVj fil-R Hçs-u kihjl -Qøj L-l-Rz fæhdš Içjai-L hjl hjl hjlZ L-l-R -Li-VÑl pjrEl çc-e EfçÙÙa ei q-u -LpVi-L Hçs-u -k-az HLSe çekÑiçaa eiIÆ çhQil hÉhÙÙil Li-R pææçhQil fil HVj -p Qiu eiz fçlh-aÑ çe-Sl h-ecf fçlhj-ll jæM EæEm bjL¥L HVjC ajl Li-R hs -hnf fĚ-ujSeFu h-m j-e quz

-k fæ!o-L -cijl L-l Içjai pææçhQi-ll fĚaÉinjju çhQilhÉhÙÙil LiWNSju çN-u cyisi-h -pC üijf -cijl-ll j-dÉC l-u-R AeicçLi-ml fæ!oaiçç»L pji-Sl OæZz üijf fmjn HLSe Cwçmn çjçXujj ú¥-ml fçl-h-n jjeæoz Bdæçel çhmip hÉpe J l! çQl AçdLiÆ q-mj eiIÆ pçf-LÑ ail jšmÉ-hjd peiaefz çe-Sl nÄöl-niöçsl ja üijf fmj-nl j-dÉ Içjai -cM-a -f-u-R fĚjQe peiaef jšmÉ-hjdz eilEl AaÉjQi-ll fĚça pææçhQi-ll BLi'Mj üijf fmj-nl j-dÉ My¥-S fjuçe -pzfçlh-aÑ IçjaiI fĚça HC OVej-L -p HLSe lrZnÆm fæ!-ol ja úÉjæim l©-f çh-hQei L-l-R-

"Bjli QjC ei hjçsl hE HC -ejwli OVeju gicÑjl Sçs-u fs¥Lz fmj-nl Nmj çæj-l jæQ-l -Nm, - Mæh Mh-ll LjN-Sl çq-ljCe q-u-Re HMez BÉV çj LØV Ah CJl úÉjæimz

- úÉjæim! çL-pl úÉjæim!

- HLVj INI-N BÉLçp-X¥V-L çe-u -hçn LQmj-m, LjN-S LjN-S -ØViçl-gyic-m jiaijjça °q °q Ll-m -pVi úÉjæi-mC fçlZa qu, hæ-TR? fjhçmLJ -pVi QjV-a ij-mjhi-pz' (i-iQikÑ, 52)

fmjn J ail h-ecf fçlhj-ll pjiçSL jæM lri Ll-aC Içjai-L çjĚujjZ q-a q-u-Rz çTæx-Ll ja -p fĚçahicf q-u EW-a fi-lçez çe-S Aç¹xpšÄi qJuju, içhoÉv BNa pç¹i-el j%omLijeju J °hhiçqL Sfh-el pçfLÑ-L çVçL-u liMil pjiçSL cijhÜai, p-hñjçl nÄölhiçsl pcpÉ-cl Qi-fC Içjai-L HL A-Qei çe-jÑil dilZ Ll-a q-u-Rz jqijjeÉ Bcim-al çhQil piiju -Qei Aflidf-cl hidÉ q-uC -p peiš² Ll-a Aü£Ljl L-l-Rz HL NiEl fiçlhjçl, pijçSL Apquaiju ail SÆhe -cicæmÉjie-

"üijfEl çhq-e eiIÆ kjC-h -Libiz

üijf pqQl hæ¥ üijf -p -chaizz

üijf çia Nça AeÉ eiçq eiIÆN-Zz

hĚa aÆbÑ fšSi -qij üijfEl Ql-Zzz'

pjiS pwpj-ll -hsiSim bi-L -hçs-u Bpil rjai -SiVi-a fi-lçe -pz aj-L EµQçš lrZnÆm h-ecf fçlhj-ll HLSe üiaç»qfe Apqu Næqhdšl ja Aç¹cÑj-q çf q-a q-u-R Ly¥-s Ly¥-sz

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**L«čø, LjmQil, pwú«ča: AbŇjæŷpãje, čhčnø hÉčš²-cl Ačija J ail
fkŇj-miQei**

niž¹eŷ jTMm[†]

† AÉjčpøVÉi¼V fĚ-gpl, hijwmi čhijN, H. čh. He. nÉm L-mS, -LjQčhqil, fčŇQjh%œz

pilpw-rf

L«çø, LimQil, pwú«ça pçf-LÑ ejei jæcel ejei jaz -Lje në hÉhqj-ll -k±çš²Laj -hçn aj çe-uC jšma ja-icz lhÉ¼cÊejb Cw-lçS Culture HI fĚčaně çqpi-h "pwú«ça' nëçV-LC NĚqZ-kjNÉ j-e L-lez çaçe Culture hm-a hæT-ae çnÒfpiçqaÉ, ihÉaj, iâai, çQ-šjvLoÑ, refinement CaÉjçcz BI "L«çø' n-ël fĚça AexliN eEqill"-elz çaçe j-e L-le "L«çø' nëçV gm, gæm, npÉ Evfjc-el SeÉ Sçj Qi-ol A-bÑ eu, aj jjeæ-ol SEhe hei" çj Qi-ol A-bÑJ hÉhqjL Lij kjuz ajC "L«çø' nëçV "pwú«ça'l -Q-u -hçn AbÑhq J kæçš²çpÛz BI piÉajl BiÉç'IEZ fĚjZ hij jeçpL Aæ-fĚIZi-LC Culture h-m j-e L-le pææEçalYjil Q-—ifidÉjuz çaçeJ "pwú«ça' në hÉhqj-ll frfjaEz pwú«ça pçf-LÑ -Nifim qimciIJ ayil pææçQç'¹a jiaija hÉš² L-l-Rez çaçe j-e L-le pwú«çal -jiv AbÑ qm çhnÄfĚL«çal p-% jieh fĚL«çal üliS-pideiz Cçaqi-pl pjrÉ, çh'j-el pjrÉ çc-u çaçe pwú«çal jšmašÄ-L -kje aæ-m d-l-Re çWL -ajçe pwú«çal Ahuh -Lje -p pçf-LÑJ ajl jaija hÉš² L-l-Rez pijçNĚLij-h L«çø, LimQil, pwú«ça pçf-LÑ -L LE -i-h-Re -pçV-LC aæ-m dlj J ajl çhQil çh-nÔoz Liju H-fĚhå IQeij jšm E-ŸnÉz

pšœeně

L«çø, LimQil, pwú«ça, eÉçadjÑ, Aæxnæme, QQÑi-QkÑi, LçoÑa -rœ, pwú«çal I©fjç'¹, Super-structure, Sub-structure

L«çø LimQil pwú«ça J pwú«ça çnÒf Cçaqipzz

L«çø, LimQil J pwú«ça pçf-LÑ lhÉ¼cÊejb WjLYl, pææEçalYjil Q-—ifidÉju J eEqill"e li-ul çhQil zz

fĚjbcjL f-hÑ hijwmi piçq-aÉl f-e-li Bei B-ujSe çR-mi lppiçqaÉ çe-uz ajC hç^jQ¼cÊ -b-L lhÉ¼cÊejb fkÑç'¹ Hcho-u -rji fĚLjn L-l-Rez ayili A-el jeenæm, çQç'¹jdjÑE fĚhå-çehå IQeij L-l -N-Re H fjçaaÉ -b-L hijwmi ijoj-L jæš² Lhij SeÉz lhÉ¼cÊ-flhaÑE HLSe E-öM-kjNÉ hÉçš²aÆ eEqill"e lju (1903-1981)z ayil j-dÉ Cçaqi-pl N-hoL J lçpLje pjeÄu mji L-l-Rz LihÉpiçq-aÉl -p±¼ckÑ çh-nÔo-Z ayil IQeij jšmÉ -kje Afçlpej çWL -ajçe Cçaqi-pl hÉjMÉi-eJ çaçe çhøjuL L«ça-aÆl fçlQu çc-u-Rez "L«çø LimQil pwú«ça' fĚh-å çaçe LimQil, L«çø J pwú«çal AbÑpâj-el -Qøj L-l-Rez B-miQeij fĚjbcjL f-hÑ Bjli -pC AbÑ Aæxdi-h-el -Qøj Li-a fjçlz

fĚjhçåL fĚh-ål i"çjLi-a Sj çe-u-Re -

""Bjil Aæxp-åu hÛ¹æ q-µR L«çø-LimQil-pwú«çal jšm, fĚpiçla J fçlhaÑjje AbÑ, -p A-bÑl çhçiaæ Cç%oa J B-du, Hhw H phçLRæI p-% çnÒf J piçq-aÉl, jieh pji-Sl pijjçSL jieçhL eÉçad-jÑl pðåz"¹

ijlaEu fiçfli AæxkuE HC Aæxpâje Lacšl pjbÑL q-u-R, -pC B-miQeju HMe Lij -k-a fj-lz

pjuVi çRm 1932 -b-L 1938 fkÑç'¹z lhÉ¼cÊejb HLçV në çe-u çhhĚa çR-me, nëçV qm "L«çø'z Cw-lçS Culture HI hijwmi fĚčaně çq-p-h "L«çø' nëçV aMe çLRæçce kjhv LMeJ LMeJ hijwmi

ijoiu hÉhq@a qçµRmz Bexjie Lli qu -k -ki-NnQ¼cÊ lju çhcÉjçeçd 1924-25 çMËØVi-ë çq¾cÊ ijoj -b-L nëçV BqIZ L-l hijwmj ijoju aj fËQme L-lez

IhÉ¾cÊejb Cw-lçS Culture nëçVI fËçanë çq-p-h NËqZ-kjNÉ h-m j-e L-le hijwmj "pwú«ça' nëçV-Lz HC nëçVI fËça IhÉ¾cÊej-bl cªçø BloÑZ L-le pææfçalÿjil Q--ifidÉju 1922 çMËØVi-ë z pidilZij-h pææfçalÿjil j-e L-le "pwú«ça' në àjli çh-noa piçqaÉ-pwNËa-eªaÉ-ejVL-l©fLmj CaÉjçc-LC -hijTj-ej quz Bhil AeÉ hÉjMÉjül©f çace Sjeje-

""HLidj-l piÉjaj - al!l fæxf Bl ajl BiÉç'l fËjZ hi jjeçpL Aex-fËlZi ki, ajC C-µR Culture ."2

Culture n-ël jšm B-R mijçae ijojil "Lÿmaÿli' (Cultura) n-ëz HC në mijçae "-Ljm' (Col) djaÿ -b-L H-p-R kij AbÑ qm Qjo Lliz HC Culture HI fËçanë qm "EvLoÑ-pjde'z hç^jQ¾cÊ AexnËme A-bÑJ nëçVI hÉhqil L-lez "pwú«ça' n-ël Aexpàje fËp-%o pææfçahjhæ Sjeje -

""pwú«ça' nëçV Culture hi Civilization A-bÑ Bçj fjC fËb-j 1922 pi-m fÉjçl-p, Bjil HL jqiljØËËu hãÿl Li-Rz Culture - HI -hn ij-mi fËçanë h-m nëçV Bjil j-e mi-Nz Bjil hãÿ nëçV -f-u Bjil Be¾c -c-M HLVÿ çhçØja qe - çace h-me -k ayili -aj hýLim d'-l jiljWË ijoju HC në hÉhqil L'-l Bp-Rez"3

f-l pææfçalÿji-ll pjbÑ-e çrça-jiqe -pe jqinu l-a-lu hËjþ-Zl HLCV Eçš²-a IhÉ¾cÊejb-L "pwú«ça' n-ël E-ð-Ml Lbj h-mez "pwú«ça' nëçVI fËça IhÉ¾cÊej-bl frfjçaaÆ mr Ljil j-aj -

1. "".....LjmQil n-ël HLVj ešae hijwmj Lbj qWjv -cMj çc-u-RzL«çø?
Cw-lçS nëVil Bçidjçel A-bÑl hidÉ AexNa q-u l LÿnËË nëVj-L çL pqÉ
Ll-aC q-h?"4
2. "" "L«çø'l -røe B-R ajl Qi-o hi-p Bçf-p Ljlmjeju; ajl pwú«çal -røe
piçqaÉ, HMi-e ajl Bfejlc pwú«ça, -p ai-a Bfej-LC pjÉl©-f L-l
aÿ-m-R, -p Bfçec q-u E-W-Rz la-lu hËjþZ ajC h-m-Re
"BaËpwú«çahÑjh çnØfjçe'z....."5

Eš² "BaËpwú«çahÑjh çnØfjçe'-l Cw-lçS Ll-m cyisju -Arts indeed are the culture of the soul. "R-¾cijuw hi l-akÑSjie BaËjew pwúÿl'-a'6 -HCpLm çn-Øfl àjli kSjie BaËil pwú«ça pide L-lez pwú«a ijoj hm-a -hijTju --k ijoj cultured pçfËçj-ul, -k ijoj çh-noij-h culturalz "pwú«ça' nëVjC LjmQil A-bÑ üËL«a q-u-R jiljWË, çq¾cÊ fËi«ça AeÉjeÉ fËj-cçnL ijojuz pijwú«çal Cçaqip (Cultural History) nëçV IhÉ¾cÊej-bl j-a "°æ²çøL Cçaqip'-HI -Q-u A-eL -hçn ij-mi -njejuz

IhÉ¾cÊej-bl j-a ijoju LM-ej LM-ej °chæ²-j HLC n-ël àjli çæC çhçiaè SjaËu AbÑ 'jif-el cªøjç¹ -cMj kijuz Cw-lçS-a -pC -nËZËl Lbj qm "LjmQil'z pwú«a ijoju LoÑZ hm-a çh-noij-h Qjo Lli -hijTjuz jšm djaÿVi-L çiaè çiaè EfpNÑ-kj-N çiaè çiaè AbÑhijQL Lli -k-a fj-l, pwú«a ijojil çeuçC ajCz EfpNÑ-i-c HL L«-djaÿl ejej AbÑ Lli qu, -kje-Eflil, çhLil, BLilz çLç¹ÿ EfpNÑ ej çc-u,

L«ça nē-L BL«ça, fĒL«ça, çhL«ça A-bŃ fĒ-ujN Llj kju eiz Ev hj fĒ EfpNŃ-kj-N L«çø nē-L jicvI -b-L j-el çc-L aŷ-m -eJuj kju h-m lhĒ¼cĒejb j-e L-lz -kje - EvL«ø, fĒL«øz pæxaliw -

""Cw-lçS ijoil Lj-R Bjli Hje LĒ cipMv çm-M çc-uçR -k ajl AçhLm
AexhaÑe L-l -i±çal J jieçpL çxç AphZŃ AbŃ-L HLC n-ël fçIZuNĒçžÛ-a
BhÛ Lih?"⁷

Ef-II EÛ«ça...çm -b-LJ H pq-SC Aexçja -k, lhĒ¼cĒejb culture hm-a hæT-ae çnØfpiçqaÉ, ihÉaj, îâaj, çQ-šivLoŃ, refinement CaÉjçcz HLjž¹ SĒhedjI-ZI SeÉ -k ÛÛ"m °ceç¼ce fĒ-ujSeFu çœ²ujLjŃ J ajl -k gmnĒŷça aj-L çaçe -Lj-eij-aç culture hm-a Qieçez -pç SeÉç pwú«ça n-ël fĒça ayil AexljN Bhw "L«çø' n-ël fĒça ayil çhIjNz pæxæççalŷjil Q-—ifidÉjuJ HC SjaFu ja -fjoZ LI-aez

fĒjhçâl lhĒ¼cĒejb-Bl jaij-al çh-ljçdaj L-l-Re -

""L«çøI çhI' -Û lhĒ¼cĒejb -k HLjçdL kæçš² EfçÛÛa L-l-Re ajl çiv çnçbm, fj-ul
eĒ-Q çÛÛli" çj -eç hm-mç Q-mz"⁸

eĒqill"e lju j-e L-le, nēçV Cw-lçS LjmQil-HI Eçen hj çhn-naLĒu hijwmj Aexhic eu, hlw aj ajl -Q-uj fĒjQĒez -kj-NnQ¼cĒ -jçceĒ-Ljo J Ajl-Lj-ol E-ðM LI-mJ nēçV ajl -Q-uj fĒjQĒeal Hhw L«çø nēçV öðxjçœ gm, gŷm, npÉ Evfjç-el SeÉ Sçj Qi-ol A-bŃ eu aj jex-ol SĒhe-hei" çj Qi-ol A-bŃJ hĒhq@a q-ajz fĒjhçâl öðxjçœ nēajçšÄL Cçaqi-pl Efl çeiŃI LI-a Qieçe -

""Bjil fĒbj J fĒdje kæçš², "L«çø' nēçV "pwú«ça' nēçVI -Q-u -hçn AbŃhq
Hhw -pç-qaŷ -hçn kæçš²çpÛz"⁹

ayil j-a mĒjçVe col djaŷ -b-L çexfæ culture hj Lŷmaŷli nē J L«o-djaŷ -b-L çš²-fĒaÉu-kj-N çexfæ L«çø n-ël hĒŷvfçšNa HL hj HLjçdL AbŃ HLC BkŃ ijoijioĒ Se hj Sepjš-ql dĒjedjIZiNa Bhq J fçl-hn -b-L Eá"az fjĒQj-aÉ LjmQil nēçVI hĒhqil -kje i"çjQio A-bŃ Hhw jieç çQš"çj Qio A-bŃJ fĒkæš² qu, çWL -ajçe ijlah-oŃJ pwú«a ijoju "L«çø' nēçVI hĒhqilJ HC Eiu A-bŃç hĒhq@a q-a -cMj kjuz Hhw -

""HI j-dĒ Cw-lçSI AexLIZçfĒuajl hj Aexhj-cl jidĒ-j fjĒQjaÉ fæçbhĒI ešae
dĒjedjIZil BjçjeĒI -LjeJ fĒnÀç -eçz"¹⁰

pjÛ¹ fjĒQjaÉ fæçbhĒ-a çhn na-LI fĒbjj-dŃ culture hj kultur LbjVjI Açidjçel AbŃ çRm -
""refinement (as) the result of cultivation, a type of civilization (chambers), improvement (by mental or physical training), intellectual development (oxford)z"¹¹ lhĒ¼cĒejb, pæxæççalŷjil HC Bçidjçel AbŃçVC NĒqZ LIçR-mez çLž¹ŷ culture nēçVI Bçidjçel AbŃ BIJ HLjçdL çRmz -kje
""rearing, production of (bees, oysters, fish, silk, bacteria), set of bacteria thus produced. çLž¹ŷ Bjj-cl hŷçÛSĒhĒ-cl çæçø HC AbŃ J Cç%ajbŃ...çml fĒça BL«ø quçez"¹²

fĒjhçâl physical culture, mental hj intellectual culture, culture of senses, Agriculture, Sericulture, pisciculture fĒi«ça nē J nēhå...çm E-ðM L-l -cçM-u-Re -k culture nēçVI AbŃ HLjçdLz hÛ¹ŷa "LjmQil' nēçVI hijĒqil çe-u Qçön J f'j-nl çn-L Cw-lçSijoiu HLçV çhn³ Mmi -cMj çc-uçRmz

čV. Hp. HčmuV pw'j čezŇ-ul E-Ÿ-nÉ HLčV hC -m-Me -ejj ""Notes towards the definition of culture". c³øjč'ül©f čače UNESCO - HI ejjLI-ZI fĚp%o -aj-mez "UNESCO = United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization." EÜ«ča-a fĚdja cæčV A-bŇ culture nĚčV hÉhq@a q-u-Rz HLčV q-µR Bm^jčIL čcL, ki-L fĚŖQiaÉ Am^jlnj-Ù» hmi qu Synechdoche, HMj-e Awnčh-no-L pijčNĚL A-bŇ čLwhj pjNĚ-L BwčnL A-bŇ -cMj-ej quz -kje iâaj-ihÉaj-LC hmi qu LjmQilz Abhj LjmQil hm-a -hiTi-ej qu čnŖf hi pičqae-L jioez čaaEu A-bŇ -Lj-ej ijh EŸfĚejl SeÉ Abhj -Lj-ej Aexi"ča-L Apjs L-l -chjl SeÉ LjmQil nĚčV hÉhqil Llj quz fĚjhčâ-Ll čpÜjč' -

""LjmQil Hje dĚjedilZi eu ki Bjli uæ-ljf -b-L Bjciče L-lčRz HavpčfčLŇa
djlZičV fĚjQĚe; L«čø, pwú«ča, AexnĚme, QQŇi-QkŇi, Hph nĚC ajl fĚjjZz""¹³

pææfčalŸji-ll j-a -

""°hčcl ijoiu "L«čø' ji-e "Siča', -kje "f'L«øux' ji-e "fyiQ Siča'-fĚbj fĚbj
BkŇÉSičal fyiQčV fĚdja njMj -Aex, âŸý, aŸhŇn, kcæ, Bl fxl' hw-nl -mjL-cl pð-â
HC "f'L«øux' nĚ fĚkš² qa....." ¹⁴

fĚjhčâL pææfčalŸji-ll p-%o HLja -fjoZ L-le Hhw h-me -

""-k Ù¹-l L«čø A-bŇ -cn, -c-nl jieæo hi Siča -hiTi-ej q-µR -p-Ù¹-l L«o-djaŸl
AbŇfĚpij O-V-R, Hhw kyjli L«čo-LC fĚdja SĚh-eifju h-m -j-e če-u-Re
ayi-cl-LC ödæ -hiTi-ej q-µR, LjZ ayiljC aMe acieĚč' e piÉajl EµQaj
Ù¹-lz""¹⁵

"L«čø' °hčcl nĚ,ki jšm AbŇ LoŇZčæ²uj, LčoŇa -rœ hi i"čj, ki -b-L œ²jn -cn, -c-nl jieæo,
Siča fĚi«ča-L -hiTi-ej quz čLč'Ÿ L«čo, LjmQil, LjmčV-ine -HC nĚœufl j-dÉ HLčV NiĚlal,
fĚpičla AbŇJ B-Rz -k-qaŸ HC čaečV čæ²ujl pijičSL E-ŸnÉ ödæ fčlZijNa hæčÜ hi
multiplication eu, ajl ...ZNa hæčÜj h-v Hhw -p hæčÜj SĚhd-jŇl čeujiæNz ØføC -cMj ki-µR
LjmQil Lbjl AeÉ Bl HLčV fĚpičla J NiĚlal AbŇ J E-ŸnÉ B-R, Hhw aj qm hĚ-Sl Eæča pide,
pwújl pide J ajl nčš²hæčÜ Lliz -pSeÉ LjmQil Lbjl AeÉ Ačidičel AbŇ q-µR to improvez
pææaljw -

"".....i"čjLoŇZ L-l -kje jieæo hĚ-Sl Eæča hi pwújl pide OVj-a fi-l, -ajeC
pijičSL jieæ-ol -cq -je čQš'i"čjl Qio L-lj -p -SĚh-el Eæča hi pwújl
OVj-ej kijuz""¹⁶

Super-structure - HI p-%o Sub-structure - HI àič¾àL pð-âl jilŇpĚu kæčš²-L fĚjhčâL aŸ-m
d-leče, hlw čače pqS, plm kæčš² fĚcnŇe L-l Siče-u-Re -k, pwú«čal AbŇ kčc pwújl pide
čæ²uj J ajl gmnĚŸča qu, Bl L«čø AbŇ kčc qu LoŇZčæ²uj J ajl gmnĚŸča Hhw jieæ-ol
hÉčš²Na J pijičSL Eæča pide kčc qu HC cæC-ul E-ŸnÉ aiq-m Sub-structure J Super-structure
IQej čhouL čæ²ujljŇ J BQil-hÉhqj-ll j-dÉ ...eNa fibŇLÉ čLRŸ bjL-a fi-l eiz čWL -ajče Super-
structure -L Sub-structure HI -Q-u J Sub-structure -L Super-structure HI -Q-u -hčn jšmÉ -Cjujl

-Liej fĕnÀC EW-a fi-l ei h-m eFqjll"e lju j-e L-lez L«çø LbjVj H-cæC-ul j-dÉ -Lj-ei cæ-iÑCÉ -cJujm IQej ei L-l hlw aj-cl Oçeø pð-ål çc-LC Cç%oa L-lz pwú«çal -r-œJ LbjVj Cç%oa fĕju HLCz jšm AbÑ -k-qaŷ pwújl pide, HLçc-L L«çol-jÑl SeÉ i"çjl J hĕ-Sl pwújl pide Bl AeÉçc-L jjeħSĕhe i"çjl pwújl- Bl -pC i"çj-a Super-structure H -pjei gmihjl SeÉ, ajC HC cæC-ul j-dÉ jšma -Lj-ei à%à -eCz fĕp%oa fĕjhçåL Sjeje -

""Mæh pqS jjeæol Sj-e Sub-structure ei bjL-m Super-structure cyisi-a fi-l ei, Bl ödæ Sub-structure IQej L-l ajC j-dÉ hip Ll-m jjeħ-Sĕh-el pjbÑL QçlajbÑaj mji Lli kju ei, -k-qaŷ °SçhL J hjÛ'h fĕ-ujS-eC jjeæ-ol ph fĕ-ujSe çex-nçoa qu eiz"¹⁷

eFqjll"e lju çR-me Cçaqip-hšj, ayjl Aæpçåvpxæ je çechÑQj-l -Lj-ei ja-LC Bjm -cuçez çaçe lhĕ%çĕej-bl fĕLjnÉ çh-ljçdaj L-leçez kæçšŷl Aæp-%o "L«çø' nĕçVI hÉŷvfçšNa AbÑ Hhw "pwú«ça' nĕçVI hÉjMÉj L-l-Rez çaçe h-m-Re, Sĕh-el Eæça hi pwújlpide A-bÑ pwú«a ijoju "pwú«ça' nĕçV fĕQçma çRmz LbjçVI hÉŷvfçšNa AbÑ pwúj-ll p-%o ajl pðáz pwú«ça LbjçVI p-%o L«ço hi LoÑZ nĕçVI plipçl fĕaÉr pðå -eCz çLçŷŷ pwújlçœ²ujl fĕL«ça Hhw fĕpiçla A-bÑ LoÑZçœ²ujl fĕL«çal j-dÉ HLvj f-ljr çjm B-Rz

"L«çø' ei "pwú«ça'-HC cæC-ul AçŷçhÑ-ljd çjçV-u fĕjhçå-Ll kæçšŷfšZÑ çpÛjç¹

""Sĕhe hei"çjl ka jumj BhsÑej çšl Ll-a ei fil-m -p i"çj Qjo Lli kju ei; -p Sçj Qi-ol -kijNÉ q-m aMe aj-a ešae LjÑ J ijhejl, ešae dÉje J je-el, ešae üfÀ J pidejl hĕS hfe Ll-a qu, kaÀ L-l L-l hdÑe Ll-a quz a-hC g-m pwú«çal gpmz L«çol-jÑ hĕ-Sl pwújl hi ...ZNa fçlhaÑe pid-el fĕçœ²ujl HLC fĕLjiz cæ-HIC E-ŷnÉ pwújlpide, cæ-HIC fĕçœ²ujl HLz"¹⁸

pææalijw "L«çø' J "pwú«ça' - HC cæC-ul j-dÉ l-u-R jšmNa picænÉz Ei-ul LjSC pwújl pid-el jdÉ çc-u jjeçpLajl EvLoÑaj hæçÛ Ljiz HC EvLoÑajC EµQNĕi-j hyidi jjeçpL -hi-dl fçlQjuLz

pwú«çal l@fjç' l zz -Nifim qimcil

pwú«çal AbÑ, l@fjç¹-ll jšmaaÆ J pwú«çal çae A%ozz

pwú«çal jqšl l@-fl AbÑ çL? çL hi pwú«çal mrÉ? -HC fĕnÀ...çml Eš-l -Nifim qimcil Sjçe-u-Re -

""qu-aj HL Lbjju hçm-m ajqj eaŷe Lj-ml A-bÑ -pC çQLj-ml

Ešl : jjeæoz"¹⁹

fĕh-ål ölj-aC fĕjhçåL HLbj Sjeja -ij-meçe -k ödæjçæ jjeæ-olC pwú«ça B-Rz AeÉ Sĕ-hl pwú«ça h-m çLRŷ -eCz AbÑjv jjeæo çq-p-h jjeæ-ol Bpm fçlQuC ajl pwú«çaz HC "L«ça'l hi Lj-Sl h-mC jjeæo jjeæo q-u-R, fĕL«çal çej hæ-T pjÛ¹ hiyidi-L Rjçs-u ki-µRz

fĕjZĕ ji-œlC Sĕh-el jšm fĕlZi -hy-Q-bjLiz jjeæo HC ajseju fçl-h-nl p-%o -hiTjfsj L-l çV-L bjL-a Qju Hhw hyjQil Efju kaVj fi-l -p fĕL«çal LjR -b-L Bçju L-l çe-a Qju -Hl eijC SĕçhLj -Qøiz jjeæ-ol piÉaj pwú«çal jšm -fĕlZi ajC fĕL«çal Aå çipaÆ -b-L jæçš² mji, AbÑjv SĕçhLj

Buš Lij, ai pqSpidÉ Lijz °cčqL J jiečpL fĕuip fĕk-aÀC jieřo AeÉ Sĕh A-frj Eæaal Hhw ůjaž»Éz fĕjhčĀ-Lj-a -

""pwú«čal -jiv AbŇ chnÄfĒL«čal pq-ki-N jieh fĒL«čal HC ůljS pidejz"²⁰

SĕhSNv fĒL«čal čeu-j hyidiz HLjiœ jieřoC ail hĒčacœ²jz LjLZ ail fĒjZ dij-Zl ajčN-c fĒL«čal nčš² Buš Lhijl SeÉ fĒL«čal p-%o ail A-no pwnĒijzHC pwnĒi-j -p kaVi Suĕ q-u-R, SĕčLjil ajsej J Sĕh-el ajčNc kaV¥L¥ -jVi-a -f-l-R ail piÉaju pwú«ča-a aaV¥L¥IC čecnĒe -j-mz ajC -

""HC piÉaj hi pwú«čaC aiqil -pC čQl - pwnĒi-jl SučQq²; Bhil CqjC aiqil Su-AŮ»z"²¹

pwú«ča hm-a pidjZij-h Bjli hřčT LjhÉ, Nje, čnŮf, cnĒe, BQil-čhQil, hs-Sil HMe čh'jeJz HlljC pwú«čal LaL...čm fĒQčma eij J lŮf B-Rz -kje-

1. LMeJ LMeJ Bjli ijčh pwú«ča -cnNaz -kje ijlaĕu pwú«ča, NĒĒL piÉaj, Qĕe piÉajz
2. LMeJ djŇ J Sjčana pšœ d-l hčm čq¼c¥ pwú«ča, hĒjčZL LjmQilz
3. Bhil Lj-ml čq-p-h hčm fĒjQĕe piÉaj, jdĒkř-Nl piÉaj, Bdřčel piÉajz

čLž¹¥ HClŮf čq-ph Mřh křčš²p%oa euz LjLZ ijlaĕu piÉaj hm-m čq¼c¥ piÉajJ B-p Bhil fĒjQĕe J jdĒkř-Nl piÉajJ B-pz Bhil A-e-Ll j-a pwú«čal jšm B-R HL HL Sjča hi Sekš-bl l-š²z -kje mičae lš², BkŇ lš²z -LE -LE h-m pwú«čal jšm B-R ail d-jŇ - Cpmj-j, čq¼c¥-aĒ Abhi čMĒŮvd-jŇ čLwhj i'afšSjuz Bl pwú«čal °hčnŮĒj -ajče fĒ-aÉ-L če-Sl Ačil'čQ ja čezŇu L-l -g-mz -Lj-ej pwú«čal eij -cu BdÉjčāĒL, -Lj-ej pwú«ča-L h-m Sshjčfz

°h'jčel c^ačŮ-a kyilj čhQil L-le ayi-cl j-a, jieř-ol Sĕhe pwnĒi-jl hi fĒL«čal Efl AčdLil čhŮ'j-ll -jiv fĒ-QŮjC pwú«čaz Bl pwú«čal jšm čičšJ AaÉž¹ hiŮ'h - SĕčLj fĕuip pqSjuš Ljz fĕjhčĀL HC fĒp-%o h-m-Re -

""SĕčLjil fĕui-p jieřo -kje ANĒpl qu, pwú«čalJ -ajče fčlhdŇe O-V, fčlHSŇeJ qu, ji-e aiqil fčlhaŇe Q-mz"²²

jieř-ol BčbŇL Sĕhe ei bil-m, piwú«čal Sĕhe ei bil-m, bilā ödř ail fö Sĕhe - kij -Lj-ej fčlhaŇe -eCz čLž¹¥ jieř-ol BčbŇL J piwú«čal Sĕhe NW-el nčš² B-R h-mC -p jieřo, Bl čWL -pC LjL-ZC jieř-ol fĒL«čalC fčlhaŇe O-Vz pjiS fčlhaŇa qu, finijfjčn pwú«čal fčlhaŇenĕm - HLbj fčlxljil q-h aMeC kMe piÉajl lŮfjž¹-ll jšmpšœčV -hiTj k-hz HC a-šĀl B-mj-L pwú«čal lŮfjž¹-ll dijli AbŇjv pidjZij-h jieř-ol Cčaqi-pl dijli čhQil Ll-mC -hiTj kj-h pwú«čal lŮfjž¹-ll dijli -Lje čc-L Qm-Rz

jieř-ol pijjčSL Sĕhe J jieř-ol Až¹SŇNv HC pjŮ'c -k čeuj -j-e Q-m aj BdÉjčāĒL eu, čeajž¹C hiŮ'hz hŮ'¥C jšm čSčep Bl f^ačbhĕ Hhw jieřo pHč hiŮ'h - čLR¥C Ss eu, pHč Q'm, fčlhaŇjie, eaže eaže BchiŇj-hl Evpz hŮ'¥fř-"l f"-l f"-l HL OščZŇl qijui -ke -m-NC B-R - °h'jčel HC pāje čc-u-Re Bji-clz čh-nĀl jšm Eficje ailj HLčce My¥-S -f-učR-me - C-mLVĒe J -fĒjVez HMe Blj pāje -f-u-Re čeEVĒe, fčSVĒe, čj-piVĒez HClj Efici-el pwO-oŇ SeĒ qu eh eh hŮ'¥lz AhnÉ -pC eaže BchiŇj-hl hř-Ll j-dĒj ...č bi-L -pC čQlž¹e à¼žz fĕjhčĀL čm-M-Re -

""aiqiC Bhił œ²-j gŷčVui hičql qu, Bhił hi-d pwOoÑ, Bl aiqil pjidie qu
ešaeal BčhiÑi-hz Hjče Lčluj à¾-à-pjeÄ-u Q'm hÙ¹ŷ Bfejł Ač¹Ñà-¾àł
ajčN-c Ačieh qCuj EčW-a-Rz"²³

ödɔɔjœ čhnÄfĚL«ča-a eu, jjeɔ-ol Cčaqi-pJ HC hiÙ¹h p-aÉł fĚjjZ -j-m - HSeÉC H-L hmi qu
lčaqičpL hÙ¹ŷhicz hÙ¹ŷł hɔL čQ-l hÙ¹ŷ-L-¾čĚ SeĚim -fĚj-VifŌiSjz -fĚj-VifŌiSj -b-L fĚj-Zl
BčhiÑih q-m à¾àjšmL hÙ¹ŷ fĚNčal Cčaqip ōł q-miz pjĚLlZVj HClLj -

hÙ¹ŷ-----fĚj-VifŌiSj-----A-Qae fĚjZĚ---fĚju A-Qae fĚjZĚ---rĚZ-Qae fĚjZĚ----Qae fĚjZĚ
fĚj-Zl BčhiÑih----SĚhe pwNĚij ōł!-----HM-ej -pC pwNĚij Qm-R-----

hÙ¹ŷ čhLj-nl -no cje jjeɔ-ol œ²jfčlŌgŷV °QaeÉ - kil h-m -p hÙ¹ŷł Efl čeiÑlnĚm q-u hÙ¹ŷ-L
cip L-l če-a čn-M-R - fĚL«ča-L hč¾ceĚ Llį fĚuip Qm-Rz čLč¹ŷ ahɔ aįl hɔ-L -pC čQlč¹e à¾à,
čh-lj-dl eh eh pšœ aįl pjŪ¹ p¾čŌł jdÉ čc-u AeŷpÉ" a q-u B-Rz Bl -

""aiqi B-R hčmujC aiqil piÉai-pwú«ča pwŌj-al jdÉ čcuj ANĚpl qu, ešae
qu, EμQal Ū¹-l EčWuj kijuz Bl HC EμQal Ū¹-l EčWhil fbC qCm
pwLV (crisis) Hhw čhfŌ-hl (revolution) fb,-CqiC aiqil Cčaqi-pl pįrÉz"²⁴

-HVjC pwú«čal lŌfjč¹-lį jšmpšœz

°h'įčel j-a, pwú«čal -jįV čae fĚLj-lį Ahuh B-Rz -p...čm q-mi -

HLzz SĚhe pwNĚj-įl hiÙ¹h EflLIZ pjšqzz

°h'įčel NZeju fĚŪ¹ kɔN, aįĚ fĚŪ¹ kɔN čLwhi -m±q kɔ-Nl jjeɔ-clį piÉaił eį B-Rz -pC kɔ-N
ai-cl SĚhe dij-lį Efičj-el àįlįC -pC eį čŪŪlĚL«a quz lįlZ -p...čmC ai-cl piÉaił pįrÉ - ai-cl
hĚhč@a âhÉ, AŪ»nŪ», BqikÑ J fieĚu fieœ fĚi«čaz H...čm Rišj AeÉ Efi-u ai-cl Lbi Sieil fb
-eC -

""-Lj-ej HlčV čh-no A'-m HLClj-m HClŌf ka čh-no dl-Zl (VjC-fl) EflLIZ čj-m aiqil
HL-kj-N aįqilį eį -ce -pC "LįmQil' hčmujz"²⁵

-kje, -piuje ecĚl EfaÉlįl "-piuje LįmQil' - fįb-lį HlVj čh-no dl-Zl L«ča ai-a -cMį kijuz

cɔCzz pjįS kijœįl hiÙ¹h hĚhŪŪjzz

SĚhe kijœįl fĚ-ujSeĚu EflLIZ -b-L -pC kɔ-Nl pjįS hĚhŪŪj, pwú«čal hiÙ¹h lŌf, LaLVj jiečpL
ijheįlį fčlQu -j-m, -kje - fĚŪ¹ kɔ-N jjeɔ fįb-lį AŪ»nŪ»-L Hje pk-aÀ fįčmn lla -k aį -b-L
Aeɔjje lį qu ödɔ čnLj-lį čj-u eu, če-Sl j-ej čSčepčV pɔɔ¾cl L-l -ajmįl fĚ-ujSe -p -hįd lla
AbÑjv -

""-k kɔ-N pjįS hĚhŪŪj Sjeį kju.....-pMį-e pjį-Sl -pC čh-no lŌf čcujC -pC
pwú«čalį eįlLIZ Blñ quz"²⁶

-kje, föQjll piÉaj, L«çojšmL piÉajz

çaezz jiep pÇfczz

-kMje -b-L pijjçSL I©-fl 'je Bji-cl f-r pææmi -pMje -b-L pwú«çal jiep pÇf-cl fçlQu -j-mz fËjQËe hi Bçcj Sijçal NËa, eªaÉ hi çQ-œl pwhjç kMe fijuj kju aMe Efmçì Lli kju -pCph jiep-pÇfc aj-cl SËhe kijæj J SËçhLj-fËZimËl p-%o La Oçèuüj-h Sçs-u çRm -

""AçdLjwn fËjQËe Lçhai, Nie, çQœ, BMÉjçulj, HCl©f SËçhLj - fË-Qøjl pqjuL çqpi-hC

IçQa qCuj-Rz lph jiep-fËuj-p aMeLjI SËçhLj fËujp phm J pjªÜ

qCuj-R, pwú«ça fšZÑal qCuj-Rz"²⁷

hmj -k-a fi-l hiÙ'h EflLZ, pji-SI hiÙ'h I©f J jieçpL pÇfc - HC ç-a-elC çœ²uj - fËçaçœ²uju, Oja - fËçaOj-a HCij-h fËçakæ-N -pC kæ-NI pwú«çal pjNË I©-fl fçlQu çQçœa q-u bi-Lz

abÉpšœ

1. lju, eÉqill"e, *L«çø LjmQil pwú«ça*, çe-hce Awn, çS'ipi, LçmLjaj-29, BNØV, 1982, fª.6z
2. Q—ijfidÉju, nËÉpææÉçalçjil, *pwú«ça çnØf Cçaqip*, çS'ipi, LmLjaj -29, QaªbÑ fËLjn, Sjeæujçl, 2003, fª.6z
3. a°œhz
4. cš, pæædÉçcËejb pÇfjçca, *fçlQu-pÇfjçl-L çmçMa f-œl -nojwn*, jjiO, 1339z
5. WjLçl, lhÉçcËejb, *piçqaÉašÄ*, "piçq-aÉl f-b", 1340z
6. WjLçl, lhÉçcËejb, LjmQil çehå, *fËhipÉ*, ijâ, 1342z
7. a°œhz
8. lju, eÉqill"e, *L«çø LjmQil pwú«ça*, çS'ipi, LçmLjaj-29, BNØV, 1982, fª.6z
9. a°œh, fª.6z
10. a°œh, fª.7z
11. a°œh, fª.8z
12. a°œh, fª.8z
13. a°œhz
14. Q—ijfidÉju, nËÉpææÉçalçjil, *pwú«ça çnØf Cçaqip*, çS'ipi, LmLjaj -29, QaªbÑ, fËLjn, Sjeæujçl, 2003, fª.7z
15. lju, eÉqill"e, *L«çø LjmQil pwú«ça*, çS'ipi, LçmLjaj-29, BNØV, 1982, fª.15z
16. a°œh, fª.20z
17. a°œh, fª.26z
18. a°œh, fª.21z
19. qimçil, -Nijim, *pwú«çal I©fjç'l*, fæçbOl, a«aÉu pwúlZ, ijâ, 1356z
20. a°œh, fª.21z
21. a°œh, fª.22z
22. a°œh, fª.23z

23. a°œh, fª.27z

24. a°œh, fª.28z

25. a°œh, fª.33z

26. a°œh, fª.34z

27. a°œh, fª.35z

A Study of the Food Habits of Rajbanshi People

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Abstract

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Food is a significant and visible identity of a caste. Rajbanshis are one of the indigenous peoples of Cooch Behar. The study includes the cultural and social aspects of food. This paper emphasises not only what the Rajbanshis eat but also how they prepare and eat it. It will discuss the consumption of food among Rajbanshis and how that differs with the difference of gender. Data and information about traditional food habits and culture were gathered through observation of Rajbanshi festivals as well as interviews with known Rajbanshi persons, particularly from the older generations. The paper shows the changes and continuity in the Rajbanshi food habits.

Keywords

Rajbanshi culture, dietary habit, nutrition, gender, food

Introduction

The Rajbanshis are the sons of the soil of North Bengal. They are found mainly in the northern parts of Cooch Behar district, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, North Dinajpur, South Dinajpur, Maldah and the newly formed Alipurduar and Kalimpong districts. There is a debate regarding the origin of the Rajbanshis and the Koches. The Koches migrated from the Tibetan region to the Brahmaputra valley in the remote past. They were mongoloid in origin, but later there was an admixture with the Dravidians. Dr. Charu Chandra Sanyal said the “Koches are non-Aryan in origin. Some of them adopted Hinduism and became Rajbanshi” (Sanyal 1965, 12). In 1870 the British government of India showed that the Rajbanshis and Koches were of the same group. Food habits reflect the nature of a society and culture. The Rajbanshi food preferences and cooking style are specific. The food choice is also a complex process and it depends on factors such as personal, social, economic and emotional. In addition, globalisation has dismantled the traditional food habits and offered more choice of food.

Objectives: The paper aims

1. To present a holistic account of the traditional food habits of the Rajbanshis.
2. To investigate the food habits and behaviours in order to arrive at possible gender specificities in dietary habits and preferences.

Methodology: Data and information about traditional food habits and culture were gathered through observation of Rajbanshi festivals as well as interviews with Rajbanshi persons, particularly from the older generations, known to the authors. For finding out the food habits existing now, we have taken a survey in the village areas of Talliguri, Dhalpal, Shalbari, Nagurhat of Tufanganj block I and II. We had formed a questionnaire to investigate the evolution of food habits. The respondents were questioned regarding the changes, if any, in the traditional food habits, and their perception of the nutritional value of the traditional foods.

Discussion: The Rajbanshis are basically peasant people whose main occupation is agriculture. The Rajbanshis eat everything in accordance with the Hindu religion. They prefer rice cultivation. They are conscious of the high nutritious value of Nunia rice. They eat pork, lamb, and pigeon meat. These items were originally associated with blood sacrifice in their religious ceremonies. They take three meals a day. The meal taken in the morning is called *Tsura*. It usually comprises rice made on the previous night. It is also known as *Panta Bhat* in Rajbanshi language. The meal

that is usually taken at noon includes freshly cooked rice. The third meal is taken at night. But nowadays the meal structure has undergone a great change due to globalisation. As a result of this various kinds of people have come from different regions and their amalgamation has affected each other's food habits as knowledge is transferred from one culture to the other. Some special foods of the Rajbanshis that are mainly taken for religious and social rituals are listed below—

For Religious Occasions:

Chura and Doi: The Rajbanshi people prefer to eat *Doi* and *Chura* for Bura puja. To make this they first keep paddy in water for 24 hours. On the next day they heat and husk it with a husking machine (*chham* in Rajbanshi) and then press the wet paddy to produce *chura*.

For Everyday Use:

Bhapa Pitha: Rajbanshi women make a delicious dish with powdered rice, called *Bhapa Pitha* or *vakka* which is a sort of rice cake. Husked rice powder is taken in a small bowl, a small crystal of sugarcane jaggery is placed on it and the whole thing is wrapped with a small piece of cotton cloth. The dish is then placed at the mouth of a *Handi* with boiling water inside. Rice cakes are healthy, nutritious and also profit making.

Baigon Choba: There is another food item which is very popular among the Rajbanshis. It is brinjal roast, known as *Baigon choba* in the Rajbanshi language. The uncut brinjal is burnt and then the skin is peeled and the softened pulp is eaten with mustard oil. In the same way *Alu choba* (potato), *Machh choba* (fish roast), meat roast are also eaten.

Chheka-sak: *Chheka* is an alkaline salt solution. The process of preparing it is discussed briefly. The tuber of a plantain tree is dried in the sun and the dried pieces are burnt. Then a little ash of plantain and some water are mixed to prepare *chheka*. *Chheka* is the alkaline water that is used to dissolve the mucilage of leaves. *Chheka-sak* is prepared with the leaves of *kochu* (*Colocasia*), *Nafa* (*Malva verticillata*), young jute plants etc. Leaves are lightly fried and some salt and *chheka* water are poured for boiling the leaves. *Pelka* is a delicious vegetable item which is cooked with *lapha shak* (*Malva verticillata*).

Table 1: List of Recorded Wild Edible Plants

Source: Susmita Roy, “Ethnobotanical Appraisal of Rajbanshi Community

Scientific name	Local name	Family
<i>Amaranthus spinosus</i> (L.)	<i>Khuria kata</i>	Amaranthaceae
<i>Chenopodium album</i> (L.)	<i>Bathua</i>	Chenopodiaceae
<i>Colocasia esculenta</i> (L.)	<i>Kala-kachu</i>	Schott Araceae
<i>Diplazium esculentum</i> (Retz.) Swartz	<i>Dhekia-Shak</i>	Athyraceae
<i>Moringa oleifera</i>	<i>Sajina</i>	Moringaceae
<i>Ipomoea aquatica</i> Forssk	<i>Kalmishak</i>	Convolvulaceae
<i>Enhydra fluctuans</i> Lour	<i>Haleincha</i>	Asteraceae

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Sutka and Sidal: Another popular food of the Rajbanshis is *sutka* and *sidal*. *Sutka* is actually dried fish. The Rajbanshi people dry the fresh fish. Then they keep it in a pumpkin gourd which had already been fashioned like a container. *Sidal* is made with crushed dry fish and a mixture of spices including turmeric and chilly, and also *maan kochu* (*Colocasia indica*), *kala kochu* (*Colocasia esculenta*) etc. These items are crushed with the help of a husking machine locally called *chham*.

Sukati: Leaves of jute plant are dried in the sun and preserved in bamboo containers. This is taken when other vegetables are not available. The dry leaves are boiled in water. Sometimes they add with it some *sutka* (dried fish) and *chheka* solution. The boiled leaves are eaten with garlic and chillies.

Neem leaf: *Neem* is a leaf that is valuable to all the people of India. The Rajbanshis are also aware of the importance of this valuable leaf. This leaf works as a medicine. Its efficacy has been noted since the ancient times. The Rajbanshi people use the *neem* leaf as a food item. They eat *neem* leaves and drink its paste with water.

Tari: It is produced from the freshly tapped juice of palm. Experienced people are engaged to collect the juice coming out of the channels cut on the trunk of the tree. The fresh juice is kept in the open to be fermented.

For Social Rituals:

Rice beer (*hari*): It is a kind of wine prepared from rice. Rice and medicinal herbs are fermented in a pot for a few days. The ingredients which are necessary for preparation of rice beer are leaves of jackfruit, the root of *agarchita*, and the tender leaves of plantain tree. Both men and women drink it during any celebration or social occasion. But some people also drink it regularly.

Gua pan: The Rajbanshis like to eat a kind of leaf that is known in Bengali as pan. They take it with a kind of nut that is known as *supari* (betel nut). These two things are eaten together by them and this is known as *guapan*. They also offer it to the guests to welcome them. At weddings they use the raw nut or *katcha gua*. Many of them keep it in their pockets and eat from time to time.

The Rajbanshis smoke tobacco in wooden hookahs. They smoke tobacco and *tejpata*. Honey is another healthy and nutritious food item. They use it to warm the body. They also grow bottle gourds that they use in the preparation of meat.

The differences in the dietary characteristics of males and females are still unknown. To investigate their dietary characteristics we have observed 40 individuals (20 males and 20 females) and noted the following.

Table 2– Dietary Characteristic by Gender

Dietary Characteristic		Male % Saying Yes	Female % Saying Yes
Fresh vegetable		100	100
Eat meat	Pork	60	35
	Other	40	65
Strict diet to lose weight		15	25
Casual diet to lose weight		5	25
Special diet for religious reasons		15	15
Frequency of Daily meal	Two time	60	55
	Three time	40	40

Source: Data collected through interview

The percentage of men and women who consume vegetable and meat, as well as the frequency of taking meals is shown in the above table. The consumption of fresh vegetables by each gender is similar. Males outnumber the females when it comes to the consumption of meat or pork. It was found that women would be feeling upset if they found themselves overweight. Most of them would be likely to go on a slimming diet if their weight increased. Among those surveyed some would eat less food if they had eaten a lot of high energy food on the previous day. The females were found to be more conscious of their body weight than the males.

**Table 3 – People’s Perception Regarding Nutritional Content of Traditional Food
(% Saying Yes)**

Perception about Traditional Food		Male (%)	Female (%)
<i>Pelka</i>	A lot	60	60
	A little	5	10
	Don’t know	10	25
<i>Chheka Sak</i>	A lot	55	50
	A little	10	5
	Don’t know	15	25
<i>Neem leaf</i>	A lot	85	70
	A little	10	20
	Don’t know	5	10

Source: Data collected through interview

It is found that most of the Rajbanshi people have some knowledge about the nutritional value of their traditional foods. They consume traditional food like *Chheka Sak* or *Pelka* one or two times a week. Some people consume this type of food even three or four times a week.

Table 4 –The Rajbanshi People’s Perception Regarding Change of Food Habit

Perception regarding Change of Food Habit	Male (%)	Female (%)
Influence of people migrating from elsewhere	60	70
Education	30	20
TV/newspaper	10	10

Source: Data collected through interview

Conclusion

To conclude, it may be said that the Rajbanshi people have benefitted through interaction with the people who had migrated from east Bengal and as a result their food habit has somewhat changed. Over the years not only has their methods of preparing and processing food changed, but their total lifestyle has undergone a change through the dissemination of education and employment opportunities. Their food habit has also become multifarious in character. They have adopted and assimilated many new elements into their culinary culture, but at the same time they have not lost their traditional dietary habits and culture. The consumption of such items as *pelka*, *chheka*, *sidal*, *sutki*, etc. on a regular basis, as the findings of this survey testify, proves that the Rajbanshi people still maintain their traditional food habits despite embracing other influences.

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Fig1- Pelka sak



Fig 2 - Sidal



Fig 3- Chura & doi



Fig 4- Gourd container for dried fish

The Sino-Indian Affliction

Is Terrorism a Panacea to the Abiding Constraints?

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Abstract

The continent of Asia is one of the largest land masses in the world. Being the home to thousands of races, languages, cultural identities, language profiles and ethnic affiliations, it represents a true picture of a multi-cultural, multi-racial and multi-linguistic ethos. With the presence and prevalence of perhaps a multiplicity of religious communities, there is absolutely no doubt that this continent has, over the years, emerged as a breeding ground for religious discordance, virulent communal divisiveness and violent ethno-national conflicts. Given these circumstances, and cutting across all politico-economic-strategic considerations, both China and India have been held hostage to the scourge of the most vicious forms of radical Islamic terrorism. Therefore, it is time that the two 'Asian giants' set aside their differences, and present a united front and combat terrorism in all its manifestations.

Keywords

Multi-culturalism, religious identities, Islamic terrorism, Sino-Indian

Introduction

The 21st century has been the witness to certain extremely epoch-making events in the anvil of international relations. Without a doubt, the preceding century has probably been the most 'happening' as far as events in world politics and the world economics is concerned. From the two debilitating World Wars, to the nationalist movements in the dominated, colonised nation-states of the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to the demon of terrorism literally breathing down our necks, the world has indeed been torn asunder by the events occurring therein¹.

However, the world today has changed fundamentally. Even without the possibility of a destructive nuclear war, the several internecine conflicts, skirmishes and civil wars taking place simultaneously and concurrently across the globe, have been the most horrifying aspect of the day. And without a doubt, the scourge of terrorism has cut across barriers, unified the disparate entities and literally forced the hitherto warring nations to come together and present a unified front in facing the challenge of this danger which has spanned the continents. Perhaps one of the most prolific initiatives that can be witnessed in this field is the gradual coalescence of China and India on the ways and means to tackle this ever escalating problem.

1.1 The Global Phenomenon of Terrorism

The 21st century has been the spectator to a veritable host of events and occurrences across the globe. The world has cultivated itself into a global village in the real sense of the term. The earth has shrunk, and the distances have virtually ceased to exist. In such a state of affairs, the meaning

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of nationality and polity are also changing day by day. Today, geographical boundaries have no relevance, and hence one can perceive a distinct inclination towards unity beyond borders. The word “terrorism” paints a unique perspective of transcending borders and evolving a cohesive perspective across diverse circumstances, disparate ideologies, and groups with varying degrees of organization. Essentially, four components can be identified as perhaps the defining contour of terrorism – i) the perpetrator is a non-state actor; ii) the targets are primarily civilians; iii) relentless violence is used, usually in a systemic and symbolic manner, and essentially to instill a sense of unabated fear; iv) the aim is fundamentally to realize certain political goals and strategic gains².

Such an over-encompassing concept, which has the entire world in its throes, can be attributed to several causes. International terrorism is one of the perennial global problems completely vitiating the atmosphere of peace and tranquility. There are several reasons that can be attributed to this universal phenomenon: a. *Ethno-Nationalism*; b. *Religion*; c. *Socio-Economic Status*; d. *Alienation/Discrimination*; and e. *Political Grievances*.

Terrorism is a humongous, all-encompassing phenomenon, which cannot be defined from the viewpoint of one single perspective. It is an amalgamation of diverse and divergent elements that can spawn a realm of terror and bloodshed throughout the world. Truth be told, terrorism in Asia can essentially be analysed from all these basic perspectives that have been stated above.

1.2 Terrorism in the Realm of Asia

For centuries, the continent of Asia had languished on the back burners of international political and economic equations, with the huge landmass never featuring prominently on the anvils of global deliberations. However, from the middle of the preceding century, with the wave of nationalist movements sweeping across Asia, here were indeed path-breaking changes in the multi-varied dimensions of this large continent. And gradually, Asia came to play a pivotal role in each and every facet of international relations. There were awe-inspiring strides in economic development, satisfactory realisation of democratic political goals and comprehensive security-strategic gains. And yet, sustained peace was yet to come. The incessant attacks on the established institutions of democracy and liberty by the multi-pronged forces of separatism, divisionism and anarchy, have never allowed sustained democratic edifices to prosper in this place. And, as a natural concurrence, terrorism has been the bitter aftermath of this travesty of peace.

Terrorism has many dimensions, divergent inter-related elements that have emerged as the thousand headed monster, swallowing each and everything in its path. And Asia has not remained immune. With the radical militarism in the blood-drenched Middle East showing the way, the rest of Asia has not lagged behind. Perhaps it would not be an over-estimation to state that militant terrorism claiming ideological allegiance to one particular religious identity, dissatisfied secessionist forces, have spilled over to encompass every corner of Asia. With the increased proliferation of extremely sophisticated weapons of mass annihilation, significant developments in the area of arms and ammunitions, the terrorists in South and South East Asia have the entire region in their vice-like grips. From Indonesia, to Japan, to Afghanistan, to Myanmar, no state seems to be spared. In fact, ubiquitously, terrorism can be construed as the one symbolic common factor that has managed to strike a tone of commonality and coherence among nations which are

strategically at loggerheads with each other. This leads us to discuss, at length, *the terror of terrorism* seeking to forge abiding bonds of conformity between India and China, in Asia.

2.1. China-India at the Crossroads

The decade of the 1940s was propitious for both India and China, with both the nations emerging as triumphant sovereign nation-states in the international arena. With both the nations seeking to chart new paths to glory and success, it was not surprising that these two veritable giants immediately sought to forge abiding bonds of cooperation and mutual assistance through the 1954 Treaty.³ However, India's hopes of 'a unified Asia' and Jawaharlal Nehru's dreams of 'a Pan-Asian identity' were soon dashed following the 1962 Indo-China war. And from then onwards, strategically speaking, the relation has spiraled downwards sharply. And nowhere has this downward spiral been more evident than in the anvil of Pakistan-India-China triumvirate relations.

As far as China is concerned, it has always been one of the main protagonists in determining the evolving context of India-Pakistan relation right from the days of the Cold War era. China has maintained enormous strategic-security interests in this region. International political observers agree that South Asia is not only the subcontinent closely adjacent to China, but it is also the wrestling field full of geopolitical competition, along with being a breeding ground for terrorism in recent years. It goes without saying that China has huge strategic interests and security concerns in the region indeed. The collusion between China and Pakistan in the development of nuclear weapons and delivery systems has also spawned an aura of fear and apprehension through the Indian subcontinent. There are reports that China supplied nuclear and other missile technology to Pakistan, in complete violation of its commitments to the NPT.

Analysts of the strained relationship between India and China have been divided into two camps on the issue of the prospects of a breakthrough in Sino-Indian relations. On one side are those strategic analysts who consider the enmity to be the natural outgrowth of a growing clash of interests between two of Asia's largest most populous and powerful players. On the other side are those who trace the enmity to more immediate and irresolvable irritants. Eminent China-scholar John W. Graver points to a fundamental 'security dilemma' confounding Sino-Indian relations. He succinctly states that 'China harbors deep suspicions about possible future Indian policies towards Tibet, whereas India holds similar fears about possible Chinese intervention in a future Indo-Pakistan war'. India struggles to maintain, and China to neutralise Indian control over strategic frontier zones in the Himalayan lands of Nepal and Bhutan. In fact, the primary activities that constitute the Sino-Indian security dilemma are the Chinese efforts to establish and expand political and security relations with the countries of the South Asia - Indian Ocean region on the one hand, and Indian efforts to threaten the establishment of such links, on the other. From the Indian perspective, Chinese 'aggressive' activities in this region include: i) continuing nuclear, missile and conventional arms assistance to Pakistan, ii) development of a military - intelligence relationship with Nepal, iii) mounting People's Liberation Army activities in the Indian Ocean, iv) formation of military relations with Bangladesh, and v) efforts to establish normal diplomatic relations with Bhutan. From China's perspective, these activities are fully warranted by two fundamental Chinese security vulnerabilities - i) ensuring the stability of China's control over Tibet, and ii) ensuring the safety of China's sea lines of communication across the Indian Ocean.

China needs an approach to properly handle the relationship between it and all the South Asian countries, in order to ensure its own strategic and security interests.⁴ In the new historical period, China's overall security concept has undergone several changes. Known as the so-called 'new security concept' China's current foreign policy initiative vis-a-vis South Asia is to follow the spirit of mutual trust, mutual benefit and equality, and pursue regional security through mutually beneficial cooperation. However, China's recent forays in the Indian Ocean are a matter of grave concern. China's absolute domination in each and every aspect of the prevalent political and financial environs in South East Asia has definitely ensured that the Asian behemoth would also have a definitive voice in the existing contours of South Asia. During the span of 2010-2012, China's awe-inspiring naval build up in the Indian Ocean region and its strategic liaison with Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan, has brought it within close proximity to India, and is being perceived by the latter as Beijing's long-term strategy to encircle India. This apart, China's endeavours in strengthening ties with the Maoists in Nepal, has further compounded the tensions for India. Given the trust deficit between New Delhi and Beijing, there is an urgent necessity for the two Asian powers to be 'pragmatic realists'. India has to formulate a long-term strategy to counter China's ever expanding strategic acquisition policy in and around South Asia in order to ensure regional peace and stability. On the other hand, China would also be required to ensure that its activities in the Indian Ocean, in the North Eastern region of India, do not, in any way, tear asunder the fragile environment of integrated regional collaboration in South Asia.

While the Indo-China bilateral relationship, in itself, carries its own weight, engaging with India is being seen in the context of China's ongoing game of one-upmanship with the USA. China regards India as a useful ally in pushing the West on global trade negotiations, resisting pressures on climate changes and reforming financial institutions. At certain points of time, China regards India as a vital player - a player with which China will be able to continue to have a complicated relationship of both competition and collaboration, but also as a player that Beijing values in reaching out in order to further its own regional aims.

The proposed OBOR (One Belt One Road) initiative undertaken by China will also have significant implications for India as well. The Maritime Silk Road (MSR) proposed by China, has been viewed with some trepidation by India, as under the MSR, China would be building ports in Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan, and would be aiming to extend its sphere of influence using its economic clout in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. Strategically, China is investing huge amounts in India's immediate neighbours and this has been a major cause of concern for India. Given such a situation, it is envisaged that India's participation in OBOR will give a new start in India-China cooperation⁵. However, India continues to remain fundamentally opposed to the 3000 km long China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), consisting of highways, railways and pipelines. India feels that the corridor infringes on its sovereignty because it passes through the Gilgit-Baltistan region in Pakistan occupied Kashmir (PoK). An occasion for mutual collaboration was in evidence when China confirmed its participation in the Indian International Fleet Review (IFR), in February 2016, on the Eastern seaboard in Vishakhapatnam, thereby marking it as the first time when the Chinese navy would take part in the Indian IFR. However, irritants continue to permeate the fabric of China-India bilateral relations. As early as in May 2016, the Government of India had attempted to adopt an aggressive posture towards China, by inviting a significant number of Chinese dissidents to a conference in Dharamsala, sanctioned by the presence of the Dalai

Lama. In fact, India's tough line was in response to Beijing having blocked India's attempts to impose UN sanctions on Pakistan-based *Jaish* leader Masood Azhar. But the move seems to have backfired, with India doing a complete volte face, and having to hastily withdraw the visas issued to three prominent Uighur dissidents of China. Such flip-flops really do not bode well for the existing relations. The never-ending explicit bonhomie between Pakistan and China has also created tremendous concern in New Delhi's corridors of power. China, over the years, has time and again, remained resolute on its policy of shielding Pakistan-based terrorists like Mazood Azhar at the UN Security Council, despite India's stringent protests. Further, with China announcing on April 20, 2017, that it had "standardised" official names for six places in the North Eastern state of India, Arunachal Pradesh, and terming it as "legitimate action", China- India relations seem to have hit a new roadblock⁶.

It is at this juncture that one can state that it is terrorism and the united ways to combat it that can truly emerge as one of the most promising fields of bonhomie and cooperation in Sino-India relations.

2.2. Terrorism- Unifying the Disparate Nations

With Operation 'Topac' officially ushering the reign of terrorism in India in the 1980s, the entire country soon became enmeshed in the tentacles of Pakistan-sponsored terrorism, and the escalating incidences of terrorism, separatism and secessionist movements spread like wildfire, to all the parts of the nation. Soon, even the North-East was ripped apart by the twin forces of separatism and state-sponsored terrorism. This impossible situation was sought to be countered by India in different national, regional and international forums, with little or partial success. Time and again, it was China which came to the aid of Pakistan and prevented the adoption of any resolution that would condemn and unequivocally criticize Pakistan's role in aiding and abetting terrorism across the border.⁷

With China remarkably cautious in supporting India's allegations against Pakistan, it would not be surprising to think that there could be *no* point of convergence between the two 'Asian Tigers' over the hotly contested issue of terrorism. However, with the scourge of terrorism seeking to destabilize the institutions within the behemoth Communist nation, China has no other option than to cooperate with her Asian neighbor, nay competitor in finding a comprehensive solution to the ever-expanding menace. And according to the report published by the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission in Feb 2017, 'the increasing Islamic terrorism threat facing China has prompted the Communist country to question its military support to its ally Pakistan, given the latter's complicated relationship with the *jihadi* groups.'⁸ China's security concerns in South Asia have historically centered around empowering Pakistan to counter India's growing prowess in the region. While this perspective continues to rule roost in China's policy towards South Asia, the preponderance of terrorism as a major threat to China's security concerns, has indeed prompted a serious rethinking of China's hitherto unabashed support for Pakistan.

The basic rationale behind China's apprehension stems from the fact that the terrorists operating in the Yunan province have always avowed their allegiance to the radical pro-Islamists, the *Salafists* or *Jihadists*, and their brand of terrorism has clear, established links with the global *Jihad*. In fact, several recent instances have strengthened this view. On October 28, 2013, a group of people identified as Uighur separatists drove a Jeep into a crowd of people near the Tiananmen Square,

before setting it ablaze. This act was soon followed by another incident on March 1, 2014, when a group of Uighurs armed with long knives carried out an attack in a railway station at Kunming, Yunan province, leaving 29 innocent people dead, and hundreds seriously injured⁹. Thus, today, China has paused to take a step back and reconsider its position vis-a-vis the rampant proliferation of pro-Islamist Uighur dissidents within its homeland itself. It is true that, till now, attacks against Chinese targets by groups tangentially associated with global terrorist organizations have been mainly concerned with the independence of Xinjiang, the autonomous region of northwest China, populated mainly by the Uighurs, a Turkish, Sunni ethnic community. And China has always tried to cultivate close and profitable ties with the Islamic states throughout the Middle East¹⁰. However, this has in no way assuaged China's fears regarding the growing spate of terrorism within its territory, and it is this very reason which has seen China seeking to forge closer ties with India to end this reign of violence.

2.3. India-China: Stepping Forward to Combat Terrorism

With the terror of terrorism crossing all frontiers and affecting in equal proportions almost all the nations of Asia, it was quite evident that there would be concrete attempts by both India and China to jointly mitigate the ever burgeoning crisis. A serious step in this regard was taken when on February 22, 2017, India's Foreign Secretary S. Jaishankar, categorically emphasized that India and China should have to take special efforts to counter terrorism. This was followed by an emphatic statement by the Indian Foreign Secretary, when he met the Foreign Minister of China Wang Yi in Beijing, later that month. With both of these dignitaries co-chairing the India-China Strategic Dialogue process, there were strongly worded messages from both the sides that terrorism needed to be completely annihilated at all costs.

It must be noted that India's convergence with China on the vital issue of combating terrorism is not a new endeavour. As early as in 2002, India had signed the Joint Counter-Terrorism Mechanism with China. It was one of the extremely important bilateral documents that was concluded between the two nations in the aftermath of the horrific 9/11 terror attacks. More importantly, significant changes and additions were made to this agreement in 2005, with the terms 'separatism and extremism' being incorporated to accommodate the Chinese interests.

There have been attempts galore to initiate concrete dialogues to combat terrorism by both the nations, by utilizing the many regional and international mechanisms. The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), which is an essentially strategic platform of multilateral cooperation between the two supreme powers in Asia, is the first international organization to set counter-terrorism as one of its primary objectives. In fact, in June 2017, India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi sought to utilize India's new membership of the SCO to pitch for coordinated efforts to combat terrorism and enhance connectivity without impinging on sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the annual summit attended by both Pakistan PM Nawaz Sharif and the Chinese President Xi Jinping, India's PM minced no words in stating that India's entry into the SCO would give new momentum in dealing with terror. One can also take the example of the BRICS in this regard. The recently concluded BRICS Summit at Goa in 2016 was also instrumental in paving the way for a joint stance adopted by both the nations to combat cross-border and increasingly predominant Islamist terrorism.

Indubitably, there are pitfalls aplenty in determining the actual course of Sino-Indian strategic relations. China continues to facilitate Pakistan with arms, cash and armaments¹¹; it continues to support a ‘technical hold’ that prevents JeM chief Masood Azhar from being declared a global terrorist by the UN, thereby strengthening Pakistan’s standpoint; there has been confirmed reports of a significant increase of the PLA incursions along the disputed Sino-Indian border, particularly in Ladakh and Arunachal Pradesh. Thus, it becomes evident that any concrete realizations in the field of jointly combating terrorism would remain a pipedream until and unless all these strategic and security concerns are resolved to the benefit of both the nations concerned.

Conclusion

Over the decades, China has essentially had a positive attitude towards the SAARC, and has time and again, expressed hope that all the South Asian nations would gradually change the face of poverty and backwardness of the region, and promote regional security, stability and development through collective efforts. China has exhibited its willingness to make whatever contribution necessary for promoting China-SAARC cooperation in various aspects, and it has also been included as an observer for SAARC. After the terrorists’ attacks in Mumbai in India in 2008, India-Pakistan relations fell into sudden tensions and the fourth India-Pakistan war seemed imminent. In this scenario of high tensions, China paid great attention to the rapidly deteriorating security situation in the region, and had sent a special envoy to mediate between India and Pakistan for the first time. It should be said that, entering the new century, China has strived to adopt a balanced stance towards India and Pakistan and for the entire region of South Asia. However, with the conclusion of 2014, all does not seem hunky-dory in the Indo-China relations even as the Chinese President Xi Jinping left Delhi in September 2014 in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and a slew of pacts. Amid bonhomie, there is the struggle in the Indian Ocean and the issues relating Chumar and Ladakh. In the month of September 2014, the intrusion by the Chinese army personnel in the Chumar area, located 300 km north east of Ladakh, led to a tense situation between India and China, over the possibility of a military standoff in the region (*The Times of India*, September 20, 2014). In fact, following on the footsteps of India’s extremely close relations with Japan, especially under the aegis of India’s new Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a quiet struggle has ensued between India and China, over the power equation in the Indian Ocean. Can a newly enterprising, throbbing with vitality, vigorous and effective regional enterprise in South Asia relegate the intransigencies in the vast continent of Asia to the back burner? Can it ensure the complete amelioration of all the existing intrigues and intricacies between India and China, both of whom are vying for the position as the ‘true architect of the Asian Century?’ All these questions and many more must be addressed and adequately answered before a clear picture of the progress in the Asian regional collaborative enterprise can be envisioned.

China and India are the emerging power centres in the world, and the two most vibrant markets. A growing China-India bonhomie is not only related to the welfare of the 2.5 billion Indians and Chinese populace, but would also be crucial to the peace and prosperity of Asia and the world at large. Both China and India have an avowed mission to accelerate the economy, deepen reforms and improve people’s living standards. Modi’s visit to China in 2016 was truly an indicator of how India would deal with an increasingly assertive China, which is a big behemoth in Asia, and is hell

bent on pursuing its own ‘acquisition agenda’. One of the highlights of the visit was definitely Modi’s impromptu announcement—granting of e-visas to Chinese citizens. This has been a contentious issue, with China refusing visas to Arunachal Pradesh or Kashmir residents. In a sense, all of Modi’s foreign policy initiatives towards China have been footnotes waiting to be gathered up and presented for the main opportunity.

It must be realized by both the supreme powers, that only through a reciprocal recognition of Sino-Indian security interdependence that the South Asian security dilemma can be managed. As the new government in New Delhi introspects on its China policy, it needs to assess the type of relationship that it wants to build with a stronger, more self-assured but not necessarily hostile China. At this juncture, foreign secretary-level talks between the two Asian giants must be looked at with greater scrutiny. The talks held from February 23-25, 2017, indeed marked the most extensive engagement between the two countries. Besides the engagement between the two Foreign Secretaries, S. Jaishankar and his Chinese counterpart Zhang Yesui, there were four joint secretary level parallel dialogues on terrorism, nuclear issues, multilateral diplomacy and Afghanistan. It has become increasingly apparent that India-China bilateral relationship, always a mix of agreement and discord, is increasingly tilting towards the latter. This has had a remarkable fallout even in the domain of India’s strategic standpoint in the region of South Asia. With both India and China being the two major shareholders in the G-20 and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and with the BRICS Development Bank emerging as a strong area of converging interests, both the countries can play an extremely ‘pro-active’ role in giving a new shape to the existing dynamics of relationship in the sub-continent in particular, and in the whole ‘Asian scheme of things’ in general [Ananth Krishnan, “ Uneasy Dance with The Dragon”, *India Today*, March 13, 2017]. This would give a vital impetus to the existing contours of relations emerging in the sub-continent. And it is in this context that terrorism can provide the one abiding bond that keeps the hopes of Sino-Indian cooperation afloat in these times of turbulence.

Endnotes

1. Terrorism is a term used in its broadest sense to describe the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence as a means to create terror or fear, in order to achieve a political, religious or ideological aim. Although the term was used as early as the 18th century, and specifically in the aftermath of the French Revolution, its implications increased significantly following the coinage of the term ‘Islamic Terror’ by the journalists and politicians alike, in the aftermath of the September 2001 attacks in the USA.
2. Ideology and motivation have always influenced the objectives of terrorist operations, especially the casualty rate. Religiously oriented and millenarian groups always utilize the apocalyptic frame of reference and losses of lives are irrelevant. Fears of a backlash never concern these groups, and it is their goal to inflict widespread terror and further widen the ambit of conflict.
3. The *Panchsheel* or the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was the cornerstone of the India-China Agreement of Friendship signed in 1954. Though envisaged as the platform on which the future relation between the two nations would be situated, the lofty ideals died a sudden death, following China’s incursion on India’s North East, and the ensuing Indo- China War of 1962.
4. The historic Indo-China summit in Beijing in May 2015 signaled a new beginning in the bilateral relations among the two powers. 24 agreements, worth over 10 billion dollars were concluded. Certain other agreements that were concluded are as follows: i) cooperation between the Indian Foreign Ministry and Central Committee of Communist Party, ii) MOU on education exchange programme, etc.

5. The OBOR would have a significant impact on the entire gamut of relations and equations in the Asian context. However, India's fears on this score are not unfounded. With China, everything is at stake, precisely because both countries are so alike as well as intensely different at the same time. No other country has the potential of damaging India. Not only China covets the territory across the 4,067 kms long disputed boundary — despite 17 rounds of border talks between special representatives of both the sides since 2003, a solution is not even on the cards in the foreseeable future—but is also determined to lean across the Himalayas and diminish India's sphere of influence in the Indian sub continent.

6. For a technical discussion on this issue, please see Behera Navnita Chadha, (ed) *International Relations in South Asia: Search For An Alternative Paradigm*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2008.

7. For a comprehensive analysis of this security issue evolving in Asia, please refer Karnad Bharat, *Nuclear Weapons and India's Security: The Realist Foundations of Strategy*, Macmillan India, New Delhi, 2002; 2nd edition, Macmillan India, New Delhi, 2005.

8. For a detailed viewpoint, see Krishna Menon V.K., *India and the Chinese Invasion*, Contemporary Publishers, Bombay, 1963.

9. There have been terrorist attacks galore in China, right throughout this decade. On 19 August 2010, there was the Aksu bombing; this was followed by the 2011 Hotan attack; on 30-31 July there were the Kashgar attacks resulting in the death of 18 people; 29 July 2012 witnessed the attempted hijacking of a Tianjin Airlines flight from Hotan to Xinjiang; there was another terrorist attack on 18 September 2015, at Aksu in the Xinjiang province.

10. Radical Islam has really not established an unshakable toehold in China, and this is due to a particular reason. China has secured allies in the Gulf region; it has tended to support the Arab states in the UN votes concerning Palestine, and has always taken a balanced and measured approach towards Israel. Again, while notionally participating in the 'Global War on Terror', China has not stationed troops in the Hijaz region of western Saudi Arabia, as the US and the other Western allies have.

11. China has always maintained warm ties with Pakistan, calling the relationship an "all-weather" friendship, "despite the fact that Pakistan's tribal areas have been home to groups Beijing deems unfriendly to its interests." Time and again this friendship has been reiterated, through China's refusal to regard JeM mastermind Masood Azhar as a 'global terrorist', and also through blocking India's bid to become a member of the elite Nuclear Suppliers' Group (NSG).

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Revisiting the Partition Myths, Memories, Mirrors

Tista Das [†]

Abstract

It is well known by now that the story of the Partition of India in 1947 is nuanced and gendered. Within the narrative of Partition violence is a little narrative of the fear of violence. This is a blurred twilight territory marked by memory. It is here that this paper seeks a point of entry to retrieve the narrative of violence. The collective memory of violence of the time which affected lives in general, and threatened to affect the honour of women, remained with the partitioned people. This fear of violence had to be seen as a just cause for migration. However, in the first person accounts, the actual incidents seem to have happened mostly to other families while the fear justifying migration has been general. It is through the process of recounting events that the idea of the 'enemy' was gradually crystallised in the minds of the Bengali Hindus of the erstwhile East Bengal. While the Bengali Muslim neighbours came to be remembered as the occasional saviours, the perpetual enemy was the 'up-country', 'non-Bengali' Muslims. As violence became impossible to explain, the 'outsiders', as always, became the bad apple. It is through this process of recollection and nostalgia that lives left behind became lives of harmony and peace in which religion was translatable as festivals and class differences a matter of order.

Keywords

Partition, memory, fear, violence, women, honour

The memory of the Partition was overwhelmingly one of chaos and noise. As people leaving their homes and seeking government charity filled forms, waited in unending queues and explained to government officials at various levels why it become impossible for them to remain on their side of the border, a narrative of violence, imminent death and loss of 'honour' began to take shape and the Partition came to be relived time and again.

As it became imperative to justify migration, reliving the moments of violence became a necessity. On the other hand, in government circles, the need of the hour was spelt out. It was fear in the minds of the minorities that needed to be removed. If fear could be addressed through government deals and negotiations, peace could be restored. Fear of violence, therefore, became something lesser than actual violence. The K.C. Neogy-Ghulam Mohammed Agreement was signed on 19 April, 1948 as a result of the discussions held at the Inter-Dominion Conference in Calcutta. It stated that

Both in East Bengal and in West Bengal there shall be set up a Provincial Minorities Board and under the Provincial Board, District Minorities Boards for the express object of protecting the interests of the minorities, removing fear from their minds and inspiring confidence in them. These Boards shall ensure that the grievances of the minorities are

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promptly brought to the notice of the authorities and that they are satisfactorily and promptly dealt with...¹ (Kabir 1980, 96).

If the problem of the hour was the 'fear' in the minds of the minority, the need of the hour was 'inspiring confidence in them'. In case of the eastern half of India, the government was keen on reversing the trend of migration. The thrust was, therefore, on providing relief rather than on permanent rehabilitation or what the government termed 'actual rehabilitation'.

I

It was in these conflicting zones of the ideas of violence that the memory of the Partition accommodated itself in the fabric of a newly independent, hopeful nation. The memory of the Partition came to mean the rumours and fear threaded with actual events. In this process one kind of violence came to be accepted as justifiable on grounds of 'provocation'. One incident from Kalshira in the Khulna district might be mentioned here which indicates the way the memory of an event was carried forward so that not only was a kind of violence justified on the grounds of being 'retaliatory' in nature but was also remembered and relived so that the memory of the Partition remained primarily one of violence and fear.

On 20 December, 1949, four constables raided the house of Joydev Brahma at night in search of some communists. This was, of course, the time when the Communist Party of India had been banned and was forced to take its activities underground. It might be noted here, that, the village of Jhalardangan, 3 miles from Kalshira was known to be a centre of communist activities. Some of the men from Jhalardangan had taken shelter at Kalshira. About six of them, who might have been communists, fled. As the police entered the house and the wife of Joydev Brahma was assaulted, some of them came back. There were four constables in the house then with only one gun. They killed one of the constables.

They became desperate, re-entered the house, found 4 constables with one gun only. That perhaps might have encouraged the young men who struck a blow on an armed constable who died on the spot.² (Kabir 1980, 139).

It hardly needs mentioning that the murder of a constable was not really excusable on grounds of 'desperation' and 'encouragement' on seeing only one gun with four constables. It was, undoubtedly a criminal offence. They also attacked another constable while the other two fled and raised an alarm. The local villagers came in to help the constables. The men, however, fled with the dead body. On the next day, the S.P. of Khulna came in with a military contingent. The miscreants, as mentioned, had fled by then. The villagers, however, were beaten and harassed. From then on, the incident took a communal turn. The idols of household deities were broken. A general loot of *Namasudra* (belonging to a lower rung in the Hindu caste order and most of them being farmers) households took place. Only three of these houses, out of three hundred and fifty,

¹ *Neogy-Ghulam Mohammed Agreement No. VI Inter Dominion Conference held at Calcutta (15.4.48 to 18.4.48)*, in Kabir, Muhammad Ghulam. *Minority Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1980.

² J.N. Mandal's letter of resignation, October 9, 1950, in Kabir, Muhammad Ghulam. *Minority Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1980.

had not been demolished. The country boats and the cattle were taken away.³ (Kabir 1980, 140). The incident of Kalshira became a clear example of how every incident would become communal in the following days. Life, in general, came to be ordered communally. The memory of the Partition came to be invoked time and again so that every act of violence became 'Partition-violence'. The Partition, in fact, remained with the independent nation. It could never be relegated to the nation's past. The note of retaliation was struck high and stories of the Kalshira incident in its exaggerated forms reached Calcutta soon enough. It took a month's time, but did lead to disturbances in the end. The retaliation of these disturbances would lead to further disturbances in East Pakistan. It was almost as if the borders were simply acting as nodal points for spreading news, for all the rumours and all the stories of atrocities. The borders became the threads for hemming the story of the Partition on their two sides. The borders kept the Partition alive.

As people left homes and became refuge seekers, the cause for migration had to be spelt out time and again. It was in this process that the recollection of events began. That retaliation was becoming the principal theme in politics in official and non-official circles became clear on 10 February⁴ (Kabir 1980, 110) when four women with conch shell bangles and vermilion on their foreheads – typifying the appearance of Hindu married women – and blood stains on their clothes were shown round the Secretariat offices in Dacca as examples of Muslim women being converted to Hinduism in Calcutta⁵. The staff of the Secretariat took out a procession and a public meeting was held at around 12 noon at the Victoria Park. As the meeting was dispersed riots began. The same incident is mentioned in the resignation letter of J. N. Mandal, the leader of the scheduled castes with minor differences. He mentions the case of one woman and alleges that she was painted red '...to show that her breast had been cut off in Calcutta riot...'⁶ (Kabir 1980, 140). It is clear that a kind of attack on women became typical of the riots. In the realm of memory, re-enactment of typical modes of violence became almost real. The theme of the threat of loss of women's honour became noteworthy in the first person narrative accounts. Witness accounts of the riots of 1964⁷ might illustrate the actual shape of this fear. Violence on women, meaning molestation, rape or cutting off body parts, was recounted as a general fear, the actual incidents always remembered as happening to women of other families while threatening to happen to everyone. The silence regarding the fate of women of one's own family is noteworthy. Women were a valuable part of the property of the Hindus and along with every other piece of property they were made available in such times of unrest. It is evident, therefore, that women had a special place in this history of partitioned times. They were, indeed, a special category. They were not only members of the minority community; they were also the property of the minority community and they were not only the containers of their own honour, but also that of their men. Their men

³ J. N. Mandal's letter of resignation, October 9, 1950, in, Kabir, Muhammad Ghulam. *Minority Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1980.

⁴ *Memorandum Submitted before the Hon'ble Prime Minister of Pakistan by Members of the Opposition Party (Assembly), East Bengal*, dated 20.03.1950, in Kabir, Muhammad Ghulam. *Minority Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1980.

⁵ The Memorandum mentions the date as 18 February. However, it seems to be a misprint in view of the later dates. J.N. Mandal mentions the date as 10 February.

⁶ J.N. Mandal's letter of resignation, October 9, 1950, in, Kabir, Muhammad Ghulam. *Minority Politics in Bangladesh*. New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd, 1980.

⁷ Oral Evidences of riot victims from the Asoka Gupta files available at the School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University.

talked of rape, abduction and molestation of women generally. It might be noted that they were rarely talking of the women of their own family. Even when one talked of the loss of the women of one's own family, it was done in a short sentence, not really mentioning the actual cause of death. And there was no account that mentioned a woman of one's family being raped, abducted or molested who was alive. Death made compensations of some sort when honour was lost. Ganga Prasad Chowdhury mentions that his wife was 'attempted to be abducted and converted' but it seems from his account that he was able to save her before any damage was actually done. Peary Mohan Das' niece was killed. Gopal K. Chakravorty mentions that his wife was killed. The witnesses do not mention how their women were killed. On the other hand, the murder of one Amulya and his two sisters and the murder of one Sanatan, whose wife was abducted, recurred in multiple accounts. People coming from the same region talked of the same instances of violence.

The account of Jashoda Sarkar, aged 45 years, who came from Keraniganj in Dacca is a case in point where events of the present coupled with the memory of the police helping the rioters in the past created a narrative of unending violence:

Describes the earlier state of insecurity and the depredation of the Muslim miscreants without... hindrance from Police in U. B. [Union Board]. In the mass riots of 30th Paus 1370 [winter of 1963], thousands of Muslim goondas [goons] came, burnt village after village, cut off thousands of Hindus, abducted many girls and young women and looted all they could lay their hands on. Police or military offered no help. In some places some Bengali Muslims saved a few Hindus. All utensils and movables which goondas [goons] could not carry away were attached by the police on the pretext of investigation so that migrants had to leave even those when coming over to India. At the border he [she] was robbed of goods worth Rs. 1500.⁸ (Oral evidences.)

One, therefore, has to take into one's stride the realm of public memory where sporadic, unrelated and even irrelevant as also everyday events become part of a narrative; in this case, a narrative of violence perpetrated by the majority community on the minority community in a communal state; It is this construction of reality that should be taken into account as much as reality itself, whatever that is.

II

The means through which this history of the Partition is extracted constitutes largely of memory. Memory does not simply mean what one remembers. It also includes what one recounts and how. The preoccupation with just the political history of the Partition might be due to the time needed to distance oneself from the trauma of the event. As Urvashi Butalia has pointed out –

...Partition represents, for historians as well as others, a trauma of such deep dimensions, that it has needed nearly a half century for Indians to acquire some distance, and begin the process of coming to terms with it. (Butalia 2001, 209).

The understanding of memory, both public and personal, is a much needed exercise. As people talked of the Partition, they tended to talk of other things – of the lands left behind, of all the festivities, the food and the way the Hindus and the Muslims lived in peace. The presence of the

⁸ Oral Evidences of riot victims from the Asoka Gupta files available at the School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University.

ever supplicant Muslim service classes laced these accounts. In this retelling of past lives, certain symbols of domestic peace and stability dominated. The daily rituals, the religious ceremonies and also the presence of local pets acquired new meaning as one was forced to leave all this behind. Food, both its cooking and consumption, became a very important part of this process. As the bad days of the Partition came, all this changed. The unthinkable happened. The same service classes raised their heads and became 'uppish', as some of the accounts mention. The recounting of violence always involved a certain distancing from the actual centre of the violent activities. Memory remained selective. Public memory of an event was sometimes internalised and became a part of personal memory. As migrants coming from the same locality talked of one particular instance of violence, it became insignificant to them whether they had witnessed the event themselves. It became their history to be recounted and therefore reconfirmed. One must remember, of course, that there never was any one voice. There were many. The low caste *Namashudras* who clung to their homes till the last moment possible, and when they crossed borders, became the poorest of poor refugees, truly the '*sarbahara*' or one who has lost all, had a different story to tell. Their memory of lives left behind was different. It is this difference that must never skip one's notice. In the realm of memory, the symbols of daily life changed with the Partition. The sound of rattling trains acquired special significance; the steamers became vehicles of deliverance. Memories of the journey and of resettlement helped to tide over the trauma of violence. The refugees kept trying to rebuild their lives. However, what clearly came out through their recounting of their new lives is the fact that their lives merely succeeded to become poor imitations of their pre- Partitioned lives. Therefore, they kept trying to create a domestic space similar to what they had earlier. They tried to build schools and clubs and tried their hand at some kind of social life that brought back wisps of memories of days past. They named their colonies in the names of leaders of national importance so that they could claim a corner in the national space of the country that they claimed to be their own, born out of their blood and sweat too and whose refuge they were now seeking. The Partition remained with and defined the partitioned people and their lives.

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Raising the Issue of Gender Sensitisation and Empowerment A Look at Women's Participation in Foreign Policy Decision Making

Shampa Dutta [†]

Srijit Das ^{††}

Abstract

The problem of the society pitting itself against women due to a flawed socio-cultural system is detrimental to the safety and adequate security of women and is indeed posing threats. But time has already been ripe, when women should stop getting depressed and get into more responsible acts, leading women to a life with dignity, equality, proper opportunity and empowerment so that they can play a major role in building a strong nation. Gender sensitisation serves as a tool towards gender equality, equal opportunity and empowerment of women which is indeed essential for creating opportunities for them. Empowerment can imply different things to different people in different context, but in its widest sense the term signifies the right to choose or decide. Women, in order to be truly empowered must play an active role in decision making at all levels –be it within or outside the nation. Increasing participation of women is bound to change the world in which we live bringing in new priorities and perspectives to the political process and the organisation of the society. The paper not only focusses on the place of women in the sphere of foreign policy decision making level but also at the same time examines and determines whether the roles they play and policies they adopt are actually in line with feminist values and thus identify and analyse the relevant reasons.

Keywords

Gender sensitisation, Empowerment, Decision Making, Gender

The attitudinal problem of the society against women due to socio-cultural system detrimental to the safety and adequate security of women are posing threats. Women for many reasons are pushed to act as mute spectators in several situations, thus leading them to a hopeless and helpless condition. But time has already arrived when women should stop shedding tears and get into more responsible acts leading women to a life with dignity, equality, opportunity and empowerment so that they can play a major role in building a strong nation .

In fact gender sensitisation refers to the modification of behaviour by raising awareness of gender equality concerns. These theories claim of changing behaviour and instilling empathy into the views that we hold about our own as well as other gender. The proactive initiation towards gender sensitisation is to ensure the adoption of gender budgeting at all levels in letter and spirit. Participation of women folk in the processes of governance and decision making is therefore strongly felt to fulfil the above aspirations.

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Empowerment can imply different things to different people in different contexts, but in its widest sense the term signifies the right to choose or decide. This applies to women empowerment also. Women to be truly empowered must play an active role in decision making at all levels –be it within or outside the nation. Indeed the goal of development cannot be attained without women's participation, not only in the development process but also in shaping its objectives, goals and targets. Women's participation is changing the world in which we live, bringing in new priorities and perspectives to the political process and the organisation of the society.

The paper not only focusses on the place of women in foreign policy decision making level but also at the same time examines and determines whether the roles they play and policies they adopt are actually in parity with feminine norm and principles and thus identify and analyse the relevant reasons.

It is seen that the decision making mechanisms at the arena of international relations in general and foreign policy in particular, are mainly male dominated and based on masculine values (being brave, independent, rational etc.) and those prevail in the policies adopted(Blanchard 2003,1289). On the contrary it is asserted that women and feminine values (sensuality, giving priority to the social, acting naturally, establishing peace etc.)are mostly ignored or bypassed. It is stated in the framework of this view emphasised by the feminists that when women are rendered more visible, in the field of international relations, the prevalent structure might undergo significant transformations to become more peaceful structure, respectful towards human rights whereby disputes are settled through peaceful methods. However it is also to be admitted at the same time that women actors, though few, take part in foreign policy decision making process or in the field of International relations such as in international organisations like the U.N.O., the European Union.

It is observed that most of these women contrary to what are expected of them, either behave masculine or sign masculine decisions, thus diverging from feminine values. At this juncture mention should be made of famous and powerful women who throughout history have yielded political power and guided foreign policy decision making mechanisms. An adroit international politician, Cleopatra, ruler of ancient Egypt, Queen Victoria famous for her alliance strategies and colonising policies, the long reigning Queen Elizabeth of England may be stated in this regard. Along with them women actors of more recent times assuming decision making roles as Heads of Government and representing their country at the international forum such as Sirimavo Bandaranaike, erstwhile Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Golda Meir who served as the Minister of Labour and Foreign affairs and then as Prime Minister in Israel , Indian Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, Margaret Thatcher, comes in mind. In almost all these cases it has been seen that they have signed decisions that can hardly be deemed peaceful in the field of foreign policy and preferred confrontational policies.

Decision making is basically the behaviour of making a choice among variable alternatives (Gonlupal 2000:15). However, these alternatives turn out to be a very complicated process especially in the field of foreign policy. The reason is that the decision maker stipulates a striking balance between conflicting interests and bureaucratic pressures (An 2008, 188). In the field of foreign policy the decision making process is conducted by certain institutions or persons. These institutions or persons are generally divided into two groups as external and internal environments

(Synder et.1969, 203; Koni 1982, 86-87; An 2008, 188-226). The external environment refers to the physical environment where developments occur outside the borders of the state and actions of other states take place affecting the behaviour of relevant states. External environment encompasses the whole global system and power relations within that system (Rosenau 1972, 145-165). Internal environment covers primarily the political system of the country, it consists of the structure of governmental characteristics, of the legislature, the public and decision makers. The reason is that different decision makers adopt different policies under the same conditions due to their varying perceptions depending on various factors.

Thus personal characteristics, past experiences, the level of education of the decision maker, his/her family circles, peer groups etc. are extremely influential in decision making (Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff 1990, 326-327). It is asserted that, for example, a decision maker who is aggressive by nature may adopt an aggressive attitude while formulating foreign policies and thus may easily lead his/her country into an environment of conflict. However the value judgements of the individual, and individual specific subjective factors, the individual's interest in the subject, his/her level of knowledge on the subject, the individual's problem solving capacity, his/her awareness of the responsibility, the political and social culture the individual belongs to, are also factors affecting the process (An 2008, 214-221). To all these the extent to which the decision maker's gender identity is decisive in decision making also assumes importance. Today gender is an important component not only because it refers to having male and female characteristics but also is defined as the categories of masculinity and femininity structured as social and cultural. Thus people assume different roles in the society according to their gender identity. This identity defined as social gender roles is at the same time used to reflect various gender stereotypes. The society's gender role standards describe how males and females are expected to behave. The expected behaviour from a man in a society is called masculine and the patterns of behaviour deemed suitable for women are called feminine. It is therefore a fact that women often face gender specific challenges especially in the field of political arena, more prominently in the field of foreign policy, where gender stereotypical judgements are apparent. The reason is that foreign policy which refers to a country's attitude towards international system and other countries, based on its goals, objectives, behaviours (An 2008, 61-62); is the field dominated by masculine traits the most.

After gender debates began to proliferate in the field of International Relations, as in every branch of social sciences due to changing ideas and perceptions, changing problems in the world from the end of 1980's; the subject of the place of women in foreign policy decision making mechanisms also came into attention and studies began to be carried out in this field. The findings of these studies revealed that despite all disadvantages and stereotyped prejudices about the role of women in the society, women still show the enthusiasm to play a role in foreign policy decision making positions and tend to struggle in order to achieve this end.

On the other hand it is seen that when women do occupy political offices, they are assigned to positions supplemental to men's dealing with the perceived 'soft' issues of politics such as settlement of disputes, symbolisation of solidarity and unity, development of rural areas, international and environmental issues concerning peace, rather than 'hard' political areas of national security (especially military dimension), economic competition and so on.

It is also observed that women in foreign policy decision making positions are more nationalistic than men due to their stronger fear of losing and sense of protection (esp. their motherland). Thus it makes sense that when required women follow more masculine policies than men in a male centred masculine perceived structure (in the field of foreign policy) in order to gain acceptance. As Peterson and Runyan (1993, 71) underline traditional perception in international relations is that 'being seen as politically powerful in the traditional sense requires that women become like men'.

Drude Dalherup in his book 'Women in Political Decision Making: From Critical Mass to Critical Acts in Scandinavia' identifies that an increase in the number of women taking part in foreign policy decision making is a matter of equity and justice, since women ideally constitute half of the total world population, their equal representation in foreign policy decision making mechanisms is a necessity as regards ensuring man-woman equality. Moreover women and men have different values due to their different social positions. Added to that, according to Dalherup, women and men, to some extent, have conflicting interests also. This may be the argument of Feminist philosophies when arguing that in a patriarchal society, women are oppressed and therefore consequently men cannot be expected to represent women's interests. Lastly Dalherup puts forward the argument that women have the potential for creating concrete changes. In view of findings of the surveys, Dalherup conducted, she lists and the likely changes as follows: the tone will be softer in politics, speeches will be shorter using less formal language, politics will be made more peaceful, the political language will change and the concepts that render women visible will be activated, discriminatory and unequal policies against women will be eliminated.

It is an accepted fact that women and men have different ways of thinking and perceiving. Therefore this difference of thinking between men and women according to Reardon (1993, 41) can shed new light and open newer horizons, producing unprecedented solutions to some of the world's major problems. This may again serve as a way by which the objective of empowering women can be achieved to a great extent, for in a way women empowerment implies making efforts to bridge the gap between the rate of development of two (men and women) so that one is not ahead of the other and they walk, talk, work, think or act together in one direction to achieve optimal productivity.

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A Philosophical Review of the Status of Women in Indian Literature

Mukul Bala[†]

Abstract

Women have always been regarded inferior to men and have gone through various types of discrimination, oppression, and violence. Throughout history and in many societies including India, gender inequality was element of an accepted male-dominated culture. Atrocious and discrimination are the two major problems, which the Indian women face in the present day society. Women's position in the society has always been a serious concern among the philosophers. Philosophical views on women have changed from time to time but one aspect remains common that women have been subordinated because of biological differences. Although the traditional philosophical views subordinated women because of prejudices of the time it also helped in suggesting that women should not be treated as an object and should have equal rights as men. Even after sixty years of Indian independence, women are still one of the most powerless and marginalized sections of Indian society. Therefore, special focus is required on empowering of women for overall development of the society and the nation. This paper seeks to find out the impact of religious thought described in the Indian religious texts for a better understanding of women's position in society and attempts to provide some suggestions towards empowerment of women.

Keywords

Hindu Mythology, Women Empowerment, Philosophy of Gender, Gender and Subjectivity

In India women comprise nearly half of the total population. But the status of women is much lower than that of men in every sphere of life. Women are identified with domestic life. With the advancement of time, the fact has now been recognized that without ensuring women's development, national development cannot be achieved. It is one of the eight millennium goals to which world leaders agreed at the Millennium Summit held at New York in 2000. "Gender equality and women's empowerment is one of the eight United Nations Millennium Development Goals" (UN, 2008).¹ Gender equality is considered an important issue for the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) because "gender inequality is an obstacle to progress, a roadblock on the path of human development."²

Now we look into the religious texts for what has been described there about women. In the Vedic age, on the basis of available Vedic literature, we can say that women were treated much better and enjoyed more rights than they did in later times. The earliest Vedic literature, Rigveda, which

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¹ Taneja Sonia, Mildred Golden Pryor and John Humphreys, 'Empowerment from the Gender Perspective', Delhi Business Review, Vol. 10, No. 2 (July- December, 2009), p.17. retrieved from <http://www.delhibusinessreview.org/b.pdf>

²Ibid, p.17

is claimed to have evolved roughly from 1500 BC to 1000 BC, shows clear influence of the pre Aryan culture in its references to the image of 'Mother Goddess' or *Shakti*, and to the beneficial aspect of nature and women. "In general, life of Rig-Veda was viewed positively. Despite some degree of male dominance, there was considerable complementarity between men and women."³ "Complementarity is also represented by the term *dampati*, which signifies the 'couple', man and wife."⁴ The family was the centre of religious life. According to Satapatha Brahmana (I-3.1.12), 'The god, in fact, would receive offering only in those homes where a wife is present; she was after all, 'half the ritual'. There were some goddesses in Rig-Veda representing female roles as mother, sister, daughter and wife. These included "Usas, the goddess of dawn; Savitri, the personification of the major river in the homeland; and Prithvi, mother earth who protected the dead. They also included Vak, Aditi, Raka, and Sinivali, associated with eloquent speech, prosperity, and progeny."⁵

In the middle and late Vedic literature, "Vedic ritual changed dramatically from the simple household rituals of Rig-Veda to much more complex ones, now distinguished as household (*grhya*) and public (*srauta*) rituals. The extensive elaboration of these over the centuries can be seen in the Yajurveda, Brahmanas, Grhyasutras, Srautasutras and Mimamsa texts."⁶ There are indications that the principle of patriarchy got strengthened. According to Taittiriya Samhita (VI-3.10.5), 'Every Brahmin had to pay back three debts: to the sages, he must live and study with a teacher; to the gods, he must perform Vedic rituals; and to his ancestors, he must have sons.' The birth of a son was decidedly a matter of great joy, but the birth of a daughter was not seen as a matter of misfortune. "Most girls were taught only what was needed for domestic worship and the mantras and ritual gestures needed for their roles in the *srauta* rituals."⁷ The categories of pure and impure became more important in the Brahmanas, hence the spatial confinement and subordination of elite women increased. "They could not enter the assembly, they must eat after their husbands, they could not have inheritance, they were segregated during menstruation, and so forth."⁸

In the classical period, an upper-caste woman's decreasing status was apparent in the texts written by men. Because of upper caste women's lack of education, the texts began to call them *avidya* (without knowledge). As a result they were linked to the *sudras* (the lower caste). Though the Atharvaveda allowed the *sudras* to have *upanayana*, they had lost the privilege by the time of Maurya Empire. Elite men of the vedic tradition- especially Brahmins in the central area of Mathura, Kuru, and Panchala- were feeling extremely threatened. Their sacrificial system based on knowledge of the Vedas on which brahminical occupation and status depended was under assault. The stress was projected on to the women and *sudras*, who became linked as *avaidika* (without knowledge of the Vedas). This period of time was one of decline of Vedic culture. A more general fear of female independence is reflected in Manu who said that "No sacrifices, no vow, no fasts

³Sharma, Arvind, *Women in Indian Religion*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002. p.5.

⁴Ibid, p.5

⁵Ibid, p.5

⁶Ibid, p.6.

⁷Ibid, p.7

⁸Shastri, Shakuntala Rao, *Women in the Vedic Age*, Bhartiya Vidya Bhawan: Bombay, 1969. pp. 74-85.

must not be performed by women apart (from their husbands).”⁹Manu went further to undermine any independent streak in women in the verse that, “By a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one, nothing must be done independently, even in her own house.”¹⁰ “In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent.”¹¹

So in this period we can see that there was denial of education to women – denial to read Vedas or chant mantras. The role of a married woman was confined to her home and to serve her husband faithfully. She could attain her salvation through selfless service to her husband, taking care of his daily needs, so that he could meditate and perform Vedic rites. Manu, who is held responsible for the fate women suffered for more than two millennia, considered women in constant need of protection and supervision. As a result, gradually, early or child- marriages became a norm. On account of the preference for a son to carry on the lineage and the problems of protecting girls, female infanticide became prevalent in India. Pativrata wife could not imagine getting linked to any other man and hence, if the husband died, she was expected to opt for self immolation. Sati got a status equal to that of deities. It was believed that a woman’s sins were responsible for her husband’s death and so, widows were considered inauspicious. Marriage being sacrosanct, divorce was not only unthinkable, but also despicable. While Manu acknowledged the Vedic text’s action of divorce under certain conditions, he himself did not approve of divorce under any condition. Women were, therefore, often trapped in incompatible marriages with unsuitable, cruel or mentally ill husbands for life. Women were engaged in an elaborate regime of *Vratas* observed for the welfare of their husbands or sons. Due to complete subjugation of women, they had no right to property or inheritance. Rather, they themselves were considered a commodity ‘owned’ by their husbands.

If the first half of the classical age was characterized by the decline of the status of women and *sudras*, the second half shows an improvement. Mahabharata and Bhagvad Gita, which were redacted about this time, contain passages with a more inclusive, though not always complementary, spirit. Gita 9:32 for instance, proclaims, ‘even women, vaisyas, and sudras shall attain the supreme goal.’ Nevertheless, “there were debates for some centuries in brahminical circles over whether women and sudras could utter the sacred syllable *Om*; whether they could attain the highest stages of religious path; or whether they could attain liberation in this life.”¹² Goddesses and religious heroines provided models for human wives.

From the classical period, two of the most important divine models of the good wife have been Sita and sati-parvati (though laksmi, savitri, damayanti, and draupadi have also been popular). Wife goddesses represented an ‘ascetic sexuality’, that is, a sexuality controlled by their husbands (parallel to the control of upper-caste human wives by husbands). Even the independent goddesses

⁹Buhler, George, ‘The Laws of Manu’, In *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume 25, V. 155, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/manu/manu05.htm>

¹⁰Buhler, George, ‘The Laws of Manu’, In *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume 25, V. 147, <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/manu/manu05.htm>

¹¹Buhler, George, ‘The Laws of Manu’, In *Sacred Books of the East*, Volume 25, V. 148. <http://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/manu/manu05.htm>

¹² Young, Katherine K., “Om the Vedas, and the Status of Women”, In *Jewels of Authority*, edited by Patton, L. Laurie, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 91.

Durga and Kali (who have a bipolar nature representing creation/life and death/destruction) have been transformed into Siva's consort. They were then called Parvati, Uma, and Sati (though the name Durga was also used), and were associated with benevolence under the control of a male god.¹³

The life cycle of the wife of a twice-born (dvija) man, especially a Brahmin, consisted of virginal maidenhood (kaumarya) and marriage (vivaha), which might involve the life-style change of vanaprastha in later years. All of this epitomized in the idea, that for a woman, her husband was her god (the very word pati, in fact, meant husband or god).¹⁴

Now we have a clear understanding of the picture of the changing status of women in society. Although there are so many instances in the religious texts where women have been respected and regarded as complementary of men, it is a harsh reality that women in India have been ill-treated for ages in our male dominated society. A woman is deprived of her independent identity and is looked upon as a commodity. According to Simone De Beauvoir, women have become the "other" or object of men's subjectivity. Primarily due to one's biology, women's oppression consists of being denied transcendence and subjectivity. In posing the question 'What is a woman?' De Beauvoir seeks to understand the state of women's oppression and subordination. Her answer blames the system of patriarchy, which defines the male as the standard for all normality, locates women's defectiveness as naturally occurring within her biology, and traps the female in the immanence of her biology."¹⁵ Following Beauvoir's existentialist perspective, "Woman is not regarded as an autonomous individual but rather as the other, in opposition to man, the subject. Through myths, created by men and understood as absolute truths, man/Subject seeks to attain himself only through that reality which he is not, which is something other than himself."¹⁶ It follows that the myth of the feminine has served man's interests by justifying his dominance and privileges. A woman who does not accept herself as a Subject creates no myths of her own, but rather accepts the myths presented by men. Luce Irigaray believes that "There is no way to answer, 'What is woman?' because the concept of woman does not exist separate from that of man."¹⁷ The feminine is enveloped within the masculine, and is reduced to a "Position of inferiority, of exploitation, of exclusion, (especially) with respect to language."¹⁸

So the first thing we have to do is to get rid of the idea of superiority or inferiority between men and women, because, woman as a human being, is an autonomous individual. Women and men are complementary to each other. A nation or society, without equal participation of women cannot achieve development. If we eliminate gender discrimination, women will deliver all their potentials, skills, knowledge to develop the family, the nation and the whole world. The position of women in a society should be regarded as fair index of the excellence of its culture and the

¹³ Gatewood, Lynn E., *Devi and the Spouse Goddess: Women, Sexuality and Marriages in India*, Manohar: Delhi, 1985, pp. 159-60.

¹⁴ Young, Katherine K., 'Hinduism' in *Women in World Religions*, edited by Arvind Sharma, State University of New York Press, 1987, p. 74.

¹⁵ Marzulli, Antonia, "Philosophical Dimensions of Feminist Social Change", https://concept.journals.villanova.edu/article/view/318/281#_edn7

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

character of its civilization. However, given the nature of impact of gender equity in society, it need not be spelt out as a separate goal. Rather it should have been included as an integral component of each and every goal, as gender discrimination exists in every sphere, be it education, empowerment, health, or environment, there is a need to change the power relations from domination and subordination to equality. This can be done only by changing the institutions - culture, religion, family, educational institutions, state, market, media, law - which try to maintain and reinforce gender inequalities, and resisting traditional practices, and stereotyping of such practices and expectations.

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A History of Women's Education in the Darjeeling Hills

Priti Ghatani[†]

Abstract

The people of Darjeeling were in the slumber of the lack of formal education till 1835. The education during that time was mostly vocational. Women, as a rule, learnt the art of cooking, weaving, home making, child rearing, child care and midwifery from their mothers and other elderly women in the family and society. Formal schools for the locals were established much later after the establishment of sanitariums by the British. Schools were established initially for boys and later, with the influence of Boys' schools, Girls' Schools were also established in the region

Keywords

Modern education, school, women, Missionaries

Darjeeling had been a collection of 20 huts with a population of about 100 persons till 1835. Due to dense forests and poor communication facilities, the people in the area made their living from cultivation in forest lands and collected forest fruits. The original native settlers were the Lepchas, followed by the Nepalese, and the Bhutias. But due to development of communication and trade many traders from the plains started settling in the hills – the Marwaris, the Biharis, and the Bengalis, among others. This was the reason for a rapid growth of population.

Till then the habitants of Darjeeling were languishing in a slumber of ignorance. Early education in the hills was simple in nature and vocational in character. In the absence of formal schools, nature and environment spoke to them as teacher. The Lepchas had a vast knowledge of flora and fauna, the Nepalese were agriculturists and the Bhutias were herdsmen and traders. Each tribe had their own established religious faith, tradition, culture and economic activities. Education during the early days was life centered, practical project based and experience based. Education was through socialisation, as children and youth learned through participating in the activities of home and society. People learned different skills to become agriculturists, artisans, tailors, tanners, carpenters, or blacksmiths through participation. Women, as a rule, learnt the art of cooking, weaving, home making, child rearing, child care and midwifery from their mothers and other elderly women in the family and society.

Religion played a dominant role in the lives of the hill people. Mun and Bongthing, the Lepcha priests, played influential roles among the growing Lepcha community. Lamas also had an enormous influence among the Buddhists, comprising mainly Bhutias, Lepchas and Tamangs. Bhutias had a tradition of sending at least one son to a monastery in order to become a Lama. Unlike the others, the Nepalese also had the way of imparting traditional values and information to its members, in the form of folk tales, folk dance, folk songs. Besides these, *Jhaura*, *Maruni*, *Bhailo* and *Deusi*, *Juwari* and also *Satyanarayan Katha* were organised in each household. Religion was a very important source of education to the native people of the hills. Buddhism

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provided the Lamas some linguistic knowledge which helped them read and learn religious scripts. The Brahmans among the Nepalese could learn the hymns and mantras from scriptures written in Sanskrit. It will be incorrect to say that the native hill people in the early days were unlettered.

The “Marindin’s Report, 1881” of the Kalimpong settlement informs that the Lamas of the three monasteries viz Kalimpong, Phydong and Chumichin held their lands without paying taxes. After the settlement of the Kalimpong area, the Lamas were exempted from paying taxes, provided they maintained schools. It was the burden to the Monks to run a school, because they were only spiritually enlightened with theological knowledge, and not by formal education. Thus after independence they handed the schools over to the departments for running full-fledged primary schools in their premises. *Pathsala* and *tols* were established in the hills to uphold Hindu tradition of Vedic rituals; Shri Pasupati Sanskrit Vidyalaya was the first of its kind established in 1917 at Kalimpong. Mostly Brahmin pupils attended *tols* and *pathsalas*, but no records of the pupils from other castes of the Nepali community attending such institution were found. No women availed of such education. With the spread of modern education *pathsalas* got neglected. After the Muslims had settled in the hills the Muslim Resident of Darjeeling established *Maktabs* and *Madrasahs*. In 1860, Anjuman-e-Islamia was established to provide intellectual, moral, social and material guidance to the Muslim boys and girls of the district in accordance with the teachings of Islam. Nepali girls also attended Girls’ *Maktabs*. Nepali as a language was taught there. But today it remains as a model of indigenous institution of the minority Muslim community.

The education imparted by different religious sects, viz the Monasteries and *Gumpas*, *Pathsalas* and *Tols*, *Maktabs* and *Madrasahs* could not provide mass education. In Monasteries and *Pathsalas* no mention were made of girls’ education; rather there were rules to do household duties. *Pathsalas* could not provide education to all Hindus except Brahmin pupils. Muslims from the plains and settled in Darjeeling district were liberal in terms of educating their children, both boys and girls. But the mass in Darjeeling was not benefited by these indigenous institutions which had a role to play only in physical, spiritual and mental development.

Ever since the company and later the Crown Government took the responsibility of education in India, indigenous education was replaced by modern education. The Charter Act of 1813 compelled the Company to accept the responsibility of the Indian education and allow the missionaries of its dominion to spread the light of western knowledge. Following the Woods Despatch of 1854 initial efforts were made in the field of education in the early nineteenth century in India and thereby in Bengal. But in the case of Darjeeling, which was acquired only in 1835, it took thirty years to complete the formation of the district. The government, busy with their mission to build sanitarium, hardly got any time to think of modern education for the native people of the region. It was the German religious mission led by Rev. W. Start along with Treutler, Wenicke, Stockklke, Schultz and Niebel which was responsible for the first school for Lepchas which was established at Tukvar in 1841 using Rev. Start’s private means. After him Mr. C.G. Niebel continued the work but the chief objective of the mission was the conversion of the Lepchas. But the Lepcha school did not last long as it pushed forward its religious agenda. Though short lived, a non-British Christian missionary took the initial step in introducing formal education in the hills.

W.B. Jackson in his ‘Report on Darjeeling’ highlighted the necessity of establishing a school for teaching Hindi and English and the appointment of teachers accordingly. For this purpose, he

desired to obtain the Rs.1, 100 pukka house built by the German missionaries for the Lepcha school. Darjeeling School was sanctioned and established on 20th September, 1856. The school enrolled 33 pupils, 19 Hindus, 12 Muslims and 2 others. Education to the hill people meant a kind of luxury which was beyond their reach. The pupils who got enrolled in school at that time were the ones whose parents were government servants, businessmen and traders. The native settlers, the Lepchas, the Bhutias and the Nepalese could not take advantage of this as they were just labourers, peasants and herdsmen preoccupied with their daily grind.

Initially the European missionaries were interested in the education of the European community. Loreto Convent was founded in 1846 by Iris Loreto, to impart education to young ladies. Similarly, St Paul's School was founded in 1863, and was managed by the Bishop of Calcutta. Both the schools served the European pupils, not the common mass. But the native settlers got inspiration for education and adopted the European culture of learning through socialisation. In Darjeeling, unlike in the rest of the province, the semi nomadic people who settled uprooting the forest were far away from formal education. Whereas in other parts of the province indigenous schools in villages were set up by zamindars, and education, through Woods Despatch, went under direct control of the government, in Darjeeling District no such establishments were found. It was only through the effort made by the missionaries of the Scottish Church that formal education was introduced among the hill people.

From the account of W.W. Hunter in 1876, the Darjeeling schools could not meet the desired goal to serve the native children of the hills; it could serve only the children of the native clerks and Bengali residents in Darjeeling. There emerged two schools (1) the Bhutia Boarding School, to train up the children of Bhutias and Lepchas with knowledge of English, so that they could teach local people and act as mediators between the British and the indigenous people. (2) The Middle English school, or Darjeeling Zilla School, mainly to serve Bengalis and Hindustanis. Persian and English were taught in the newly established schools. Both were government middle schools until their merger in 1891-92 to form Darjeeling Government High School. According to O'Malley the high school was opened both for the natives and immigrants from the plains. Darjeeling had only one high school for the native people even after fifty years of the opening of the hill station. The rest of the area of Darjeeling district was still in the deep sleep of ignorance and illiteracy. The province was centuries back in terms of education. Women's Education was ignored; neither the government nor the missionaries felt the need for native women's education.

In the Darjeeling district where the mass was still in a state of illiteracy even till the end of nineteenth century, the Church of Scotland Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Mission took the lead to enlighten and uplift the people intellectually. Rev. W. Macfarlane sent from the Scottish Church for educational work in Calcutta, took the initiative to enlighten the hill people with western knowledge and religion. The church and the school grew together in the hill region of Darjeeling. He started his first school at his residence at Lochnagar in Darjeeling in 1870 which was later sifted to Kalimpong in 1886. He started a training school in order to educate young men with an objective of preaching and teaching which could help him in future to start schools in the nooks and corners of Darjeeling. His motto was 'Each one Teach one.' Within a few years he could establish 25 primary schools including one girls' school, with 615 boys and girls, by 1873. According to O'Malley's record thirty-two girls were taught in the boys' schools and 24 in the girls' school. Under keen effort of Miss Macfarlane a girls' school was established in 1873. The

natives found the idea quite absurd. The girls who got enrolled at the school were the ones whose brothers or husbands had been enrolled in the training school. But their attendance was very poor due to their involvement in household duties. But owing to the persistent efforts made by Macfarlane there was a remarkable progress in their attendance. The Missionaries not only gave the pupils formal education but also vocational training and practical wisdom which would help in leading their daily lives. Women were also given training in handicraft and lace making through which they could earn their living.

So far training schools were established for girls. It was only in 1890 that a formal school for girls came up for Nepali, Lepcha, and Bhutia girls in Darjeeling town as a primary school, which was raised to the level of a high school in 1942 and named Nepal Girls' High School. A school for girls separate from the parent body was started in Kalimpong in 1891 known as Kalimpong Girls' High School by Mrs. Graham. It was the earliest in the district to introduce Nepali as the medium of instruction up to the Middle English Examination, but for students preparing for Matriculation or its equivalent examinations English was the only medium recognised. Both schools were run by the Scottish Church Ladies' Mission. Among the three sub divisions, women's education in Kalimpong was more advanced than the other regions. Kurseong had only one middle school for girls – Scott Mission School.

Roman Catholic Missionaries were another set of social workers who came to impart education to the native hill people of Darjeeling. They had a tough fight with the Scottish missionaries who considered the spread of education in the hills their domain and even the government supported the Protestants. Despite the strong opposition Father Truen and Wery in Kurseong area, Father Grant in Darjeeling area and Father Jules Dounel at Pedong in Kalimpong area fought to establish schools in different regions of the hills. The Protestant preachers had already established schools and churches in almost all the villages of Kalimpong sub-division. With persistent hard work the Roman Catholic mission was successful in establishing schools and churches in the region. Mass education in the real sense started with them. It was only in the early nineteenth century that spread of education started on a mass scale in the hills. St Teresa Middle English School in Darjeeling founded in 1923 taught mainly the children of the hill people. St Philomena's at Kalimpong was established in 1932, and was run by the Sisters of St Joseph De Cluny. It was a middle English Day school and received grants from the government. In Kurseong St Joseph's Girls' School was established in 1938 and was later upgraded into high school in 1944. Boys' schools were also established by the Roman Catholic Mission in the hills. St Robert's School at Darjeeling was started in 1934, St Alphon's in Kurseong in 1936. St George's was the earliest school of the Roman Catholic Mission established in 1911, first as middle English school and upgraded in 1935 to a junior high school and recognised as high school in 1951. For girls, the Mission established a primary school at Pedong in 1922, but it was merged with St George's School in 1956, which was the only co-ed school of the Mission.

Maharani Girls' School, Darjeeling, the first Indian and privately-run school for Indian girls in the district, was established in 1908 by some Bengali ladies connected with the Brahmo Samaj. It was a Bengali medium school to educate the daughters of Bengali *babus* of Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong as the Government High School then enrolled only boys. Hindi Middle English School and a Sanskrit *tol*, established in 1934 to serve the need of the Hindi speaking community, was a co-ed school which received grant from the government. Sardhamayee Girls' School, established

in 1931, was a free girls' school and in 1935 the Ram Krishna Bengali Free Primary School was opened. The Buddhist Mission was also successful in establishing schools both for boys and girls— Ghum School for boys in 1910 and Ghum School for girls in 1923.

Sex-wise percentage of Literates to the Total Population in Darjeeling District in each Census Decade (1901 to 1931)

Year	Persons	Males	Females
1901	6.6	11.1	1.3
1911	9.4	16.1	1.8
1921	10.5	18.0	2.1
1931	10.3	17.5	2.2
2011	79.9	85.9	73.7

Source: District Census Handbook, Darjeeling (1961:52) and District Census Report, West Bengal, 2011. updateox.com/west-bengal/district-wise-literacy-rate-in-west-bengal, accessed on 20/07/17.

When education was introduced in other parts of the country after the advent of the Europeans the native people of the hills were living a semi primitive life. Civilization, culture and education were meaningless to the people who were dwellers of the forest. The German missionaries were the earliest ones who tried to light the lamp of education in the hills but failed to do so. The Scottish missionaries went ahead of the government in spreading education. Government activity was confined only to Darjeeling town, but the missionaries reached the nooks and corners of hills to establish schools. It was a challenge to the Scottish Mission to spread education in the hills as the natives of the hills were Lepchas, Bhutias, and Nepalis each having a different language. The medium of instruction was, therefore, a major problem. Availability of books was a related problem. Rev. W. Macfarlane thus started a training school with motto "each one teach one." The medium of instruction was Hindi during the early days. Till independence Darjeeling district did not have any college. It was only in 1948 that Darjeeling Government College was founded with affiliation from Calcutta University. Loreto College, established in 1961 as a joint venture of the government of West Bengal and Loreto Convent Darjeeling Education Society, affiliated to North Bengal University, was the only women's college in the region. Kalimpong College was established in 1962 and Kurseong College in 1967, both affiliated to North Bengal University. Cluny Women's College established in 1998 was the second women's college of the region and is affiliated to North Bengal University.

The Sisters of St Joseph of Cluny made a major contribution in the spread of girls' education in the region. Rev Sr Daclane Fahy, an Irish novice of this order, dedicated her life to the spread of girls' education in the hills. She left no stone unturned to establish schools in the villages of the hills. Cluny Women's College is the contribution of her noble cause.

Though proper formal schools started in the region much later than in the rest of West Bengal, education in the Darjeeling hills spread fairly quickly after independence with efforts made by the government, other agencies and the Christian missionaries. Women who were involved only in household activities in the earlier days have now moved ahead with the change of time. It took no time for the girls of the region to adopt formal education and modern culture. Though girls' schools were established in town areas, in the villages boys and girls studied together. Girls in the

region are accepted with equal love and respect as boys. Boys and girls mingle freely in schools and in colleges. According to the Census Report 1931 female literacy rate was only 2.2 percent and male 17.5 percent, but Census Report 2011 records female literacy at 73.74 and male literacy at 85.94 percent. This growth in the span of eighty years is because of the persistent struggle and hard work of the earlier missionaries who sowed the seed of education in the hills. Had there been no European missionaries people of the region would not have woken up from the sleep of ignorance and moved to modern education. The region is popular today as an education centre not only to the native pupils but also to pupils from different parts of the country and neighboring countries like Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Thailand.

Concluding Observation: Despite the fact that formal education in Darjeeling was introduced late under the initiative of the Britishers the hills did not take much time to adopt the formal education. The people in the hills whole heartedly adopted and accepted the Britishers' culture and education. They were highly influenced by their food habits, dress sense and their liberal mentality. Not many schools were established for women in the region because the community did not feel its necessity. People liberally allow their wards to go to co-educational schools. Unlike in other parts of the nation introduction of western education has been a blessing to the people of the hills. Sons and daughters are treated equally and given the same education.

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Environmental Concerns in *Arthashastra* and its Contemporary Relevance

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Abstract

The ancient Indian texts like Vedic Samhitas, Upanishadas, Puranas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Dharmasastras are worth mentioning as they depicted numerous rules and regulations relevant to preservation of environment and the climate. Specially Kautilya's Arthashastra which can be considered as the most secular in its approach in comparison to other ancient Indian texts, embodies several prescriptions relating to disaster preparedness and forest and agricultural management. Kautilya considered environment as integral part of human living. He entrusted the task of protecting natural resources with the king. Even in almost all the chapters of Arthashastra the ecological concerns were reflected. Such depictions actually reflect the ancient environmental awareness in India which is more holistic than today and based on the principle of "Vasudhaiva kutumbakam". It is true that today's environmental problems are more severe than before. But Ancient Indian Texts are potential enough to provide us with deep insights into the ecological problems which will help us to solve the greatest climate threats of the day more harmoniously. Against this background the study sheds light on -The depictions in Arthashastra expressing environmental awareness in ancient India and their contemporary relevance in the era of climate change in the Indian context.

Keywords

Climate, Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, Environmental Consciousness. Ancient India, Contemporaneity

Introduction

Climate change and environmental problems have attracted the attention of not only scientists and economists but of policy makers and the public in general. The environmental discourse has now become an integral part of the larger political process and debate. India is not an exception in this regard as climate change has emerged not only as an important environmental issue but also as a significant political issue here. Her concern for environment is based on the past, stands on the present and looks forward to the future. As a result one can derive inspiration to analyse environmental problems from ancient Indian texts. In this regard 'Vedic Samhitas', 'Upanishadas', *Arthashastra* and many other ancient Indian texts are worth mentioning as various environmental aspects are depicted in them and they have mainly stressed on the urgency of maintaining every parts of the nature which is all around in our surroundings. The most ancient and comprehensive form of nature-worship finds expression in Vedic texts which have provided some knowledge about the basic elements of environment like water, air and plants or herbs meaning everything that encircles us. The Vedic texts also attributed divinity to nature as the Vedic sages felt the greatness of natural phenomena and they worshipped and prayed them with

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surprise and fear. As the environment belongs to all living creatures, the Vedic seers emphasized the need to protect the environment by all for the wellbeing of all. Similarly other rich textual resources like Upanishadas, Puranas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and many others not only articulated the fact that India has a rich cultural tradition which deeply admires nature but also highlighted her efforts to espouse a harmonious man- nature relationship. They have unfolded the truth that ancient Indian environmental consciousness was holistic in its approach and the ancient sages believed in *Vasudeva Sarvam* and *Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam* which emphasized the concept of divinity in all bestowing reverence for all. As a result such consciousness helps one to view the entire world as a global village and to augment the consciousness regarding the need to respect for and the protection of Mother Earth along with her endowments and riches as all the beings of the entire universe belong to the same family. Kautilya's *Arthashastra* which can be considered as the most secular in its approach in comparison to other ancient Indian texts, embodies several aspects regarding environmental protection. It considered environment as the integral part of human living. In this paper, an effort will be made to find out the important prescriptions embodied in the *Arthashastra* for the preservation of nature as well as their contemporary relevance in the context of emerging perception of environment with special reference to India.

The Environmental Edicts in *Arthashastra*

There are a number of edicts and proclamations in *Arthashastra* bearing immense testimony to Kautilya's perceptions and concerns about the environment. Despite its Machiavellian traits, the book offers sound ideas on the management of the environment that was indispensable to protect natural resources as well as to promote the well being of the King's subject. Its secular and pragmatic nature of approach is well articulated through the injunctions designed to specify rules which could be enforced by law by the king.

Natural Resource Management

Land: According to Kautilya, Land, the most important natural resource, was primarily in the public sector, with the state holding all virgin lands, forests and water resources. Arable land, however was both in the public and private sectors. The awareness for the appropriate use of resources and the necessity of administrative control to stop over exploitation have basically constituted the Kautilyan paradigm of environmental protection which is clearly evident in the way land use and practice of farming were mandated (Rangarajan 1992, 76).

Patterns of utilisation and improvement of land were also indicated. Several edicts and injunctions on land use, preventive actions specified for the violation of these as well as the rewards and incentives for proper use of lands demonstrate the awareness of the people for the preservation of land as a resource. The quality of a good country depends largely on the nature of land. It is said that the ideal *janapada* must be devoid of mud, stones, salty ground, uneven and desert tracts. However, according to Kautilya, the value of lands depends on how the men make use of it (7.11.9). Because he preferred a land which was supported by men as without men, like a barren cow, the land could yield nothing. His text also provides information about farming and crop rotation and also about botanical matters ranging from seed collection to plant classification, from diagnosis and treatment to landscaping (Shamasastri 1961, 288).

Forests and Trees: As the mother earth cannot sustain life without healthy, thriving forests Kautilya entrusted the duty of preserving forests and other natural resources with the king and the different official dignitaries of the state. The effort for the preservation, protection and development of forests is to be found in a number of sutras in Book 2, like chapter 2, chapter 17, Book 7, chapter 12 where the king prescribes that necessary plants must be grown to protect dry lands and pasturelands should be properly protected. In describing the structure of *janapada* Kautilya talked about three kinds of usual forests, which were different from the untamed jungles, viz (i) forest for recreational use like hunting (2.2.3.4) (ii) economically useful ones for collecting forest produce like timber (2.2.5). These should be large, near the borders of the country with a river and yield material of high value (7.12.6.7).and (iii) near the frontier, elephant forests where wild elephants could be captured (2.2.6.16). These were more important than other kinds because one depends on elephants for destruction of the enemy's forces (7.11.13-16). Moreover Brahmins shall be provided with forests for ascetics as well as for religious learning (Rangarajan 1992, 78)

To Kautilya it should be the royal duty to protect forests, irrigation works, and mines that were made in ancient times, and to start new ones (2.1.39). In Book 2 chapter 2, it is also argued that the superintendent of forest produce shall collect timber and other products of forests by employing those who guard productive forests. He shall not only start productive works in forests, but also fix adequate fines and compensations to be levied from those who cause any damage to productive forests except in calamities. The guards of elephant forest should help the superintendent of the same to protect the elephant forest (whether) on the mountain, along a river, along lakes or in marshy tracts, with its boundaries, entrances and exits fully known (2.2.7) (Shamasastri 1961, 48-50).

Kautilya prescribes various pecuniary fines for cutting off the tender sprouts of flowering or fruit bearing trees or shady trees in the park near a city (3.19.28). Depending on the types of injury to the trees, variable amounts of fines were suggested to be imposed on the offender. Causing damages to the bushes and creepers bearing flower or fruit or providing shade as well as to the trees that have grown in places of pilgrimage, forests of hermits or cremation grounds were also considered as punishable acts. Huge fines were also to be levied for causing harm to trees which mark boundaries or trees at sanctuaries and also to the prominent trees (Sarma 1998, 39).

Water: Kautilya's concern for water as a resource is reflected in a number of edicts which suggest not to obstruct the free flow of water in channels during rains and water course, gutter, and dung hill should be placed at suitable places for households (Shamasastri 1961, 189-90). As water is necessary to prevent fire hazards, Kautilya asks city dwellers to collect vessels to be placed in thousands on roads and cross roads, gates and in front of royal buildings (Shamasastri 1961, 162).

Conserving Bio Diversity

Kautilya's systematic concern for animal welfare is extensively evident in the *Arthashastra* where he prescribes several regulations for protecting wild life, ensuring proper rations for pet animals, regulating grazing, preventing cruelty to animals, prohibiting poaching of wild animals, ensuring proper care of domestic animals and imparting penalties and punishments specified for violation of injunctions.

While building the infrastructure of a settled and successful kingdom, the official who is in charge of disposing non agricultural land was supposed to establish an animal sanctuary, where all animals were welcomed as guests (2.2.4). A list of protected animals, fish, birds were drawn up and killing or injuring them in reserved parks were prohibited (2.26.10-11). Even animals which had turned harmful were not to be killed within the sanctuary but were to be taken out of the sanctuaries and then killed (2.26.1, 4-6, 14). There were firm instructions to treat the domestic animals belonging to individuals, village communities or to the king. Village headmen were supposed to take responsibility for preventing cruelty to animals. If protected animals or those from reserved forests strayed and were found grazing at places where they are not supposed to be, should be driven off without hurting them. Any means could be used to restrain a person found to be treating an animal cruelly (Rangarajan 1992, 96).

Some animals like deer were given special treatment. In case of theft of deer or objects from deer parks or produce forests, there shall be a fine of 100 *panas*. Moreover formidable importance was given to horses and elephants for their use in warfare. Cattle- goats, camel, donkeys and pigs, in the crown herd were to be meticulously looked after for which a chief superintendent of crown herd used to be appointed. Even individuals whether owning domestic animals or not, were supposed to follow norms about their dealing with the animals. Special treatments are also suggested for the young, the old and diseased cattle (Rangarajan 1992, 96).

Fight Against Climate Cataclysms

The *Arthashastra* recognizes the fact that damage to the environment may also be caused by natural hazards which cannot be prevented by human material endeavours only. Kautilya uses the term calamity (*vyasana*) in the precise sense of any event which weakens any constituent element of a state, thereby preventing it from being used to its full potential (Rangarajan 1992, 117). So a variety of natural and manmade calamities which can afflict the population have been listed. The suffering of the people could be due to Acts of God which includes fire, floods, disease and epidemics and famine, rats, tiger, serpents and evil spirits (4.3, 8.4, 9.7). Sometimes such calamities can be prevented through worshipping, oblations and recitals of benedictions. However it is also prescribed that it is the duty of the king to protect the people from all these calamities (4.3.1-2; 9.7.8) indicating realistic and scientific approach to abate or adjust the adverse situation and to protect and save the population. As a result several remedies are suggested to avert such calamitous situations (Rangarajan 1992, 128).

For controlling hazards from fire, the city superintendent is entrusted with the task of removing thing covered with grass or matting (2.36.19) and he should make those who live by the use of fire, reside in one locality (2.36.201). Book 2, chapter 36 comprises of such various measures to prevent outbreaks of fire and the verses also include a set of punishments (Shamasastya 1961, 162).

Flood is perceived as more pervasive than fire since the former affects hundreds of villages at a single blow. It is suggested that during the rainy season, villagers living near river banks should shift to areas above flood levels and they should keep a collection of wooden planks, bamboo and boats. Kautilya also emphasizes on mass participation in rescue works which can be achieved with the help of both moral suasion and legal measure (4.3.8, 9) (Rangarajan 1992, 129-30).

Droughts have been identified as even greater calamity than excessive rains as it involves loss of livelihood (8.2.25). Though no appropriate measure has been prescribed, it is said that during such a situation Indra, the Ganges and the Lord of the Seas should be worshipped (Rangarajan 1992, 129-30).

Famine, diseases in epidemic form are the other calamities identified as greatly affecting people. The role of the state in famine management, as suggested by Kautilya is worth mentioning. Like distribution of seeds and food from the royal stores to the public on concessional terms, undertaking food for work programmes such as building forts or irrigation works, shifting the entire population (with the king and court) to a region or country with abundant harvest or near the sea, lakes or rivers, supplementing the harvest with additional cultivation of grain, vegetables, roots and fruits, by fishing and by hunting deer, cattle, birds and wild animals (4.3.17-20) (Rangarajan 1992, 129-30).

In case of danger from other calamities of divine origin like rats, wild animals, snakes, appropriate measures are also prescribed. Like to ward off the danger from rats, cats and mongoose may be let loose. (4.3.21, 23-25,27). In case of danger from marauding wild animals such as tigers, crocodiles etc some methods are applied although all of them are not that eco friendly. In case of snake bite, an expert in poison shall be called to apply his medicines and incantations. Apart from natural hazards Kautilya has pointed out several man made hazards. He tries to prevent men from doing any acts which have harmful external effects on cultivation, irrigation system and other properties of other people (Rangarajan 1992, 130-31).

Maintaining Urban Ecology

Kautilya's text also provides valuable information about the proper rules concerning the construction of *Vastu* as he was aware of the dangers inherent in the confined and congested cities, particularly with regard to fire, hygiene and privacy (Rangarajan 1992, 94). It is prescribed that houses and other dwelling places, roads, cremation grounds etc. should be properly constructed preserving environment. Each and every house should have arrangements for controlling fire, for sewage as well as proper disposal of wastes. Maintenance of cleanliness, sanitation and hygiene was a part of house building regulation (2.36.26-33). The rules on sanitation inside houses were relaxed for childbirth and the ten-day lying in period (3.8.6). Book III, chapter 8 deals with various aspects necessary for accurate harmony in dwelling places of the citizens. Between any two houses or between the extended portion of any two houses, the intervening space shall be 4 *padas* or 3 *padas* (Shamasastri 1961, 189). To avoid air pollution and to enhance the human civic sense Kautilya suggested that no one should throw dirt on the roads and highways, or urinate at public places. Moreover, throwing carcasses or dead bodies at public places is also punishable (Shamasastri 1961, 162-63).

Contemporary Relevance

Thus Kautilya's *Arthashastra* can be projected as an excellent treatise containing provisions meant to regulate a number of aspects related to the environment. It has an immense relevance in today's world. Various environmental conferences and their fallouts, several policy recommendations concerning environment have echoed Kautilyan concerns thereby proving the contemporaneity of his text.

The ecological changes which have taken place during the past few decades have posed a serious threat to the future of mankind. As a result the government and common people have all felt greatly concerned over the fast deteriorating environment and taken keen interest in its improvement. The first step in this direction was taken by the United Nations when it organized the UN Conference on Human Environment at Stockholm, popularly known as the Stockholm Conference in 1972. It emphasized the preservation of natural resources including air water, land, flora and fauna etc which are quite similar to the edicts as depicted in *Arthashastra*. It also stressed on entrusting appropriate national institutions with the task of planning, managing or controlling the environmental resources of states with a view to enhancing environmental quality. As a follow up to this, different countries took a plethora of measures for the protection and management of environment in congruence with the national, regional and global requirements. In 1992, United Nations conference on environment and development was held at Rio De Janeiro. Along with the need to collaborate while facing climate change, this conference sought to reverse environmental deterioration and establish the basis for a sustainable way of life in the 21st century. Agenda21- the most important outcome of the Earth summit suggested actions for protecting the atmosphere, combating deforestation, soil loss and desertification, preventing air and water pollution and halting the depletion of fish stocks etc.

Since 1972, scientific evidences linking Green House Gas emission from human activities with the risk of global climate change started to arouse public concern. As a result the most crucial matter of concern for all the nation states includes the necessity to reduce the vulnerability of their natural as well as socio economic systems to the phenomenon of climate change. Adverse climatic condition has several direct long term effects on countries including threat to agricultural sector, vulnerability of the population living near coastlines and low lying island and a proliferation of the frequency of extreme events like drought, famine, flood, and so on which are very much similar to the calamitous situations described by Kautilya.

The Indian government has also felt greatly concerned over environmental degradation and tried to tackle the problem through enacting necessary laws and providing machinery for the implementation of various programmes launched for this purpose. Soon after the Stockholm conference, National Council for Environmental Policy and planning was set up in 1972 which was later evolved into India's apex administrative body for environmental policy making in the form of MoEF. Initially no direct provisions concerning environment were enshrined in the Constitution. However the 42nd amendment to the Constitution was brought about in the year 1974 in order to insert direct provisions for the protection of environment. Article 48A was laid down accordingly in the part dealing with Directive Principle of State Policy which reads “the state shall endeavour to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forests and wildlife of the country.” (The Constitution of India 2002, 94). Moreover environment protection was made a fundamental duty of every citizen by Article 51A(g) which provides- “ It shall be the duty of every citizen of India to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life and to have compassion for living creatures”(The Constitution of India 2002, 96). Two entries 17 A-Forests and 17 B- Protection to wild animals and birds were also added in the concurrent list. The Supreme Court and High Courts have played a pivotal role in the enforcement of these constitutional provisions and legislations relating to environment. It is through judicial interference and interpretation that the environmental matters have received a significant impetus

as they have expanded the ambit and scope of different terms. For instance, the Fundamental Rights as enshrined in the constitution does not have any specific mention of the environmental matters. But the Apex court of the country, in its interpretation of Article 21, has facilitated the emergence of the environmental jurisprudence in India. The fundamental right to life and personal liberty enshrined in Article 21 has been held to include the right to enjoy pollution free air and water²². Such environmental awareness also encouraged the Government of India to enact several acts and green laws containing provisions quite similar to the edicts of *Arthashastra* in forms and contents.

The Wildlife Protection Act: In 1972 the act was drafted. It recognizes that protection and effective management of habitat is crucial for the conservation of the rich wildlife of the country. Apart from banning, hunting and trade in animal body parts, this act paved the way for identification of major forests in India to be declared as tiger reserves and states were encouraged to set up National parks and Sanctuaries. Furthermore, the act also prohibits picking, uprooting, damaging, destroying, acquiring or collecting specified plants from any forest land or any area specified by notification. Thus the provisions of the act are quite comparable to the sutras contained in the Book 2 of *Arthashastra*.

The Forest Conservation Act: It was enacted in 1980, Section 2 of which has made it obligatory upon the State governments to acquire prior approval of the Central Governments for dereservation of forest and diversion of forest land for non forestry purposes. Mention must be made here that there are various verses in the *Arthashastra* projecting the same ecological concern for the preservation and protection of forests for their products and place for animals (Roy 2010, 254-59).

There are some other acts like Water Prevention and Control Act 1974, Air Prevention and control of pollution Act 1981 and more important the Environment Protection Act, 1986 which was introduced as an umbrella legislation that provides a holistic framework for the protection and improvement of the environment. This actually allowed the Government of India to create the Central Pollution Control Board and State Pollution Control Board.

The Biological Diversity Act 2002: Kautilyan concern about the living creatures like both wild and domestic animals, plants and vegetation is also reflected in the Biological Diversity act consisting of provisions for the conservation of biological diversity and sustainable use of its components. Some of the governmental plans and policies of India concerning environment have also echoed the same Kautilyan voice like the 11th five year plan (2007-2012) which talks about the financial support of the central government to the states for supporting conservation of wildlife and biodiversity through various umbrella schemes like development of national parks and sanctuaries, Project Tiger, Project Elephant etc. In 2006 the National environmental policy came into prominence which can be considered as the first ever initiative in strategy formulation for environment in a comprehensive manner. India has also made her impressive presence in the conference of parties of convention on the Conservation of Migratory species of wild Animal held in Norway during November 20-25, 2011. It is an intergovernmental treaty, concluded under the aegis of the United Nations Environmental Programme concerned with the conservation of wildlife and habitats on a global scale.

If we look back to the Kautilyan dictums, it can be said that along with providing us with sacred and scientific dynamism of state craft Kautilya was quite concerned about establishing ecological sustainability in all walks of life. In modern India where building a balanced hyphenation between development and environmental protection is the urgency of time, the avenues towards the same end as dictated by *Arthashastra* is quite relevant. Such efforts are visible in various landmark policy adoptions too. India's National Environmental Policy (NEP), 2006 articulates that only such development is sustainable which respects ecological constraints and the imperatives of social justice. The National Policy for farmers focuses on sustainable development of agriculture, by promoting technically sound, economically viable, environmentally non-degrading and socially acceptable use of the country's natural resources. The National Urban Sanitation Policy, 2008 seeks to generate awareness, eliminate open defecation, promote integrated city-wide sanitation, safe disposal and efficient operation of all sanitary installations and so on (Planning Commission 2013, 112). The five years plans are also significant in setting targets for achieving environmental sustainability. The Eleventh Five-Year Plan (2007-12) has set several targets to further India's progress in achieving MDG VII. These include:

- Increase forest and tree cover by 5 percentage points;
- Attain WHO standards of air quality in all major cities by 2011–12;
- Treat all urban waste water by 2011–12 to clean river waters;
- Clean drinking water to be available for all by 2009, ensuring that there are no slip-backs by the end of the Eleventh Plan (Saleem 2015, 39);
- Increase energy efficiency by 20 percent by 2016–17;
- Ensure electricity connection to all villages and Below Poverty Line households by 2009 and reliable power by the end of the Plan;
- Ensure all-weather road connections to all habitations with population of 1000 and above (500 and above in hilly and tribal areas) by 2009, and all significant habitations by 2015;
- Connect every village by telephone and provide broadband connectivity to all villages by 2012;
- Provide homestead sites to all by 2012 and step up the pace of house construction for rural poor to cover all the poor by 2016–17 (UNDP 2014).

Various governmental schemes are also devised to establish environmental sustainability like National Biodiversity Action Plan (NBAP), Total Sanitation Campaign, Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme (ARWSP), a component of the Bharat Nirman Programme and Nirmal Gram Puraskar, Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) etc. All these efforts have resemblances in the ecological prescriptions of Kautilyan *Arthashastra*.

Concluding Remarks

Although there is a growing realisation among the people and authorities about the need of checking the fast deteriorating environment, lack of awareness and infrastructure makes implementation of most of the laws relating to environment, extremely difficult and ineffective. Since, the ad hoc nature of such measures may lead to more dangerous future catastrophes, all the efforts should be holistic in approach reflecting the integral relationship between man and nature. In this regard the edicts of *Arthashastra* are relevant and have a contemporary ring as they specified how the measures to preserve environment could be integrated coherently. It is true that today's

environmental problems are more severe than before and the concepts of environment differ from age to age, since it depends upon the condition, prevalent at that particular time. However, human ignorance and activities at the expense of our natural surroundings remain the same for all the ages. Here lies the contemporaneity of Kautilya's embryonic text which, by any standards, represents a remarkable scholarly achievement. By introducing several punitive measures for violating the rules pertaining to environment, Kautilya entrusted the king with the duty of creating conditions of good life. Moreover, it was his moral duty to protect his subjects during disasters otherwise he must relinquish. We, the modern creatures should have to be proud of such prescriptions while in our age climate change has emerged not only as an important environmental issue but also as a significant political issue at national and international level. India being an agro based economy which is highly climate sensitive, environmental change is a major threat here. The impact of climate change could hinder her development and delay progress in economic growth. In such a situation a revisit to the environmental injunctions of the ancient Indian Texts like *Arthashastra* can provide us with deep insights into the ecological problems which will help us to solve the greatest threat of the day more harmoniously.

Note

Numerals used throughout the paper indicate Book, Chapter and Sloka respectively which are arranged by R.P Kangle in *The Kautilya Arthashastra*, Part –II (English translation), Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1986.

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Vāstu and *Vāstukāras* in the Tradition of Ancient Indian *Vāstuśāstra*

A Special Reference to *Mayamata*

Ripan Ghosh[†]

Abstract

Nowadays *vāstu* is a fashion among the society. But very often, the concept of *vāstu* is not clear. In the huge range of technical Sanskrit literature, *vāstuvidyā* is a famous and prominent one. Different Sanskrit texts of *vāstuvidyā* mention the meaning of *vāstu* with the several points of view. The present paper would discuss the different meanings of *vāstu* as along with mentioning the qualities of *vāstukāras* (architect). In this regard, it would also place a comparative analysis of different views of *vāstukāras*.

Keywords

Vāstuvidyā, Mayamata, shapati, śūtragrāhin, vardhaki, takṣaka

Abbreviations

AS: Arthasāstra; MP: Matsya Purāṇa; VP: Vāyu Purāṇa; MM: Mayamata; MB: Mahābhārata; MS: Mānasāra; MNS: Manusamhita.

Sanskrit literature offers a huge range of technical knowledge incorporating scriptures on medical science, astronomy, astrology, agriculture, military science, archery, musicology, sports, cookery, and so on. In this oeuvre, architecture or *vāstuvidyā* is one of the important and prominent one.

In Sanskrit, the equivalent word of architecture is *vāstu*. Sometimes, we find the word *vastu* in the place of *vāstu*. Primarily, *vāstu* means house. *Ṛgveda*, the most ancient text of Indian civilization has a record of the word *vāstuni* while *Sāyanācārya* explained the word by – ‘*vāstuni sukhanivāsajogyāni sthānāni*’, which means *vāstu* is a place where one can live comfortably (translation by author). According to *Śabdakalpadruma*, *vāstu* is the place where a being lives– ‘*vasanti prāṇino yatra iti vāstu*. The synonyms for *vāstu* are – ‘*beśmabhuḥ, potaḥ, bāti, bātikā, grhapotakaḥ*’¹ etc.

According to *Mayamata*, the famous text of *vāstuvidyā*, *vāstu* is –

“*amartyāścaiva martyāśca yatra yatra vasanti hi I*
tad vastviti mataṃ tajjñāistadbhedam ca vadāmyahaṃ II”²

Sanskrit literature records different trends of *vāstu*. *Vedas, Purāṇas (Hindu mythologies)* and *Epics* describe different features of *vāstu*. Further some texts, scriptures on *vāstu* are composed to

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¹ *Śabdakalpadruma*, vol.4. p.358.

² ‘Experts call all places where immortals and mortals dwell, “dwelling sites” (*vāstu*)’.(*Mayamata*: chapter, 2, verse: 1)

explore the knowledge of *vāstu*. Likewise, *Yayurveda* demonstrates some architectural features of *vāstu*, such as ‘*yupa*’, a religious pillar. *Atharvaveda* is famous for the numerous description of architecture and it is also well known as *sthāpatyaveda*. The *śālasukta* of *Atharvaveda* recorded some essential elements of *vāstusāstras*. *Purāṇas* have a very rich tradition of *Vāstuvidyā*. In the “*gr̥hanirmāṇakalāvarnanam*” section of *Matsyapurāṇa* (MP 253. 4-5) we find a detailed description of the construction of a building along with the names of eighteen preceptors of *vāstukāras* - Bhṛgu, Atri, Vaśiṣṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajita, Viśalakṣa, Indra, Brahmā, Svāmikārtika, Nandiśvara, Śanaka, Garga, Śri Kriṣṇa, Aniruddha, Śukra and Vṛhaspati.

“*Bhṛguratrirvaśiṣṭhaśca viśvakarmā mayastathā I*
Nāradonagnajiccaiva viśālākṣaḥ purandaraḥ II
Brahmākumāro nandiśaḥ śaunako garga eva ca I
Vāsudevo niruddhaśca tathā śukravṛhaspati II”³

In this regard, *Vāyupurāṇa* contains a verse where the meaning of *vāstu* is implied properly:

Yathā te purvamāsan vai vṛkṣāstu gr̥hasaṃhitā I
*Tathā kartuṃ samārabadhāscintayitvā punaḥ punaḥ II*⁴

It says that before the very beginning of civilization, human beings took shelter under the trees. Thereafter, they arranged their houses like the spread of tree-branches. Hence, it is clear that *Vāstu* is a place where one can live perfectly and comfortably.

For a safe living, safety of the swelling place is essential. This primary requirement has influenced the architecture of the *vāstu*. In the Indian civilization different types of house, halls, temples, and gateways reflect the rich and diverse tradition of architecture. The different forms of architecture has changed in different eras and areas of civilization. This phenomenon has given birth to different trends or traditions in this field. Among such traditions, two are particularly famous. They are – Southern and Northern tradition. *Viśvakarmā* (architect of the Gods) and Maya (architect of ‘*asuras*’ or *demons*) are known as master architects of those traditions respectively. Few famous books are ascribed to Viśvakarmā, such as - *Viśvakarmā-prakāśa*, also known as *vāstusūtra*; *Viśvakarmāśilpaśātra* and *Aparājitaṣṭhā*. Another remarkable work of northern tradition is Bhoja’s *Samarāṅgana- sūtradhārā*. *Mayamata* is a well known work of Maya-trend or southern tradition. In the great epic *Mahābhārata*, we find the name of *Mayadānava* who constructed the royal palace of *Indraprastha*.⁵ On the other hand, *Mānasāra* is also a valuable work of southern tradition.

Definition and classification of Technicians (*Vāstukāras*):

Since, without proper technical knowledge or guidance it is hardly possible to build a construction successfully our ancient preceptors made aware of the qualities of technicians.

Bruno Dagens decoded the Sanskrit term ‘*śilpin*’ by the word ‘technicians’. The word *śilpin* derived from ‘*śilpa*’ with the suffix ‘*ini*’, indicates one who properly know the mechanical,

³ MP: “*gr̥hanirmāṇakalāvarnanam*”: 253.4-5.

⁴ VP :8.122

⁵ MB: ‘ 2: 1.10

technical and instrumental activities. In this regard it is noticeable that by the word *śilpin* refer to the labors, but the text indicates the technicians.

Foremost of the architects, Maya classified the technicians into four categories on the basis of their duties to be performed in a sequential order. They are – *sthapati*, *śūtragrāhin*, *vardhaki*, and *takṣaka*. *Mānasāra* illustrated a mythological story about these four technicians but records them as four persons born from divine sons. The story tells us – *viśvakarman* is known as *sthapati*. Father of *Śūtragrāhin*, *vardhaki*, and *takṣaka* are *maya*, *tvastāra*, and *manu* respectively.

viśvakarmākhyanāmnosya putraḥ sthapatirucyate I
mayasya tanayaḥ sūtragrāhiti parikīrtitaḥ II
tvasturdeva-ṛṣeḥ putro vardhakiti prakathyate I
manoḥ putrastakṣakaḥ syāt sthāpatyādi catustaye II⁶

Let us have a brief account of all these kinds of technicians, as described by Maya.

Sthapati (The Architect): *Sthapati* or architect, the main technicians of the entire construction, should be the master of all technical, mechanical and instrumental activities in this field.⁷ Maya enlisted a number of qualifications, required to be a *sthapati*. He said – the architect should come from a renowned land (*prasiddhadeśa*) and should belong to mixed caste.

Here an obvious question may come that what is mixed caste? To explain it we can take the help of *manusamhitā*, one of the most famous texts of Hindu *Dharmaśāstra*. According to ancient caste system the whole society was divided into four categories (*varṇa*). They are – *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya*, and *Śūdra*. As per the marriage system, *brāhmaṇa* should married *brāhmaṇa* girl; *kṣatriya* should married *kṣatriya* girl and other also respectively. But when *brāhmaṇa* married a *kṣatriya*, *vaiśya* or *Śūdra* daughter and also *Śūdra* married a *vaiśya*, *kṣatriya* or *brāhmaṇa* daughter then it will be call *anuloma* and *pratiloma vivāhah* respectively. *Anuloamaja* (born of *Anuloma* marriage) and *Patilomaja* (born of *Pratiloma* marriage) sons are well known as mixed caste. Likewise, *sūta*, *māgadha*, *vaideha*, *ayogava* etc. Among these mixed caste, *ayogava* (*Śūdra* father and *Vaiśya* mather) is famous one and *Manu* said that it is *ayogava*, who has work like a *takṣaka*.

Matsyaghāto niṣādānām tvaṣṭistvāyogavasya ca I⁸

Maya considered that person a *sthapati* who have enough knowledge to establish a building and who is well versed in all kind of science- '*sthapatih sthāpanārhaḥ syāt sarvaśāstra viśāradaḥ*.' The word '*sarvaśāstraviśāradaḥ*', here stands for all kinds of knowledge, related to building construction. These all *śāstras* help a *sthapati* to build a perfect construction without any complain. For instance, the knowledge of mathematics helps him to make the necessary calculations and measurements. Geography develops the knowledge of places and environment, which is required to select the constructional site properly. Maya prescribes that a *sthapati* must be physically strong and faithful in religious activities. He should be kind and must be free from envy, weakness, and disease.

na hināṅgo 'tiriktāṅgo dhārmikastu dayāparaḥ II

⁶ *MSa* : 2.9-10

⁷ Derivation of *Sthapati*-*sthā+ kaḥ,tasya patiḥ.=sthapati*.

⁸ *MNS*: 10.48a.

amātsaryo 'nasuyāscā tanditastvabhijātavān I⁹

The other necessary qualifications are the ability to draw (*chitrajña*) and knowledge of whole country (*sarvadeśajña*). The architect must be free from seven vices or *sapta- vyasana*. About the seven vices *Arthaśāstra* mention that-*'kopajatrivargah kāmajascaturvargh.'*¹⁰ *Sapta -vyasana* or seven vices come from two different way of human behavior, namely *kāma* and *krodha*. *Madyapāna* (drinking wine), *akṣakrīdā* (gambling), *strīsaṃbhoga* (addiction to women), *mṛgayā*(hunting) are famous as *kamojavyasana*. On the other hand, *dandapāruṣya* (assault), *vākpārusya* (reviling), *arthaduṣaṇa* (waste of money) are known as *krodhajavyasana*. When a *sthapati* is addicted to those vices, he loses his power of discriminating knowledge. So a learn *sthapati* should always very careful to avoid those vices properly.

Sūtragrāhin (Draftman): The son or disciple of an architect is known as *sūtragrāhin*. The activities of a *sūtragrāhin* are comprehensible by his name. One major work of building construction is measurement which is done by the *sūtragrāhin* with his *sūtra* or measuring rope. Maya said-

*'Sūtradaṇḍa prapātajño mānanmānapramāṇavit.'*¹¹

Here the word '*unmāna*' in neuter gender means measuring of the site and quantity. Therefore, *sūtragrāhin* must possess adequate knowledge of *sūtra* or '*daṇḍa*' (measuring scale) and also able to measure various types of height, length, ratios, etc properly.

Takṣaka (Carpenter): Maya defined *takṣaka* by – '*takṣanāt sthūla sūkṣmānām takṣaka sa tu kirtitaḥ.*'¹² The verb *takṣaka* denotes cutting down, where *sthūlasūkṣmānām* refer to small or big pieces of wood, stones etc. *Takṣaka* is a particular type architect who cuts the wood or stones into several pieces according to their requirement in the building construction. *Takṣaka* should always work under the supervision of *sūtragrāhin*.

Vardhaki (Designer): *Vardhaki* is one who joins the small or big pieces of stone, wood etc. Normally the word *vardhaki* is derived from root '*vrid*' that means to increase. Maya stated that – *vridhikrid vardhaki prokta sūtragrāyānugaḥ sadā. Takṣaka* cuts the wood, stone etc into different pieces and it is *vardhaki* who has the duty to join those pieces for the construction and increase the total shape of the structure. Like *takṣaka*, *Vardhaki* is also to work under the guidance of *sūtragrāhin*.

About the definition and classification of four types of architects, different books of architects provide similar information. In conclusion Maya mentioned the common characteristics of four kinds of architects. They all should be – active, skilful, pure, strong, compassionate, respectful to the masters and joyous; they are always faithful to the masters,

*'Karmino nipuṇāḥ śuddhā balvanto dayāparāḥ I
Gurubhaktāḥ sadā hr̥ṣṭāḥ'*¹³

⁹ *MM*: chapter, 5.15b-16a.

¹⁰ *AS* Viii.3.23.

¹¹ *MM* :5.19b

¹² *MM* :5.20b

¹³ *MM*: 5.22b – 23a.

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G-NÄ-cl -ch-ijheju fĒL«ça

čjW¥ čpwq lju[†]

pilpw-rf

G-NÄ-cl fĒju pjŮ¹ pšš²C -Lje-ej--Lje -chajl E-Ÿ-n lčQaz fj čbŇh ejei hŮ¹¥ - depČfc, NI¹, nae¥-
 čhSu CaÉjčc Lijeju aiy-cl Ů¹¥čaz G-NÄ-cl -ch pwMÉj če-u ejei jaz -Lj-ej G-L E-đčMa q-u-R
 -chpwMÉj čae pqpĒjčdLz -Lj-ej -Lj-ej G-L HC -ch pwMÉj 33 h-m NZÉz čel¹š²LjI ki-úl j-a
 ünŇ, Ač¹lEr Hhw f^ačbh£ HC čae ŮŮj-el -chaj jšma čaeSe, AeÉlj aj-clC čiae čiae eijjioz
 hŮ¹¥a G-NÄ-cl -chaj-cl °cčqL lčf J °hčnøÉ hčZŇa q-u-R pšš²...čm-a aj-a HC -ch-LŮfej
 čfR-e °hčcl Lčh-cl -k fĒL«ça J čepNŇ-pčfčLŇa ejei fkŇ-hrZ J Aexih čae²ujn£m aj Aexdjh-el
 fĒujp l-u-R HC fĒh-áz HLC p-% °el¹š²ja Hhw fšhŇ-jĒjwpi HC cčC j-al B-mjQeju -cMj-ei
 q-u-R -k fĒjQ£e HC cčC jahj-cl fĒčagčma -h-cl -chajlj -Lj-ej BdÉjčaÈL, fĒL«ça-čel-fr pšj eez
 -pMj-eJ ayilj qu eijjioz hi fĒL«çaL A-Qae fčjbŇ jioz

pšœeně

GLŮ, cčÉ -ŮŮj-el -chaj, Ač¹lEr-rl -chaj, f^ačbh£l -chaj, k', AbŇhjc

"-hc' n-ël AbŇ 'je; flj fčhœ 'jez "čhcŮ' ně -b-L "čhcÉj' J "-hc' cčcV něC H-p-Rz čLč¹¥ "čhcÉj'
 qm HLL hÉčš²l AčdNa 'jez "-hc' A-bŇ ""fĒjQ£e flčfliNa 'jeijäil"z¹ HC A-bŇ -hc-jč» hÉčš²-
 p^aø euz A-fčl¹-ouz

pidilZij-h QilčV pwčqaj hi pwLme NĒčŮ-LC "-hc' BMÉj -cJuj quz G-NÄc, pij-hc, kS¥-hŇc,
 AbhŇ-hcz ijla£u abi C-¾ci-CE-lj£u ijoiI fĒjQ£eaj NĒčŮ G-NÄcz "GL' AbŇ AQŇej--nŮiLz
 "pšš²" AbŇjv pššijčoa -Ů¹jioz čhčiae -chajl E-Ÿ-n H...čm lčQaz LM-ej HLčV LM-ej HLCp-%
 HLjčdL -chLŮfej -cMj kju pšš²...čm-az Bhjl čLR¥ čLR¥ AŮfpwMÉL pšš² -chaj hi k'Lj-kŇl
 p-% pčfLŇq£ez fĒjL«çaL hZŇejl B-hN -pMj-e fĒdziej G-NÄ-cl pšš² pwMÉj -jiv 1028z
 AbŇjv qjSi-ll -hčn Ni-el pwLme HčVz G-NÄ-cl -hčnlijN pšš²l QejLim 1000
 čMĒŮvfšhŇjčz Hje čL fĒjQ£eal Lchaj...čml lQejLi-ml EŮŇp£j 1300 čMĒŮvfšhŇjč h-m
 j-e L-le A-eL fčäaz² Hl pwLmeLjm BIJ A-eL f-lz hý kšN d-l lčQa h-m ijh, ijoi, J čhou čh-nŮoZ
 L-l G-NÄ-cl pšš²...čm-L fĒjQ£e J AhŇjQ£e ij-N f^abL Llj quz G-NÄ-cl cncV jāmz cncV jä-ml
 pšš² pwMÉj kbjœ²-j 191, 43, 62, 58, 87, 75, 104, 92,114, 191z fĒbj, ehj J cnj jä-ml
 pšš²...čml Lčh čqpi-h ejeičhd ůač» ej fjJuj kjuz čLč¹¥ čaa£u -b-L pčj jām - HC RučV jä-ml
 Lčh čqpi-h -k RučV -Njœejj fjJuj kju -p...čm kbjœ²-j - N^aqjpc, čhNĀičjœ, hij-ch, Ačœ,
 ilàš Hhw hčnŮz ehj jä-ml pšš²...čml -chaj q-me -pijz fčäa-cl Aexjie čaa£u -b-L Aøj jä-ml

[†] AÉjčpŮVÉj¾V fĒ-gpl, cnŇe čhijN, H. čh. He n£m L-mS, -LjQčhqjI, fčŮQjh%oz

-pij-chai pÇfçLÑa pŞš²...čm HLœ ehj jä-ml pªçøz fĚbj Hhw cnj jām AhÑiQfēLi-ml IQei h-m fĚčafæz čh-noa HC cæC jä-ml pŞš² pWMEÍ -k pjie-191čV, ai E-ōM-kjNÉz

G-NÄ-cl fĚju pjŮ¹ LchajC -chajl Ů¹ŷca Hhw fĚjbÑeiz hý -chajl eij G-NÄ-cl pŞš²...čm-a l-u-Rz phÑi-frj AčdL pWMEÍ pŞš² lčQa q-u-R C¾cĚ pð-áz aijl f-l AčNÀl ŮŮjez C¾cĚ-fĚncŮ¹ čhouL fŞZÑi%o pŞ-š²l pWMEÍ 250 Bl AeÉjeÉ -k ph pŞ-š² BwčnLij-h C¾cĚ-Ů¹ŷca l-u-R -p...čm dl-m HC pWMEÍ 300-l AčdLz³ AbÑiv G-NÄ-cl fĚju HL-QaŷbÑiw-n C¾cĚjčqjiz Bl AčNÀ fĚncŮ¹ l-u-R Ač¹a 200 čV pŞ-š²z⁴ Hlj Rišj G-NÄ-cl jæMÉ -chai - hl|Z, čjœ, čho·ŷ, l|â, pčhaj, AkÑji, pškÑ, AčnÈàu, jl|cÚNZ, aÆøi, fSÑeÉ, kj, -pij fĚjæMz

°hčcl -ch-pWMEÍ če-u G-NÄ-cl Lchlj Hhw flhaÑĚ ijoÉLi-lj HLja eez a«aEu jä-ml HLčV G-L -chpWMEÍ E-ōM Llj q-u-R 3339čVz⁵ Bhil fĚbj jä-ml čhčæ G-L hmi q-µR -chpWMEÍ 33z⁶ pijue-J ayil ij-oÉ -chpWMEÍ 33 čezÑu L-l-Rez cnj jä-ml HLčV G-L čae -chajl Ů¹ča Llj q-u-R -cæÉ-mj-l -chai pškÑ, Ač¹lĚ-rl -chai hijæ, fªčbhĚl -chai AčNÀz⁷ Bhil fĚbj jä-ml HLčV G-L fijuij ki-µR-- BčcaÉ-LC C¾cĚ, čjœ, hl|Z, AčNÀ, kj, jiačlnÄi h-me -jdihĚNZ, °hčcl Lčh h-m-Re, Cče HL q-mj hý h-m hZej Llj quz⁸ aŷmeju AhÑiQfē fĚbj jä-ml l G-L fĚjQfēLi-ml hý -chai Bp-m HLC -chajl eiejčhd fĚLjn h-m LčŮfaz AbÑiv p-hÑnÄlhic -b-L H-LnÄlhi-cl čc-L fĚheaj G-NÄ-cl flhaÑĚ fkÑi-u Øfø q-µRz čel|š²Lil ki-úl (Beŷjičel MªØvfšhÑ 600-500) j-ai AbÑiv °el|š²j-a jšm -chai jioe čaečV - fªčbhĚ-a AčNÀ, Ač¹lĚ-r hijæ hi C¾cĚ Hhw cæÉ-ŮŮje hi Ů-NÑ pškÑ, hičL ph -chai H-clC HL HLčVl čæ čæ eijz⁹ čel|š²l pčj AdÉi-ul ou J pčj M-ä B-mičQa q-u-R -chajl "fæ|očhd' AbÑiv Bl|čhčnø -Qae fcjbÑ ei "Afæ|očhd' AbÑiv A-Qae piLil fcjbÑ? vĚLilil cæNÑiQi-kÉNI hÉjMÉju °el|š²j-a -chai A-Qae fcjbÑ LjLZ H-cl A-QaeaÆ fĚaÉrfĚčaijaz¹⁰ AčNÀ, hijæ, pškÑ Hlj -ai fĚarÉ fĚji-Zl àilic A-Qae piLil fcjbÑl©-f fĚčaijaz

°el|š² Hhw jĚjiwpL-cl j-dÉ jšmNa HLčV pijæNÉ mrZfuz cæ-ulC j-a -chai jšma A-Qae fcjbÑz fšhÑ-jĚjiwpi cnÑ-el jšm fĚhš²j °Scjce Hhw ijoÉLil nhlüijĚ °hčcl kiNk-¹ pjbÑe -kje L-l-Re AeÉčc-L °hčcl -chai-cl ...l|aÆ-LC AüĚLil L-l-Rez °hčcl k-¹ p-%o °hčcl -chajl eij kšš²z g-m -chajlic aŷø q-u k-¹ gm cje L-le ei čL k'čœ²uic fĚdje? jĚjiwpLlj pææčĚŮŮ SčVm kæčš²l j-dÉ čc-u k'LjÑ-L -chajl aŷmeju ...l|aÆfšZÑ -cčM-u-Rez jĚjiwpi-j-a k'gm -chajl CµRidĚe euz BčabÉL-jÑ -kje AčačbC fĚdje k'L-jÑ -chai fĚdje euz k'C -pMi-e jæMÉ -chajl ŮŮje -N±Zz¹¹ °Scjčel j-a qčhâÑhÉ àilic LjÑ fĚLična qu g-m qčhâÑhÉC k-¹ Ač¹l%, -chai hičqÉLz¹² -chajl ei-j qčh cje Ll-mj ai -chajl qu ei, LjLZ -chai eijioe hi nĚjioez jĚjiwp-Llj -h-c -chai-cl A%fĚa%o hi čœ²uicL-jÑl hÉjMÉj L-l-Re "AbÑhic' àiliz fĚnwpijšmL hi AmwLiljšmL hiLÉC AbÑhicz -chĚfĚpic Q—ifidÉju -cMje, ""ai-cl (jĚjiwpL-cl) cičh q-mi, fĚčacV AbÑhicC -Li-ei-ei--Li-ei čhčdl p-%o kšš² Hhw Eš² čhčdl fĚnwpic AbÑhicčVl E-ŷnÉz kbix HLčV čhčd q-mi "AiŷÉcuLijĚ hÉčš² hijæ-chajl E-ŷ-nÉ -nÄa RiN hd Lčl-h'z flr-ZC AbÑhic čq-p-h hmi

q-u-R, "hjuæ hs çrfĒaj -chai' AbÑjik "-k-qa¥ hjuæ -chai hs çrfĒaj, HC Ljl-Z hjuæ -k k-' -chai
 aijil gmJ Aça çrfĒ qCui bj-L'z HC AbÑhjc öe-m k-' fĒh³çš aĒhĒ q-u EW-hz AaHh
 çĥĉdjšmL ei q-mJ AbÑhjc...çm çĥĉdl pqiuL"z¹³ pææaliw °el|š² J jĒjiwpl-cl j-a AĉdLjwn
 -chaiC fĒaÉrNĒjQÉ A-Qae fĒjL«çal fcjbÑz ""-cMj ki-µR jioe C¾cĒ fĒi«ça Aðf çæ-HLÇV
 -chai-LC plipçl fĒaÉrij-h fĒjL«çal fcjbÑl©-f neiš² Lj ki-µR eiz çLç¹¥ çĥæm pwMÉL -chajl
 -k Nça HC çæ-HLÇV -chajl -pC Nça qJuiViC üjiiçLz ...-kje kiú C¾cĒ J h³æ pð-å çh-nŌoz
 L-l -cçM-u-Re, fĒL«af-r Hlj qm çĥcÉ¥v J -jOz kiú çeOæ¾V-aiçmLjixš² ph -chai-LC Hlj-h
 neiš² Ljil -Qøj L-l-Re"z¹⁴

aiq-m fĒjQfēli-mC °hçcL -chijhejl hÉjMÉju A-m±çLLaÆ-L hSÑe L-l fĒjL«çal nçš²...çmLC
 HLÇV Açan-ujçš²jšmL l©fci-el CµRi J fĒ-Qøj çqpi-h -chajNZ-L -cMj q-u-Rz HC hiŪ'hpçja
 hÉjMÉjil BIJ HLÇV fĒjz -- °hçcL -chai-cl °hçnøÉ, ...Zihm£ Hhw fibÑLÉ Mæh Øfø euz ayi-cl
 üač» hÉçš²jšçañ G-NÄ-cl pšš²...çm-a pææçQçœa euz ayi-cl -cq-Lðfei jieh-c-ql p-%o pic²nÉ
 -l-MC O-V-R, çLç¹¥ HL HL -chajl -r-œ HL HLÇV A%ofĒaÉ-%ol hZÑej ...l|aÆ -f-u-Rz C¾cĒ J
 j|çÚN-Zl -r-œ kæŪjŪ» hÉhqj-ll pš-œ jibi, hæL, hiý J qi-al E-ðM Lj q-µR hijhlz pš-kñl hiý
 Bp-m ayil lçnÈz AçNÀl çSqÄj B...-el çnMjIC BmwLjçlL hZÑejz -pijlp fĒŪ¹¥aLjll çqpi-h
 çœal BP¥-ml hZÑej Lj q-u-Rz C-¾cĒ Ec-ll E-ðM Lj q-u-R -pijfi-e C-¾cĒ rjai-L -hiT-eil SeÉz
 °hçcL -chajl °cçQL l©f -k Mæh fĒaÉr eu aij Ljz çqpi-h jÉjL-Xi-e-ml Açija - ""The physical
 appearance of the gods is anthropomorphic, though only in a shadowy manner; for it often
 represents only aspects of their natural bases figuratively described to illustrate their activities"¹⁵

çel|š²Ljil kiú °hçcL -chai-cl hijpŪjje Aææku£ çæçV ijN L-lçR-me -cÉ¥-mjLçehjp£ AbÑjv
 ü-NŪl -chai, Ač¹lErçehjp£ AbÑjv BLj-nl -chai Hhw f³çbh£l -chajz HC -chai-cl j-dÉ fĒdje
 L-uLS-el E-ÿ-nÉ çe-hçca pšš²...çm fkÑj-mjQej Ll-m Øfø qu G-NÄ-cl -chijheju çĥçæ
 fĒjL«çal J °epçNŪl nçš²l -fĒZijšmL çœ²ujn£majz

çÉŪŪj-el -chai-cl j-dÉ fĒjQfēaj q-me -cÉ±pŪz nēçVI AbÑ BLinz jÉjL-Xi-em h-m-Re¹⁶ Ač¹a
 500 hij BLin A-bÑ nēçV hÉhq@a q-u-R GLŪ-h-c Hhw 50 hij "çĥj' A-bÑz HC -chai-L Bhjl
 Lðfei Lj q-u-R Bçççfaj çqpi-h Hhw f³çbh£-L Bççjaj çqpi-hz Ei-u HL-œ "çÉ|hj³çbh£' h-m
 E-ðçMaz G-NÄ-cl fĒbj jä-ml HLÇV G-L B-R - "çhŪ¹£ZÑ J jqv çfaj jiaj flØfl çĥkæš² qCuij iþhe
 pjæcu lri Lçl-a-Rez çœ²jnim£ çÉ J f³çbh£ Bjiçc-Nl nŪl lri L-le, çfaj eiej l©f dijz Lçluj
 piñœ AĉdŪje Lçl-a-Re¹⁷ (1/160/02)z -cÉipŪ hij çÉ nēçV "çĥŪ' dja¥ -b-L Evfæ kij AbÑ
 B-mjL çje Lliz B-mjLçjeLjĒ BLjnc HMj-e Ū¥¹az

hl|Z B-ILSe fĒjQfē -chajz hl|Z nēçV "h³' dja¥ -b-L BNa kij AbÑ BhLz Lj, AbÑjv BhLZLjĒ
 BLinz hl|-Zl p-%o çjoe fĒjuC HL-œ E-ðçMaz pijuejQjkn hl|Z A-bÑ çeni hij °en BLin Hhw
 çjoe A-bÑ çĥj L-l-Rez hl|Z Aĉja nçš²l AĉdLjĒ Hhw hijhl ayi-L liSi J pjĒjv h-m E-ðM Lj
 q-u-Rz -kje G-NÄ-cl fĒbj jä-ml HLÇV pš-š¹⁸ - ""fçœhm hl|Z-ljS jšm lçqa Ač¹lE-r AhŪŪje
 Lçluj F-ŪÑ -aSljçn dijz Lçluj B-Rez -pC çejÄiçijæM lçnÈpjš-ql jšm E-ŪÑ; -ke aàilj Bjli fĒjz
 dijz Lçl-a fjçl"z (1/24/7)

""I -k pç erœ E-ÜÑ ÙÛjçfa qCui-R, çeniLi-m -cMi kiu, çch-p aiqili -Libiu kiu, hl'j-Zl LjKÑÉpjšq hidinšeÉ J çiaæ, ayiqiliC B'iu çeniLi-m Q¾cÊ cÉçjje qCui BNje L-le"z (1/24/10) hl'jZ Až'1E-rl fjçM-cl fb Si-ee, pjx-â -e±Lipjš-ql fb Si-ee (1/25/9)z çaaEu jä-mI HLçV pš-š² hmi q-µR hl'jZ Sm p^açø L-l-Re, ayilC jçqjju ec£pLm fĚhijçqa qu i'çj-a (2/28/4)z hijhil hl'j-Zl -Qj-MI Lbj hmi q-u-R G-NÄ-cz HC -QjM Bp-m pšKÑ kjl piqi-kÉ jieœo-L, aj-cl fif-L Ah-mjLe L-le hl'jZ (1/50/6)z hl'jZ-L pqpĚQr¥J hmi q-u-R (7/34/10)z hÛ'¥a hl'jZC HLjioe -chai kyil LÒfeju HLçV °eçal jioej kšš² B-Rz ayi-L G-al lrl, fimL, fĚLjnL J hdÑL Çq-p-h LÒfej Lli q-u-R (7/64/2 J1/23/5)z AhnÉ hl'j-Zl p-%o p-%o fĚjuC çjœJ HCph G-L E-ðçMaz Ga Bp-m SNvhÉjĚ HL A-jiO çeujeæhçañaj - fĚjL«çal J °eçal phÑj-bÑCz a-h °hçcl piçq-aÉ -cMi kiu G-al dijZi œ²jn Ahmæç q-u-R -pC p-%o hl'j-Zl -N±lhJz œ²jn ...l'jæ -f-u-R kšÛ J mæã-el -chai C-¾cÊl jçqjz

G-NÄ-c BIJ -k-ph -p±l-chajl fçlQu fjC ail j-dÉ fĚçpÛ ejj - pšKÑ, pçha« hi pçhai, fšoz hi fšoi, Foj, BçcaÉNZ, AçnÈàu fĚjæMz pšKÑ-chai jšañaj -chajz G-NÄ-cl cnçV pšš² fjjuj kiu -kMi-e -NjVi pšš² S¥-sC pš-kÑl Ù'hz H RiSiJ hý SjuNju pšKÑÛ'¥ça l-u-Rz a-h A-eL-r-œC pšKÑ-L fĚL«a -chai h-m LÒfej Lli quçe, hlw HLçV -a-Siju B-mjLçhçLIZLilĚ hÛ'¥ çqpi-h -cMi q-u-R (7/63/4) pš-kÑl çLIZçhÛ'jil J Aålil çhcšçla qjuil hZÑzi G-NÄ-cl ejej pš-š² hçZÑaz

HNj-ljçV fšZÑi%o pšš² pçhai hi pçha« ejjL -c-hl E-ÿnÉ lçQaz G-NÄ-c 170 hij HC -p±l-chajl E-ðM l-u-Rz pçhajl jšm °hçnøÉ pææhZÑjuajz ail -QjM, çSqÄi, hijý, phC pææhZÑjuz kijú-l j-a kMe Aålil çšlĚi" a qu aMe pçhajl BçhiÑjh O-Vz¹⁹ piu-Zl j-a Ec-ul B-N fkÑÉž¹ -chai pçhai, Ecu -b-L AÛ' fkÑÉž¹ pšKÑz Bhil G-NÄ-cl L-uLçV pš-š² pçhai phjC-L çeaçu fiWi-µRe (4/53/6, 7/45/1)z AbÑjv -ijl-hmil p-%o p-%o pçhai pãÉj-hmil p-%oJ kšš²z

fšoi-Lj pš-kÑIC B-lLçV ejj h-m çh-hQej Lli quz LjIZ fšoiL hZÑeju hÉhq@a në...çm pš-kÑl hZÑej-aj ýhý hÉhq@az a-h fšoiL °hçnøÉ ayil l-b A-nÄl hc-m RiNm çekšš²z j-e Lli qu -Nj- -jofimLNZ pš-kÑl -k fĚL«çal Ù'¥ça Lla fšoi pš-kÑl -pC fĚL«çaz G-NÄ-cl 6 jãm 54 pWMÉL pš-š² -cçM fšoi-L hmi q-µR -Nj-pjš-ql çfR-e çfR-e -k-a, f-b NjĚ-cl lrl L-l-az

G-NÄ-cl Ù»E-chaj-cl j-dÉ fĚjQŒeaji Fojz °hçcl Lçh-cl Lj-R Foj çioæf-çĚz Foj-a jja«ijhejl lçfj -cM-Re -LE -LE (7/81/4)z Foj hÛ'¥a -ijl-hmiz ajC Fojl BNj-e fjçMli L¥mi-u bj-L ei, fxl'j-oli Lj-kÑ -fĚçla qu (1/48/5)z Foj fĚjZĚ-L °QaeÉkšš² L-le, Aålil çhejn L-le (1/92/6)z pšKÑ Fojl fŒQj-a B-pe (1/155/2)z

Až'1E-rl fĚdje -chai C¾cÊ G-NÄ-clj fĚdje -chajz C¾cÊ fĚbja çhcæÉ-al -chai, h-SÊl BOj-a -jO -b-L Sm-L jšš² L-lez "C¾cÊ' dia¥l AbÑ hoÑZz C¾cÊ A-bÑ hoÑZLilĚ BLinz fĚbj jä-mI 32 pWMÉL pš-š² fĚbj G-L B-R - ""çaçe Açq-L qee LçlujçR-me, f-l h^açø hoÑZ LçlujçR-me, fiña J hqenEm ec£pjš-ql fb -ic Lçluj çcuiçR-me"z²⁰ C¾cÊ kš-ÛlJ -chajz çaçe kš-Ûl BkÑ-cl piqikÉ L-lez çaçe Açanu -pijçĚuz C¾cÊ -chLÒfeju fĚjL«çal nçš²l fĚçagme bil-mJ C-¾cÊl el-cqpc^an -cq-LÒfej A-el Øføz Hje çL C¾cÊ-L "e^aajx' AbÑjv -nËù elj hmi q-u-Rz jiehn-Zl

p-%o čj-m čače deh¾Ve LI|e ajJ fĚibŇej Lli q-u-R (4/17/11)z ayil hipNªqJ jieꝛ-ol j-ai (6/187)z čače jieꝛ-ol j-aiC Lbi h-me - "eªhv hceÚ' (10/28/12)z

Ač'IE-rl AeÉjeÉ -chajl fĚčajju čLč'½ C-¾cĚl j-ai H-aj Øfø elaÆi-lif -eCz hlw fĚjL«čaL nčš'2l LÒfej -pMi-e Øføz -kje C-¾cĚ pqiuL AeÉjeÉ -chajli - hijuꝛhjaix, fSŇeÉ, jjačlnÄj, I|â, Hhw jI|vNZz Hylj hĚl, nœꝛdÆwplilĚ, čhSuĚ, -f±l|o J iĚča Evfjce Hy-cl °hčnØÉz hijuꝛ Hhw hja hÙ'½a hjaip J T-sl -chjčua I©fz H-cl hZŇeju fĚjL«čaL hjaip-lC Aexfꝛ'M fĚLjčnaz -kje fĚbj jä-ml 168 pwMÉL pš-š'2l fĚbj G-LC B-R - "k hijuꝛ l-bl eÉju -h-N dičha qu, ayiqi-L Bčj hZŇej Lčlhz Cyqil nĚ hSĚ n-Ěl eÉju, Cče hªričci%o Lčl-a Lčl-a B-pež Cče QaꝛccŇL Iš'hZŇ Lčl-a Lčl-a Qčmuj kje'z²¹

Bhil ki-úl j-a, jjačlnÄej hijuꝛ-chaj - "jjačl' A-bŇ Ač'IEr Hhw "nÄe,' A-bŇ nÄip, AbŇjv -k hijuꝛ Ač'IE-r nÄipfĚnÄj-p čela (čel'š'2 7/26)z čLč'½ G-NÄ-cl A-eL ÙÙ-mC AčNÀl p-%o jjačlnÄj-L AčiaĚ LÒfej Lli q-µRz °hčcL Lčh-cl LÒfeju jjačlnÄj OoŇ-Zl àilj AčNÀ pªčø L-l-Re (1/141/3, 1/71/4)z pŇha fĚhm T-s hª-rl OoŇ-Z pªø cihjem jjačlnÄj J AčNÀl pčfLŇ LÒfeju -fĚlzi čq-p-h LjS L-l-R - "jjičlnÄj -üµRifšhŇL ča-ličqa J jčÚe àilj čexfjcca HC AčNÀ-L -chajN-Zl SeÉ BZue LčlujčR-me'z²²

fSŇeÉ -ch-LÒfeju l-u-R °hčcL Lčh-cl Sm-Lijeiz hªčøl -jO-LC ayili fSŇeÉ -chajl I©f čc-u-Rez HLčV G-L hmi q-µR jI|vNZ SmhqeLilĚ fSŇeÉ àilj čc-el -hmi-aj Aålil L-l-Re (1/38/9)z AbŇjv fSŇeÉ HMi-e -chaj euz -j-Ol HLčV čh-no -nĚZĚjjez Bhil fSŇeÉ-L AeÉce hªčøciaj J hSĚdilĚ -chaj čqpi-h Ù'½caJ Lli q-u-Rz f'j jä-ml 83 pš-š'2 Hhw pčj jä-ml 101 J 102 pwMÉL pš-š'2z

jI|vNZ HLL -chaj ee - HLčV cmz jI|vN-Zl hije fªoaĚ AbŇjv -nÄa čh¾cꝛčQčq²a jªNz °el'š'2j-a eiei hZŇ -jOjimiC fªoaĚz jI|vN-Zl Ù'½ca-L hªčøLijeilC fĚidieÉ -cMi kijuz cꝛ'HLčV G-Ll E-ð-M H-cl TčVLI I©fčV Øfø q-h - "q jI|vNZ! -aijicč-Nl ENĚ J iĚoZ Nčal i-u jeꝛoÉ Nª-q cªt Ù'Ň ÙÙjFZ Lčluj-R, -Le ei -aiji-cl Nča-a hý fiŇkš'2 čNčlJ p'icma qC-a-R'z

"aiqicč-Nl Nča-a fcjbnjpsq čhčrč qC-a-R, fªčbhĚJ hªÜ SĚZŇ elfčal eÉju i-u Lččfa qC-a-R'z²³ (1/37/7-8)

G-NÄ-cl I|â jI|v-cl čfaj, fªčnÔ jiaiz pꝛꝛL½jilĚ i-ijQi-kŇl j-e q-u-R - "T-sl -j-Ol j-ai Iš'hZŇ I|â J QjŇčecjŇa Smidil hij fªčnÔ fĚL«af-r -j±pꝛꝛčj-jOihªa hoŇjLjmĚe BLi-nl -cĚjaiej če-u B-pz HVi Øfø -k, hijuꝛjä-ml p-%o pčfčLŇa fĚju pjÙ' -chajC -j±pꝛꝛčj-hjuꝛ pªø TčVLI-čhrꝛÜ BLi-nl Iš'ji cªÉča Hhw hªr EvfjVeLilĚ iuwLI T-s B-¾cičma -jOfꝛ-"l fĚčačed'z²⁴

G-NÄ-c Sm-čeiŇl EhŇlajl Lijej fĚaÉr qu Bfx-l LÒfejuz Bfx hij Smljčn SeeĚ čqpi-h Ù'½a q-u-R (10/17/10)z fĚbj jä-m Bfx-l Ù'½ca-a -hijTij kju BLi-n fĚµRæ, pš-kŇl pjfĚÙÙ HL čnim Smidil-l LÒfejl čičš-a HC -chijhej (1/23/16-21)z

fªčbhĚÙÙj-el -chaj-cl j-a fĚdje AčNÀz G-NÄ-cl hý pš-š'2C AčNÀl hZŇeju Øfø -k HC -chaj Hhw -m±čLL fĚjL«čaL B...-el j-dÉ fĚjunC -Lje fibŇLÉ -eCz Ljù ayil Aæ (2/7/6) Oªa ayil Aæ (7/3/1), čh-no L-l -jc J Oªa irZ L-le (3/21/1), ayil fi -eC, jibi -eC (4/1/11), ayil čS-il Øf-nŇ

AlZÉ A%oijl q-u kju (6/60/10), čače phÑirL (8/44/26)z cǎčV Alče Ljù OoÑZ L-l AčNÀ p^ačø
Lbi fĕjuC eiei pš-š² hčZŇa q-u-R (3/23/2, 3/29/2, 7/1/1)z ØføaC fĕjL«čal B...eC AčNÀ
-chcLØfejl čfR-e pčf"ZŇI©-f čæ²ujnfmz

AčNÀl j-ajC, -pij - B-ILčV f^ačbhĕl -chaj - fĕjL«čal Ečácjioe, ki -chaj čqpi-h Ù¹ŷa q-u-Rz
°hčcL BkŇ-cl HaVjC čĕĕ ĆRm -pijmai -b-L čexLjčna J fĕÙ¹ŷa HC E-šSL fjeĕu -k œ²-j ail
Ef-IJ -chaÆ B-ljčfa q-a bi-Lz ehj jāmčV ajC pčf"ZŇax -pij-Ù¹ŷčaz

f^ačbhĕl BIJ cǎčV E-öM-kjNÉ -chĕ "fčbhĕ' Hhw "plüaĕ'z "f^ačbhĕ' ØføaC HC jšañ f^ačbhĕ
Hhw plüaĕJ fjčbŇh ecĕ čqpi-hC G-NÄ-c Ù¹ŷa q-u-Rz

Hij-hC fĕjL«čal eiei nčš²l fĕLjn fĕaĕr L-l AhjL, E-ščSa, EčàNÀ, iĕa, Beč³ca, qčooa °hčcL
Lčhl LØfej G-NÄ-cl -chaj-cl ijhščañ čejŇiz L-l-Re Hhw ail p-%o kǎš² L-l-Re pjpj-ul -k±b
Sĕh-el QjJuj-fjJuj-Lz

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ijlaƒucnÑeni-Ù» BaÈašÄpjƒri J aji Be¾cül©faj ƒhQil

dĚxh-SÉj ƒa i-ijQikÑ †

pilpw-rf

SĚhe J SNV- HC ƒxƒC-ul jšmÉƒedÑijl-Z a-šÄl pjƒrij ƒe-cÑn cnÑeni-Ù»l fƒlQu hqe L-lz fƒjbÑƒhcÉj ƒcmì (physics, chemistry etc.) ƒh-nŌoz Aƒaƒlš² 'jeNƒljju iipjie pšrĚi ƒapšrĚ ƒcPÚƒezÑu cnÑeni-Ù»-L HL Eæa ÙÙj-e -fy±-R -cu, -kMi-e pjÙ¹ ƒh'j-el fĚNƒal pqjuLI©-f cnÑeni-Ù» pjÙ¹ ƒh'j-el -plj ƒh'iej-' Bpƒe q-u J-Wz

ijlaƒu cnÑe Ecij J hÉjfl cªƒøi%œ ƒe-u paÉjexpâj-el J ƒhQilƒeùil fƒlQu ƒc-u, AeÉjeÉ jahj-cl fĚƒa nĚÛj J pqenƒmaj -cƒM-u HL Aƒieh fÛƒa fĚQme L-l-Rez ƒL BƒÙ¹L, ƒL ejƒÙ¹L- Eiu AaÉž¹ °d-kÑl p-%o fšhÑjfr J Ešlfr fløfl jahj-cl fĚp%o -cƒM-u-Rez BƒÙ¹L n-Ě -hcfĚijjZÉhjcƒ-cl hƒƒT, -kje- pijwMé, -kiN, °h-nƒoL, eÉju, jĚjiwpi J -hƒjž¹z ejƒÙ¹L n-Ě -hƒƒe¾cLli ƒQƒq²a, -kje- QjhÑjL, -h±Û J °Sez

B-mjQÉ fĚh-â ijlaƒu cjinÑƒeLL¥m kMe BaÈil hæ J jxƒš²mji ƒe-u jxMéij-h hÉÙ¹, -kMi-e BaÈƒhouL ƒQž¹ju ailažÉ -cMi-ej q-u-Rz HIC finijƒn AeÉjeÉ jahj-c Mæe L-l ƒeS ƒeS jahj-cl fĚƒaùj -cƒM-u BaÈül©f ƒQž¹ju pijwMé J A°àa-hƒj-ž¹ cªƒø-a -k ƒiæaj l-u-R aj-a pijwMéni-Ù»l ejƒÙ¹L L-r fĚ-hn Hhw aji ƒehil-Zl Efju ƒQž¹j Lli q-u-Rz AbÑjv pƒµQcj¾cül©f hĚ-pl üĚL«ƒa A°àa-hƒj-ž¹ Lli q-mj pijw-MÉ pƒµQv AwnV¥L¥ ljmj q-u-R, Be¾cijnw hƒƒÛl pšÄjw-nl djÑl©-f LƒƒaÑa qjuju ƒQšhªƒšl ƒe-lj-d fxl'ol üül©-f AhÛÛje üĚL«a h-m Be¾cijnw pijwMéni-Ù» NĚqZ Lli pñh quƒez

pšœenĚ

BaÈašÄ, BƒÙ¹LcnÑe, ejƒÙ¹LcnÑe, pšÄ...Z, Be¾cül©faj

i" ƒjLi

'jejbÑl cªnÚ dja¥ -b-L mƒÉVÚ fĚaÉ-u LIZhj-QÉ cnÑe n-Ěl Evfƒšz "cªnÉ-a kbjbÑašÄj-ee'- HC hƒÉvfƒšpqj-u -k niÙ» kbjbÑ'je hi ašÄ'j-el pqjuL qu aj-LC cnÑe h-mz cnÑe n-Ěl AbÑ cªƒøz BaÈj J SNV -k cªƒø-a Efmì qu aj-L cnÑe hmi -k-a fi-lz jšma HC -cMijl cªƒøl aila-jÉ cnÑ-el -ic q-u-Rz jaiž¹-l -k ni-Ù»l àilj ƒeua fƒlhaÑenƒm SĚh J SNV fĚf-'l ÙÙjuĚ paÉ pjšq-L hi Qlj paÉ-L Efmčì Lli kju aj-LC cnÑeni-Ù» h-mz

""ej-p± jxƒekÑpÉ jaw e ƒiæjú"- HC njnÄa Eƒš²-a ƒhƒiæ cnÑeni-Ù»l Efmčì O-Vz HMj-e E-ŏMé -k Efmčìl üja-ž»É J j-el EvL-oÑ pjÙ¹ pƒƒĚciu ƒeS ƒeS E-eĚ-o pjx«Æmz HC ƒhQil-ijlaƒucnÑ-el ƒhƒhd pƒƒĚciu-L fĚb-j ƒxij-N ijN LI-a fiƒl- L) BƒÙ¹L, M) ejƒÙ¹Lz "AƒÙ¹"- HC

† L¾VĚjLQ¥ujm ƒVQil, Li-Vjuj jqi ƒhƒÉjmu, Li-Vjuj, hdÑjie, fƒŒQjh%oz N-hoL, lijL«o· ƒjne ƒhƒÉj ƒ¾cl, -hmƒs, qjJs, fƒŒQjh%oz

AhÉ-ul EŠl WLÚ fĒaÉ-u "BĀÙ'L' nĕĀV ĉexfæz -hc-L kyili fĒjiz h-m üŁlil L-le ayi-cl-L BĀÙ'L hmi quz AeÉĉc-L "eUÚ' HC AhÉ-ul p-% BĀÙ'L f-cl pji-p eiĀÙ'L fĉĀV ĉexfæz ""eiĀÙ'Lix -hcĉe¼cLix"- HC ØjiaÑ hQ-e eiĀÙ'L n-ĕl fĉlQu fĉlØgŷVz

pidilZ A-bÑ eiĀÙ'L J BĀÙ'L n-ĕl DnÄ-l ĉhnÄipĒ J DnÄ-l AĉhnÄipĒ HC AbÑ ĉĀĀV-a kbjœ²-j hĒhqil p%oa qu eiz -pLil-ZC ijlaĒucnĒe -hc-L jiecäl©-f hĒhqil L-lez -h-cl fĒjizÉ üŁlil-L BĀÙ'L Hhw -h-cl fĒjiz-ZÉ AĉhnÄipĒ qm eiĀÙ'Lz Afll-r DnÄlĉhnÄi-pl p-% AeÄu Ll-m fl pijwMé J jĒjwpi cnĒ-e DnÄl üŁl«a ei q-mJ -h-cl fĒjizÉ üŁl«a qJuju BĀÙ'L-oscnĒ-el j-dÉ H ĉĀĀV cnĒe ÛÛje -f-u-Rz Afll-r, eiĀÙ'LcnĒ-e °SepĉĒĒi-u ĉpÛfł|o-cl-L fl-jnÄll©-f ĉQĀ'j Lli q-u-Rz g-m, AeÄu-hÉĉa-l-L DnÄln-ĕl A%Łlil-l -ĉjocxøaj biLju -h-cl fĒjizÉ A%Łlil-l BĀÙ'L J eiĀÙ'L-l hĒhÛÛi pĀxfĉlĉQa J fĒnwĉpaz

BĀÙ'L cnĒ-e eÉju-°h-nĉoL, pijwMé--kiN, jĒjwpi--hcĀ' - HC RuĀV pĉĒĒi u-l-u-Rz eiĀÙ'L cnĒ-e QjhÑil--h±i-°Se pĉĒĒi A%Łi"az

cnĒeniÛ» pidilZii-h BaĒĉel©fz- ijlaĒu AdĒaEiijheju QjhÑilpĉĒĒi HL fĒhmay fĒĉafz -pMi-e ünÑ-eil-fj-fĀZÉ-kiNk-'l ĉh| -Û aĒhĒ fĒĉahĉ l-u-R Hhw üjdĒeĉQĀ'jil E-eĒo dĒĒeaz HC pĉĒĒi-ul j-a -ĉqĀĉaĉš² BaĒi ei jie j q-mJ -ĉq-LC BaĒi h-m üŁlil Lli q-u-Rz Bĉj ÛÛ"m, Bĉj L«n, Bĉj L«o-hZÑ CaĒĉĉ eiejij-h fĒaĒr -ĉq Ahmĉ-eC q-u bi-Lz -ĉq Risi AjšaÑ BaĒi ei biLju Efmĉi-a BaĒi hi Bĉj Hhw -c-ql pijieiĉdLIZÉ O-V-Rz HC -ĉqC BaĒnĕhiQÉz QjhÑil-L AeÉ HL -nĒÉZ l-u-Re kyili ĀĀĀĒu-L BaĒi h-m j-e L-lez ĀĀĀĒu...ĉml hijĒipš²üij-h "Bĉj Aā', "Bĉj hĉdl'- CaĒĉĉ fĒlil-l hĒhqil biLju ĀĀĀĒu-ul fĒĉa BaĒaĒĒep% üŁl«az QjhÑilpĉĒĒi-u jex-BaĒihĉĒ h-me ĀĀĀĒu ĉehĒĒifil q-mJ, fĒjz a%o-Ēñih Ahmĉe Ll-mJ je ĉehāš bi-L ei, üĀ-ØĀĀa-AeĀĒeiejĉcll-kÑ je hĒĒfāa bi-Lz je kĉc fĒpĀĀĉ qu, ĉhmĒe qu, dĒÛ' qu, aiq-m pĀĉju hĒĒifil mĀĉ q-u ki-hz HC AeÄu-hÉĉa-l-L fĒjiz-Z ØfØĀ fĒaĒa qu -k jeC BaĒiz ajC BaĒi acĉaĉš² qu eiz je-Nim-Ll ailajÉ biLju pL-ml je hi BaĒi pjie rjaidilĒ qu eiz föfrĒicĒl jĒep-NimL AfšZÑ, -pSeÉ ai-cl je hi BaĒi AfšZÑ AbÑiv ĉeL«øz LĒVfa%oĀcl ac-frj AfšZÑz -pSeÉ ai-cl je hi BaĒi ai-clC Aełl©fz Bhil Hje ph fĒjzĒ B-R ki-cl SĒheĒnĉš²jĉe B-R, AeÉ ĀLRĀC -eCz -p-r-œ fĒjzĒl je hi BaĒi h-m fĒju ĀLRĀC bi-L eiz AaHh BaĒi J je, ei-j ĉiæ flĀ'ŷ hÛ'ŷ-a HLz -h±-Ûli QjhÑil-l eÉju -ĉqĀĉ pšju BaĒil fĒp% üŁlil L-le eiz ayili BaĒi h-m -Lje pejae-ĉeaĒpšj üŁlil L-le eiz ĉh'je hi °Qa-eĒl fĒhiqC BaĒiz pwojal©f BaĒi HLĀV r-Zl -hnĒ Lj-m Aĉiæ pv euz pwoja ĉeufĉlhaÑenĒmz HC ĉeufĉlhaÑenĒm BaĒi-l pĀ'je hi dilj hmi q-u-Rz eijl©fjaĒL BaĒi rĀZL J fĉlhaÑenĒm, -k-qaŷ BaĒil ĉejÑiaj Eficie...ĉm rĀZL J pci fĉlhaÑenĒmz AbÑiv, BaĒil ĉejÑiaj fĒĉaĀV EficieC hĉq²ĉnMi, S-ml fĒhiq hi -geil fĀ-"l ja ĉeufĉlhaÑenĒm, Hli HLĀV r-Z Evfæ q-u flr-ZC ĉheø quz

°S-elj ÛÛjuĒ BaĒi üŁlil L-lez ayi-cl j-a ÛÛjuĒ BaĒil AüŁlil-l lĉql J fil-m±Āll gm mi-il SeÉ fĒjzĒ-cl ph-Qøĉ ĉhgmaj fjuz pĀMijexi-hl Ahĉda piriv Aĉi'ajC BaĒil AĀÙ'aĒ fĒjiz-üŁl«az ...-Zl fĒaĒr -kje āhĒĒaĒr üŁlil Lli qu -ajeC pĀMĉxMiĉcl jĒdÉ-j BaĒi-l plipĉl Efmĉi Lli kijuz HC BaĒi pjNĒ -ĉq-L hĒĉ L-l bi-L h-m jĒĒj fĉljiz LjÑgm-ij-Nl SeÉ kMe -k nĒ-l

fĕ-hn L-l Baĕi -pC nĕ-ll pĭfĕljizĕhĕnø quz HCij-h QjhñjL--h±Ü-°Se- HC ĕaefĕLlĭ ejĕÙ¹L-cl jaĕh-nÔo-Z Baĕja-šĀl fĕp% B-mjĕQa qmz

BĕÙ¹Lcnñe...ĕml j-dĕ eĕju-°h-nĕoL Baĕi-L 'i-el AĕdLlZ h-m bi-Lez HC Baĕi Sĕh J flĭjaĕi -i-c ĕafĕLlĭz flĭjaĕi q-me DnĀl phñ' J HlZ Sĕhjaĕi ĕLĕ¹fĕ ĕa nĕ-l ĕiæ ĕiæ qJuju ApwMĕz fĕljĭ-Zl ĕĕL -b-L Baĕi ĕhiŷ J ĕeaĕ; hĕĕÜ-pĕĕM Caĕĭĕĕ -QĭŷĕV ...Z Baĕju l-u-Rz flĭjaĕju ĕLĕ¹fĕ pwMĕj fĕljĭZĭĕ BVĕV ...Z bi-Lz eĕjuj-a Baĕi fĕaĕr J AĕĕjeNĭĕz °euiĕu-Llĭ h-me -kĭNĕĕh-no...Zkĕš²lĕ-fC Baĕil fĕaĕr quz g-m Aqw pĕĕMĕ, AqwcĕĕMĕ HCij-h Baĕil fĕaĕr q-u bi-L, -Lhm Baĕil fĕaĕr qu eiz iĭoĭfĕl-µRĕlĭ ĕhnĀĕĭbj-a Baĕil fĕaĕr -Lhm jĭep fĕaĕrĕ qu- ""Aq^ĭlpĕĭnĕ-ujqw j-eĭjĭoĕpĕ -NĭQlx"¹- ĕĕaz hÜ¹ŷa Baĕil lĕf ej biLĭu Qĭrŷo fĕaĕr q-a fi-l eiz Sĕhjaĕi Aq^ĭ-l Bnĕuz jĕĕoñ -N±aj HC jahĕš² L-l-Re -k -ĕqĭĕĕĕiæ ĕQlÜÜĭuĕ Sĕhjaĕil Aĕĕjflz °h-nĕoLlĭ Baĕi-L Aĕĕ-ju h-m bi-Lez Baĕi 'ĭeülĕf ej qJuju 'ĭeĭjL Bĕnĕa ...-Zl àĭlĭ fĕLĭĕna quz

pĭjeaĕ»eĕi-u fĕĕaĕùa pĭwMĕ J -kĭNcnñ-e Baĕi hĭ fĕl'ŷo f'ĕhwnfcĭbñ, kĭ üfĕLĭn °Qaeĕülĕfz Baĕhĕĕa-l-L pĭĕĭufĕĭbñ ĕœ...ZĭaĕLz HC ĕœ...Z qm pšĀ-lS-ajx kĭ-a kbĭœ²-j pĕĕM-ĕĕM J -jĭq bi-Lz Aeĕĕ-L djñnŷeĕ Baĕi ĕeaĕöÜ, ĕeaĕhĕÜ J ĕeaĕjĕš²z fĕl'ŷo pĕĕM-ĕĕMĭĕĕpĕLñĕhĕe qJuju -p Ap%o- ""Ap-%oĭqĕuŷ fĕl'ŷox"² ĕĕaz pĕĕM J ĕĕM HC Ei-ul fĕĕa AĕĭlN J ĕhĭlN aĭĕ fĕl'ŷ-ol üĭĭĕhL eu, B-lĭĕfa Aĕĭĭeĭjĕz

jĕjĭwpĭj-a Baĕi -ĕq-ĕĕĕĕĕ-je fĕi«ĕa -b-L HL üaĕ» pšĭz Lŷĭĕlĭm i- HNĭ-lĭ fĕLĭl â-hĕl j-dĕ Baĕil E-öM L-l-Rez -pC Baĕi °Qa-eĕl Bnĕ-u Abñĭv 'ĭehĭeÚz Baĕi jĭep fĕaĕ-rl àĭlĭ -'u qez Afl jĕjĭwpL fĕiĭLl j-a Baĕi ĕeaĕ J ĕhiŷz

""-k Bĕj fš-hñ ĕĕM Aĕĭh L-lĕRmĭj, -pC Bĕj HMe pĕĕM Aĕĭh LlĕR"- HCij-h fšhñLĭ-m J Ešllĭ-m Baĕil HLaĕ Efmĭ qJuju Baĕil ĕeaĕaĕ ĕpÜ qu (jĭe-j-uĭcu)z fĕĕlĭu, ""HC Baĕi Aĕĕĭnĕ"- Caĕĭĕĕ nĕŷĕal àĭlĭ jĕjĭwpL Baĕil ĕeaĕaĕ üĕLĭl L-lez

A°aa-hĕĭĕ¹ĕl ĕaĕø-a Baĕi J hĕp HL J Aĕiæz Baĕi üĕfa üfĕLĭn, ĕe...ñZ, ĕeĕœ²u, öÜüĭhĕ ĕLĕ¹fĕ jĭuĭnĕš²l h-n Sĕh ĕe-S-L 'ĭai, Lañĭ, -ĭš²ĭ h-m j-e L-lz HC jĭuĭ qm Aĕĕĕĭz ašĀ'ĭ-el SĭNlĕLcnĭu Aĕĕĕĭl ej-n Sĕh hĕpüĭh fĭuz Hĭj-h jĕš² Sĕh hĕ-pl p-%o Aĕiæaj Efmĕĕ L-lz kbĭbñ BaĕĭĭĭaÜLĭC -jĭ-rl -qaŷl-f ĕh-hĕQaz Baĕ'ĭeĕC hĕpülĕ-f mĕe q-u kĭe- ""hĕ°ph peÜ hĕĭj-fĕĕa"³ ĕĕaz

ĕĕiæ ĕĭnñĕeL jahĭ-cl Mäe fĕĕœ²uĭ ĭĭlaĕu ĕnñeSN-a ejĕÙ¹L -b-L öĭl L-l BĕÙ¹L -nĕZĕl ĕĭnñĕe-Llĭ ÜÜ`m -b-L œ²-j œ²-j flĭpš-rĕl fĕĕĕd fĕñĕ¹ ĕhQlZ L-l-Rez ĕnñenĭ-Ü» fĕĕafĭĕĕ ĕho-ul fĕĕafĭĕ-e nĕŷĕa-kĕĕš²-Aĕĕh fĕi«ĕal pĭqĭĕĕ -eJui quz

¹ *ĭioĭfĕl-µRĕ, -nŌĭL ew- 50z*

² *pĭwMĕĕpšœ, 1/15z*

³ *hĕq.Ef-4/6*

L) **frœjaÈhjc**- fëbjfkÑi-u QjhÑjLpÇfËcjuNa frœjaÈhjc-cl fËp-%o ""BaÈi °h Sju-a frœex"- AbÑjv BaÈi frœel©-f SeÈju- Hij-h frœ-LC BaÈi hmi q-u-Rz frœ-œl frœø-a -mj-L çe-Sl frœø Aexih L-l, frœe eø hi jªa q-m çe-SlC ejn h-m çQç'j L-lz çe-Sl fËça -kje ij-mihipi bi-L, frœ-œl fËçaJ -aje ij-mihipi biLju frœ-L BaÈi h-m j-e Lij kxçš²p%az

M) **-cqjaÈhjc**- Bl HL-nËZfl QjhÑjL frœjaÈhjc Mæe L-l -cqjaÈhjc fËçaçua L-lez -cqjaÈhjcçC °açšlEu nËÿçal Lbj h-me- ""p hi Ho frl'|-oj'ælpjux"⁴z AbÑjv -pC HC frl'jo Aælpjuz Aælpju -aj nlfel, -pC HC frl'jo AbÑjv BaÈi q-me nlfelØhl©fz Hl kxçš² qm- O-l B...e mjN-m -mjL çe-Sl frœ-L -g-m B-N çe-SC -hçl-u f-l çe-Sl nlfel lrlj SeÉz pæxalw, frœe A-frj nlfelC -hnE Bljçra qJuju nlfel-LC BaÈi hm-a q-hz Aexi"ça qm- "Bçj ÙÛ"m, Bçj L«n' CaÉiçc hiLÉhÉhqi-ll àili -hiTj uju -k, nlfelC BaÈiz -k-qaÿ, ÙÛ"maÆ, L«naÆ fËi«ça nlfel-l bi-Lz Hij-h -cqjaÈhjcçli ÙÛ"m -cq-L BaÈi h-mez

N) **Cç¼cËujaÈhjc**- Afl HL-nËZfl QjhÑjL -cqjaÈhjc Mæe L-l Cç¼cËu-L BaÈi h-mez ayi-cl nËÿçahjLÉ qm- ""-a q fËiejx fËSjçaw çfal-jaÉjQÿx"⁵, AbÑjv "-pC fËjZ hi Cç¼cËupLm çfai fËSjçal Lj-R çN-u hmm'z çhhcjie fËjZ...çm qm- hiLÚ, Qrÿ:, -nijø J jez fËSjçal Lj-R kijui J hmi HC hÉhqi-l Cç¼cËu-cl -Qae hm-a qu- HC kxçš²-a Cç¼cËuC BaÈi, nlfel BaÈi euz Bhil Aexi"ça qm- Bçj hçdl, Bçj Aå CaÉiçcz hçdl- n-ë L-ZÑç¼cË-ul Aå n-ë Qrÿçlç¼cË-ul BaÈaÆ Aexi"ça quz

O) **fËjZiaÈhjc**- fËjZ-BaÈhjcç QjhÑjLijl- ""A-eÉj'ç'l BaÈi fËjZjux"⁶, AbÑjv HC AeÉ lpu nlfel -b-L çiaè Hhv aeÈdÉhaÑE BaÈi fËjZjux- CaÉiçc nËÿçal BnËu çe-u Cç¼cËu eu, fËjZjufxl'joC °QaeÉhjeÚ h-m-Rez LjZ, kihvnlfel-l fËjZ bi-L ajhv nlfel-l °QaeÉ Efmì qu, nlfel Cç¼cËu çœ²ujnfm bi-Lz fËjZij-h nlfel-ll ejn Hhv Cç¼cË-ul çÙÛça pñh qu eiz Aexi"ça fËp-%o- Anej, çffjpi fËi«ça fËj-Zl djÑz Aæfj-el Aij-h fËjZ nlfel -b-L çhçµRæ quz Eš² djÑçhçnø fËjZ-L Aqw n-ël àilj NËqZ Lju fËj-Zl BaÈaÆ Effæ quz

P) **jex BaÈhjc**- QjhÑjL pÇfËci-ul HL-NjùE je-L BaÈi h-mez ayi-cl j-al Aexl"-m nËÿçahjLÉ qm- ""A-eÉj'ç'l BaÈi j-eijux"⁷, AbÑjv "(HC fËjZju BaÈi -b-L) çiaè Hhw açl'luÛ j-eiju BaÈi B-Re'z nlfel-ll kihæu Qme phC fËjZhuæ piqi-kÉ quz qjfl -kje hijux -eu J -R-s -cu, -aje Bji-cl nlfel-l hijux fË-hn L-l J hçl-l çeNña quz çLç'ÿ HC hijux j-dÉ -Lje BaÈijh -eC, ajC fËjZ-L BaÈi hmi çelbÑLz Hçho-u Sjei B-R -k, fËj-Zl Nçanfmaj j-el çœ²ujnfmajl Efl çeiÑl L-lz j-el pæxoxçça fËj-Zl Qi'mÉ -ji-VC bi-L ej, -pLil-e fËjZ-L BaÈi ej h-m, je-L BaÈi hmi p%az Aexi-hl çho-u hmi -k-a fi-l -k- Bçj p^Øf LlçR, Bçj çhLØf LlçR-p^Øf-çhLØfiaÈ-L je-L Bçj h-m E-ØM Lijl jeC BaÈi-HC Aexi"ça fËçaçua quz

⁴ °açšlEu, Ef-2/1/1

⁵ Rj-¼cj-NÉj, Ef-5/1/17

⁶ °açšlEu, Ef-2/2/1

⁷ °açšlEu, Ef-2/3/1

Q) **hæàÉjaÈhjc-** -h±-àlj hæçÜ-L- ""A-eÉj'ç'1 BaÈj ch'iejux"⁸ BaÈj h-mez ayi-cl j-al AexL"-m j-eiju BaÈj q-a çæ Hhw Hl jdÉhaÑÉ HL ch'ieju BaÈj B-Rez j-el BaÈaÆ Mä-e h-me -k, je Aç'haÑÉ LIZ, -pC LIZ LMeJ LaÑj qu eiz LaÑj -RcL, L¥Wjl çc-u -Rceçœ²uj pçfæ L-le, ajC -RcL LaÑj qu h-m LIZ-L -LE LaÑj h-m eiz j-e -k p^Òfiçc Lçl, -pC p^Òfiçcl LaÑj qm BaÈj, LIZül©f je LMeC LaÑj qu eiz Bhjl "Bçj LaÑj, Bçj -ijš'j' CaÉjçc Aexi"ça -b-L hæçÜIC BaÈaÆ çpÜ quz

R) **A'iejaÈhjc-** fÉijLI j£jiwpl J °euiçul Ei-uC A'ie-L BaÈj h-mez A'ie n-è 'jeijh-L hæThz Hl fš-hÑ A°hçclja Ahmð-e ch'ieju -Ljn fkÑç'1 BaÈj fÉaÉr AbÑjv Bç'laÆ -cMj-ej q-u-Rz HC hj-c BaÈjl ac-fri Aç'jÑM£aj -cMj-ejl AçifÉj-u -hc-fÉjZÉhjc£-cl A'ie-L BaÈj- HCF-rl E-ðM Llq q-u-Rz HC Eiu pçfÉçjuC çe-S-cl AexL"-m nE¥çahjLÉ E-ðM L-l-Re- ""A-eÉj'ç'1 BaÈjeçjux"⁹, AbÑjv HC ch'ieju BaÈj q-a çæ aeÉdÉhaÑÉ Beçju HL BaÈj B-Rez HMj-e BaÈj-L Beçju J pçMüijh hmj q-mJ HC Eiu çjnçel pçM n-è ççMijih AbÑ çe-u-Rez LjJ jibju ij Qifi-ej biL-m ij eiji-ejl fl -k pçM Aexiça L-l, aj jšma ççx-Ml Efnj hj ççMijihz hj-LÉ Beçc nEçV HLC ij-h ççMijih-LC hæçT-u-Rz pççççç-a -Lje 'jeC bi-L ej, A'jeC bi-Lz ajC ççMijihC pçM Hhw 'i-el AijhC A'iez HC kççš²-L fÉçaçùa Ll-a h-me -k, pççççç-a CççEuiçc bi-L ej, pççalw aMe -Lhm BaÈj biLju aMeLil Aexi"çaçV kbjbÑ BaÈjl ül©f-L hæçT-u -cuz aMe -Lhm A'ie bi-L, phC mu fiu h-m A'jeC BaÈj quz HMj-e Aexi"ça qu Hl©f-"Bçj A'z pççalw BaÈjl ül©f -k A'eaj ajC Aexi"ça-a B-pz

S) **'iei'iejaÈhjc-** ij-j£jiwpl-Llj BaÈj-L çQçsüijh h-mez AbÑjv BaÈju 'iej B-R, A'iej B-Rz HC j-al AexL"-m nE¥çahjLÉ qm- ""fÉ'jeOe Hhjeçjux"¹⁰, AbÑjv "fÉj' OeÉi" a fÉ'jeül©f Hhw BeçcfÉQ¥l'z nE¥çahj-LÉ Beçjun-è Be-çcl fÉjQ¥kÑ hmju Dov Aejeç J B-Rz Beçcül©faju fÉLjnül©faj Hhw Beçcül©faju Ssül©faj B-pz ajC HC BaÈj 'je J A'ie hj fÉLjn J AfÉLjn Eiuül©fz HC çho-u kççš² qm, pççççç-a "Bçj pçç-M Oççj-uçRmij, çLRçC Sje-a fiçlçe'-HC Aexiça bi-Lz fÉLjn aMe bi-L ej h-m SjnÉa AhÜÜju Hje ØjLz pñh euz Bhjl AfÉLjn hj SiXÉ pççççç-a çRm h-m çLRçC Sjej pñh quçez Sje-a ei filic qm A'iez -hçjç'pil NÈ-çÛ nEÉpcjeçc Aexi"ça -cçM-u h-m-Re - ""jijqw e Sjeiçj", AbÑjv Bjil Bçj Siçe eiz HMj-e Bçj fÉLjnje biLil 'je -kje l-u-R, çh-nol©-f ej Sjeil" e Sjeiçj" AbÑjv AfÉLjn l-u-Rz Hij-h ij-j-a BaÈj-L çQçsaex hmj quz

T) **nšeÉjaÈhjc-** jidÉçjL -h±-Ülj nšeÉhjc£z ayili BaÈj-L nšeÉül©f h-mez ij-j£jiwpl-cl BaÈj-L 'je J A'ie EiujaÈLhjc-L Mäe L-lez nšeÉhjc£li h-me 'je J A'ie flØfiçh-ljdÉ qjuu HLC BaÈj 'iei'i-eiujaÈL hmj kççš²kççš² qu eiz nšeÉhjc£li nE¥çafÉjZ-L E-ðM L-le- ""Ap-c-hjNÉ Bp£v"¹¹, AbÑjv "HC SNv fš-hÑ Apvc çRm'z Apv J nšeÉ pjibÑLz nšeÉhjc£li pçççççççLjm-L Ahmðe L-l-Rez pçççççççLm BaÈjl ül'f -Qøju -cq-Cççcu-je fÉi«ça LikÑnEm ei biLju -Lje çLRçC bi-L ej h-m nšeÉ hj Apv bi-L- HLbj hmj kijuz BIJ hmjl bi-L -k, pççççççç-a Bjil çLRçC

⁸ °açšl£u, Ef-2/4/1

⁹ °açšl£u, Ef-2/5/1

¹⁰ jjaçLÉ, Ef-5

¹¹ Ri-ççjNÉ, Ef-6/2/1

Sie-a fičl ei, -k-qaŷ Bjlj aMe AčhcÉjje čRmijz Aexi"ča-a fiC -k, aMe kčc čhcÉjje biLaij aiq-m -aj phC A-eLčLRŷC Sie-a filaijz čLRŷC Sie-a fičl ei hmju BaÈil AijhC pšćQa quz BaÈil AčhcÉjjeai pšćQa qu h-m BaÈi-L nšeÉ hmj -k-a fi-lz

U) **A`àačpàjž¹**- A`àahjčElj fš-hjŇš² eučV L-Òf -k ja...čm nĚŷca-kxčš² J Aexi"čal jdÉ čc-u fĚLjn L-l-Re aj-cl -LječVC NĚjčÉ euz BaÈj LMeC fœœ nĚljčcl S-sl pšQei L-l ei, čLž¹ŷ aj ASs °QaeÉülčfz -k pLm nĚŷca Eš² eučV L-Òf fĚcčnŇa q-uR, aj nĚŷaÉijjz

BaÈül' -f piwMÉ J -hci-ž' ja-ic J piwMÉni-Ù»I BčŮ'LE čelčfz

-hciž'ni-Ù» SĚh J hĚ-pl A`àaij-h čelčf-Z pčμQciečcülčf hĚpašÄ čelčcfa q-a -cčMz če...ŇZ hĚpašÄ p...Zlč-f EfčeocÚ pjš-q fĚčafičca q-a -cčMz Efœ²j J Efpwqiljčc RufĚLlj čm%o ajvfkŇčezŇ-u üĚL«a- ""Efœ²-jifpwqiljihÉ-pi'fšhŇaj gmjÚz AbŇhi-ciffšĚ Q čm%ow ajvfkŇčezŇ-u"z g-m p...Zij-h hĚp -kje phŇ' qe, -ajeC čQâ" f J Bečclčf EiuC hĚ-p haŇjjez HC čho-u nĚŷčapjš-ql NĚca ØjZĚu-

""paÉw 'ijejež'w hĚpz"¹²

""čh'ijeječcw hĚpz"¹³

""Be-čci hĚ-čca hĚSjeivz"¹⁴

""Ha°pÉhječcpÉjeÉjčē i"aičē jicēijřfSĚhčž¹"¹⁵

""Ho Hh flj Bečcxz"¹⁶

""Bečc BaÈjz"¹⁷

""k-co BLjn Be-čci e pÉjvz"¹⁸

""Bečci-àÉhMčmÄjčē i"aičē Siu-ž¹"¹⁹

""Bečclčfjj^aaw kčàij čaz"²⁰

HCii-h pčμQciečclčf p...ZhĚp fljbnŇa čačē Apv ee, aiC pv, čačē AčQv ee aiC čQv, čačē čelječc ee aiC Bečc-Aijhč-M NĚujje čēŇ...ZhĚp p...ZhĚ-p lčfjž¹čla-

""e ačē QrŷNŇμRča e hijÚ NμRča -ej jexz"²¹

""p Ho -eča -eaÉjaÈjN^a-qÉj e N^aqÉ-az"²²

""eacē pš-kiŇ ijča e QčcĚaijLjÚ"

""-ejj čhcčÉ-aj ijčž¹ Lŷ-aj'ujčNÀx"²³zz

¹² °ačšlĚu, Ef-2.1.2

¹³ h^aq, Ef-3.9.28

¹⁴ °ačšlĚu, Ef-3.6.1

¹⁵ h^aq, Ef-4.3.32

¹⁶ h^aq, Ef-4.3.33

¹⁷ °ačšlĚu, Ef-2.5.1

¹⁸ °ačšlĚu, Ef-2.7.1

¹⁹ °ačšlĚu, Ef-3.6.1

²⁰ jřäL, Ef-2.2.8

²¹ -Le, Ef-1.1.3

²² h^aq, Ef-4.4.22

""AnëjØfnÑjl@fjhÉuw abilpw čeaÉjNâhµQ kvz
AejcÉeč'w jqax flw dĚǵhw čeqikÉ aw jªaǵÉjǻMjv fĚjǻQÉ-a"²⁴zz

nĚǵčafĚčafičca če...ÑZ hĚp jjuičnĚa AhÛÛju pčh-no, pčhLØf J p...Z qez -nĀai-nĀal
Efčeo-c NĚa q-u-R- ""kÛ'žǵaǵeji Ch ač'ǵčix fĚdje°Sx üiijh-aj -ch HLx pjihª-Ziča"²⁵ Cčaz
hš²hÉ qm ač'ǵeji hi jilspi -kje čes -cq -b-L Evfæ ač'ǵpjš-ql àili če-S-L Sčs-u li-M -ajeC hĚp
jjuisčea Si-ml àili hÛ q-u bi-Lez HC jjuj fĚij-hC če...ÑZ hĚp p...Zai mji L-lez Bhil
jjuičhjǻčš²-a nič' pǻǻ-âl eÉju če...Zñai mji L-lez pwpjIQ-œ²l BhaÑe Û'i qu, g-m cǻxM
hĚfNa qu Hhw čQlč'e pǻǻM J Be³cmji hªčÛfĚič quz EfčeocÚ pjš-q BaĚ'ie -jirn-ě hĚhq@a
ki-L Be³cLlp hmi quz pwpjIQ-œ²l -k Ahpje aMe O-V,- "e p řelijaÑ-a'- HC nĚǵčafče-cñn
fĚjiz h-m čh-hčQaz HC Lj-Z EfčeocÚ pjš-q AčhčjnĚ pǻǻ-Ml Hhw čelhcµRæ Be-³cl pǻi-e
ajvfkÑ, Efmčil -kiNÉz

piwMÉcnĚe -k čaefĚlil fĚji-Zl Lbi ũĚlil L-le ai-cl j-dÉ BNj hi nĚǵčaf fĚjiz qm a«afuz
piwMÉniÛ» -k f'čhwnčaašĀiaĚL -pMi-e DnĀIL«o· Aejje fĚji-Zl àili ašĀ...čm pide L-l-Re
Hhw ünñičc -k Aač' f-ljrchou l-u-R ai Bč fĚji-Zl àili čpÛ- ""čœčhdw fĚjizčjow
fĚ-jučpčÛx fĚjizičÛ"²⁶, aØjicčf QičpÛw f-ljrw BčNjicÚ čpÛjÚ"²⁷z HCij-h nĚǵčafĚijizÉ
čhQi-l A°aa-hci-č' BaĚa-šĀl p-%o jafibñĚÉ ei bil-mj řl!oü!čfčezñ-u °hjaÉ fĚlinjiez

pčµQcie³cju BaĚi- HC če-Oñio A°aač-clz piwMÉniÛ» HMi-e pqja -fioZ ei L-l řl!o-l
pčµQâ'f- HC LbiC h-mez Be³cülčfai řl!-ol ũlčf qu eiz LjZlč-f piwMÉniÛ»Lj-llj h-me
-k, Be³c hččÛl djñ, -pC Be-³cl p-%o řl!-ol EfljN -cčMz hš²hÉ qm -k, cªnĚje A-Qae SNv
čœ...ZiaĚLz pšĀISÛ¹-ji...ZičaĚlil fĚL«ča ...Z°hojÉ cniju jqcičc œ²-j ÛÛ"m fĚf-'l Evfčš OVjuz
E-ðMÉ, pšĀ-Isx J ajx âhÉj-dÉ fčINčZa quz HMi-e eÉjucnĚe j-a ...-Zl hÉjMÉj NĚqZĚu euz

pšĀičc âhÉlč-f piwMÉni-Û» čh-hčQa qu h-m ai-cl La...čm djñ l-u-R ki piwMÉni-Û»
ũĚL«a- ""mOhičcd°jñx pidjñÉw °hdjñÉ' ...Ziejú"²⁸z ašĀpjippš-œ čœ...-Zl Lbi hmi q-u-R-
"œ...ZÉw"²⁹z HMi-e pšĀ-Isx ajx- HC čœ...ZčQčq²az Eš² ...Zpjš-ql hÉjMÉju acĚu djñlčnl
E-ðMI-u-R- ""acepšĀw eij fĚlinmijOhfĚpæaječio%oǵčø čačarip-č'ioičcmrZječ'icw
pw-rfax pǻǻMjaĚLjÚz l-Sjei-jjfðñLQm-ào-niL-âiqjvplpč'ificÉeč'icw pjip-ai cǻxMjaĚLjÚz
a-jiej...l|hZLfĚjicimpÉčæâicÉpwmÉfĚ-icw pjip-ai -jiquaĚLjÚ Cča °œ...ZÉw hÉjMÉjajú"³⁰z

LičfmpiwMÉfĚhQepš-œ pšĀISÛ¹-ji ...Z...čml pidjñÉ-°hdjñÉ fĚčafičca q-u-Rz Eš²pš-œl
hÉjMÉju čh'ječirǵ Hlčf h-m-Re- ""Aujbñx mOhicčca ijhfĚci-ej če-cñnxz mOǻaĚičcd-jñz

²³ LW,Ef-2.2.15

²⁴ LW,Ef-1.3.15

²⁵ -nĀai,Ef-6.20

²⁶ piwMÉlilčlil-4

²⁷ piwMÉlilčlil-6

²⁸ piwMÉpšœ-1.128

²⁹ ašĀpjippšœ-5

³⁰ cĚčfli, ašĀpjippšœ-5

phÑipiw pšÄhÉš²Æejw pidjÑÉw °hdjÑÉ' ISÙ¹-jiiÉijÚz abi Q fªcbhÉhÉš²Æejw fªcbhÉ-aÆ-eh
pšÄhÉš²Æej-jLSiaEua°ulaj pSiaE-ufjñiçcej hªçÜqÊËipiçcLw Q kªçš²çjaÉjnuxz Hhw
Q'maÆiçcd-jÑZ phÑipiw l-SihÉš²Æejw pidjÑÉw pšÄa-jiiÉiw Q °hdjÑÉjÚz Hhw
...l| aÆiçcd-jÑZ phÑipiw a-jihÉš²Æejw pidjÑÉw pšÄl-SiiÉiw °hdjÑÉjÚ¹³¹zz Cçaz

DnÄl«o· pijwMÉLjçlLju Aexl©fij-h çæcV ...-Zl djÑçe-cÑn L-l-Re-

""pšÄw mOxfÉLjnLçjðjðñLw Qm' ISxz
...l|hZL-jh ajx fËcFhµQibÑ-aj hªçšx¹³²zz

Eš² LjçlLil hÉjMÉju hijQØfça çjnĚ ašÄ-L±jæcE-a hÉš² L-l-Re- ""pšÄ-jh mOxfÉLjnLçjðjÚ
pijwMÉjQi°kÑxz aœ Lj-kiÑc³j-e -qaðdÑ-jjÑ mijOhw, -N±lhfËçaàç¼à
k-ajS-NÄl©dÆÑSÆmew ihça, a-ch mijOhw LpÉçQçškÑ+jew -qa¥iÑhça, kbj hij-ujx, Hhw
LIZiejw hªçšfV¥-aÆ -qa¥mÑjOhw, ...l|-aÆ çq j¼çjçe pææÉx, Cça pšÄpÉ fËLjnLaÆjæš²jÚz
pšÄajpE üujçœ²uauj üüLjkÑfËhªçšw fËaÉhpÉçç¹É IS-pifø-iÉ-a- Ahpicjv fËQÉihÉ üLj-kÑ
EvpiqfËEuaÀw Lj-kÑ-a, açccjæš²jÚ EføñLw ISx Cçaz LØjjiçcaÉa Eš²w- "QmjÚ' Cçaz ac-ee ISpx
fËhªaÉbÑaÆw cçnÑajÚz ISÙ¹¥ Qmaui fçla°Ù»...ZÉw QimucÚ ...l|Zi'hªZÄaj Q ajpi aœ
fËhªçšfËhª-Le LÅçQ-ch fËhaÑÉa Cça aaÙ¹-aj hÉjhaÑÉ a-ji çeuijLaÆijæš²w ...l|hZL-jh aj¹³³
Cçaz

LjçlLiw-n çàæufj-c "Hh' nēçV fËça...-Zl p-%o AçeÄa q-u-R- "" pšÄ-jh IS Hh aj Hh¹³⁴ Cçaz
jqijil-a nijç¹fhÑ "°œ...ZÉ' fËh-å pšÄjçc-a mOÀjçc djÑ çhncjLj-l hçZÑa q-a -cçM-

""fËqoÑx fËÉçalje¼cx pææMw pwniç¹çQšajz
Lbç'cçihaÑ-ç¹ C-aÉ-a pijçšÄLj ...Zix¹³⁵zz
fËqoÑx fËÉçalje¼cx pææMw pwniç¹çQšajz
ALš¥Ñ-ÖQv LaÑÑçÖQàj çQçç¹ax pijçšÄ-Lj ...Zx¹³⁶zz
""paÉjje¼c E-âLx fËÉçax fËjLjnÉ-jh Qz
pææMw öçÜaÆjji-ljNÉw p-ç¹jox nËÿdieaizz
ALjfnZÉjpwln rji dªçalçqwpajz
pjai paÉjjeªZÉw jicÑhw qÊÉlQifmjÚzz
-n±QjjiSÑhjiQilj-m±mw q©cÉpòjxz
Cøjçøçh-ujNiejw L«ajeijçhLýaizz
ci-ee QjaÈÑÉqZjØf«qaÆw fljbnajz
phÑi"-a cui °Qh pšÄ°pÉ-a ...Zix Øj«ajx¹³⁷zz

³¹ fËhQeijoÉ, pijwMÉpšæ-1.128

³² pijwMÉLjçlLj-13

³³ ašÄ-L±jæcE, pijwMÉLçlLj-13

³⁴ ašÄ-L±jæcE, pijwMÉLçlLj-13

³⁵ jqijila, nijç¹fhÑ-12.187.34

³⁶ jqijila, nijç¹fhÑ-12.216.27

mrZFu -k pi čšÄldjñfěp-% "Be¼c' fcčV pšÄ...-Zl djñl©-f čQčq²a q-u-Rz fja" mcnñ-e Be¼c fcčV-L fxl' -ol ül©fl©-f čQčq²a Lli quče, fl'¼ pšÄ...-Zl djñl©-f Be¼c fcčV čečhø q-u-Rz HC fěp-% hš²hÉ qm Øj«aÉw-n čQčq²a jqijl-a Be¼cf-cl pšÄ...-Zl djñl©-f ce-cñn -N±lhjhq, Øj«čaniù»...čm nĚ¼čajšmLz njù»Ll-lj nĚ¼čahj-LÉl ce-cñnjhm£ ej -f-mJ Øj«čahj-LÉl aj-cl E-ð-M Øj«aÉhlÉJ LMeC AfějJZ qu ej- HC čQč'j h-n nĚ¼čahj-LÉl AhnĚñjh£aj bi-L- HC QQñj jĚjwpl-cl nl-Z B-pz čL'¼, hañjieùù-m Be¼c fcčV nĚ¼čajš-q hĚpfłaju N£a q-a -cčM- ""čh'jeje¼cw hĚp"^{38z}

nĚ¼ča J Øj«ča-a kčc -Ljel©f čh-ljd bi-L, -pMj-e nĚ¼ča Aw-nlC fĚjjiZÉ čh-hčQa qu, -k-qa¼ nĚ¼ča AaÉ' fĚnwčpa J NĚqZfuz HC čhQj-l Be¼ciaÈL hĚpašÄ-HC ce-cñn Nªq£a q-h, čQšdjñl©-f Be-¼cl NĚqZ q-h ejz HC čhQj-l piwMÉ-fĚčafjčca pšÄ...-Zl djñl©-f ceZñ£a "Be¼c' fcčV nĚ¼čačh-ljd£ qJuju plpai mji L-l ejz fĚaÉr J Aexji-el čh-lj-d nĚ¼čal Abñ-L -N±Z L-l kčc piwMÉniù»jčcl fĚjji-ZÉL bi čQč'j Lli qu, aMe pšÄd-jñ Be¼c f-cl ce-hn pjbñLaj mji L-lz piwMÉniù» pLm pjuC kxčš²fl qJuju -L±čVmÉAbñni-ù» ajl pjx-ðM l-u-R- "" piwMÉw -ki-Nj -miLjuaw -QaÉjZÄ£črL£"^{39z} HCij-h Øj«čani-ù» Abñni-ù» piwMÉ J -kiN -k kxčš² fĚdje Hhw Be¼c fc-L pšÄ...-Zl d-jñ hÉhùùj Lli Bfaa nĚ¼čačh-ljd£ j-e q-mJ HC Eiu ni-ù» Abñjv piwMÉ J -ki-N čh-hL'i-el jidÉ-j čQšhªčšl ce-lj-d fxl' -ol -k Ap%oijh aj-a cxxMčehªčš pñhz Be¼c fcčV pšÄ...-Zl djñl©-f Øj«čani-ù» Hhw cnñecQč'ju ""-kiNčÖQšhªčšce-ljdx"⁴⁰ HC ce-cñn Be¼c fc-L -Liej-h piwMÉ J -kiN fxl' -ol ül©f h-m čQčq²a Ll-a fj-l ejz

piwMÉniù» A°hčcl J ajl fĚaÉjMÉje- Hij-h piwMÉniù» A°hčcl čQč'ju -Ljel©-f Bčù¹L fchjQÉ q-a fj-l ejz -k-qa¼ "Bčù¹L' n-ě °hčclhQ-el fĚjjiZÉ ü£Ll Lli-L jxMÉa čQčq²a Lli qu, -pC NZeju piwMÉniù» J -kiNniù» A°hčcl čQč'jfĚpša qJuju ejčù¹L fchjQÉaj fjuz HIC fĚp-% piwMÉni-ù»l hš²hÉ qm- fxl'o ki BaÈl©-f čQčq²a -pMj-e -k Aw-n Bfjačh-ljd l-u-R -pC AwnV¼L¼l ča-ljdi-e AeÉ pLm Aw-n °hčcl čQč'j ijhej BexL"mÉ biLju ejčù¹L L-r piwMÉ -ki-Nl ce-cñn AaÉ' AfĚjpc%L q-u f-sz

piwMÉni-ù» A°hčcl čQč'j fĚp%- ""cªhčjexnĚčLx p qÉčhöčÛrujčanukxš²x"⁴¹⁻ Eš² LjčLju čeház BexnĚčL nčv ašÄ-L±jxč£Ll HCl©-f hÉjMÉj L-l-Re- ""...l'fjWjcexnĚ"u-a CaÉexnĚ-hj -hcxz Hacš²w ihča- nĚ"ua Hh flw e a¼ -LečQv čœ²u-a Cčaz aœ ih BexnĚčLx aœ fĚj-čj- 'ja Cča kihvz BexnĚčL-ljčf LjñLmi-fj cª-øe a¼-mÉj hañ-a, lLjč'ljāčč'lcxxMfĚa£Ll jexfjua£-pĚjjucejčf a¼mÉa£jv"^{42z}

Hij-h "BexnĚčL' n-ě -hcčhčqa Ljñlčn -cÉjčaa qJuju ajl gm cªØ Efjua¼mÉ qJuju ce¼ci pščQa quz HMj-e E-ðMÉ -k, °hčclhQe -kje LjñLjāpi-fr -ajeC 'jeiw-n °hčclhQ-el pjbñLaj

³⁷ *jqijila*, njč'fhñ-12.305.17-20

³⁸ *hªq, Ef-3.9.28*

³⁹ -L±čVmÉ Abñniù»-1.1.2

⁴⁰ -kiNpšœ-1.2

⁴¹ *piwMÉljčLl-2*

⁴² *ašÄ-L±jxč£, piwMÉljčLl-2*

mr Lčlz 'jeiw-n piwMÉčQč'íl 'hčclPlčZ-a hÉhÙÛi biLiu čh-hL'je BeɁnĚčh-L fčINčZa qu h-m piwMÉni-Ù» A°hčclji-NŃ če-rf Lli Ap%oa q-u f-sz

Bfjaa A°hčcl čQč'í ki, piwMÉni-Ù» Hhw pjieač»eÉi-u -kiNni-Ù» üfLli Lli q-u-R, -pMi-e A°hčcl čQč'ídiLi Ahpie O-V fĚhm °hčcl čQč'í S-miμRĀi-pz

Efpwqil

f'čhwnčaašĀjaĚL piwMÉni-Ù» "'fcjbŃ fxl'io J BaĚi fĚi«ča eiej ei-j MÉjaz eičÙ'aĚpidL fĚjiZ ei biLiu jjeɁo BaĚeičÙ'L q-a fi-l eiz "Bčj', "Bčj BčR', "Bjil'- HC BaĚieɁiɁihL fĚaĚu fĚiZĚji-œlC B-Rz kil BaĚi B-R aġlC I 'je bi-Lz kil I 'je B-R aġlC BaĚi B-Rz g-m -Lje BaĚnimĚ fĚiZĚ "BaĚi -eC' h-m čQč'íC Ll-a fi-l eiz -pCSeĚC BaĚi -k l-u-R -pLbi čexp-¾c-q hmi -k-a fi-lz

BaĚi B-R, ačàouL pijjeÉ 'jeJ B-Rz flč'Ÿ aġl čh-no 'je -eCz "Bčj BčR'- HC jiač 'je B-Rz čLč'Ÿ "Bčj čL', "čLw ülčf'- aġl LiJ Sjei -eCz Cč¾cĚu...čm hiqÉipš² üiɁh qJuju A-kiNĚ hÉčš² BaĚikjibŃĚ'í-e hč'az AaÉč'pw-kiNh-m -miqi J AčNĀ -kje HLĚi" a q-u kiu, jjeɁoĚJ -plčf ijh-n J AčapičædÉ fĚkɁš² AejaĚfcj-bŃ HLĚi" a q-u "Bčj Bčj'- HC hÉhqi-l čmčz LMeJ hiC-lL jiwpcf-ä BaĚpđā ÛÛife L-l "Bjil fɁœ', "Bjil Lmœ' h-m hÉjLŸm -b-l, LMeJ hi Cč¾cĚ-u čmč q-u "Bčj Aā', "Bčj hčdl'-CaÉjčc -i-h čɁxMĚ q-u f-sz EčđčMa fĚli-l "Bčj' hÉhqi-l čÙÛlai bi-L ei h-m jjeɁo če-S-L -Q-e eiz BaĚi -cqicÉčačlš² AhÙÛiu čQčq²a qJuju -pC ülč-fl pāie haŃjie fĚh-ā Lli q-u-Rz fĚp%œ²-j A°aačQč'íu BaĚa-šĀl čh-nŌoZ Hhw piwMÉičcni-Ù» aġl pčædie LaMiče fĚipč%oL J kɁčš²p%oa aġl AeɁdihe-kiNÉz

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üijf çh-hLje-¾cl -hcijhei

Açcça i-ijQikÑÉ†

pilpw-rf

*ijlajiajl abi ijlaEu pwú«çal fĒiZfǻl!o üijf çh-hLje¾c Efmçì L-lçR-me -k ijlaEu pwú«ça-L
abi ijlahipf-L Sje-a q-m pwú«aijojl 'ie AaÉihñÉLz pwú«aijojl AjšmÉ laÀ-fçVLju çeçqa
l-u-R -hc-hcij¾ç laÀpjšqz ijlah-oÑl fĒiQfeaj piçqaÉ -hc eiejçhd cinÑçel B-miQeipjªÜ J
paÉâøji GçolŷmLaÑ«L Efmiz -h-cl jçqji üijfçS çh-noij-h Efmçì L-lçR-mez aiC-aj
pwú«afĒQi-ll p-%o p-%o °hçcl ijhdilj fĒQi-lj fĒuipf çR-me çaçez °hçcl jç»jhmEl AfšhÑ
Aexhi-cl p-%o p-%o -h-cl fĒça nĒÜjhna çhçhd fĒhåjhmEl IQej L-le çaçez -h-cl lqÉjexdih-e
çh-no pqjuL HC fĒhåjhmÉz*

pšcenë

-hc, çh-hLje¾c, Gço, ijlahoÑ

1

*ijlaEu pwú«çal fĒiZfǻl!o üijf çh-hLje¾c Feçhwn na-ll -k pijjçSL -fĒrif-V BchiÑªa
q-uçR-me, aMe fiÖQiaÉ piÉajl fĒbj AçiOja iil-al Bfijl SepidilZ-L ØfnÑ L-l-R, gmül©f,
ijlahipf çe-S-cl piÉaj, pwú«ça, L«çø CaÉjçç cho-u pç¾cqje q-u f-s-Rz SiNçal hÜ¹ŷpjš-ql
ceaÉeaŷe -ij-Njfliz Bçh×Lj-ll g-m -ijNhicf jjeæ-ol çQš avfĒça pq-SC BL«ø q-µR rçZ-ll a-l,
çLç¹ŷ aj-a -k çQ-šl fšZÑaj -j-m eiz -pç f-bl pāje çc-me üijf çh-hLje¾c, ijlajiajl fĒiZfǻl!o*

† AÉiçpØVÉj¾V fĒ-gpl, pwú«a çhijN, pwú«a çhnÄçhcÉjmu, LmLjaj, fçÖQjh%oz

çaçez -pC fb njnÄa J njçž'juz cEONLjm çh-cnE nip-e flidEe Siçal ANËNje, çhLjn I'ÜfËjuz pidilZ jieæo çcniqiliz -pC jæq"-añ üijËÇSI çnLi-Ni djÑp-Çjm-e -cJui ijoZ iilahipE-L HL eaYe çcni -cMimz üijËÇSI L-~ EcÚ-Oiçoa qm fËjQfe iilaEu Gçco-cl pæxl- iila-L abi iilahipE-L Sje-a q-m, ijl-al BaËi-L Efmçì Ll-a q-m pwú«aijoil 'je AaÉjhnÉL, BaËjeæpâi-eC fËL«a pææMz Bl pwú«aijoil laÀ-fçVLij-dÉ çeçqa l-u-R -hc-hciž'jçc laÀçeQuz -hc-hciž'jçcl AdÉue, je-el àjliC B-aËjfmçì pñhz

üijËÇS pwú«apiçqaÉjæxliNÉ çR-me, kij fçlQu -j-m aiyL -mMj çhçiaæ fËhåjhmE -b-Lz HCpLm fËh-å aiyL -mMj çhçhd IQej-a cijnÑçel ijhpjªÜ hÉjMÉjI SeÉ aiy-L "fËjQfe ijl-al pwú«ajçnËa ij°hnÄ-kÑl ehEe hÉjMÉjai'I©-f BMÉjçua Ll quz

çaçe BSËhe pjNË çhnÄhÉjfe çhçhd LjÑLi-ä çela çR-mez HCpLm LjÑLi-äl AeÉaj çRm pwú«aijoil J piçq-aÉl fËQilLjkÑz aiyL AeÉaj fçlLÒfej çRm HLÇV -hcçhcÉjmu ÙÛjfez -hc iilah-oÑl phÑj-fri fËjQfe djÑNËžÛ J iilaEu pwú«çal jšmül©fz pææalw -hc Aeædjhe J aceækiuE SËhekife çeaÉ LaÑhÉ- HC çRm aiyL Açijaz iilah-oÑl fËjQfeaj piçqaÉ -hc eiejçhd cijnÑçel B-miQeipjªÜ J paÉâøi GçolYmLaÑ«L Efmiz -h-cl jçqji üijËÇS çh-noij-h Efmçì L-lçR-mez ajC -aj pwú«afËQi-ll p-%o p-%o °hçcl ijhdijl fËQi-IJ fËuipE çR-me çaçez

2

çhcÚ djaY -b-L çexfæ -hc nëz AaÉç¾cËu 'jeiaÈL HC -hc GLÚ, pij, kSxX J AbhÑ-i-c Qilij-N çhiš²z fËçaçV -hc Bhil pwçqai J hËjßZ HC çxÇ ii-N çhiš²z pwçqai q-mi GçolaÑ«LlçQa j-ç»l pwlmez üijËÇS hm-ae, pwçqai qm -Ü¹jæpwNËq Hhw pwçqaiC qm "façbhEi fËjQfeaj BkÑpiçqaÉ'z üijËÇS j-e Ll-ae, -hc Bji-cl djÑ J BQil Aeæùj-el -r-œ HLjioe çeiÑi-kjNÉ fËjZ Hhw -h-c pLm-nËZËl jieæ-ol pjie AçdLilz HC fËp-%o çaçe aiyL NË-žÛ öLÓksY-hÑc -b-L HLÇV EÜ«ça çc-uçR-me-"k-bjiw hijw LmÉjZËjhçje S-eiÉx hËbliSeÉjiiÉiw nšâju QikÑju Q üju QIZju Qz çfË-uj -chjeiw cçrZi°u çjaYçlq.....'(öLÓ.kSxX.26z2)z "-k-qaY Bçj hËjßZ, rçœu, nšâ, °hnÉ, BaËEu, AejaËEu fËi«ça pL-ml Aça çfËu Lbj hçm, -pC-qaY Bçj -chai J cçrZicjail çfËu qhz' HC EÜ«ça çc-Sl IQeju hÉhqil L-l üijËÇS fËjZ L-le -k °hçcl djÑjSÑ-e pL-mlC AçdLil B-Rz

üijËÇS -Rj—hmj -b-LC pwú«aQQÑj çh-noa -hcQQÑj L-lçR-mez aiyL çhçhd fËh-å AfjçbÑh fËçaij J eaYe çQž'idijlil üjrl -l-M -N-Re, kj Bji-cl pjªÜ L-lz çaçe çhnÄip Ll-ae, °hçcl Gçco-cl çh-nÔoziaÈL j-eijih çRmz aiy-cl Aeæpçâvpi SNvpªçøl LjZieæpâi-e avfl çRmz "ijl-al lçaqiçpL œ²jçhLjn' fËh-å üijËÇS -cçM-u-Re -k, kxçš²hçcE -hçjž¹E SNvpªçøLaÑi iNhje-LJ üËLil L-leçez hlw BaËfËLjnL HL nçš²-L SNvpªçøl LjZl©-f BçhXlil L-l-Rez çaçe h-m-Re-"HC çh-nÔoznçš² Hhw çeiÑËL LçhLÒfej, kj l nçš²-L -fËlZi çca- HC çxçV LjZC çq¾cY SjaEu Qçl-œl fËdje pæælz l çxçV pjçeÄa nçš²l h-mC BkÑSjça çQlçce Cç¾cËuÜ¹ -b-L AaÉç¾cËuÜ¹-ll çc-L NçanËm Hhw HçV HC Siçal cijnÑçel çQž'idijlil -Nife lqPÉz'(üijË çh-hLje-¾cl hjZE J IQej, 5j M™, fa .300)

kiúlCQa cel|š²NĒ-žŪ eln-ël hÉƳvfčš -cJui q-u-R-"eªaÉčž¹ LjÑpᵛᵛ'z HI AbÑ qm kyili ei-Qe, hi kiy-cl LjÑ eª-aÉIC ja pqS J R-¼ciju, aiyliC elz hÉiuij, -Mmidšmi, eªaÉičcQQÑi| jidÉ-j nĒINWe L-lčR-me čače. Bhi| AeÉčc-L AaÉž¹ pihmĒmij-h LjÑ-kjNpideil jidÉ-j čhNĀjje-hl BaÈi| BaÈĒu q-u E-WčR-mez üjĒčS| BčhiÑi-h iĵlaĒu d-jÑI Cčaqi-p HL eaĒe jioei -kijN qmz -hc-Efčeoocičc-a -k BdÉičaÈL pijÉhijc čhhªa q-u-R, ki qu-ai pidilZ Sejje-p-NiQI quče HaLijm üjĒčS ai-LC pqS pᵛᵛ-l fĒQil LI-mez "pidilZx pškÑx jieᵛoiZijÚ' AbÑiv pškÑ pLm jieᵛ-ol, - "AčcčaSñajÚ, AčcčaSñčeoējÚ' AbÑiv ki q-u-R ph-C Ačcča ; kčØjeÚ phÑičZ iªaiče BªaÈhij" čàSjeax AbÑiv -k BaÈ'jeĒ fxl' -ol phÑi"ª BaÈül©f- hŪ'ᵛax -h-cifčeoocŪŪa HC pLm Ečš² Aªa-hci-ž¹ Ćičšz flhaÑĒLi-m LijčnĒĒ ē nhcnÑ-e SĒh J čn-hl HLaĒ fĒčafičca q-u-Rz -hcfllhaÑĒLi-m Øj«ča...čm-a f'jqik' Hhw AeÉjeÉ cjecičrZÉičc L-jÑI E-ōM Lij q-u-R -hcfĒčafičÉ pijÉhijc-L ČLRᵛVi d-l liMij aičN-cC -kez hŪ'ᵛa HLVij pju pji-S jieᵛ-ol j-dÉ fĒhm q-u E-WčRm BdÉičaÈL üjbÑflajz -Nªaj hᵛŪ H-p jieᵛ-ol jkÑijci-L fᵛexfĒčcačua L-lez hýS-el čqai-bÑ čače če-SI fĒjZ EvpNÑĒL«a L-lez HI flhaÑĒ-a nĒĒlijL«o--c-hl j-dÉ -pC 'i-elC Qlj flilijùj -cčMz -hci-ž¹ SĒh čnh-C HC paÉC aiy| Až¹-l eaĒeij-h fĒLij -fmz aiy| HC ehijhei Sejje-pJ HL eaĒe ij-hl EšIZ OVimz fĒLij OVm HL eaĒe pideji-NÑiz čerL B-aÈišIZ eu, SĒh'ij-eC čnh-phij qJui EčQv- HC čRm lijl«o--c-hl j-el Lbij

aiylC Efkᵛš²čnoÉ čh-hLije-¼cl čeaÉje-el jž»čVC čRm-

"hýl©-f pčjᵛ-M -aijil Ričs -Lijbi MyᵛčSR DnĀI?

SĒ-h -fĒj L-l -kC Se -pC Se -pčh-R DnĀlzz'

HVi -Lhm üjĒčS| jᵛ-MI Lbij eu, Až¹-ll hijĒ HčVz BSEhe čnh'ij-e SĒh-phju čela čR-me čačez üjĒčS| pijNĒSEheC čRm hᵛŪaĒemij-il pideiz hᵛŪ-c-hl j-aiC čačeJ AčdNa L-l-Re -h-cl pwčqaiijN, Efčeooc, hÉiLIZ, Iijjue, jqijila, NĒai, osÚcnÑe CaÉičcz HRijsij pwú«a LijhÉpičqaÉ, -h±ŪcnÑe J pičqaÉ, eªašĀ, fxliz, čnŌfašĀ CaÉičc ASpĒ čhcÉj Buš L-lez čhčiae čhàvpiju aiy| -pC ApĒj fič™-aÉl čhμᵛIZ O-V-R hijlwhilz HL čhMÉja fč™a aiy| čnoÉaĒ NĒqZ L-l čm-M-Re, "G-NĀc qC-a IOᵛhwn fkÑž¹, -hci-ž¹ AaÉᵛμQ cijnčcel čQž¹ qC-a Bdᵛčel Lij¼V J -q-Nm fkÑž¹, fĒjQĒe J Bdᵛčel phÑfĒLij pičqaÉ, Lijm, p%Ēa, eĒčahijc Hhw fĒjQĒe -kijNni-Ū»l lqPÉčhcÉj qC-a Bdᵛčel N-hozijNij-ll SčVmaj čhou...čm fkÑž¹ phčLRᵛC aiy| cªčØl pčjᵛ-M EeÈᵛš² čRmz'

ªhčLijoi lç Lijl SeÉ čače HaVijC fĒuijĒ čR-me -k, LijĒ -b-L HLVij fičZčel«a AøjdÉjuĒ Beje Hhw -fijl¼c-ll -cJuij jqifč™a n^l fijāli-PI Lij-R hÉiLIZ AdÉue pijč L-le J aiy-L flhaÑĒ-a -h-cl Aeᵛhij-cl pijikÉ L-lez jᵛčC J fᵛ-e -b-L -hcčhouL čhčiae hC Beil SeÉ čače fœ -fĒIZ L-le- H abÉ Bjli Sje-a fičlz čače j-e LI-ae -h-cl AbÑ EŪij-ll SeÉ fičZčel«a hÉiLIZ fsj BhčnĒLz hŪ'ᵛa -h-cl AbÑjexdijh-e -k NĒžŪ...čm AhnĒfiWÉ, -k...čm -hci%œij-j pjčdL fčičQaz ai-cl j-dÉ fĒdje qm hÉiLIZ (jᵛMw hÉiLIZw Øj«ajÚ)z üjĒčS| djÑčhouL NiĒl AdÉue J Efmčil čekÑijp qm, -h±Ūd-jÑI Evp qmªhčcl djÑz

°hčcl Gčo-cl Sfhēkjfe üjġčs-L LaVj fēijčha L-lčRm, ai aiyl čQč¹idilj Aexdije Ll-m pq-S -hjtj kjuz aiyl djñčhouL Niēl Efmčil čekñjp qm, -h±Üd-jñl Evp qm °hčcl djñz

3

ijlah-oñl cnñeihej B°hčclLijm -b-L čhcÉjiez -jivijxčvij-h čMĚØVfšhñ čae pqpĚhoñ fš-hñ -h-cl jč»...čml IQejLijm Blñ q-učRmz AeÉjeÉ fĚh-ā -hcčhouL čhčiae ja bjl-mj fĚdjea ail -mMj "čqčcčdjñ J nĚēljl«o' fĚh-ā -hcčho-u čhčhd čQč¹idiljil qčcn fijui kjuz čače h-m-Re -

"-hc Aeč¹ 'ieličn pci čhcÉjie, p^ačøLañi üuw kiyqil HC SN-al p^ačø-čÜŮča-fĚmu Lčl-a-Rez'

"HC AačcčcĚu nčš² -k fxl¹-o Bčhiñ¹a qe, aiyqil eij Gčo J -pC nčš²l àilj čače A-m±čLL paÉ Efmčl L-le, aiqil eij "-hc''z

"HC Gčoae J -hcâø«aE mji LliC djñjexi¹ čaz kačce Cqil E-eĚo ej qu, aačce "djñ¹ -Lhm Lbij Lbj J djñli-SÉl fĚbj -pifj-eJ fccÜŮča qu eJC, Sijce-a qC-hz'

"pjŮ¹ -cn-Lijm-fiae hÉičfuj -h-cl nipe Abñjv -h-cl fĚijh -cnčh-n-o, Lijmčh-n-o hi fijæčh-n-o hŮ e-qz'

"HC -hcličn 'jelj¹ J Ljñli¹ čxčij-N čhiš²z Ljñli¹ HI čæ²uj J Lijm jjuičdL«a SN-al j-dÉ hčmui -cnLijmfæčc čeujičf-e aiqil fčlhañe qCui-R, qC-a-R J qC-hz -mijLijil pLmj pvnjŮ» J pciQi-ll Ačhpwhičf qCui N^aqĚa qC-hz pvnjŮ»čhNčqñNa J pciQilčh-lidf HLjioe -mijLijil-ll hnhañf qjujC BkñSičal Adxfa-el HL fĚdie LijZz'

HCij-h -hcčhouL Aexi¹čapj^aŮ čhčhd jč¹hÉ fijC aiyl NĚ-čŮz

4

üjġčs -hc J ail hÉiMÉičho-u -k EµQčQč¹idilj -fioZ Ll-ae, ail fĚjiz qm, aiyl -mMj "°hčcl djñičnñ¹ fĚhāčVz pwčqaiij-N pwLčma q-u-R GčoNZLañ«L čhlčQa -Ů¹iœpwnĚqz HC -Ů¹iœpjšq f^ačbhēl fĚiQĚeaj pičqaÉz čel¹š²Lij kjú -chn-ēl čehñqe pđ-ā h-m-Re-"-c-hi ciej^ai -cÉj^aeij^ai cĚfej^ai cĚŮŮi-ei ihačca hiz'(čel¹š² z 7j AdÉju)z HC fĚp-% üjġčsI jaija E-ōMÉ-"-Ů¹iœpjšq čhčiae -čajl E-Ů-nÉ lčQa Ů¹ŮčaNje..... cĚŮčapčfæ, aiC -čajz aiyqili pwMÉju A-eL - C³čĚ, hl¹Z, čjoe, fšñeÉ CaÉičcz'čače °hčcl -čaj-cl Qčlœ fkñj-mijQeli-m eheh ijhejl E-eĚo OčV-u-Re Hhw -Ů¹iœpjš-q fĚp%œ²-j -kpLm lčfl hÉhq@a q-u-R, ai-cl BhlZ E-eĚjQe L-l-Rez čače HJ Efmčl L-l-Re -k °hčcl -čajNZ -fłlčZL -čajNZ -b-L A-eLijw-n f^abL LijZ fĚčacV °hčcl -čajl Qčl-œl j-dÉ Be-č¹Él ijh čhcÉjiez "-h-cl -Lje -Lje Aw-n -cčM-a fijC-h, C³čĚ jječ-ol ja nlēldijf, Aačh nčš²nijmē, LM-ej üZñčecjñNa hjñfčlčqa, LMeJ EfipL-cl čelV AhalZ Lčluj aiyqi-cl pčqa Bqil J hphip Lčl-a-Re, Ap^axlN-Zl pčqa kxŮ Lčl-a-Re, pñlŮ-mi dĚwp Lčl-a-Re CaÉičcz Bhl HLčV -Ů¹i-œ -cčM-a fijC C³čĚ-L EµQ Bpe -cJui qCui-R; čače phñnčš²jie, phñœ čhcÉjie Hhw phñšē-hl Ač¹āñøiz' üjġčs -h-cl A-eL j-č»l

Aexhjc L-le hijwmi J Cw-lCS ijojuz pijhmfm J j-eilj hiQei%e-a chlCQa -pCpLm LchailjCS
pwú«ajeçi' jieæ-ol Lj-R -h-cl lqpÉ E-eÈjQ-e A-eLjw-n pqiuLz

-h-c Gçoihej LaVi phÑSeNËjqÉ ai üjÿçS Efmçì L-lez çaçe mr L-le -k -h-cl pwçqaij-NI
phÑœC H-LnÄlhi-cl fËijh mçra quz çaçe j-e Li-ae -k, BkÑli BIJ flhaÑELi-m H-LnÄlhi-cl
çQç'jidilj -b-L ANËpl q-u Aa£ç%çÊuij-h ijcha qJuil -r-œ fËuipE qez -pC fbC hÙ'¥a LjÑjiNÑ
-b-L 'jeji-NÑ Ešl-Zl fb, Eæu-el çcnjE -p fbz G-NÄ-cl pwçqaijNçÙÛa -pC j-ç»l Lbi ØjIZ Ll
-k-a fi-l HC -fËçr-a- "HLw pçàfËj hýdj hcçç'.....'(Gzpwz1.164.46)z ki paÉ aj-LC 'içeNZ
çhçhd ej-j Açiçqa L-lez Gçolçhli ejejij-h -pC pšil SuNje -N-u-Re, ayil Efmçì-a jNÀ q-u-Rez
-pC j-ç»l A-jiO fËij-hC -ke pjNË ijlahipE kxN kxN d-l Bfe L-l çe-u-R SiçadjÑhZÑçeçhÑ-n-o
pLm-Lz q-u E-W-R -Lje kijçl Øf-nÑ BaÈil BaÈEuz G-NÄ-cl œ²jç'fË' Gçol LjhÉl-p çaçe HaViC
jçç q-u-Re -k h-m-Re -"HC çhnÄ -Ljbi q-a Bçpm, -Lje Lçluj Bçpm Hhw çLI©-f AhÙÛje
Lçl-a-R?(Gzpwz10.82.2)

HC fË-nÀl pjidi-e GçonZ IQei L-l-Re hý -Ù'jœliçS, ki-cl fËça fl-a dÆçea q-u-R Gçol-~l
hÉlL¥m çS'ipiz üjÿçS Gçolçh-cl -pC AfšhÑ SNv çS'ipju jçç q-u-Rez çh-no L-l G-NÄçfu
eipçEupš-š'! AeeÉpidilZ Lçh-aÆ BÖQkÑiçeÄa q-u h-m-Re- "HC -Ù'j-œ -kl©f AfšhÑ Lj-hÉl
pçqa Eqi fËLjn qCui-R, HI©f BI -LjbiJ -cMj kjuiejz

"eipçipE-æi pçipEšçiefw eipEâ-Si -ei -hÉiji f-li kvÚ

çLjihlÉhx L¥q LpÉ njÑæix çLjipEç Nqew NiÉljÚzz

ei jªaÉ¥lipEçjªaw e açqÑ e liœÉi Aq² BpÉv fË-Laxz

BeEçhjaw üduj a-cl aØjiajeÉæ flx çL' eipzz (G.pw. 10z129z1-2)

-kMe Apv çRm ej, pvJ çRm ej, aMe Aç'1Ér çRm ej, kMe çLR¥C çRmei, -Lje hÙ'¥ pLm-L
Bhªa Lçluj lijçMujçRm, çL-p ph çhnËij Lçl-açRm? aMe jªaÉ¥ çRm ej, Ajªa çRmei,
çhijlijçœl çhijNJ çRm eiz' (üjÿçS/ hijZE J IQei, 3u M™, fª.156) °hççL GçolaÑ«L lçQa Lj-hÉl
pççljuai üjÿçS/ cªçø-a ØfØ fËçafæ q-uçRmz °hççL Gçol hZÑeju, Lj-hÉl fËLjnjeaju çaçe jçç
q-uçR-meiz pªçøašÄçhouL çhçhd pšš²ihmE aiy-L çh-noij-h BL«Ø L-lçRmz pËøi J
pªçøçho-u çaçe -ke Gçolçh-cl p-%o HLjaÈ q-u E-WçR-meiz "kMe Aålil Aålil-ll àjlij Bhªa
çRm'- HçV fçs-mC Aexih qu -k, Cqi-a Lçh-aÆl AfšhÑ NjñkÑ çeçqa lçqui-Rz -ajlij çL mr
LçlujR -k ij-al hijçq-l HC -QØi phÑçjC SsfËL«çal Aeç' hZÑejl BLil dijZ Lçluj-R- -Lhm Aeç'
hçqxçfËL«ça, Aeç' Ss, Aeç' -c-nl hZÑejz kMe çjØVe hij çj-ç' hij Afl -Lj-ej fËjQÇe hij Bdxçel
hs CE-ljçfu Lçh Ae-ç'1 çQœ ByçLhil fËuip fijCui-Re, aMeC çaçe aiyL Lçh-aÆl frpqi-u çe-Sl
hijçq-l pçççšl Blj-n çhQIZ Lçluj Aeç'1 hçqxçfËL«çal çLç'v Biip -çJuil -QØi Lçluj-Rez

H -QØi HMi-eJ qCui-Rz -hcpwçqaiju HC hçqxçfËL«çal Aeç'1 çhÙ'jil -kje AfšhÑij-h çQçœa
qCui fijWL-cl çelV EfÙÛijçfa qCui-R, BI -LjbiJ HjeçV -cçM-a fiC-h eiz pwçqail HC "aj BpÉv
ajpi NštjÚ' hijLÉçV ØjIZ lijçMuj çaeSe çhçiaè Lçhl Aålil-ll hZÑej a¥mei -cMz Bji-cl lijçmçip
hçmuj-Re "pšQÇ-icÉ Aålil', çjØVe hçmuj-Re, "B-mjL eijC, çªnÉjie Aålil'z çLç'¥ G-NÄç-
pwçqai hçm-a-Re, "Aålil- Aålil-ll àjlij Bhªa, Aålil-ll j-dÉ Aålil mçç, çuaz' G-NÄ-cl Lçh -Lje

čepNŃfĚL«čal -fĚrif-V HCLlj Afl©f hZŃej Ll-a -f-l-Re, ai pq-SC Aexdhe-kjNÉz H -ke NĚf×jfĚdie-c-nl ehhoŃjN-j -jOjμRæ fĚL«čal hZŃejz hÙ¹ŷa üjjĚčSI fĚmuhZŃejl eÉju Hje AfšhŃ ijhdŋl LjhÉ fĚju cŋmŃiz üjjĚčSI LčhaĚnčš²-aj jŋŋ q-a quz °hčcL«čol LjhÉdčjŃai aiy-L HaVjC fĚijčha L-lčRm -k, Gčoiioj-L Bfe jeenĚmaju phŃpidil-ZI NĚqZ-kjNÉ L-l fčl-hne L-l-Rez h-m-Re-

"hÉš² j-e-a Eč -p hĚS- -p -Lje fĚij-a cšl
SjčNuj EčWm CμRj fĚbj- hipejl A^ŷ!
Lčh-LŌfej 'i-el pqj-u MŋyčSm q©cu ji-T,

-cčMm -pbju pv J Apv- hijd-e Ssi-u lj-Szz' (G.pw. 10z129z4 Hl Aexhic)

Cqi HL eaŷe fĚLj-ll AčihÉčš²; Lčh HC hčmuj -no Lčl-me, "čačeJ -hjdqu Sj-ee ej, -pC AdÉrJ pªčøl LjZ Sj-ee eiz'(üjjĚčSI hijZE J IQej, 3u Mä, fªz157)

G-NÄccÜŰa eipcĚupš-š²l pªčøašÄ üjjĚčS-L pčh-no fĚijčha L-lčRmz gma °hčcL Gčolŷ-ml fĚ-nÄl Ešl A-eÄo-Z čače fĚuipĚ q-u-Rez aiyL j-e q-učRm ijlah-oŃl Gčolŷm "flj -hÉj-j Ačdčua HC SN-al AdÉr HLSe nipeLaŃi'u pč¹ŷø eez aic hijlwhil čhčhd pš-š² Hl Ešl aiyli My-S čg-l-Rez aiyli hÉčš²čh-no-L HC čh-nÄl AdÉrI©-f Mŋy-S -hl Lhij SeÉ HL HL Se -čaj-L HL HLčV pš-š² DnÄ-ll ŰŰj-e hčp-u-Rez -Libij Bhil -Li-ej HLčV ašÄ-L hčdŃa L-l aj-LC čečMm čh-nÄl LjZ čqpi-h če-cŃn L-l-Rez GčolaŃ«L fĚjZašÄ Hjeij-h čhhčdŃa q-u-R -k ai HL čhnÄhÉifĚ Aeč¹ a-šÄ l©fjč¹čla q-u-Rz -pC fĚjZnčš²l àlj Q¾čĚpšKŃpq pjNĚ SNv øfč¾caz čh-hLje-¾cl Efmčì HC -k ""HC dijzi œ²-j jčqjjeÄa qCuj -n-o HL čhijV hÉčš²-aĚ Oefi" a qCmz "čače pªčøl Bčc-a čR-me, čače phčLRŷl AdĚnÄl, čače čhnÄ-L dčluj B-Re, čače SĚ-hl pĚøj, čače hmčhdjai, pLm -čaj kiyqi-L Efipej L-le, SĚhe J jaÉŷ kiyqil Riuj- aiyqi-L Risi Bl -Lje -čaj-L Bjli Efipej Lčlh? aŷoij-jččm čqjimu kiyqil jčqji -Oiozi Lčl-a-R, pjŋâ aqil pjNĚ Smljčnl pčqa kiyqil jčqji -Oiozi Lčl-a-R'- HCij-h aiyqil hZŃej Lčl-a-Rez"(üjjĚčSI hijZE J IQej, 3u M™, fª .158) G-NÄ-cl cnjj™mčÜŰa čqlZÉniŃpš-š²l Hje fĚi"m hÉjMÉj pčaÉ čh-jičqa L-l Bj-clz °hčcL pwú«apičq-aÉ LjhÉ-p±¾c-kŃl Hje pŋŋŋÈjeŋpāje üjjĚčSI ja Bl -LE Ll-a -f-l-Re čLej p-¾cqz HLčc-L čače -kje pq©cu fiW-Ll eÉju GčolčhLŷ-ml Lčh-aĚ jŋŋ q-u-Re, Aflčc-L üĚu čh-nŌozjaĚL cªčøič%œ čc-u GPŰj-č»l AehčÉ hZŃej L-l-Rez -h-cl EfčeocÚ...-m -b-L čače aiyL Bljč'ra p-aÉl pājemji L-lčR-mez

EfčeocÚ...čml Nšt lqpÉ, LjhÉaĚ Hhw pqS plm ijoi aiy-L jŋŋ L-lčRmz aiyL j-a EfčeocÚhš²j GčonZ -Lhmjje SNv J SĚhe pčf-LŃ čeNšt ašÄj-mjQejC L-leče, aiyli čR-me Ača EμQŰ¹-ll Lčhz aiy-cl hš²hÉ...čm Lčh-aĚl jidŋ-kŃ čRm ilfŋlz g-m üjjĚčSJ BL«ø q-učR-me HC LjhÉ...čml fĚčaz čače h-mčR-me-"fĚjQĚe EfčeocÚ...čm Ača EμQŰ¹-ll Lčh-aĚ fšZŃz HC pLm EfčeocÚhš²j GčonZ čR-me jqjLčhz -fŌ-Vj hčmuj-Re-Lčh-aĚl čial čcuj SN-a A-m±čLL p-aÉl fĚLjn qCuj bi-LzLčh-aĚl jdÉ čcuj EμQaj paÉpLm SNv-L čhij SeÉ čhdjai -ke GčonZ-L pidilZ jie q-a hý F-pŃ Lčh-f pªčø LčlujčR-me aiyqili fĚQil Lčl-ae ej, cjnŃčel čhQil Lčl-ae ej hj čmčM-ae J eiz aiyqi-cl q©cu qC-a p%œ-al Evp fĚhččqa qCaz' (hijZE J IQej, 3u

M™, f^a.206)z Efčeo-cl ijoil àjli čače -k AaÉč¹ BL«ø q-učR-me aijl fĚjiz fĭJui aijl hý IQeiu J ijo-Zz hijÉjbŇ-LJ Ačae²j L-l Efčeočřčeo-cl NiĚl Ač¹čeŇčqa Aeüčca Ačieh AbŇ jřř L-lčRm üjĚčS-Lz eičŮ¹ ijh-cÉjaL Efčeo-cl hijLÉlčS aij-L Aačč³cĚu li-SÉl páje čc-učRmz

Efčeo-c LjhÉlLi-l EfŮŮičfa cijnŇčel ašă üjĚčS-L QjvL«a L-lčRmz "e ač pšKŇÉx ijča...'CaÉjčc L-Wjřčeo-cl jč»čV üjĚčS-L HaVjC jřř L-lčRm -k čače čhčiae -mMju hijlwhj l jč»čV EŮ«a L-l-Rez HC j-č» Lčba hĚ-břfmčì-L BnĚu L-l IQeij L-l-Re čhMÉja p%Ńa-"eičq pšKŇÉ, eičq -SÉjčax, eičq nni^přřčcl.....' CaÉjčcz hŮ¹Ńa L-Wjřčeo-cl čače AfšhŇ J phŇi%opřřčcl LjS h-m E-ŃM L-l-Rez čače h-m-Re- Efčeo-cl Gčolij BaĚa-šĀl B-mijQeij LčlujC čh-nĀnĀl fljiaĚi-L Siče-mez' aijl Efmčì čRm HC čRm -k BaĚašĀ hZŇeij j-aj NijŇkŇšZŇ Lčhaj SN-a Bl -eCz °hčcl Gčo-cl cnŇeàijl üjĚčS AčřĚičZa q-u-Re Hhw -pC cnŇ-el B-mij-L BaĚ-hj-d pjřčEm q-učR-mež čerL LjhÉlQeij -k Gčolčh-cl E-ŸnÉ čRm ei- H čače hř-TčR-mež paÉpřřčc-ll pjeĀu OčV-učR-me aijlyl j-č»z qu-aj HVjC pĚøj Lčh-cl âø«-aĚ EfeĚa L-lčRmz

-hc-L čerL Ačřdihe eu, jee J čečcdÉip-el àjli aijl BaĚĚLIZJ L-lčR-me üjĚčS kil fĚjiz -j-m aijl -h-cl ijhhÉjMÉjuz čače h-mčR-me -"fĚbj Bjli -cčM-a řjC -cÉjae-üijh -čajl Ačřpáje, aijfl Bčc SNv-Lij-Zl A-eĀoZ Hhw -pC paÉ HLC Ačřpáje-el g-m Bl HLCV Ačdlal Øfø cijnŇčel BMÉj fĚič qC-a-R, pLm řci-bŇl HLaĚ-"kyiqi-L Siče-m pLmC Sijej qu'z (*hijĚ J IQeij*, 3u M™, f^a.161) °hčcl Gčolij -k H-LnĀlhjčĚ čR-me, H aijl hÉjMÉju Øfø Efmì quz

ijlajiaijl AčačfĚu pč¹je üjĚ čh-hLje³c ij-mi-h-p čR-me ü-cn-Lz Efmčì L-lčR-me aijl Ač¹-ll pšřlz Būjč L-lčR-me AjāahjZĚz -pC hijĚlC SuNje aijl IQeijl fĚčar-čez hŮ¹Ńa üjĚčS B-N Hjeij-h ijlaĚu cnŇe-L čh-noa ijlah-oŇl fĚjQĚeaj pičqaÉ abi pwú«čal dijll -hc-L Hjeij-h hÉjMÉj L-lečez -h-cl jč»...čm-a LjhÉpřřojl Ač¹li-m lčf-ll jidÉ-j jjeřo-L °āaij -b-L A°āaij-h če-u kijujl -k Dč%oa B-R aij AfšhŇ čQčoa L-l-Re čačez aijl ij-h ijča q-u Gčoiijheij-L Bl AfšhŇlč-f Ač¹-ll BaĚĚu L-l ařm-a prj qC Bjlijz

NĚčŮpšQĚ

1. *G-NĀcpwčqaj*, pwlme-l-jnQ³cĚ čš, pčřicl čejjC Q³cĚ řjm, LmLjaj, 2007z
2. *djŇřjm*, -N±Ě : -hc J čh-hLje³c, LmLjaj, 2009z
3. *čel'š²*, pčřicl- Aj-lnĀl WjLŃl, LmLjaj, 1995z
4. *üjĚ čh-hLje-čcl hijĚ J IQeij* (3u, 5j J cnj M™), E-àjde LjKŇjmu, 1964 (fĚbj pwúlz)z
5. *h-čcÉřjdÉju*, jje-h³cŃ : *üjĚ čh-hLje-čcl c^ačø-a SjaĚu SĚh-e pwú«a čnril ...l'aĚ*, LmLjaj, 1402 h%ojĚz

The Concept of Democracy and the Relevance of Swami Vivekananda in the Indian perspective

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Abstract

Vivekananda was in favour of democracy though he was not unaware of its limitations. He witnessed the practical drawbacks of modern democracy. His observations about the loopholes of democracy are very much relevant today. Everywhere there is the oppression or exploitation of the common people by the minority ruling class. The solution of it might be, as referred by Vivekananda, the advocacy of the principle of Vedanta exhorting that as God is in everyone there should not be any discrimination in society. It will ultimately obliterate maleficence from the face of the society.

Keywords

Democracy, Vivekananda, India

Democracy is very powerful and popular form of administration in modern time. Individual, society, polity and every other thing claim to be democratic because democracy has become the most convenient means to validate any decision. But in the 80s of the 20th century the movement of the students in China for democracy and the democratic movement in Myanmar to dislodge the military rule there firmly established the fact that it was not easy to achieve victory through democratic method and at times it was subjected to frailties. The difficulty in the success of the

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democratic movement in different parts of the world and the eagerness of the people to put the movement to successful end in the 21st century also proved the fascination of the people towards democracy. In the Middle East, the people of different despotic countries rose in rebellion for the democratic right and the movement assumed the character of voluntary popular movement against the autocratic regimes. The leaders of the movement came from the people with modern western education with skill in software engineering. The popular movements in the Middle East now known as ‘the Arab Spring’ have not attained success in all respects but they have established the legitimacy of the democratic rights. The democracy already established in different countries of the world is also facing serious challenges though democracy was brought into existence in all those countries after a long chain of movements and boundless sacrifices.

Standing in the transition between the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century Swami Vivekananda expressed his opinion about democracy and its implementation in different places. We attempt here to grasp the problems of modern democracy by following his vision. We also try to analyse in this paper the prospects for democracy as shown by him. But before getting into the didactics of Swami Vivekananda on democracy we have to trace out the emergence of democracy, its evolution, characteristics and the problems of its implementation in different phases of history so that it may be easy for us to determine the perspective of democracy in tune with the thought of Swami Vivekananda.

The word ‘democracy’ has come from the Greek word *demokratia* meaning *demos* or the people and *kratos* or administration. The meaning of democracy is the administration of the people (Dahl 1989, 1-9). Primarily the characteristics of administration in this line are of two types-direct and indirect. In Ancient Greece, the population was not thick at all and few people among them participated in the administration. Even the periphery of the work of the state and its characteristics were limited and very much simple. But in the state of modern time with its complexities, vast population and area, where the universal adult suffrage is the established practice, the participation of all people in the administration is hardly possible. Apart from that the work of the state has become more diverse. At present, the efficient persons are required to run the administration. So, in the current time, the members elected by the people are running the administration in the name of the electorates and for the sake of the people. But the preceding phases witnessed mostly monarchical or oligarchical system of administration in different countries. For long time in the past, democracy was not held to be the most favourable system of administration. It may be held that democratic mentality started to take root in the mind of the people in Europe and America since the 17th and the 18th century AD. The Renaissance, the Reformation, the Industrial Revolution, the Glorious Revolution in England, the French Revolution of 1789 - all these epoch making events and phases of history paved the way for the foundation of popularity of democratic ethos in Europe and America. But the western countries keeping themselves, head and heart, concentrated in laying the foundation for democratic edifices in their states, started strangling the process of democracy in other states in Asia and Africa where they were bent upon imperialistic exploitation to strengthen colonialism. In the Second World War, the power and position of the imperialistic states suffered setback in Asian, African and Latin American colonies and the grip of the colonial powers upon the colonies started slackening. In that perspective of the process of independence of colonies, the subservient nations started symbiotic movements for colonial independence and the establishment of democracy in their countries. Gradually democratic

practices gained precedence over others as system of administration in the whole world since the second half of the 20th century.

In the western world, democracy as an ideal of administration has been analysed as the backdrop of liberalism and Socialism (Held 1996, 304-312). It is considered in liberalism that human beings are virtually 'free' and 'equal'. They are apt to decide their own fate. The function of a state is practically confined to ensure the freedom and opportunities of the people who are keen to decide their own fate. The state in performing its duty to ensure all those opportunities for the people may become despotic transgressing the domain of individual freedom. The object of democracy is to improvise methods to control the power and activity of the polity. The people should exercise their power to control the authority of the state. The places where it is not possible for the people to directly interfere in the administration, recommendations are made for the election of administrators at regular intervals, impartial judiciary and many constitutional components to ensure the freedom of individuals. Not only that, it has given ground for the founding of different political parties having divergent political ideals, and many other social organizations to put pressure upon the administration and preclude the possibility of the state being despotic. On the other hand, the freedom and equality cannot be expected to be established in the society where economic inequality is writ large. On the contrary, it might ensure freedom of microscopic minority of wealthy people at the cost of vast multitude of masses being in distress as a result of the exploitation by the upper strata of the society. So, the very object of the government responsible to the people would be to eradicate the economic inequality in order to fortify the freedom of the people. So, what is needed is the proper redistribution of the social wealth among the people at large and it necessitates a vibrant political system. So, the classical socialist democracy of one party system with the object of ensuring self-interest of the majority of the labour class is much accepted. The object of the system is to establish the dominance of the party in power in all the levels of the society with the help of the principle of democratic centralization. So, in the two different forms of democracy, liberalism and socialism, equal political right of the individual and equal economic opportunity for all are given primacy. Adjusting with the above, another form of democracy came into being which is called 'Democratic Socialism'. Side by side with protecting the political rights of the people by means of the establishment of the rule of law, constitutional protection of individual rights, free civil society, multi-party system, regular election, free media, and impartial judiciary etc, the system has strengthened the accessibility of the people to food, health and security. It has welcomed the step taken by the state to arrange the distribution of social property in a manner that satisfies all. Probably the states advocating the welfare of the people at large are clinging to the ideology of democratic socialism. Indian democracy is a glaring example.

Though the meaning of democracy is the rule of the people, yet in reality, it is observed that democracy is not the rule of all people. In nowhere from Ancient Greece to Modern England, America, India, or China the participation of all the people is ensured. In the city states of Ancient Greece, the rights of women and that of the slaves were not recognised. Only the aristocrats in the society held the citizen right and exercised power in administering the state. It was considered for long time that it was difficult to administer the states and only discerning persons with flair to go into the niceties of the problem are able to administer the state. Even in the 19th century Europe, the voting right was confined to those paying an amount of tax and having educational proficiency.

The right of women was first offered in New Zealand in 1894. Even today, the women are still stripped off full political right in some states in the Middle-East. In some democratic states, the migrants, bankrupts and persons with many other disabilities are deprived of political rights. So, in reality, democracy is the rule of the majority. In order to ensure that the rule of the majority might not become the despotic rule of the majority some steps should be taken to take cognizance to the opinions, rights and freedom of the minority remaining still out of power, because the basis of democracy is the equal right and equal dignity of all the people. The recognition of those rights offers the person's the authority to defy any directive system that does not have his assent (Held 1996, 1-10). In many cases, it is seen that in modern democracy, the political parties and the bureaucrats are exercising the political power making the people mere spectators only and their rights are often seen confined to casting of votes only. Not only the common people but also the political workers of the lower rungs are deprived of the right to control the decision of the central leadership. As a result, the system precipitates iniquity, misuse of power, intolerance on the one hand and political apathy, frustration and social ripple on the other. So, the limitations of democracy, though the most popular and widely admired political ideal, have brought it under the strain of uneasy questions. According to many, the only way to come out of the crisis is the participation of the people of all sections in decision making process. According to some others, the success of democratic exercises depends upon hearty implementation of democratic ideals, values, behaviours in individual and social life (Held 1996, 263-273).

In the British Indian rule and its economic exploitation, political subservience of the people and degeneration of the Indian society very much aggrieved Swami Vivekananda. He once said in America that India was not a recognized political force then. They were in shackles and turned into slaves. They did not have a say in the governance of the country (Chaitanyananda 2012, 101). They were nothing but the subjugated people. The nature of administration of the British in India was clarified by Vivekananda in plain language that it was not an administration in the proper sense of the terms. It was just an instrument of outrage, to mulct the possessions of the Indian people. The wealth of India was sufficient enough to maintain five times more than the existing people of India if everything was not snatched away from her. But the condition of India was very pitiable with oppressive laws inhibiting the expansion of education, freedom of speech and press. The limited amount local self-governance offered to the Indian people was also expropriated. Oppression was writ large upon the people of India. The people of India were brought behind the bar and even sent to Andaman to undergo severe punishment for minimum delinquency. They were often lynched on trivial ground. A sort of Reign of Terror was prevailing in India (Chaitanyananda 2012, 48-49). At that time many first rate economists and politicians expressed the view that the genesis of the distress of the Indian people lay in the British exploitation. According to the popularly known 'Drain theory' propounded by Govinda Ranade, Dadabhai Naoroji, Ramesh Chandra Dutta, Ganesh Bhenkatesh and many others, there was seamless exploitation of the Indian people (Chandra 2004, 84-125).

Nevertheless some Indians were still hopeful of the policy of prayer, petition and protest followed by the leaders of the early phase of the Indian Nationalism (Bandyopadhaya, 2004, 223). The dark side of the British Indian administration was held as 'Un-British' nature of the British rule. They were still hopeful of the awakening of the conscience of the British administration. Dadabhai Naoroji was still in the belief that good sense would ultimately prevail over the British

Government. It would ultimately become humane. Swamiji analysed the phases of British misrule and exploitation objectively and that point of view of his analysis stood in opposition to what the then politicians and economists told about the rule of the time in India. Practically the people of India launched for the first time the movement for 'Purna Swaraj' or complete independence in 1929 about 30 years after the demise of Swamiji Vivekananda (Bandyopadhaya 2004, 316-317) .

Vivekananda was very much pleased at the transfer of power to the marginal people in the western society. His observation has been categorically expressed in 'Paribrajaka'. It has been pointed out that the European continent began rising with the spread of education and power among the people of the lower rungs of the society. The marginal people of different countries started pouring in America in the hope of rehabilitation. They were the backbones of the society. They, who were always trampled upon, were the life breath of the socio-political development of America (Chaitanyananda, 2012, 92). Vivekananda was very much distressed at the absence of democracy in India. Nevertheless, he did not like India to imitate the pattern of administration in Europe. He rather witnessed the limitations of the democratic exercises in Europe. Vivekananda observed in all countries that the means was the same after all. Only a handful of powerful men were wielding the power. The dictates of the powerful few became the fait accompli. The rest of the people were just following like a flock of sheep. According to Vivekananda,

I have seen your Parliament , your Senate, your Vote, majority ballot; it is the same thing everywhere.....The powerful men in every country are moving the society whatever way they like, and the rest are only like a flock of sheep. Now the question is this, who are these men of power in India?-they are the giants in religion. It is they who lead our society, and it is they who again change our social laws and usages when necessity demands.....The only difference with ours is that we have not that superfluous fuss and bustle of the majority, the vote ballot and similar concomitant tugs-of war as in other countries. That is all. (Bodhasarananda 2013, 478)

The people of India did not have the opportunity for education which the common people of the west did have. The people of India did not also have amongst them that class of people who in the name of politics robbed others and fattened themselves by sucking the very life-blood of the masses in the European countries.

The people of India would be utterly dejected in deep shock when they would see the frustrating sight of pomp and pleasure of the politicians of the West enjoying the revelry of bribery (Bodhasarananda, 2013, 479). The moneyed persons were found holding the government under their thumb. They were being observed robbing the people and sending the common people as soldiers to the battle field to fight and be slain on the foreign shores so that in case of victory their coffers might be full of gold brought by the blood of the subjected people on the field of battle. The common people did have authority to shed their blood only. Vivekananda tells the people to understand the basic fact: 'Does man make laws or do the laws make man? Does man make money or does money make man? Does man make name and fame or name and fame make man?' His advice to mankind is that one should be a man first and everything will follow automatically. He should give up that hateful malice, that doglike bickering and barking at one another, and take his stand on good purpose. He should have right means, righteousness, courage and he should be brave.

Swamiji might have understood that the mere establishment of representative democracy or democratic administration would not be able to withhold despotism of the administration. So long as the people would not be able to understand the very fact that the welfare of them depended upon the welfare of the body politic, there would be no fruitful implementation of democratic exercises. In reality, Vivekananda might have understood the gap between the people and the administration. He might have seen the extension of democratic values in western society and at the root of it lay the extension of mass education. On the other hand the very fact of tyranny of the minority over the majority was carefully observed by him. He could not lose sight of the evils of western democracy. He understood that this contradiction would indispensably give birth to the awakening of the Sudras (Chaitanyananda, 2012, 188). *Swamiji* was in favour of the spread of popular education patiently with a view to uplift the people to be competent enough to take up the responsibility of self-governance. His message was to give the people education, make the people competent to form legislative body and law would automatically come out. The foremost necessity was to spread worthy education to boost the mental and moral strength of the people to take up the role of administration. Vivekananda wanted the people to share power on the basis of the spread of popular education. The aristocrats should take up the responsibility to prepare the downtrodden to take up the power in administration. He showed that the future of the world would depend upon the creative genius of the marginal people like the peasants, fishermen, garlanders, and shoemakers. He was convinced of the fact that the position of the aristocrats in the society would be endangered if the common marginal people were not handed over power immediately because there might be the application of force in case of delay. The distressed would take over the power sooner or later.

Vivekananda says that the true nature of the soul of Vedanta will be to establish the unity among human beings along with the equality of right of the people. There is God in everybody. The society demands that kind of system where nobody will be allowed to enjoy special right and everybody should have equal right and opportunity to enjoy. Everybody will have the opportunity to improve his or her ability and there will be incentives for work. It will ultimately weed out differences in the exercise of rights. In this way the weaker, depressed and expropriated sections of the society will be able to take up power which is essential for democracy. In many cases differences arise in the field of the nature of the people. In modern world it is found that each people may find out the ways for his own improvement if the reasons of environmental differences are eradicated. There may be differences among the people on the question of the ability of persons but there is rationalism in all persons. It is the rationalism in the true sense of the term in a person that enables one to take decision for oneself. Rationalism is considered to be an instrument that directs human mind and intellects. If human mind and intellect are directed dishonestly and parochially, it may be detrimental to both individual and society. The importance of morality in that event cannot be overlooked. Vivekananda considers this sense of morality as selflessness that cuts across the boundary of narrow selfishness. In that event, the decision remains good for both the individual and the society. A person will be able to take such decision when he will come to know that there is a thread that harnesses everyone to the point of unity traversing all sorts of disunity, differences and diversity. Vivekananda sorts out the problem spiritually. Herein is the difference between the western thinkers and him (Chaitanyananda 2012, 28)

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The Gram Sabha in West Bengal Myth and Reality

Mrinal Das[†]

Abstract

The three-tier Panchayati Raj System is the integral part of Indian democratic structure and it constitutes the foundation stone on which the edifice of Indian democracy in effect stands. The basic plank of Panchayati Raj System is that villagers should think, decide and act for their own collective socio-economic development and well-being. To achieve the basic objectives of Panchayati raj the Gram Sabha provides the perfect platform for rural people as it enables each and every village electorate to actively participate in decision making process at local level. Despite categorical canvas envisaged by the 73rd Amendment Act and subsequent model legislations, the Indian states have endowed Gram Sabha as per their sweet-will or convenience and there is no uniformity or consistency about legal provisions for and operation of Gram Sabha across Indian states. This paper highlights the provisions of the West Bengal Panchayat Act relating to Gram Sabha and tries to analyse the present scenario in respect of functioning of Gram Sabha in the state. Moreover, it furnishes few recommendations for the improving and effective functioning of the grassroots institution.

Keywords

Gram Sabha, Panchayat, democracy

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Local institutions constitute the strength of nations. A nation may establish a system of free government but without local institutions, it cannot have the spirit of liberty.

Alexis De Tocqueville

The three-tier Panchayati Raj System is an integral part of Indian democratic structure and it constitutes the foundation stone on which the edifice of Indian democracy in effect stands. The basic plank of the Panchayati Raj System is that villagers should think, decide and act for their own collective socio economic development and well-being. To achieve the basic objectives of Panchayati Raj the Gram Sabha (GS) provides the perfect platform for rural people as it enables each and every village electorate to actively participate in decision making process at local level.

The Panchayati Raj system is not new in Indian political discourse, it has a long history. On 2nd October, 1959 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, inaugurated Panchayat system in Nagaur district of Rajasthan. As a result of this many states introduced Panchayati System as well. But the case of West Bengal is different from other states.

After independence, following the recommendations of the Balvantrai Mehata Committee, the West Bengal Government had introduced the four-tier Panchayat system through the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957 and West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963. But this four-tier system did not meet the goal of Panchayat system. Hence, again a new Panchayat law, namely West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1973 was enacted. This new law introduced the three-tier Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) as recommended by the Ashoke Mehata Committee. But the most important thing is that, the provisions of the West Bengal Panchayat Act 1973 were implemented after the General Elections of 1978, more than a decade before the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992.

The Gram Sabha (GS), a platform of direct democracy, is an integral element of the Gram Panchayat, the lowest tier of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. The 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1992 also recognised its importance in rural governance and made it a constitutional body. Article 243(B) of the Constitution defines the GS as a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of the Panchayat at the village level. With regard to its powers and authority, Article 243 (A) of the Constitution says that the GS may exercise such powers and perform such functions of the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide. It is in the light of this that State legislatures have endowed certain powers to this corporate body relating to the development of the village.

Acknowledging the importance of the Gram Sabha as the foundation of the Panchayat Raj System, the Government of West Bengal has made two further provisions (Planning Commission, 2009). The West Bengal Panchayat Amendment Act, 1994 has introduced the Gram Sabha at the Gram Panchayat level with an additional unit named as Gram Sansad at each and every constituency/ward of GP. Thus, from 1994 onwards, two distinct yet integrated tiers of GS began working in West Bengal. Moreover, 2003 amendment act has envisaged another set of participatory platforms – the Block Sansad, the Zilla Sansad, and above all the Gram Unnayan Samity (now virtually defunct). In this paper, I would focus exclusively on the Gram Sabha (the composite unit of GS in West Bengal) instead of the Gram Sansad to investigate and ascertain the problems associated with functioning and performance of the Gram Sabha as one statutorily

envisaged village assembly. Moreover, through my paper I wish to furnish a few recommendations for the improvement and effective functioning of the grassroots institution.

The Gram Sabha in West Bengal: At a glance

- The Gram Sabha is constituted at the Panchayat level.
- One Gram Sabha meeting in a year, ordinarily in December, after completion of half yearly Gram Sansad meeting.
- The Gram Sabha meeting will be chaired by Gram Panchayat Pradhan and in absence of his Upa Pradhan acting as president.
- Quorum is attendance of five percent members of total members of panchayat concerned. There will be no quorum for adjourned meeting.
- GS will examine annual statement of accounts, audit reports, audit note and seeking clarification from the panchayat.
- It will approve the selection of beneficiaries' location, identification and implementation of various developmental plans.
- GS will consider the budget prepared by gram Panchayat and future development programmes and plans.
- It will review programme for the year, any new programme and review all kinds of works undertaken by the gram panchayat.

Ground Reality of Gram Sabha functioning in West Bengal:

The functioning of Gram Sabha can be assessed through the following parameters --

- Participation and level of awareness of villagers about the Gram Sabha.
- Issues of discussion and the decision-making process.
- Capacity of Gram Sabha
- Transparency and accountability of the three tiers (GP, PS and ZP) to the Gram Sabha.

Gram Sabha is the fulcrum of the entire Panchayati Raj System in India, as it enables each and every voter of village to participate in decision making at grassroots level. It provides a political platform to the rural people to meet and discuss their common problems and helps them to understand the needs and aspirations of the community as a whole. It is the most powerful instrument of our democratic structure which makes elected representatives directly accountable to their electors. To recognise the importance of the Gram Sabha, the golden jubilee celebrations of the Panchayat system were marked with the observance of the year 2009-10 as the 'Year of the Gram Sabha'.

The Government of West Bengal has continuously changed its Panchayat rules and introduced several programmes to make the Gram Sabha more effective, because 'success or failures of PRIs largely depend upon the strength of the Gram Sabha' (Planning Commission, Government of India, on Panchayati Raj, 2009). By making the Gram Sabha effective we can reduce the gap between the desired as well as the actual impact of several government programmes involving crores of rupees.

The functional profile of the Gram Sabha is somewhat frustrating. Conducting a Gram Sabha meeting has become a mere formality. It is unfortunate that the majority of Gram Panchayats in

West Bengal cannot show any seriousness about Gram Sabha meetings and fail to conduct Gram Sabha meetings, which are mandatory.

Table: 1

Average attendance in Gram Sabha meetings in West Bengal

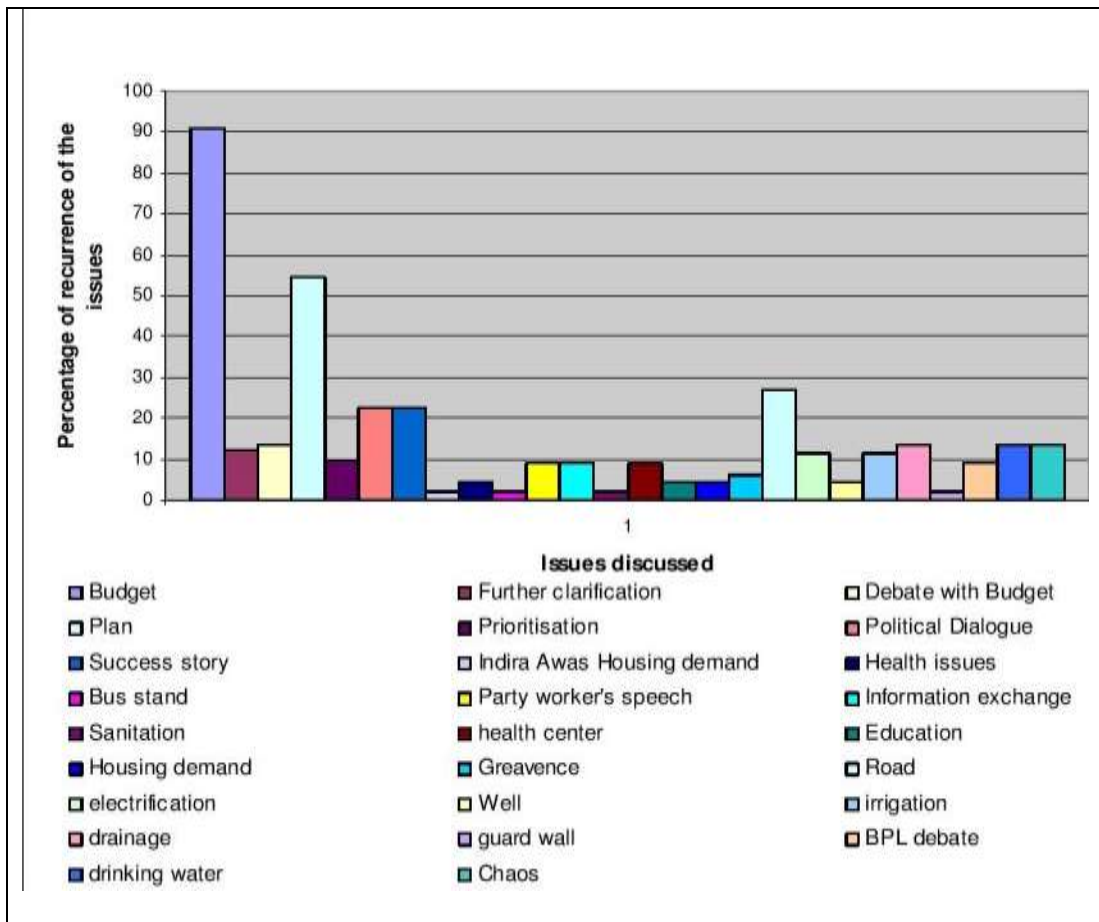
<i>Year</i>	<i>Average attendance in Gram Sabha meeting (%)</i>
1996	3
1997	3
1998	2.9
1999	5.5
2000	5
2001	9
2002	5
2003	7
2004	7
2005	7.3
2006	7.4
2007	NA
2008	9

Source: Annual Administrative Reports, Department of Panchayat and Rural Development, Government of West Bengal.

The participation of people in Gram Sabha meetings is very crucial to achieve the objective of Panchayati Raj Institutions. But it has been reported time and again that the percentage of participation in Gram Sabha meetings is rather unsatisfactory in West Bengal. Table 1 shows a gloomy picture regarding attendance in Gram Sabha meetings: in many cases the average percentage just hovers around the quorum required for valid meetings. The Panchayat Pradhans bring their own relatives, supporters, and potential beneficiaries to attend the meetings. Hence, a sense of cynicism has developed about the efficacy of Gram Sabha meetings (Mandal, 2012). The relatives of Panchayat representatives and those persons who are directly benefitted by the Panchayat usually participate in the meetings. It is also noted that in many cases the percentage of attendance is good but the quality of participation is not. Local leaders often use the Gram Sabha meeting as a platform for blaming each other. The process of democratisation is linked to people's knowledge and awareness about the structure, functions of and their rights and responsibilities regarding public institutions (Mandal, 2012; 82). It has been reported in various study reports that people are somewhat aware about the existence of the Gram Sabha, but they have no clear idea about its roles and responsibilities in rural governance.

Table: 2

Frequency of Issues Discussed Across Gram Sabhas



Source: Chattopadhyay, Chakrabarti & Nath, ‘Village Forums or Development Councils: People’s Participation in Decision Making in Rural West Bengal’, *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, March, 2010, p.74

No serious discussions are carried out in Gram Sabha meetings. Table 2 shows that most of the Gram Sabha meetings are confined to the discussion of the budget and of income-expenditure statements. Discussions on future plans have taken place in 54 percent meetings and plan prioritisation in only 10 percent. More than 20 percent of village Panchayats have used the Gram Sabha to deliver long speeches on the success stories of the Panchayats and of particular political parties. Reports also show that most of the Gram Sabhas failed to incorporate people’s voices in planning and decision making processes. The more alarming finding is that of the instances of political interference in meeting procedures (Chattopadhyay, Chakrabarti & Nath, 2010). As far as the decision making process is concerned, decisions are not made through democratic means; it is dominated by the local elite groups. Another important point is that the Gram Sabha meetings are concluded without mentioning or approving the resolution of the meetings (Mandal, 2012).

Measures for Rejuvenation of the Gram Sabha:

The present scenario of Gram Sabha functioning reveals that it needs local knowledge for its better functioning. After two decades of constitutional recognition of Gram Sabha, it still remains as constitutional Gram Sabha. For making it people’s Gram Sabha and for better performance following points need consideration —

1. The Gram panchayat should be made responsible to conduct Gram Sabha meetings twice in a year under direct supervision of Block Development Officer.
2. The minutes of Gram Sabha meetings should be displayed in the Gram Panchayat office including details of selected beneficiary list, recommendations etc.
3. Creation of awareness about the Gram Sabha and its powers and functions is a necessary precondition for the success of Gram Sabha. It is also important to create awareness among voters about the utility of attending Gram Sabha meetings.
4. The participation of people in Gram Sabha meetings is very crucial to achieve the objectives of Panchayati Raj Institutions. But it is reported time and again that nature and frequency of people's participation is rather unsatisfactory. The Government should introduce new mechanisms to encourage people to participate actively in Gram Sabha meetings.
5. The mentality of Gram Panchayat members about the Gram Sabha should be changed. They have perceived the Gram Sabha as an institution which curtails their freedom and area of operation. For this reason, they have tried to organise Gram Sabha meetings in order to fulfil only the constitutional responsibility and such meetings end up having no meaningful purpose.
6. Names of the beneficiaries for various government schemes should be identified and approved only in Gram Sabha meetings so that benefits may go to the deserving person. It will then create interest among people to participate in the Gram Sabha meetings.
7. The Gram Sabha should be introduced in school level syllabuses. It will generate awareness about the importance of the Gram Sabha among young people.
8. The Government should also encourage competent NGOs and SHGs about Gram Sabha meetings and their significance in rural governance.
9. Training should be given to Panchayat officials and its members about how to conduct/operate Gram Sabha meetings.

In conclusion, we can say that the concept of the Gram Sabha has also not been grasped clearly, right across the social spectrum, from the policy makers to the villagers. A Gram Sabha needs to generate a feeling of belonging. The real challenge now is to reconnect the Sabha by communicating clearly its function and purpose both at the individual level and at various public levels (Nambiar, 2001). The goal of inclusive growth as envisaged by the government can be achieved only with the effective participation of local people in Panchayati Raj Institutions in general and the Gram Sabha in particular. It is only through the Gram Sabha that we can achieve Mahatma Gandhi's vision for a true "Gram Swaraj"— where each and every villager will have a say in rural governance and where the rural poor will be a party to all discussions and decisions affecting their livelihoods.

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Participatory Management of Forests in Puruliya with Special Reference to the Role of Government Agencies and Local People of the District

Anirban Roy [†]

Abstract

Managing forest resources has remained a trouble since the time of the commissioning of the forest department in India. Conflict of interest over timber and non-timber resources and for the possession of the forest land itself among different stakeholders, mainly the forest dwelling people of the country and the elitist bureaucracy represented by the forest department is very common in the Indian perspective. Stringent forest laws made the aboriginal forest people outcasts in their

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homeland. In this perspective, the initiative taken by the Indian Government in the last decade of the twentieth century deserves mention. The joint forest management programme recognised the role of common people in the protection and management of forests and for the first time in the history of Indian forest management a participatory management of forest was proposed, where local, aboriginal people would take part in forest development through a formal body called 'Forest Protection Committee.' The present paper examines the advancement of the Joint Forest Management Programme in the forest clad district of Puruliya with special emphasis on the role of local people in forest management.

Keywords

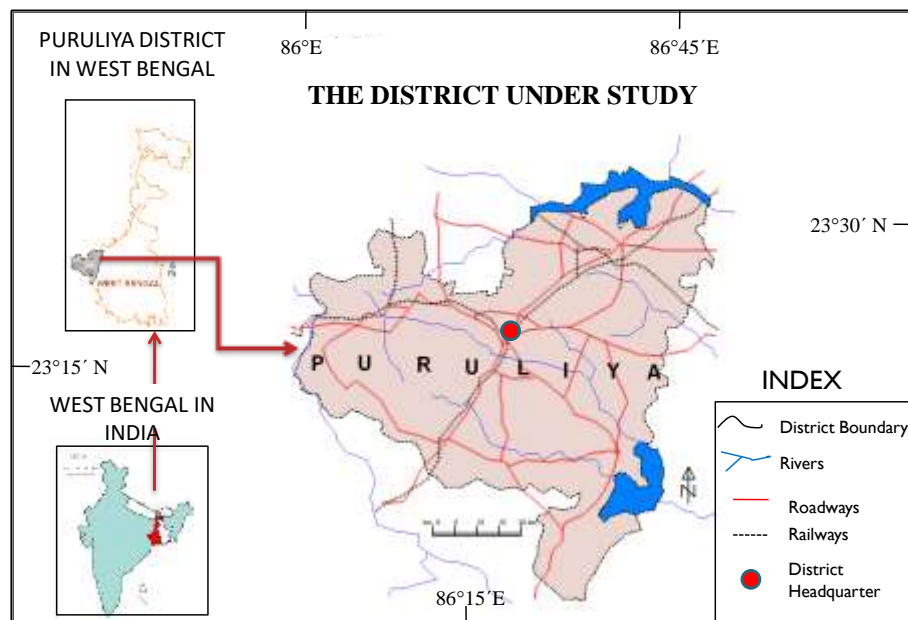
FPC, JFM, FDA, FRA, PESA

Introduction

The word 'forest' is perceived in different ways by different sections of the society. To the industrialists, it is a storehouse of raw materials. To the administrators it is a piece of land demarcated by a distinct boundary that is ruled by a particular set of laws. To the ecologists it is a dynamic system guided by a relationship between living and non-living things expressed through trophic levels, and to a holiday reveller it is a place full of amusements. But the people, mostly aboriginal and thus marginal poor, living in and around forests, regard forests as the essential support system that sustains their livelihood.

The debate over controlling the forest lands and in particular the forest resources, started from the inception of the Forest Department in India during the colonial era and continues to the present day. Forests used to be common property in ancient India. People had the right to use forest lands and forest products for their purposes. Exploitation of forest resources was guided by customary laws and those verbal laws were honoured by societies both living in the vicinity of forests and their counterparts in the villages and cities. Colonial takeover of these community resources started in 1855 at the time of Lord Dalhousie, the then Viceroy of India, by commissioning a formal

LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA



government department to control and exploit the country's forest resources. The next one and a quarter century experienced the iron fist of forest governance that continuously denied the right of indigenous people over the resources that are customarily inherited by them from their ancestors. The 'rights' gradually became 'privileges' and then 'exceptions.' As a result a clash between the forest dwellers and the forest department regarding the possession of land, exploitation of timber and collection of food, fodder, medicine and other non timber forest products became very common.

Fig.1

The Study Area: Puruliya is the western border district of the state of West Bengal in India. Geographically the region is located between 22°42'23" north and 28°45' north latitudes and 85°45' east and 87° east longitudes. It has a long history of socio-cultural revolution. The eastern flank of Chhotonagpur plateau, dissected by the valley of the river Subarnarekha, is included in the district of Puruliya. Undulating plains dotted with numerous residual hills made of old granite and gneiss dominate the morphology. The underlain rocks of this district are mainly made of Precambrian metamorphic (Saha, 1997). Average elevation of the district ranges between 200 and 300 meters. Maximum elevation occurs at the west where *Ajodhya* massif rises abruptly up to 600 meters from the Baghmundi plains. Damodar, Dwarkeswar, Kangsaboti, Kumari, Shilaboti and Subarnarekha are some of the important rivers of the district. All these rivers are non perennial in character and mostly rain-fed. The prevailing climate is moist tropical. Thermal extremity and monsoonal vagaries are common. *Alfisols* cover most of the district. These are derived laterite, transported and deposited by rivers (Biswas, 2002). Dry deciduous forests of *Sal*, *Palash*, *Mahua*, *Asan*, *Kusum* and *Shimul* dominate the landscape. According to the classification of Chapman and Seth (1968) forests of Puruliya district comes under tropical dry deciduous forests (GoWB, 1997). About 14 percent of the district's total land is under forest cover but these forests are too fragmented. In the last couple of decades, the forest cover has actually increased in Puruliya. However, canopy density has reduced at the same time. At present only 181 sq.km is considered as dense forest where the canopy density is 40 percent or more. 'Open' forest where the canopy density ranges between 10 percent and 40 percent, occupies the rest 426 sq.km. Apart from that there are 32 sq.km scrub land with less than 10 percent canopy density in Puruliya district (GoI, 1997).

The land is known as the habitat of aboriginal *Austro-Dravidian* people from the Neolithic period. *Santhal*, *Munda*, *Bhumij*, *Kora*, *Sadak*, *Oraon*, *Birhore* etc. are some eminent tribal groups of this region (Basu, 1968). Puruliya is one of the backward districts of West Bengal in terms of economy and human development. This district ranks 15th in West Bengal according to population size and 5th in its land surface area. Scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population together form 36 percent of the district's total population. Notably the district has the second highest concentration of Scheduled Tribe population in West Bengal (Census, 2011).

Objectives: The present study has two primary objectives –

1. To examine the achievements and failures of Joint Forest Management in Puruliya district and its impact on the local people.
2. To enumerate the role of local indigenous people in the Forest Management Programme through the Forest Protection Committees.

Besides there are several other secondary objectives like understanding the role of government agencies as well as the NGOs in the Joint Forest Management process and the fate of JFM in future etc.

Source of data: This paper is entirely based on secondary data collected from various government and non-government sources. The First Working Plan of the Puruliya forest division provides a

detailed and trustworthy account of the various efforts of the forest department in the district. Besides, census and statistical accounts of the district have been followed for the data. However, field checks were made where it became necessary.

Participatory Management; a New dawn: The concept of participatory management of forest was evolved in Arabari range of Midnapur district in West Bengal in 1972 through the experiment of Mr. Ajit Bandopadhyaya, the then Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) of Midnapur, who started conserving the degraded forest of Arabari range with the help of local people by committing them some benefits from those forests. The huge success of the Arabari model made it popular worldwide and the Government of India incorporated it in their forest policy of 1988. The Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF), Government of India, issued detailed guidelines for the involvement of local people in conservation and management of forests through appropriate village level agencies in 1990. This new participatory management approach elevated the local people from mere receivers of some 'benefits' to the level of co-managers along with the forest officials over a designated area of forest. It also ensured equitable sharing of the usufruct as well as the financial returns from timber harvest. This declaration by the MoEF stirred a wave of hope among the villagers and several 'Forest Protection Committees' (FPC) began to evolve in Puruliya district. In 2002, MoEF further strengthened the Joint Forest Management (JFM) by providing them legal status. It included good forest areas beside the degraded ones within the purview of JFM and empowered them to take over micro plans overlapping with that of the 'working plan' of the forest department.

Formation and functioning of Joint Forest Management Committees: Joint Forest Management Committees (JFMC) are essentially a three tier organisation. The lowest tier consists of the representatives from the common people of the village where the JFMC operates. It is called the General Body. Fifty percent of the representatives here must be ladies from the village community. The goal is to incorporate each and every family across the caste, religion and ethnic barrier into this tier of the organisation. Special care is taken to ensure the participation of the weaker sections of the village society in this management process.

The next or the middle tier is called the Executive Council (EC). Thirty three percent of the seats of the executive council are reserved for women. All the members of the EC are either selected or elected through a democratic process by and from the members of the general body. This council is lead by the Secretary, who is by law a Forest officer, not below the rank of a range officer. Secretary, although a part of the EC, enjoys absolute power over financial and other decision making processes. Thus it may be wise to count Secretary of the JFMCs as a third or top most tier of the management structure.

According to guidelines, the general body will decide the needs of the villagers that can be sorted out from the forests. It includes collection of fuel, fodder, small woods and various non timber forest products (NTFPs). Members of the general body will also help the forest department to regenerate forests over the degraded lands and will help them to protect the existing healthy forests from the outside threats like unlawful felling and poaching. The executive council is meant for micro level planning and execution of plans such as the time and place of afforestation programme. It may also prepare some road map of resource generation and forest product

harvesting, but the secretary of EC holds the supreme power to take the decision. In some sense, the EC is nothing but a supervisory and advisory council.

Role of Government Organisations: Government organisations, particularly the forest department, were supposed to play a crucial role in popularising the notion of decentralised management of forest resources of the country through participatory management. Following the guidelines formulated by the union MoEF, all the states started building Joint Forest



Fig. 2: Structure of Joint Forest Management Committee

Box 1: JFM facts at a glance

Management Committees (JFMC) at the village level. Adding to that, the MoEF proposed district level Forest Development Agencies (FDA) that are considered as federation of JFMCs. In West Bengal, the Forest Development Corporation is considered the nodal agency to deal with the JFMCs. All of these arrangements were thought to be helpful in creating provisions to ensure local people's rights on the forest resources. But in practice, the JFMC simply became a cheaper way of doing forest protection, or a way to get local people to cooperate in achieving the targets of the forest department (Lele, 2011). The secretary of every JFMC should mandatorily be a forest official who controls the flow of funds and holds the power of taking decisions regarding planting and harvesting and all other aspects. Even in the FDAs forest officials chair all the posts responsible for taking decision on the forests and granting funds for taking up new projects. Thus, rather than clarifying local people's rights and setting up democratic institutions to exercise those rights, the forest department has sought to manage the so-called participatory process to suit their own objectives.

Questions are arising from many quarters on the process of profit sharing adopted by the forest department. The National Afforestation and Eco-development Board recommended in 1996 to compute the benefit based on the gross income generated by community forestry. But the forest department is trying to cut down the distributable profit through an unfair formula. At first the forest department deducts 30 percent of the gross income as the cost of implementation of the project. Then it deducts 50 percent of the remaining amount as their share. The rest 50 percent is then divided in two parts, one is for village development and the other is for distribution in cash among the members of FPCs. Thus a total revenue of Rs. 100/- generated by selling timber raised and maintained by a FPC under a JFMC secures only Rs. 17.5/- for distribution among its members (Bera et. al, 2011). The experience of Jharia village in Puruliya reveals that the members of FPC got Rs. 140/- per person as reward of their 20 years of protection work. Sometimes the forest department is accused of its unwillingness to disclose information about the exact value of

the forest raised by the communities under JFM. The guideline enforced by the MoEF in 2002 further made the benefit sharing more stringent and gave the forest department unprecedented control over JFMCs. By this guideline, JFM activities were restricted within the collection of minor forest products and promoting regeneration activities in good forests. Communities' share was cut down to 20 percent in both good and degraded forests which could be availed of only after 10 years of 'satisfactory' work (Bera et. al, 2011). However, the Forest Department of Puruliya commits 25 percent net profit sharing to the JFMCs under its supervision (Forest Directorate, 2011).

Role of Non Government Organisations: The Non Government Organisations (NGOs) are one of the key implementers of Joint Forest Management programme. Ever since the starting of participatory management of forests in 1990, several NGOs and Non Profit Organisations have been working hand in hand with the Forest Department to spread this programme to the farthest corners of the country. Their activity is, however, mainly restricted to capacity building among the village people and making provision for money through foreign aids.

The central theme underpinning the JFM is the gradual decentralisation of power regarding the management of forest resources that need active and fruitful participation of the community. But most of the people whom this programme is meant for are either too poor to have any formal education or are too ignorant of the government provisions they are entitled to. So it was not easy to convince common people living in forest villages and fringe regions, particularly after hundreds of years of debauchery and deprivation they faced, to participate in a programme where the forest department is a stakeholder. Moreover, building up capacity among the villagers to tackle various legal, social and economic problems that may come during planning and management of the forest resources was a need of the time. NGOs performed in this sector with superb efficiency. Still, the NGOs like 'Pradan' in Puruliya is engaged in arranging training camps in association with the forest department to facilitate the village communities by providing several technical and non-technical inputs. This includes training for *lac* cultivation, *tussar* cultivation, making plates from Sal leaves and preparation of incandescent sticks, giving necessary provisions for starting piggery, pisciculture, poultry farming and horticulture in order to reduce unemployment among rural youth etc. Another important role played by the NGOs is the accumulation of funds to carry out the participatory management programme. The major funding agencies abroad who support the cause of participatory management of forest resources in India are World Bank, OECF-Japan, DFID-UK, SIDA- Sweden, UNDP and Germany. Since 2002, they have made provision of Rs 58,05,00/- millions for programmes that support JFM (Bera et. al, 2011).

Role of the local people: Common people always remained in the central position amongst the initiative of participatory management programmes, at least in paper. At the beginning, in 1990, it was thought to be a revolutionary step in Indian forestry that can reduce the misery and poverty of the forest based rural population in an effective manner. So it received overwhelming response from the people. The area under JFM grew up to 22 million hectares in 2009 constituting 33 percent of the country's total forests and this land is effectively managed by 104,729 FPCs. Notably, half of the participants in JFM are from the scheduled tribes and 29 percent of them belong to various scheduled caste groups. In West Bengal, nearly half million families participated in JFM. In southern Bengal, that accounts for almost 70 percent of the total forest area. It includes 400,000 hectares of regenerated Sal forests that have immense market value. But

the initial euphoria is now getting sour due to the dictatorial attitude of the forest officials. Obscure policy of the State and Central governments regarding harvesting, marketing and profit sharing made the people fed up. This made almost one third of the FPCs defunct at the national level. The situation of Puruliya district is no different from other parts of the country. There were as many as 702 FPCs in 2000. Among them, 171 were under Puruliya forest division, 235 were under Kangsaboti soil conservation division–I and 296 were under the jurisdiction of Kangsaboti soil conservation–II division (Rotary club, 2004). But at present only 211 of them are surviving and their activity is now restricted only in the hilly tracts of south-west Puruliya. In total 21,421 people are engaged in participatory management at present in the district and a considerable 29,833.15 hectares of forest land are under their direct management (Forest Directorate, 2010). However, entry point activities of these committees include several activities that are not directly related to forests e.g. construction and maintenance of village roads, constructing community latrines, digging up wells for irrigation, construction of earthen dam for pisciculture, supplying agricultural machineries at subsidised price, building up community halls, libraries etc. These initiatives help in upgrading the standard of living and provide alternate ways of employment and thus can be considered helpful in forest conservation. Apart from these activities, members of FPCs take active part in patrolling around their designated forest area to prevent encroachment, poaching and illegal cutting of trees. They also take part in mitigation of man-animal conflict.

Conclusion

Forests of Puruliya district have seen many changes in policies and practices regarding management of forest resources and methods of their conservation. The paradigm shift in the ideology on the part of the government was observed with the incorporation of community in policy making procedure. That effort of participatory management was proved not sufficient due to its undemocratic structure and lack of effective empowerment of common people within the JFMCs. After the enactment of the Forest Rights Act (FRA) of 2006, the JFM has become irrelevant as the communities and the forest dwelling people are now getting direct control over the forest lands. Moreover, the ‘Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Areas’ (PESA) act of 1996 has ensured direct control over much of the forested lands of the district by the formal administrative units like Panchayat. So, it can be stated that JFM is a matter of the past and they are not fit for the present requirements. The cry of the moment is a multi-layered democratic forest governance. Clearly it involves complete restructuring of mindset, bureaucratic structures and power that are not very easy. The forest department has to shed its colonial legacy and become transparent and accountable to play the role of a facilitator or a regulating authority regarding the formation of forest policies and management plans. On the other hand the communities have to be more responsible in managing their forests sustainably and conserve them from various degradations. Thus the gains from environmental and social contexts achieved by eco-friendly utilisation of the existing resources and their conservation through integrated process of management will make the move worthwhile.

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Cçaqj-pl B-mju nql cãNÑjfxl (1950-2000)

IjSnĚĚ cš †

pilpw-rf

çàaEu f'hiçõÑLE fçlLÒfejl ijçl Bl hãçeuicç çn-Òfl -k plLilE E-cĚjN ajl a«aEu gpm qm cãNÑjfxl ØVEm fÔÉj¼Vz qiSil qiSil jjeã-ol I;çV I;çSI BnĚu HC çnÒf nqlz BS-LI -k cãNÑjfxl-kç»piÉajl cãçeÑhjl ANĚQjçlaj fĚju f'in B-N aj çRm njm, fmin, jýui Ni-RI çhnjm S%om; çRm heĚfö J -WPjsi-cl IjSaÆz HC Al-ZÉ BµRjçca çhÙ¹EZÑ i"ij-N Rçs-u çRçV-u çRm -hn L-uLçV NĚjj - ki BS ödãC Cçaqjz LEij-h HC cãNÑjfxl çnÒfeNIE-a fçlZa qm? -LeC hi çnÒfÛÛijf-el SeÉ HC A'm-L -h-R -eJuj q-uçRm? cãNÑjfxl I©fjç¹-ll pşQej çWL -Lje pju -b-L? LEij-h NĚjj cãNÑjfxl L«çoçiçšL BbÑ pijjçSL AhÛÛjl -Mimp Riçs-u HçN-u -k-a bi-L çnÒfju-el f-b - HC ph fĚ-nÀl Ešl MyşS-aC H -mMil B-ujSe - ki Bjil BhimÉ hhip pş-œ çLRşVj Sjej, çLRşVj NĚj-j çN-u NĚjhipE-cl LjR -b-L pirjvLjl mî Hhw çLRşVj çhçæ plLjçl eçbfæ J fçæLj -b-L pwnªqæaz

pşcænë

† AĚjçpØVÉj¼V fĚ-gpl, Cçaqj çhiçN, H. çh. He. nĚm L-mS, -LjQçhqjl, fçÖQjh%oz

Census Report, giuilchĚ,, čnÒfeNĚ, Industrial Complex

LmLjai -b-L 158 ĆL.ĉj. fĉŎQ-j Hhw -lmf-b 171 ĆL.ĉj. cšl-aĚ cĚNŇjĚ-ll AhÛÛjez -i±-NjĉmL jjeĉQ-œ 24⁰15' Ešl J 87⁰55' fšhŇĉcL ĆQĉq²a¹ (ĉhnĀ-Ljo, f^aùj- 201)z Eĉen n' f'j-nl cn-LI B-NI cĚNŇjĚ ĆRm njm, fmjn, jýuiuj -Oli HL phĚS ĉhÛ¹EZŇ fĚjĉ¹lz 1951 pi-ml Census Report AĚpi-l cĚNŇjĚ ĆRm Bpie-pjm jLŸjil gĉĉfĚl bjeil Aĉ¹NŇa HLCV Unionz HC ĉl-fj-VŇ gĉĉfĚl bjeil A'm-L HLCV NĚjji'm ĉqpi-h hZŇej Lli q-u-R² (Census 1951, Page- 487)z B-li Siej ki-µR -pC pju gĉĉfĚl bjeiu Rĉs-u ĆRCV-u ĆRm fĚBu 45ĉV NĚj BI HC 45ĉV NĚj-ji SepwMĚj ĆRm 27,446³ (Census 1951, Page - 589) HC fĚp-%o Sĉe-u liMi ĉLil -k 1951 J 1961 pi-ml Census Report -HI ĉc-L aĉli-m HVj fĉlĚLil -hĉTi kju -k Eĉen n' f'j-nl cn-L cĚNŇjĚ-ll ĆLRŸ NĚj ĆRm gĉĉfĚl Hhw ĆLRŸ NĚj ĆRm Aäim bjeil AdĚe⁴ (Census 1961, Page- 590)z -pĉcL -b-L ĉhQil LI-m AbŇjv gĉĉfĚl Hhw Aäim bjei ĉĉm-u -pC pju cĚNŇjĚ-ll AhĉÛÛa -jĉV NĚj-ji pwMĚj 70VjJ Riĉs-u ki-hz

ĉnÒf ÛÛif-el -r-œ cĚNŇjĚ-ll H-Lhj-IC iyĉC-gis hmi kju eiz 1905 ĉMĚx hijZŇ HĚjĚ -LiĉĉjeĚ cĚNŇjĚ -lm-ØVn-el Li-R Viĉm J giuil chĚ,, AbŇjv AcNĀ ĉe-ljĉL Cy-VI LiIMjei -Mi-mz cĚNŇjĚ-ll -p pju I SiaĚu EĚaji-el Viĉm ^aalĚ Ef-kiNĚ Yellow Clay ei-j ĉh-no dl-el jĉĉV pqSmiĚ ĆRmz hijZŇ -LiĉĉjeĚ ei-j HC pwÛÛil Viĉm (ĉlgĚjLViĉl ViCmp) ĉc-u -NifĚejbĚl fĚjĉĉL úŸ-ml Qim ^aalĚ Lli q-uĉRm, -pVi HM-ej ĉV-L B-Rz haŇjje cĚNŇjĚ-ll -lm-ØVn-el Li-R fĚju HLna gŸV EyQŸ ĉhnjmiLil QaŸ-xLje jeŸ-j-¾VI j-ai Cy-VI ĉQĉe kil Ni-u 1905 A[^]-mMi, -pĉV BSJ cyiĉs-u B-Rz ki cĚNŇjĚ-ll ĉn-Òfl najĚĚ - fĚjQĚeaĚ -OjoZi LI-R⁵ (-Q±dĚĚ, Hp. -L. He., 2005, cĚNŇjĚ SeSĚhe, f^aùj- 6)z a-h cĚNŇjĚ-ll giuilchĚ,,l hiSij ĆRm ei h-m liZEN" -b-L I ph ěĚ ĉĉœ² Lli q-ajz g-m hijwmil hijC-l cĚNŇjĚ-ll Viĉm liZEN-"I Viĉm ei-j ĉHMĚja q-u J-W⁶ (Q-ĉfidĚju, jĉĚ, 1998, f^aùj- 79)z

HC A'm ĆRm heS pĉf-c pĉÛz ĆRm njm, fmjn, jýui J -L¾c Ni-RI ĉnjm S%omz ĉaĚu ĉhnĀkĚ-Ûl hý B-N -b-LC HC S%om LiW hĚhpjuĚ-ĉl HLVj hs LjŇ-L¾ĉĚ ĉq-p-h N-s E-WĉRm⁷ (Q-ĉfidĚju, jĉĚ, 1998, f^ax 84)z cĚNŇjĚ A'm LiW plhli-ql AeĚaj hs hĚhpjuĚ ĆRm -h%om -Ljm -LiĉĉjeĚ ÛÛjeĚu L-uLĉV EµQĉš fĉlhil HC A'-ml LiW hĚhpju ĉmĉ ĆRmz H-ĉl j-dĚ fmjnĉXqil pijĉ¹ fĉlhil, hĚlijefĚ-ll BQjkŇ fĉlhil, plĚl lju -Q±dĚĚ fĉlhil ĉh-noij-h ANĚĚ ĆRm⁸ (Q-ĉfidĚju fĚ-hjd, 1984, f^aùj- 161)z 1843 pi-m p^aØ -h%om -Ljm -LiĉĉjeĚ HC hej'm -b-L LiW pwNq LI-ajz HC pju qjJsi-ýNmĚ A'm ĉn-Òfl fĚpil OVju Li-WI Qiĉqci ĆRm MĚhz 1855 pi-m CØ Cĉäuj -lmJ-u -LiĉĉjeĚ qjJsi-ýNmĚ -lmfb-L liZEN" fkŇĉ¹ pĉĉĚpiĉla L-lz g-m HC -lmf-bl jĉdĚ-j HLCĉ-L -kje liZEN-"I Lumi plhliq Lli q-ai -ajeC AeĚĉc-L cĚNŇjĚ-ll Oe hej'm -b-L LiWJ plhliq Lli q-ajz HC -lmf-bl jĉdĚ-j Li-WI -kiNje-L ĉeĉŎQa Lli SeĚC cĚNŇjĚ-ll AhĉÛÛa -NifĚejbĚl -j±Sju HLCV -Ri- -lmØVne ÛÛif-el fĚ-ujSeĚuaj AĚih L-lĉRm Cw-IS hĉZL -LiĉĉjeĚ HC ØVneĉVI eij liMi q-uĉRm "cĚNŇjĚ-ll -Ri- HC -ØVneĉVI eij -b-L ĉhliV HLCV A'm cĚNŇjĚ-ll ei-j fĉĉQa q-u-R⁹ (Q-ĉfidĚju fĚ-hjd, 1984, f^aùj- 192)z hmi hijmĚ haŇjje ĆLĉ¹Ÿ njm, fmjn, -L¾c Ni-RI S%om BI -Qi-M f-s eiz ĉnÒfeNĚ hĉdŇo-Ÿajl Li-Z ai

qĒĒip -f-a -f-a BS H-Lhi-IC Ahmāç q-u -N-Rz öðā hĒhpi hiçZSĒ eu, HC A'-m çLR¥ L«çoS
 EvficeJ q-ajz die, BM, Xim SiaĒu npĒ, pl-o J çhçiae pçĒl Qio q-ai fĒju pili hRI d-IC Hhw
 Eçen n' f'i-nl cn-LI jiTijçT pju fkŃç¹ HC A'-ml fĒju 90 najwn jieæo çeçhsij-h kš² çRm
 L«çoLi-Sl p-%oz

L«çofĒdje -c-nl Eæu-el SeĒ üjdĒeaj Ešl iilah-oŃl lĵĒĒejuLli çnĒfju-el Efl -Sjl -cez g-m H-LI
 fl HL -m±q CĴfiaçnĒf N-s EW-a bi-L ijl-az fĒbjçV EçsoĒjl lĵEl-Lōju, çaaĒuçV jdĒfĒ-c-nl
 çimçC-u Hhw a«aĒuçV çxNŃjfx-lz çnĒfÛÛjfel fçLiWi-jiNa pLm pæx-kiN pæxçhdi biLju
 çxNŃjfxl q-u EWm ""Ruhr of India"z çxNŃjfx-ll LiRiLiçR lizĒN", Bpje-pim, diehç, Tçluil
 pqSmiĒ Eæaji-el Lumj, çpwi"-jl -miqi, hĒlçjçæfç-ll Qæejfjbl Bl Njwfx-ll X-mijçCV, çj-çicl
 fĒL-Ēfl çhcæĒv Hhw Sm plhliq, fšhŃ -lmfb Hhw SiaĒu ps-LI fçlhq-el pæxçhdi, nĒçj-LI
 pqSmiĒaj, fĒ-ujSeĒu Sçjl pwÛÛje fĒ«ça BhnĒL Efçie...çm biLil g-m fçĴQjh%o plLi HC
 ÛÛje-L çnĒf-LçĒĒ çqpi-h N-s -ajmçl çpÛjç¹ -ee¹⁰ (-Q±dæĒ Bl. Hj. 1971, A,-gixŃ, fæx 357)z
 avLimĒe fçĴQjh-%o jæMĒç»E Xix çhdie QçĒĒ lju çe-Sl qi-a 15 -LiçV ViLi hli-ÿ HLCV hæqv
 çnĒf pwÛÛj N-s -ajmçl çÛÛl pwL-Ēf aj Aæ-jic-el SeĒ fjWje ççĒ-az çLç¹¥ Aæ-jice fĒççl
 A-qa¥L çm-ð 25 -LiçV ViLi hĒ-u -no fkŃç¹ N-s E-W çxNŃjfxl fĒ-Sf çmçj-VXz HLC pj-u
 1956 pi-ml 31-n A-fjhl çĒçVn ØVĒm Le-piçVŃuij fĒ-S-fl pi-b çxNŃjfxl ØVĒm fĒĒç¼V
 LiMjei ÛÛjfel çpÛjç¹ Q`siç¹ quz hÛ¹¥a 1955 pi-mç çnĒf pwNW-el Industrial Complex-HI
 lçf-IMi Øfç q-u -cMi -cu çxNŃjfx-l¹¹ (-LiPI, Xx -NifĒLiç¹, 10C e-iðl 2000, fæx 169)z

çxNŃjfxl lçfiç¹-ll pšQej 1950-HI cn-LI -Njçl çc-L, çj-çicl iĒççm Li-fi-lne NW-el pju -b-LCz
 1952 pi-m çj-çicl hiyd çejŃi-Zl LiS ö! quz 1955 pi-ml 9C BNØV HC hyi-dl Beæùjçel E-àide
 L-le avLimĒe EfljĒĒç Xx phŃfðĒ lidjL«o-iz HC hĒi-l-Sl jidĒ-j HLçc-L -kje hdŃjje J hyiLçsi
 -Smç-L HLPš-ç -Ny-b -çluj qu -ajçc pçWL fçlpwMjĒje AæxkiuĒ eu mr çaujšl HLI fçlçjz
 MiçlgnpĒ, Bl f'iae qçSjl HLI fçlçjz lçhn-pĒl Sçj-a Sm-p-ql pŃihei -cMi çcmz çxNŃjfx-l
 Bdæçel piĒajl -Njçfše hm-a HC pju -b-LCz hĒi-l-S çejŃiZ-L çO-l çxNŃjfx-l fĒbj Efçe-hn N-s
 EWmz çxNŃjfx-ll Aeçacš-l mçµRfx-l B-N -b-LC HLCV çhcæĒv Ef-LçĒĒ çRmz 1958 pi-m
 Juçluj -lm -ØVn-el Li-R çj-çicl iĒççm Li-fi-lne Bl HLCV ajfçhcæĒv -LçĒĒ ÛÛjfe L-lz ejj
 çxNŃjfxl bijŃim fjJuil -ØVnez

1950-HI cn-LI -no -b-L ö! L-l 1960 Hhw 70-HI cn-L çxNŃjfx-l N-s J-W B-lj A-el LiMjeiz
 Aça pw-r-f -pç çhhlz çmçfhÛ Ll qmz liĒĒejuš çnĒf...çml j-dĒ E-ðM-kiNĒ HĒjmu ØVĒm
 fĒĒç¼V (1963), jicçew HĒjĒ HĒimi-uX -jçnejĒ L-fiŃ-lne (1959), çxNŃjfxl -LçjĒĒimp
 (1963), iila AfbĒimçjL NŒip çmçj-VX (çHçSHm) 1965, çqççÛÛje giçVŃmiçSjl L-fiŃ-lne
 (1966)z fĒçç-iv çnĒf çqpi-h E-ðM-kiNĒ çgçmfpÛ LihŃe hŒĒil (1958), H çp çp hĒihLLÛ
 çmçj-VX (1960), nĒçç ĳçmp (1963), NĒigiçV Cçäui çmçj-VX (1964), HçnujçVL Aç,-Se
 çmçj-VX (1962), çxNŃjfxl çp-jç¼V JuçLŃp (1972)z jXŃje -pliçjL fĒjç çmx (1978)z fçĴQjh%o
 plLi-ll AdĒ-e N-s JWj -kph çnĒf pwÛÛj -p...çm çm EXÚ CäiçØVĒ JuçLŃnf, çxNŃjfxl
 -LçjĒĒimp çmçj-VX (1963), NĒigiçV Cçäui çmçj-VX (1964), çqççÛÛje giçVŃmiçSjl
 Li-fi-lne (1966), çxNŃjfxl -ØVvpÛ -XujĒ (1966), Cçäuje A-um L-fiŃ-lne (1966), hiÛ¹hdjŃĒ

čnril fĕ-ujSeFuai-L ũĕLlil L-l ĕe-u cĕNŃifĕl ĆĬSJeim Cĕ”ĕeujĕlw L-mS, a«aĕu fc-rf ĕqpi-h N-s JWĭ -p¼Vĕim -jLiĕeLĕim Cĕ”ĕeujĕlw ĆlpiQŃ CeĕØVĕVenez liØĕiuš E-ĕĕi-N N-s J-W fĕlhqe pwŪŪi cĕNŃifĕl -ØVĕV Vĕi¼pŃ-fjVŃ Li-fj-lne¹² (Q-ĭfidĕiu, fĕ-hĭd, 1984, f^a-199)z

HC ĕnØf...ĕm Na na-LI B-VI ĕn-LI fĕBj ĕcL fĕŃĕ¹ Q-m °h-cĕnL ĥĕZ-Sĕ Bjĕiĕe fĕĕaŪŪifejšmL eĕĕal Sjjeju -kMĭ-e pijĕNĕLij-h ijlaĕu AbŃeĕĕal ũĕeiŃlaj ASŃe Lĭ ĕRm Sjaĕu mrĕZ B-VI ĕn-LI jĭTijĕĕT -b-LC Aĕ¹Ńĕĕĕa eĕĕa...-mĭ hc-m -k-a bj-L Hhw Bjĕiĕel Efl B-NLĭl ĕĥĕd ĕe-od aĕ-m -eJui quz liØĕiuš ĕn-Øfj fĕĕaĕV LĭMĭej ĕeSŪ jĕeigi ĥĭsi-eil eĕĕa-a Qm-h HVĭ ĕWL Lĭl fĭC -hn ĕLRĕ LĭMĭej, HLLĭ-h kĭli jĕeigi ASŃe LI-a fĭlĕRm ej -aj-cl AĕŪ¹aĕ AĕĕĕŪQa q-u f-sz e-ul ĕnL -b-LC -hn ĕLRĕ LĭMĭej ĥĕ q-u kĭuz -kĭe Hĭ Hĭ ĕp, HCQ Hg ĕp BC, ĕĥ J ĕS Hm, -Snf Hĕĭä -Lĭw, nĕĭĕ^ ŷCmpŪz a-h eaĕe LĭMĭej fĕĕaŪil dĭli ĥaŃji-eJ Ahĕĭqa B-R, ĕĥ-noa CØfĭa ĕn-Øf - HC LĭMĭej...-mĭ pidĭZĭi-h ĕĭĕeØVĕm fØĕi¼V ej-j fĕĕQaz

jšma Øf” Bule J -g-lĭ Hĕĭmu fĕŪ¹ĕaLĭlĕ LĭMĭej Hhw ĕLRĕ -lĭĕmw J YĭmĭC LĭMĭej¹³ (cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ ĕnØĕŕŕoZ, 2005, f^ax-9)z

1968 pi-ml B-N cĕNŃifĕl ĕRm fĕB-j liZĕN” J f-l Bpie-pim jqlĕjil Adĕez 1968 pi-ml 14C Hĕĕĕm cĕNŃifĕl ũaĕ» jqlĕjil ũĕL«ĕa fĭu¹⁴ (ĕĥnÄ-Lĭo, dĕĕĕĕailĭ, f^a- 202)z HC jqlĕjil ĥaŃje bĭeil pwMĕĭ 5ĕVz (1) cĕNŃifĕl (2) gĕĕĕfĕl (3) Aäim (4) LyĭLpi (5) ĥĕĕĕĕ¹⁵ (Administrative Report DMC, 2000-2001, Page- 45)z

1955 Mĕĕĕ cĕNŃifĕl ĆĭĭĕØVĕujm -ĥĭ-XŃĭl fĕĕQimeju cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ ĕnØfŪŪĭf-el fĕĭbĕjL fĕĕLØfej...ĕm N^aqĕa quz AØf ĕc-el j-dĕC HC A’-m ĥĕĭflal fĕĕLØfej pŃĭhej p^aĕØ qĭuju fĕĕŪQĭh% ĭĭSĕ pĕLi-ll HL BC-e 1958 pi-m cĕNŃifĕl -X-ĭmf-j¼V AbĕĕĕV (D.D.A.) ej-j HL eaĕe pwŪŪi NĕWa quz HC pwŪŪiĕVĭ p-% 1980 pi-m Bpie-pim fØĕiĕew AlNĭeĭC-Sne pwŪŪiĕV kĕš² L-l Bpie-pim cĕNŃifĕl Eæue pwŪŪi pw-r-f A.D.D.A (Asansol Durgapur Development Authority) eĭjLIZ Lĭ q-u-Rz HC pwŪŪiĕV Bpie-pim cĕNŃifĕl ĕnØfi’-ml ĥs, jĭTĭĕĕ Hhw rĕĕ ĕnØf pwŪŪi...ĕm-L ĭ”ĕj ĥ¼Ve J fĕĕLØfej ĕĥo-u piqĭĕĕ L-l bi-Lz Sĭej kĭ-ĕR fšĥŃ-fĕŪQĭ fĭeĭNs -b-L ĥĭli ecĕ Hhw Ešĭ ĕĕr-Z ASu ec -b-L ĕĭ-jĭcl fĕŃĕ¹ pĕĕĕĕĭm 1615.9 ĥNŃĕĕĕĕ HmĭLĭ HC LaŃ«f-rl Eæue ĕeueĕ»ĭdĕe¹⁶ (A Report, ADDA 2000-2001, P-35)z

HC fĕp-% E-ØM Lĭ clĭl, cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ H-LI fl HL ĕnØf LĭMĭej N-s EWmz Bl -f-VI ĭĭa -SĭNĭ-sl Seĕ ĕĕe fĕ-ĕn -b-L BNa ĥĭ ĭĭoĭĭoĕ jĭeĕo ĕĭs Sjĭ-mĭ HMĭ-ez g-m SepwMĕĭl -r-ĕe HLVĭ ĕĥ-no fĕĕĕĕe pwNĕWa quz 1951 pi-ml Census ĕĭ-fĭVŃ Aĕĕĕĕ cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ SepwMĕĭ ĕRm 27446 Hhw 1961 pi-ml Census Aĕĕĕĕ SepwMĕĭ 91,516 ¹⁷ (Census of India, 1961, P - 589)z 1971 pi-m 2,06,63¹⁸ (Census of India, 1971, P- 339.) Hhw 1981 pi-m 3,05,838 ¹⁹ (Census of India, 1981, P- 523)z 1991 pi-m cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ SepwMĕĭ ĕRm 4,25,836 ²⁰ (Census of India, 1991, P- 585)z Hhw 2001 pi-m 4,93,405 ²¹ (Census of India, 2001, P- 379)z Ef-ll fĕĕpwMĕĭe -b-L HVĭ fĕĕLĭl -ĥĭTĭ kĭ-ĕR 1961 -b-L 1981 pi-ml Census Hĭ ĭdĕĕĕĕ pĭ-u Seĕĕ-ØgĭIZ O-Vz aĭl LĭIZ ĕqpi-h Bjĭlĭ ĥm-a fĭĕĕ ĕnØf ŪŪĭf-el pšQeĭ -b-L ĕĕĕe -Smĭ -b-L jĭeĕo SĕĕĕLĭl aĭĕN-ĕ cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ H-mJ f-l aĭlĭ -ĕĕnĭĭNC ŪŪĭuĕ ĥĥĭp L-le Hhw cĕNŃifĕl-lĭ ŪŪĭuĕ ĥĭĕp¼ĕĭu fĕĕZa

qez HC fĸÑġ¹ hĸZÑa Cĸaqip eNliuZ abi ĸnÒfju-ZI Cĸaqip ki qu-ai A-e-LIC Siejz ĸLġ¹Ÿ
 cĸNÑijŸ-II hĸ-L ĸnÒfju-ZI üfÀ-L hij¹hijĸua Lli SeÉ 1950 HI cn-LI -no ĸc-L -hn ĸLRŸ NĒij-L
 E-µRc Lli qu ²² (Qœ²haÑĒ Bö-aijo, 1380, f²üj- 181)z ĸQla-l jĸ-R kju -hn ĸLRŸ pj²Ü NĒi-jl eij
 - ki BS ödĸC Cĸaqipz Bl Eæu-el Eàġ¹Ÿ -pC ph NĒi-jl hijĸp²ĸcili -b-L -N-Re -mjLQrŸ
 Aĸ¹li-mz ĸnÒfÜġif-el -r-œ ky-cl i¹ĸjLi -eqja Lj ĸRm eiz

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 cĸNÑijŸl- 13, fĒLjnLjm- 1380z

Bpi-jl dĸhsĒ -Smil h-VlqiV NĒij f'j-u-al Aĸ¹NÑa °LjilĒ -j±Sil a«aĒu Aw-nl

-S-m

°LhaÑ-cl pjujč'1lhaÑ£ ċnrj J -fnjNa fčlhaÑ-el ċQœ

čhjm LŸjil piqi†

pilpw-rf

°LhaÑ pČfĚci-u cŕ'čV EfpČfĚci-u ċhiš² x 1z jšm Abhi SičmL (Sičmui, SiCmi hi -S-m) °LhaÑ Hhw 2z LoÑL °LhaÑ Abhi jičqoÉz HC cŕC EfpČfĚci-ul j-dÉ ċàaEučV pidilZ -nĚZE Hhw fĚbjčV AbÑjv SičmL °LhaÑ AeŕpšćQa -nĚZEI Ač'1xÑš²z ij-al AeŕpšćQa -nĚZEI SepwMÉjI j-dÉ HC °LhaÑ-cl pwMÉj E-ōM-kjNÉz fšhÑ ij-al fčŔQjh% J EšI fšhÑ ij-al Al'ZiQm fĚ-cn, čj-Silij, ċæfŕli, -jOimu J Bpi-j -S-m °LhaÑli hphip LI-R Hja fčlmčra quz HC AeŕnEme£-a Bpi-jl -S-m °LhaÑ-cl ċnrj J -fnjI Efl ijla pLj-ll pwlrZ e£ča J avpwœ²ič'1 LjkÑœ²jpsj-ql fĚijh pj-ul ċečl-M ċh-nŔoZ Llj q-u-Rz HC AeŕnEme£ jšma fĚjbčjL abÉjhm£I piqi-kÉ Llj q-u-Rz HC ph abÉ Bpi-jl dŕhs£ -SmjI h-VI qiV NĚij f'i-u-al °LjilE -j±SjI a«aEu Aw-n hphipLjIE 'ičapš-œ pČfčLŇa eu Hje -S-m °LhaÑ fčlhjlpjšq -b-L Que Llj q-u-Rz pijčNĚLij-h ċh-nŔoZfšhÑL HC AeŕnEme£ -b-L fčlmčra qu -k ij-al pwlrZ e£čal LjkÑœ²j IŔfju-ZI g-m °LjilE -j±Sj, h-VI qiV NĚijf'i-ua dŕhs£ -SmjI abi pjNĚ Bpi-j HC -nĚZEI S£he kjœil jie EμQal AhŪŪju -f±y-R-Rz HC abÉ-L ċičš L-l hmj kju -k Bpi-jl pjŪ'1 AeŕpšćQa -nĚZEI -r-œ ċhoučV pjij-h fĚaEuujiez

pšœeně

°LhaÑ, AeŕpšćQa -nĚZE, fĚSeÈ, -fnj, pwlrZ e£ča

fĚjLŪLbe

""LhaÑ' nĚčV "-LhšÑ' nĚ q-a Eá" a q-u-R^{1*}, f-ll HC nĚčVI j-dÉ ċc-u Hje HLčV SepČfĚci-u -hiTiu -k-pČfĚci-ul jjeœoSe aj-cl S£he J S£čhLj ċehÑiq L-l Sm -b-L jvpÉ Bql-ZI jidÉ-j Hhw S-m hip L-lz pwú«a pičq-aÉI Ač'1NŇa hiSp-eu£ Abhi kSŸ-hŇc pwčqajI ""Bhijiu -LhšÑj": 10/16 HC jč»iw-n nĚčVI fĚ-ujN fčlmčra quz HI -b-L fĚiQ£e -Lje pwú«a pičq-aÉ HC n-ěl fĚ-ujN fčlmčra qu eiz Eš² pičq-aÉI Ač'1NŇa °ačšl£eu hĚjβ-Z 3/4/12 HC jč»iw-n °LhaÑ n-ěl fĚbj hÉhqil -cMj kjuz -fnjNa ċcl -b-L -k pjŪ'1 Siča ċQcQ²a q-u-R -p...čml j-dÉ °LhaÑ pČfĚci-u HLčV ...l'a£fšZŇ pČfĚciuz -fnjNa ċcl -b-L HC pČfĚci-u cŕčV EfpČfĚci-u ċhiš² x- 1z jšm Abhi SičmL (Sičmui, SiCmi hi -S-m)^{2*} °LhaÑ Hhw 2z LoÑL °LhaÑ Abhi jičqoÉz¹ HC cŕC EfpČfĚci-ul j-dÉ ċàaEučV pidilZ -nĚZEI Hhw fĚbjčV AbÑjv SičmL °LhaÑ (HMje -b-L -S-m nĚčVC hÉhq@a q-h) AeŕpšćQa -nĚZEI Ač'1xÑš²z ij-al AeŕpšćQa SepwMÉjI j-dÉ °LhaÑ-cl pwMÉj E-ōM-kjNÉz finifjčn ij-al ċq¾cŸ SepwMÉjI j-dÉ H-cl Awn mrZ£uz fšhÑijl-al fčŔQjh% Hhw EšI fšhÑijl-al Al'ZiQm fĚ-cn, čj-Silij, ċæfŕli, -jOimu J Bpi-j -S-m °LhaÑ-cl

† AÉi-pičp-uV fĚ-gpl, AbŇe£ča čhijN J Ačgpil-CeÚ-QiSŇ, H. ċh. He. n£m L-mS, -LiQčhqil, fčŔQjh%z

hphip Ll-a Hje -cMj kjuz² HC Aexn£me£-a fkÑ-hrL ijla pLl-i-ll pwlRz e£ca J avpwœ²i¿¹
LmÉiZj\$ml LjkÑœ²jpj\$-ql fÉiij Bpi-jl -S-m °LhaÑ pÇfÉci-ul çnrj J -fnjl Efl pjuj¿¹lhaÑ£-a
L£l©f- j\$ma ail Qçlœ çh-nÔoZ Lljl fÉuip NÉqZ L-l-Rez

ØfØ mrÉ J fÜca

ØfØ mrÉpj\$Q

1z Bpi-jl HC pÇfÉci-ul LjÑla fxl¹o J eil£-cl pjuj¿¹lhaÑ£ çnrjNa fçlhaÑ-el l©f-IMj çh-nÔoZ
Lliz

2z Eš² Sepj\$-ql -fnjNa fçlhaÑe çh-nÔoZ Lljl,

3z pjuj¿¹lhaÑ£-a Aexp\$çQa Se-pÇfÉci-ul S£hekjœil jie Eæu-e -k pjù¹ LjkÑœ²j NÉqZ Lljl
q-u-R Eš² Sepji-S ail jicœi hj fçlçd çel©fZ Lljl

4z HC çh-nÔoZ£ B-mjQeil j\$ml Lbj EcúOjVe Lljl Hhw avfÖQi-a ajçšÅL hj Bexjicel hÉjMÉj
fÉZue Lljl

fÜca x abÉ J 'jahÉ çhoupj\$-ql fÉL«ca Hhw pwçnÔØ AeÉjeÉ çcl

HC Aexn£m-el Ef-kjN£ fÉipç%L -N±Z abÉ J 'jahÉ çho-ul Aijh l-u-Rz HC Ljl-Z HçV fæ-ljfxçl
fÉSeÈ-pwçnÔØ abÉ J SjahÉ çhoupj\$-ql Efl çeiÑl L-l Lljl q-u-Rz HC pjù¹ çLR¥ Bpi-jl dxhs£
-Smjl h-Vlqiv NÉij f'i-u-al °Ljil£ -j±sil a«a£u Aw-n hphipLil£ 'içap\$-œ pÇfçLÑa eu Hje
-S-m °LhaÑ fçlhilpj\$Q HC fÉjbcjL Evp -b-L Que Lljl q-u-Rz H-r-œ Bcjpæxjil£ fÜca Aexpæa
q-u-Rz Hhw HLC abÉ J 'jahÉ çho-ul -f±exfxçel EfçUÛca Hsi-ejl SeÉC HC Sia£u fçlhilpj\$Q
çehÑjQe Lljl q-u-Rz fkÑ-hr-Ll kjauij-al pæxçhdjil SeÉ HC -Smj J NÉij f'i-ua çehÑjçQa q-u-Rz
HC NÉij f'i-u-al 10çV -j±sil j-dÉ °Ljil£ -j±sil a«a£u Aw-n -S-m °LhaÑ fçlhilpj\$-ql E-ðM-kjNÉ
-L¾cÉfihe l-u-R h-m HC -j±si-L pj£ril -rœ çqpi-h çehÑjQe Lljl q-u-Rz HCij-h pj£ri hj
Aexpåj-el -rœ-çehÑjQ-e a«a£u abi hýù¹lçhçnØ E-ÿnÉfÉ-Ziçca AfçlhaÑe£u ejæej fÜca
AexpilZ Lljl q-u-Rz

Aexn£m-e Næqfa pjup£ji abi fÉSeÈpj\$Q

HC Aexn£me 1950 pi-ml flhaÑ£ pjup£ji-L NÉqZ L-l-Rz HC hvp-ll 26-n Sjeæujçl üjd£eaj-Ešl
ijl-al pwçhdje LjkÑLil£ q-u-R ajC HC pim pjup£jil fÉjlcñL hvpl çqpi-h Næqfa q-u-Rz
Aexp\$çQa Siçca J EfSiçapj\$-ql S£hekjœil jie Eæu-el SeÉ HC hvpl -b-L pwçhdj-el 341 Hhw
342 eðl dijil Aexpkjue ljsÉ J -L¾cÉnijçpa A'mpj\$-q Eš² Siçca J EfSiçca pj\$-ql ajçmLj fÉZu-el LjS
öl¹ quz³ HC pæxçfœÑ pju-pwçnÔØ fÉipç%L abÉ J 'jahÉ çhoupj\$Q Qu-el SeÉ -S-m °LhaÑ
LjÑla jçqmj J fxl¹o Sepji-Sl haÑjie fÉSeÈ -b-L Aa£-al a«a£u fÉSeÈ fkÑ¿¹ -ümrjL«aij-h
çh-hçQa q-u-Rz fÉL«af-r Aa£-al a«a£u fÉS-eÈl fšhÑhaÑ£ fÉjQ£eal fÉS-eÈl Efl abÉjhm£
pwNÉq Lljl pñh quçez HI Lljl abÉfÉçjelil£ hÉçš²l fçlhijçl Cçaqip A'jaz

LjÑla SeNZ

15 -b-L 60 hvpl fĸŃġ¹ hu:pEjil j-dÉ jġqmġ J fxl'Ńo SepjġS Hhw -k-pjġS -Lġe ei -Lġe EvfġcejšmL
Abhj Bu-EfġSŃejšmL LġSL-jŃŃġ p-%o kxš²z

ġnrġNa -kġNÉaj Hhw -fnġNa fĒL«ġa

HMġ-e fĒbjġV hm-a fĒbjNa fĒġbġJL, jdÉhaŃÉ, jġdÉġJL, EμQal jġdÉġJL, pÀġaL, pÀġa-Lġšġ
Ù¹lpjšq Hhw LġġINġÉ ġġcÉġu ġhnÄġġcÉġm-ul Efġġd Hhw Efġġdfoe -hjTġuz ġàaÉuġV hm-a
AbŃÉĒġal fĒġbġJL, jġdÉġJL, J a«aÉu hj -phġjšmL -r-œl Aġ¹NŃa AbŃ^oeġal LġSLġŃ-L -hjTġuz⁴
abÉ J 'ġahÉ ġhouġhmÉl fĒġġġ abġ AfĒġġġ-kġNÉaj AeġkġuÉ ġġġġSa J AġġġġSaiġ-h AbŃ^oeġal
-r-œ pwġġŃŃ L-l pjġZÉ ġehÛġLġ-l fĒġġŃa q-u-Rz

fĒSeÈġeġœ²ġLġġ-h -S-m °LhaŃ LġŃġa fxl'Ńo J jġqmġ Sepjġ-Sl ġnrġNa fġġhaŃe

°LġġÉ -j±Sġl a«aÉu Aw-nl -S-m °LhaŃ fġġġlpjš-qġ LġŃġa fxl'Ńo hÉġš²h-NŃġ -r-œ
fĒSeÈġeġœ²ġLġġ-h ġnrġNa fġġhaŃe q-u-Rz fšġŃhaŃÉ a«aÉu fĒS-eÈl -r-œ ũġrlajġ jġe ġLRŸġ
ġRm ei hm-mġ Q-mz ġLġ¹Ÿ fšġŃhaŃÉ ġàaÉu fĒSeÈ -b-L flhaŃÉ fĒSeÈpjš-qġ -r-œ HġV EμQ
-b-L EμQal q-u-Rz haŃġġe fĒSeÈ HC -r-œ E-ōM-kġNÉ fĒġġġ fĒġŃŃe L-lz fġelġu fšġŃhaŃÉ
ġàaÉu fĒSeÈ -b-L HC fĒġġġ AġdL -b-L AġdLal °hġQœÉfšZŃ q-u-Rz HC fĒSeÈ -b-L EμQal ġnrġ
AbŃġġv pÀġaL Hhw pÀġa-Lġšġ Ù¹ fĸŃġ¹ J LġġINġÉ ġġcÉġu ġġġra qġġġl mrZÉu fĒhZaj fġġmġra qu
(pjġZÉ- 1)z fġġġġġ HMġeLġġ -S-m °LhaŃ LġŃġa jġqmġ-cl j-dÉJ Lġ hj -hġġ fĒġu HLC llġ ġQœ
ġ^anÉġġe (pjġZÉ- 2)z pġġalġw HC phġLRŸ -b-L hmġ -k-a fġ-l HC ÙÛġ-el HC pġġġġġ-ul LġŃġa fxl'Ńo
J jġqmġhNŃ 1950 pġm -b-L ũġrlaj abġ ġnrġNa -r-œ pjġġeġœ²ġLġġ-h aġvfkŃšZŃ fĒġġġ
pwŃġVa L-l-Rz

fĒSeÈġeġœ²ġLġġ-h -S-m °LhaŃ LġŃġa fxl'Ńo J jġqmġ-cl -fnġNa fġġhaŃe

fĒSeÈġeġœ²ġLġġ-h HC ÙÛġ-e fxl'Ńo -S-m °LhaŃ-cl -r-œ -fnġNa fġġhaŃe-el EμQġġġġM -ġMġ
kġuz HC hÉġš²hNŃ ai-cl SġġaNa -fnġ AbŃġġv jvpÉQue fġġaÉġN L-l-R Hhw L«ġoLġ-Sl p-%o
pwkxš² q-u-Rz HC EμQġġġġMÉajġ fĒġœ²uġ fĒSeÈġeġœ²ġLġġ-h -ġMġ kġuz dÉ-l dÉ-l H-cl -r-œ
L«ġoLġS abġ fĒġbġJL-r-œl AeÉġeÉ AbŃ^oeġal LġSL-jŃŃġ Efl ġeiŃġŃmaġ rÉuġZ q-μRz L«ġoLġS
abġ fĒġbġJL -r-œl Aġ¹iŸŃš² AeÉġeÉ LġSL-jŃŃġ ÙÛġeQÉŸġa Hhw jġdÉġJL hj ġàaÉu-rœ J a«aÉu
-r-œl Aġ¹iŸŃš² AbŃ^oeġal LġSL-jŃŃġ Efl ġeiŃġŃmaġ HL E-ōM-kġNÉ fĒhZaj HCÙÛġ-e
fšġŃhaŃÉ fĒġġ fĒSeÈ -b-L fġġmġra quz HC ġhou haŃġġe fĒS-eÈl -r-œ AġdLal nġš²nġmÉ q-u-R
(pjġZÉ -3)z fġelġu E-ōMÉ a«aÉu -r-œl Aġ¹iŸŃš² AeÉġeÉ AbŃ^oeġal LġSLġŃ- HC-r-œ ġhouġV
E-ōM-kġNÉġġ-h mrZÉu (pjġZÉ -4)z ġLġ¹Ÿ fġġġġġ -S-m °LhaŃ jġqmġh-NŃġ -r-œ ġhouġV
Aeġġf euz HġV AaÉġ¹ qaġġġÉ”L J AfĒaÉġġa (pjġZÉ -5)z HCġġ-h AaÉġ¹ ŃfŃġġ-h hmġ kġu -k
HC -j±Sġu -S-m °LhaŃ fxl'Ńo-cl -r-œ 1950 pġm -b-L -fnġNa -r-œ HL E-ōM-kġNÉ EμQġġġġMÉ
fġġhaŃe q-u-Rz ġLġ¹Ÿ jġqmġh-NŃġ -r-œ Aeġġf ġQœ fġġmġra qu eġz aġġ AġdLġwNa
N^aqÛÛġmÉl Lġ-SC HMeJ BhÛz

fĚSeĚjeæœ²ċjLij-h -S-m °LhaÑ LjÑla fxl|o J jċqmih-NÑI SeÉ pææ-kj-NI pċfĚĚpiIZ Hhw avLŠÑ«L pææš-kj-NI hÉhqil hj Ef-ijN J AeÉjeÉ ċhou

fšhÑhaÑĚ a«aĚu fĚS-eĚl fxl|o-cl -r-œ AeæpšċQa Sġċa J EfSġċa-cl LmÉjZpwċnÔø -Ljel©f LjkÑœ²j NĚqZ q-u-R Hje fċlmċra qu eġz fšhÑhaÑĚ ċàaĚu fĚS-eĚl fxl|o-cl -r-œ ċhouċVI pææQei J dĚl ANĚNċa -cMj kjuz ċLġ¹ŷ fĚSeĚjeæœ²ċjLij-h fĚġċl jġœj AaÉġ¹ qajnihÉ”L (pġlZĚ -6)z jċqmih-NÑI -r-œ AeæI©f ċho-ul ċQœ AaÉġ¹ NÔġċeju (pġlZĚ -7)z ċLġ¹ŷ jċqmi fxl|o ċeċhÑ-n-o fċlhġl ċiċš L-l pjÙ¹ fĚSeĚ-L HLœ L-l ċhQil Ll-m ċhouċV AaÉġ¹ BnihÉ”L -cMj kjuz fš-hÑ EċðċMa pwlrZ eĚċal Aġ¹Ñiŷš² LmÉjZjšmL LjkÑœ²-jl A-eL ċLRŷC AċdLjwn fċlhġl aj-cl NĚqe rġaj AeækiuĚ Ef-ijN Ll-R- Hje -cMj kġu (pġlZĚ -8)z pææaljw -LE j-e Ll-a fi-l -k 1950 pġm -b-L HMeLġl -S-m °LhaÑ fxl|o J jċqmih-NÑI -r-œ pwlrZ eĚċal Aġ¹Ñiŷš² LmÉjZjšmL LjkÑœ²-jl ċhÙ¹«ċa J Ef-ij-NI jġœj AaÉġ¹ rĚZz ċLġ¹ŷ fĚL«af-r ċhouċV AeæI©f eu kċċ fċlhġl-L ċiċš L-l AbÑ-hġdLij-h ċhQil Llġ quz

jšmLbj J ašĀNa hÉjMÉj

Ef-ll B-mġQei -b-L jšma ċejĀċmċMa ċhou...ċm fċlmċra qu:

1z 1950 pġm -b-L pġuġġ¹-l °LġilĚ -j±Sġl a«aĚu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fxl|o J jċqmihNÑ ŷġrlaj J ċnri-r-œ ajvf-kÑfšZÑ LjÑpċġice fĚċnÑe L-lz

2z Eš² pj-ul j-dÉ Eš²ÙÙġ-el Eš² LjÑla fxl|ohNÑ -fniNa -r-œ ajvf-kÑġċaa EÜÑjæMĚ fċlhaÑe fĚċnÑe L-lz ċLġ¹ŷ jċqmih-NÑI -r-œ ċQœ AeæI©f eu hlw E-ðM-kjNÉij-h qajnihÉ”Lz

3z 1950 pġm flhaÑĚ pj-u kMe -b-L pwlrZ eĚċa LġkÑLl qJui öġ! q-u-R -pċ pġu -b-L HMeLġl -S-m °LhaÑ fċlhġlhNÑ pwlrZ eĚċa Aeæpªa ċeujġækiuĚ NĚqZ rġaj Aeæpi-l HC eĚċal Aġ¹NÑa -k pjÙ¹ LmÉjZjšmL fĚLÔf ċheÉÙ¹ q-u-R -p’...ċml Ef-ijN ajvf-kÑ ġċaa BnihÉ”Lij-h Ll-a -f-l-R Hhw L-l Q-m-Rz Hhw Hl gmnĚġċa ċqpi-h -cMj kġu - HC ÙÙġ-el -S-m °LhaÑ fċlhġlpjš-ql LjÑla fxl|o J jċqmih-NÑI SĚhekġœil jġ-el jġœj ċnriNa J -fniNa-rœpq AeÉjeÉ A-eL -r-œġ EµQal q-u-Rz hÉċæœ²j öðæ LjÑla jċqmih-NÑI -fniNa-rœ -kMġ-e ċQœċV BnihÉ”L euz

jċqmi-cl -fniNa ċc-L HġajhÙÙġl fÖQġ-a ašĀNaij-h ċejĀċmċMa hÉjMÉjġjšq fĚċie Llġ -k-a fi-lz

1z HC ÙÙġ-el -S-m °LhaÑ fċlhġlpjš-ql jċqmi-cl SĚhe J fċlhġ-l aj-cl i”ċġLġ pð-å ċQġiQċla dÉje-dġlZġ,

2z finġfġċn BIJ AeÉċhd hÉjMÉj l-u-R -k pjÙ¹ hÉjMÉj ċehÑġċQa fċlhġlpjš-ql ġirivLi-ll pj-u EšġfĚċieLġlĚ hÉċš²ġ ġi-b B-mġQeil jġdÉ-j Eáġċpa q-u-R (pwkæš² ġġlZĚ- 1)z HC hÉjMÉj...ċm kbġœ²-j :

(L) hÉhÙÙġifeil j-dÉ DċĀpa gmċi-el ja LġkÑLġċlajl Aġh,

(M) fċlhġlpjš-ql j-dÉ kbġkb ÙÙġ-el p-%o kbġkb -kġNġ-kġ-NI Aġh,

Efpwqġl

H fĸŃġ¹ B-mjQej -b-L -k -LE hm-a fi-l -k BwĸnLij-h °LjilE -j±Sijl a«aEu Aw-nl -S-m °LhaŃ fĸlhijlpjŃq abi pijĸNĒLij-h h-VlqjV NĒijf'i-ua, dæhsE -Smj Hhw Bpij fĒ-c-nl -S-m °LhaŃ fĸlhijlh-NŃl SĒhekjæijl ji-el jicæi ijlaEu pwĸhdi-el pwlRZ eĒĸal 341 Hhw 342 eĸl dijil Aġ¹iŃŃŃ² LmĒjZjŃmL LjĸŃæ²-jl Iĸfju-Zl jidĒ-j EµQal AhÛÛju -f±y-R-Rz fĒp%æ²-j AaĒŃĸŃ² q-h ej HIĸf j-e L-l hmj -k-a fi-l -k pijĸNĒLij-h Bpij-jl AeĒjeĒ AeæpŃĸQa SiĸapjŃ-ql -r-æ J EŃ² LjĸŃæ²jpjŃ-ql IĸfjuZ AeæIĸf gm fĒcje L-l-Rz HCij-h HL Lbij hmj kju, pjNĒ Bpij fĒ-c-nl pjÛ¹ AeæpŃĸQa SiĸapjŃ-ql SĒhe kjæijl ji-el jicæi EŃ² LjĸŃæ²jpjŃ-ql Iĸfju-Zl jidĒ-j EµQal AhÛÛju EfeĒa q-u-Rz jĸqmih-NŃl -r-æ fĸlcænĒjje kaVŃLŃ qajnihĒ”L ĸQæ Bsj l-u-R aj-J Aeĸaĸhm-ĸ cŃlEi”a q-h kĸc ĸejÀĸmĸMa fĒĸalijŃmL hĒhÛÛijpŃq NĒqZ Lij kju- (L) jĸqmi-cl SĒhe J fĸlhij-l aj-cl i”ĸjli pĸj-å ĸQliQĸla dĒjedijZil fĸlhaŃe, (M) hĒhÛÛifeij j-dĒ DĸĀpa gmcj-el rjai h^æĸÛ Lij (N) kbjkb ÛÛj-el p-% kbjkb jicæiu fĸlhijlpjŃ-ql -kiNi-kiNÛÛifez

pwĸrĸ jġ¹hĒ

1*z "-L' hm-a -hijTju S-m, "hŃŃ-a' hm-a -hijTju hijp L-l hijp Llijz HC ij-h "-L' Hhw "hŃŃ-a' pĸå Lij jidĒ-j "-LhŃŃ' nĒĸV ĸexfæ q-u-Rz

2*z SiĸmL, Siĸmuj, Siĸmij J -S-m HC ph nĒ ...ĸm pjibŃLz H...ĸml ph LuĸVI AbŃ q'm jvpĒSĒhEz SiĸmL q-µR -j±ĸmL hijp dæijoiil Aġ¹ŃNa nĒ Bl Siĸmuj, Siĸmij Abhij -S-m Qĸma ijoiil Aġ¹iŃŃŃ² nĒijhmEz H-cl ph LĸVC LbĒ nĒ Iĸ-f hĒhqĸa q-a -cMij kjuz H...ĸml j-dĒ Siĸmuj nĒĸVI hĒhqil Xiĸ-lf-IV Ah -p^¾pip Afj-lne, Bpij -b-l fĒLijĸna -p^¾pip Ah Cĸäuj, 2001, Bpij, ĸpĸIS: 19 - HC fæÛ¹-Ll 421-424 f^æÛj pwMĒju -cMij kjuz

abĒpŃæ

1. i-iQikŃĒ, kaĒ^¾cĒ -jijq J AeĒjeĒ (pĸfi:)AjŃmĒQIZ ĸhĒĒi”oZ IQejhmE a«aEu Mä, fĸŌQjh% fæÛ¹L foŃc, BkŃ jĒjepe, 6 H, liSi pææ-hid jĸĸL -újuil, LĒjmLijVi'- 700073, 1990, f^æ: 189, 190

2. Xiĸ-lf-IV Ah -p^¾pip Afj-lne, Bpij, -p^¾pip Ah Cĸäuj, Bpij, ĸpĸIS: 19, f^æ: 421-424

3. I f^æ: xxvi

4. dl. ĸf. -L. Cĸäuje CLeĸj- CVpÛ -NĒiĸuw Xiĸ-jepepÛ, LmĒjeE fihĸmnijpŃ, ĸh- 1/1292, lijŃŃ^¾cleNl, mæĸdujei, Cĸäuj, 141008, -gilĸVġÛ HĸXne, 2006, f^æ: 174z

pīZF - 1

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwN^aqfa Bpi-jl d^xhsE -Smjl h-VlqiV NĒij f'i-u-al °LjilE -j±Sjl a«aEu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fxl'oh-NÑl
fĒSeÈjeæ²çLij-h çnrjNa -kiNÉajl AeifçrL jje J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jje

æ ² çL pwMÉi	fĒSeÈpjšq	üirlaj çhqEe fxl'ohNÑ	çnrjNajje/ -kiNÉajçhqEe üjrl fxl'ohNÑ	çnrjNa jje/-kiNÉajl pwk ^š 2 üjrl fxl'ohNÑ									pijçNĒL (Ü'ñ 3-11) HI -kiNgm
				fĒibçL (4bÑ -nĒZE EŠEZÑ)	jdÉhaÑE (8j -nĒZE EŠEZÑ)	jidÉçL (10j -nĒZE EŠEZÑ)	EμQal jidÉçL (12n -nĒZE) EŠEZÑ Lmi/ch'je/ hiczSE chijN	pÀjaL Ü'l EŠEZÑ Lmi/ch'je/ hiczSE chijN	pÀja-Lišl Ü'l EŠEZÑ Lmi/ch'je/ hiczSE chijN	LičINIE chcÉi (ch;C,çh.gijÑ CaÉičc) -a fĒič Efiçd	Ü'ñ 5-11 HI -kiNgm	Ü'ñ 4-11 HI -kiNgm	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1.	haÑjje fĒSeÈ	-	3 (9.37)	8 (25.00)	12 (37.50)	2 (6.25)	5 (15.63)	-	2 (6.25)	-	29 (90.63)	32 (100.00)	32 (100.00)
2.	fšhÑhaÑE fĒSeÈ (1)	12 (46.15)	5 (19.23)	2 (7.69)	3 (11.54)	-	-	3 (11.54)	-	1 (3.85)	9 (34.62)	14 (53.85)	26 (100.00)
3.	fšhÑhaÑE fĒSeÈ (2)	13 (86.68)	-	1 (6.66)	1 (6.66)	-	-	-	-	-	2 (13.32)	2 (13.32)	15 (100.00)
4.	fšhÑhaÑE fĒSeÈ (3)	5 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (100.00)

ficVĒLi : fĒbj hæEl pwMÉipjšq naLli qi-l fĒipç%oL hi pwçnÔø B-fçrL jjez

piZÉ - 2

Cw-lçS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwN^aqfa Bpi-jl dæhsÉ -Smil h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °LjiÉ -j±Sil a«afu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ jçqmih-NÑI
fËSeÈjeæ²çLij-h çnrjNa -kiNÉajl Aei-fçrL jje J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jjez

æ ² çL pwMÉi	fËSeÈpjšq	üirlai çhqfe jçqmihNÑ	çnrjNajje/ -kiNÉajçhqfe üirl jçqmihNÑ	çnrjNa jje/-kiNÉaj pwkæš ² üirl jçqmihNÑ									pijçNÉL (Ü'ñ 3-11) HI -kiNgm
				fËjbcjL (4bÑ -nÉZÉ EŠÉZÑ)	jdÉhšÑÉ (8j -nÉZÉ EŠÉZÑ)	jidÉçjL (10j -nÉZÉ EŠÉZÑ)	EmQal jidÉçjL (12n -nÉZÉ) EŠÉZÑ Lmi/ch'ie/ hçZSÉ çhijN	pÀjaL Ü'l EŠÉZÑ Lmi/ch'ie/ hçZSÉ çhijN	pÀja-Lišl Ü'l EŠÉZÑ Lmi/ch'ie/ hçZSÉ çhijN	LjçINÉ çhcÉj (çh;C,çh.gijÑ CaÉjçç) -a fËiç Efiçd	Ü'ñ 5-11 HI -kiNgm	Ü'ñ 4-11 HI -kiNgm	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1.	haÑjie fËSeÈ	2 (9.09)	2 (9.09)	6 (27.27)	8 (36.36)	2 (9.09)	1 (4.55)	1 (4.55)	-	-	18 (81.82)	20 (90.91)	22 (100.00)
2.	fšhÑhaÑÉ fËSeÈ (1)	18 (78.26)	2 (8.70)	1 (4.34)	2 (8.70)	-	-	-	-	-	3 (13.04)	5 (21.74)	23 (100.00)
3.	fšhÑhaÑÉ fËSeÈ (2)	14 (93.33)	-	-	1 (6.67)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (6.67)	1 (6.67)	15 (100.00)
4.	fšhÑhaÑÉ fËSeÈ (3)	6 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (100.00)

fjçVÉLi : fËbj hæEl pwMÉipjšq naLli qi-l fËipç%oL hi pwçnÔø B-fçrL jjez

piZ£ - 3

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwN^aq£a Bpi-jl dæhs£ -Smjl h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °Ljil£ -j±Sil a«a£u Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fæI!oh-NÑI fËSeÈjeæ²çJL
ij-h -fniNa h¾V-el Aei-fçrL jje J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jjez

æ²ç jL pw MÉi	fËSeÈ pjšq	LjÑla fæI!oh-NÑI -fniNa h¾Ve												pijCNËL -kiNgm (6+10+14)
		fËjbcjL-ro£				jjdÉçjL/çaa£u-ro£				a«a£u/-phi-ro£				
		LoÑL	L«ço nËçjL	föfime, hep ^a Se, jvpÉQio CaÉiçc	-jiV fçljiz (3+4+5)	MçeSâ hÉ J fïbl E-šime	çnÒfâ hÉ fËÛ¹ca LIZ	çejÑiz	-jiV fçljiz (7+8+9)	hÉhpi J hiçZSÉ	fçlhqe, fZÉpwlrZ J -kiNj-kiN	AeÉjeÉ -phiLkÑ	-jiV fçljiz (11+12+13)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1.	haÑjje fËSeÈ	11 (30.56)	-	-	11 (30.56)	-	7 (19.44)	7 (19.44)	14 (38.88)	5 (13.89)	1 (2.78)	5 (13.89)	11 (30.56)	36 (100.00)
2.	fšhÑhaÑ£ fËSeÈ (1)	18 (60.00)	2 (6.66)	-	20 (66.66)	-	-	-	-	5 (16.67)	-	5 (16.67)	10 (33.34)	30 (100.00)
3.	fšhÑhaÑ£ fËSeÈ (2)	13 (81.25)	1 (6.25)	-	14 (87.50)	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (12.50)	2 (12.50)	16 (100.00)
4.	fšhÑhaÑ£ fËSeÈ (3)	5 (100.00)	-	-	5 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5 (100.00)

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ficV£Li : fËbj håe£l pwMÉipj\$g naLli qi-l fËipç%L hi pwçnÔø B-fçrL jjez

pilZF - 4

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwN^aqfa Bpi-jl dæhsF -Smjl h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °LjilF -j±Sij a«afu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fxl'oh-NÑI -phi-r-œl A¿'ixÑš² AeÉjeÉ -phjLjkÑ HC chij-N -kje fËLjCna q-u-R acexkjuF -fnjNa h¼V-el fËSeÈjeæ²cjLij-h AeI-fçrL jje J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jje

œ²cjL pwMÉi	fËSeÈ pjšq	LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fxl'oh-NÑI HC -r-œ pwçnø -fnjNa h¼Ve				-jiv fçljiz
		fËibcjL/jdÉhaÑF/jidÉcjL/ EµQal jidÉcjL Û¹-II çnrL	jqiçhcÉjmu-ul çnrL	AeÉjeÉ plilif -r-œl Qil¥lESFhF	AeÉjeÉ	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1.	haÑjie fËSeÈ	2 (40.00)	2 (40.00)	1 (20.00)	-	5 (100.00)
2.	fšhÑhaÑF fËSeÈ (1)	-	-	4 (80.00)	1 (20.00)	5 (100.00)
3.	fšhÑhaÑF fËSeÈ (2)	-	-	-	2 (100.00)	2 (100.00)
4.	fšhÑhaÑF fËSeÈ (3)	-	-	-	-	-

fjçVFLi : fËbj hæeFl pwMÉijpjšq naLli qi-l fËipç%L hi pwçnØ B-fçrL jjez

pilZF - 5

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwN^aqfa Bpi-jl dæhsF -Smjl h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °LjilF -j±Sij a«afu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ jçqmih-NÑI fËSeÈjeæ²cjLij-h -fnjNa h¼V-el AeI-fçrL jje J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jje Hhw pçfçLÑa 'jahÉ abihmF

œ²cjL pwMÉi	fËSeÈ pjšq	-fnjNa h¼V-el çQœ				N ^a q L-jñçekæš² jçqmi-cl -jiv pwMÉi	Ù'ñ 6 Hhw 7 HI -kiNgm
		fËibcjL -rœ	çaaFu -rœ	-phi -rœ	Ù'ñ 3 Hhw 4 HI -kiNgm		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	haÑjie fËSeÈ	-	2 (8.00) (çhçs fËÙ¹¥a Ljil nËÉcjL)	1 (4.00) (çhcÉjmu çnrLi)	3 (12.00)	22 (88.00)	25 (100.00)
2.	fšhÑhaÑF fËSeÈ (1)	-	-	-	-	23 (100.00)	23 (100.00)
3.	fšhÑhaÑF fËSeÈ (2)	-	-	-	-	15 (100.00)	15 (100.00)
4.	fšhÑhaÑF fËSeÈ	-	-	-	-	6	6

	(3)					(100.00)	(100.00)
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fjcvELj : fĕbj hăełl pWMEİpjšq nallj qı-l fĕjpc%L hj pwcñOø B-fçrL jiez

pıIZĒ - 6

Cw-lçS 2013-14 h-oŃ pWnâqfa Bpi-jl dâhsĒ -Smjl h-VlqıV NĒij f'ı-u-al °LjıĒ -j±Sjl a«aEu Aw-nl fĒSeĒjeæ²çjLij-h LjŃla -S-m °LhaŃ fxlıoh-NŃı SeĒ pçfĒpjçla abı avLaŃ«L Efıxš² pwlrZ eĒca pwcñOø LmĒjZjšmL fĒLòf J LjŃpšQđl Ađ'ıŃxš² pæx-kjN-pæxçhdj AeækiuĒ aj-cl Aeı-fçrL J B-fçrL (nallj qı-l) jje J pçfçLŃa 'jahĒ abıhmĒ

æ²çjL pWMEİ	fĒSeĒpjšq	pæx-kjN-pæxçhdj fjuçe abı Ef-ıjN L-lçe Hje	pçfĒpjçla abı Efıxš² pæx-kjN-pæxçhdj -nĒZE çıjN								Ú'Ń 3 Hhw 11 Hı pjçø
			Nâq çeŃŃıZ pqıuL AbŃjeæL"mĒ	EvfıcejšmL GZ	EvfıcejšmL kç»fıçal -kıNje	MıçĒ pWNE-q pqıuL AbŃjeæL"mĒ	Rıçe hâçš	pLlıĒ QıLıĒĒ	çhçhd pæx-kjN-pæxçhdj*	Ú'Ń 4 - 10 Hı pjçø	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1.	haŃjje fĒSeĒ	25 (78.14)	1 (3.12)	-	1 (3.12)	-	4 (12.50)	-	1 (3.12)	7 (21.86)	32 (100.00)
2.	fšhŃhaŃĒ fĒSeĒ (1)	19 (73.08)	2 (7.69)	-	2 (7.69)	-	-	-	3 (11.54)	7 (26.92)	26 (100.00)
3.	fšhŃhaŃĒ fĒSeĒ (2)	15 (93.75)	-	1 (6.25)	-	-	-	-	-	1 (6.25)	16 (100.00)
4.	fšhŃhaŃĒ fĒSeĒ (3)	5 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	--	-	-	5 (100.00)

fjcvELj : fĕbj hăełl pWMEİpjšq nallj qı-l fĕjpc%L hj pwcñOø B-fçrL jiez

*çhçhd pæx-kjN-pæxçhdj =>1. Rıçe hâçš Hhw pLlıĒ QıLıĒĒ z 2. Rıçe hâçš Hhw EvfıcejšmL kç»fıçal -kıNjez

pjlZE - 7

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwN^aqfa Bpi-jl dæhsE -Smil h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °LjilE -j±Sij a«a£u Aw-nl fËSeËieæ²cjLij-h LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ jçqmjh-NÑI SeÉ pçFËpiçla abi avLaÑ«L Efiæš² pwlrZ e£ca pwçnÔø LmÉjZjşmL fËLÒf J LjÑpşQ£I Až'iÑæš² pææ-kjN-pææçhdj Aæxkiu£ ai-cl Aej-fçrL J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jje J pçfçLÑa 'jahÉ abihm£

æ ² cjL pwMÉi	fËSeËpjşq	pæ-kjN- pæçhdj fjuçe abi Ef-ijN L-lçe Hje	pçFËpiçla abi Efiæš ² pææ-kjN-pææçhdj -nËZE chijN								Ù'n 3 Hhw 11 HI pjçø
			N ^a q çejÑjZ pqiuL AbÑjæL'mÉ	EvfiçejşmL GZ	EvfiçejşmL kž»fiçal -kijNje	MicÉ pwNË-q pqiuL AbÑjæL'mÉ	Rjæ hæçš	plLilE Qil¥ilE	çhçhd pææ-kjN- pææçhdj*	Ù'n 4 - 10 HI pjçø	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
1.	haÑjie fËSeË	20 (90.90)	-	-	-	4 (4.55)	1 (4.55)	-	-	2 (9.10)	22 (100.00)
2.	fşhÑhaÑE fËSeË (1)	15 (65.22)	8 (34.78)	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 (34.78)	23 (100.00)
3.	fşhÑhaÑE fËSeË (2)	14 (93.33)	1 (6.67)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (6.67)	15 (100.00)
4.	fşhÑhaÑE fËSeË (3)	6 (100.00)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 (100.00)

fjçV£Lj : fËbj hæ£l pwMÉipjşq naLli qi-l fËipç%oL hi pwçnÔø B-fçrL jjez

*çhçhd pææ-kjN-pææçhdj =>1. Rjæ hæçš Hhw plLilE Qil¥ilE z 2. Rjæ hæçš Hhw EvfiçejşmL kž»fiçal -kijNjez

pilZE - 8

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ pwNªqfa Bpi-jl dæhsE -Smjl h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °LjilE -j±Sij a«aEu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fclhjlhNÑ ki-cl -r-œ üjdæej-EŠl pj-u 1950 pi-m pwçhdje LjkÑLilE qJuil pju -b-L pwçhdi-el 341 Hhw 342 eđl dilju hCZÑa pwlrZ eEcal Až'iÑæš² pææ-kjN-pææchdijpšq pCfËpiçla q-u-R abi ki-cl àjil avpjšq Efiæš² q-u-R pææ-kjN-pææchdi AæækiuE aj-cl Ae-j-fçrL J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jie

œ²çjL pwMÉj	pCfËpiçla abi Efiæš² pææ-kjN-pææchdijl -nËZE çhijN	fclhjlh-NÑl Ae-j-fçrL J (naLli qi-l) B-fçrL jie
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	NªqçejÑiz pqiuL AbÑjeæL"mÉ	7 (35.00)
2.	EvfiçejšmL GZ	1 (5.00)
3.	EvfiçejšmL kž»fiçal -kijNje	1 (5.00)
4.	MijÉ pwNË-q pqiuL AbÑjeæL"mÉ	1 (5.00)
5.	Riœ hªçš	3 (15.00)
6.	plilE QilæE	-
7.	çhçhd pææ-kjN-pææchdi*	3 (15.00)
8.	œ²çjL pwMÉj 1 - 7 HI -kijNgm	16 (80.00)
9.	pææ-kjN-pææchdi pCfËpiçla quçe abi Ef-ijN L-lçe Hje fclhjl	4 (20.00)
10.	pjçNËL pjçø	20.00 (100.00)

fjçVÆli : fËbj hæeE pwMÉijpšq naLli qi-l fËipç%L hi pwçnØ B-fçrL jie

*çhçhd pææ-kjN-pææchdi =>1. Riœ hªçš Hhw plilE QilæE z 2. Riœ hªçš Hhw EvfiçejšmL kž»fiçal -kijNje

fclçnø (Açaclš²) pilZE - 1

Cw-lCS 2013-14 h-oÑ Bpi-jl dæhsE -Smjl h-VlqiV NËij f'i-u-al °LjilE -j±Sij a«aEu Aw-nl LjÑla -S-m °LhaÑ fclhjlhpš-ql al-g EšçielilE hÉçš²h-NÑl Bææjçel hÉiMÉj [2 (L) Hhw 2 (M)] CaÉiçc AæækiuE Ae-j-fçrL J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jie

œ²çjL pwMÉj	Bææjçel hÉiMÉijpšq J AeÉieÉ 'jahÉ abÉihmE	fclhjlhpš-ql al-g EšçielilE hÉçš²h-NÑl Ae-j-fçrL J B-fçrL (naLli qi-l) jie
(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	hÉhÛÛifeju Dçãpa gmcj-el Arjai [2 (L)]	11 (55.00)
2.	fclhjlh-NÑl kbjkb ÛÛi-el p-%o -kijN-kijN pwçnØ giyL [2 (M)]	5 (25.00)

3.	LjIZ fĒcnÑ-e ApjbÑ	4 (20.00)
4.	pjçNĒL pjçø	20 (100.00)

ficvĒLj : fĒbj hâełI pwMĒijpçq naLli qi-l fĒipç%oL hi pwçnÔø B-fçrL jiez

Pretence: the Other Side of Reality

Sutapa Chakraborty [†]

Abstract

Among the different problems of knowledge the problem of pretence occupies a very relevant as well as interesting place in philosophical discussion. In fact, to unearth the nature of knowledge of truth or reality in respective fields of enquiry is an essential feature of any branch of study. In this regard, to know really the real, not the superficial aspect of the same, finds a central focus of the investigator concerned. But, when we are doing philosophy, particularly, the issue of pretence appears to be a hindrance to knowledge proper or what is called true knowledge. The reason is that there is always an open space for some superficial character of reality, i.e., pretence, to occur in order to hide the real. In other words, this problem of pretence starts with hiding the real nature of reality or the object of knowledge in a manner that we often hardly make the distinction between the two, between the real and the superficial. So, in philosophy thinkers of knowledge seem to be worried about knowing the truth or the real in so far the possibility of pretence accompanies the real. This paper aims to bring relaxation to those philosophers from their worry in knowledge with the revelation of a relevant feature of pretence. This feature marks that pretence is only another aspect, or the other side of the real.

Keywords

Reality, Pretence, Intelligence, Criteria, Meaning, Knowledge

Pretence: the Other Side of Reality*

Humans are dramatically designed to *know* the *reality* of the real. But, at one point of this knowledge of reality there is apparently the restricted boundary of the (human) race; while on the other, there is provision for some intellectual play on the side of the real which we call *Pretence*. The restricted pattern is often realized as natural order or the very spontaneous structure of our being, while pretence is considered to be an artificial reproduction of or rather a distortion of the natural order. So, reality and pretence are often considered to be of opposite characters. Taken in this sense, reality is real in its own right whether we know it or not. And, pretension is also sided with the real until we catch it. This creates a characteristic riddle at the heart of knowing ‘actually’ the real. To be precise in apprehension here, we need to state that by “reality” we mean any fact of actuality, anything that actually is *the case*. Pretence, on the other hand, is the *willful play* of hiding or of differently representing the actuality as meant above.

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But then, we discover the link of the two in the point of the *art* that is involved in pretence in twisting the real. This artful representation of reality is, therefore, another order of our being itself, the being of the most intelligent existence (humans) on earth that is capable of concealing the real by the power of natural intelligence only. Speaking in short, being designed as the intelligent creature humans thrives on to unveil the reality as well as to conceal the reality, or even also to discover the pretension about the reality. All these acts occur within humans' own zone, within his same being. This article aims to state that point of reflection which highlights the existing aspect of reality and the accommodating aspect of pretence in reality.

Now, the fact of reality may be applicable to the material order of the universe as well as to the immaterial order of the same. But, the fact of pretence is uniquely ascribable to the immaterial aspect (*will*) of the pretender. So, the philosophers are relevantly interested to through light over the immaterial aspect to deal with the issue of reality and pretence. The fact of pretence, again, seems significant to the realm of mutual course of humans, meaning thereby that when there is at least two humans to meet a course of action or intention there opens the possible road to pretence. Pretence, as reflected in particular behavioural pattern, is, therefore, the play or intention of a mind over the other mind(s). To know that intention behind the pretence behaviour is caught as problematic which results in doubt in knowledge in this region of the immaterial. Such a doubt is placed as problematic by many philosophers from the standpoint of genuineness of such knowledge claims together with the factual possibility of *pretence*. Elaborately speaking, the problem of pretence is chained, specially, to the behaviorist account of mental ascription to persons who are epistemologically called the subjects. Taken in this sense, pretence implies the tactful patterns of behaviour that involves hoaxes and often remains undetected as fake behaviour. Philosophers, therefore, assert that in the ascription of mental predicates to persons other than oneself the role of behavioural criteria could have been cogent have there been no possibility of pretence. It is this possibility of pretence that restricts us to make knowledge claims to the mental states of persons other than ourselves. The skeptic, thus, remarks that pretence remains an important pointer in connection to the skepticism of other minds. (Chakraborty 2011) We may relevantly quote Ryle here,

...some people feel a theoretical embarrassment, since if any particular action or reaction might be a piece of shamming, might not every action or reaction be a piece of shamming?
(Ryle 1990a, 165)

Pretence, can, therefore, portray a case of behavioural performance as designed with higher intelligence such that it "appears" to be real, though it is not really real and designed only. From this, the following characteristics of pretence may be framed as follows (Chakraborty 2011):

1. Pretence is an activity.
2. It is fabricated with intelligence. This is evident from the tactics that we note to be involved in matter of its parity with the 'real'.
3. It is intentional, i.e., it has a definite intention behind its representation.
4. There is often a kind of willful intention in its use, as distinguished from natural intention of any act, and that intention is aimed very skillfully to depict the unreal as real, the untrue as true.
5. It is built on the pillar of imagination of the real and correspondingly applied in the projection of the unreal as the real.

From the above we may note that “as an action it is opposed to passivity and as such involves definite patterns of behavior. That is why we face the trouble of identifying a real ‘behavior’ and a pretended one”. (ibid 2011)

Again, the referred patterns of behaviour are trickily framed to display the unreal as real, leaving aside the possible difference of the real and the pretended. Now, when we talk about the involvement trick in pretence behaviour and also about the expertise in knowing the relevant skill to represent different situations the play of intelligence is a relevant requirement. So, in the fake-presentation the criterion of intelligence seems very significant. Here, the higher the intelligence applied the lesser the possibility of catching the pretended object or the content of pretence. Ryle seems to assert the same when he says,

“The concept of make-believe is of a higher order than that of belief”. (Ryle, op cit., 250)

Further, the association of an intention¹ that resides at the back of every pretence phenomenon is an important marker in the projection of the unreal as real. (Anscombe 1981, 87)

The intention is, again, often a desired one and not a spontaneous one. Speaking in other words, pretence intended is pretence desired meaning thereby that the object or the intent follows a will or purpose. That means when there is pretence, there is an intention to hide the real, this intention in turn has a purpose behind it like amusement, or avoidance to face embarrassing consequences of the real order situations and etc.

Furthermore, the competence to imagine the real situation is another fulfilling characteristic in the projection of pretence. Unless the pretender is able to imagine the nature, cause and consequences of a real situation he would fail in his effort to hide the same.

The above features of the pretence phenomenon suggest the presence of a mind or minds at the back of it that actually guides the pretence to happen. And, consequently, in the absence of definite designs and dexterity, for instance, that follow from some mental order, the object of pretence gets lost, i.e., it fails to succeed in the desired intent; while on the other hand, the highly planned (out of a higher intelligence or mind power) pretended object often remains uncaught. As Ryle says,

“skillful shamming is hard to detect and that successful shamming is undetected”. (Ryle, op cit., 166)

With the above understanding of the phenomenon of pretence it is now not only evident but also interesting to note that although there is a huge possibility of undetected pretence behaviour in our life that skillfully suppresses the real object of knowledge, there is also the key to unlock the door to the same (pretence behaviour) with the help of the same instrument of intelligence. Hence, as noted earlier, the more accurate our intelligence functions the more possibility of either hiding the real or discovering the real from the pretended one. So, all is about the game of our power of intelligence. That is why when someone “skillfully attempts” to hide his painful state of mind with a kind of pretence behaviour (like exhibiting opposite of pain behaviour in smiling or even laughing and the like) we may hardly catch his exact state of mind. However, the occasions when we “catch” him are also not very rare.

Actually, a man cannot continue for a long time to behave in an opposite manner than his actual state of mind. For, he cannot act in his spontaneity in those cases. Here, the philosophers further

arguer that to act with pretence may be the spontaneous character of a person's behaviour, and therefore, he can act accordingly for ever which would remain undetected. In that case the problem of pretence would prevail for ever. But, to this possibility we may respond that even if the pretence behaviour is exhibited every time with spontaneity we should not ignore the significant characteristic of "intention" that always guides the pretence. Here, we may not be able often to detect the pretension, yet we may often be able to crack the intention behind any act when we "try with our spontaneous power of intelligence" to assess the nature of the same (the act concerned). Moreover, the intention of the person concerned may change and we may be able to "trace" that in the period of transition of one intention to other. So, in all these acts of the pretender and the detector the role played by human intelligence is awesome. With this unique power of intelligence when the pretender hides his actual behaviour the doubter or detector detects the same with that same intelligence.

Again, though we may often remain undoubted about the fake behaviour before us we can actually discover the real issue or intension when under different and diversified human situations the pretender fails to control over his mode of fake behaving.

For, in those cases, his situation surpasses the limit between pretence-behaviour and real-behavior. So, what is required in discovering the line or limit of pretence and reality is, importantly, the power of intelligence. If the pretender is intelligent enough than the deceived ones, the pretence is successful in achieving its object; while if the case is reverse then the pretence is easily caught. (Chakraborty, 2011)

The remark of Ryle seems very relevant here with the above when he points out that the presence of counterfeit coins signifies the reality of genuine coins, the presence of pretence instances signifies the presence of real instances from which we proceed to ascribe different mental states in different persons with our application of the (available) criteria of pretence behaviour and of real behaviour. Here, the use of criteria is remarkably associated with the meaningfulness of our living, our asserting, and our point of discovering the real from the fake. To be elaborate here, it is the grammatical role of the use of criteria that its presence signifies the meaningful presence of the real or the pretended as the case may be. To understand this role of criterial use is to understand the meaningfulness of mental predications. (Wittgenstein 1984, 24)

And, one's ignorance of the limit of pretence and reality is not to miscarry the criterial meaningfulness, but to add to our mode of behaving (being ignorant or lacking the power of necessary intelligence). For,

When someone goes to the extent of smashing the object before him out of his anger (expressed) the criterion of the presence of anger is noted. Here, the person concerned is crossing the limit of any kind of make-believe and indulging into the real expression of anger. Here, he cannot be said to be pretending. (Chakraborty, 2011)

If we suppose that this may again be an instance of pretence, we need to relate the behaviour of the person to that length of behaving which is not included in our *forms of life* (Wittgenstein 1953, 8^e) and also in our meaningful uses of criteria in knowing the extent of pretence and reality. For, as Prof. Austin states,

There is necessarily involved in pretence, or shamming, the notion of a limit which must not be overstepped: pretence is always insulated, as it were, from reality. (Austin 1979, 253)

Therefore, the surpassing of the limit between reality and pretension by a kind of pretence behavior, though new to the various mode of our life, may be well added to the same as the extended, or other, aspect of the real. From this we may conclude that in the case of intelligent agents of the earth like us, at least, the role of intelligence, in the sense of conscious act of the mind, is the common factor in discovering the fact of pretence and the real. Hence, pretence is not something exclusive to these intelligent beings, or to their behaviours, and eventually to their bounds of knowledge too. Rather, it is another aspect of their very beings, i.e., one among the different parallel aspects of the beings of the reality.

Notes

* The main content of this article as well as a major part of it is framed from the unpublished PhD Dissertation of the author.

1. In different cases the depth of intention may vary. Say for instance, someone may make pretension for amusement, while some others or even the same person may display pretence behaviour in order to deceive others with serious objects in minds. Ordinarily, pretence in the sense of concealing the real is well understood as a form of our living (as noted in Wittgenstein). But, in every case, pretence must follow some real intent i.e., the intent to conceal the 'real' for a desired end. Vide here Philosophical Papers of G.E.M. Anscombe, G.E.M, 1981). For, pretence seems meaningful only when it is planned for deceiving others as no one behaves in pretension for his own self. And, in deceiving others there remains always a relevant point of intention (to deceive). So, the presence of an intention follows from the very point of a pretence instance which it aims to serve. In other words, pretence without intention is pointless.

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Locke's View on the Criterion of Truth A Critical Assessment

Mrinal Kanti Basak[†]

Abstract

For Locke, the truth consists of joining or separating signs, as the things signified by them agree or disagree with one another. So, truth belongs only to propositions. As there are two kinds of signs, namely ideas and words, there are two kinds of propositions also, viz. mental and verbal. However, as truth belongs only to propositions, there are two kinds of truth, viz. mental and verbal. According to Locke, ideas, when put together or separated in the mind, as the things they stand for do or do not agree, constitute mental truth. Again, in verbal truth, affirmation or denial is made by words, as the ideas they stand for agree or disagree. Verbal truth is two-fold; either purely verbal and trifling or real and instructive that is the object of real knowledge. The agreement or disagreement of ideas as it is when expressed by words gives rise to truth. The truth becomes real when these ideas expressed by words agree with their archetypes. This implies that Locke has accepted the correspondence theory of truth. In our sense experience, we are aware of our ideas, which are wholly mind dependent. These ideas represent the objects of the external world, which causes them. Various objections to Locke's theory of Truth are discussed in detail in this work.

Keywords

Truth, Ideas, Sense Experience, Sense Perception

According to Locke, the truth consists of joining or separating signs (the two types of signs commonly used are words and ideas), as the things signified by them agree or disagree with one another (Locke 1975, 574). As joining or separating of signs means nothing but propositions, truth belongs only to propositions. Moreover, as there are two types of signs that are commonly used, viz. ideas and words, there are two kinds of propositions, namely mental and verbal. In order to form a clear notion of truth, it is necessary to consider these propositions separately. However, Locke said that it is difficult to treat these two kinds of propositions separately (Locke 1975, 574) for, in treating mental propositions, usage of language is unavoidable and this makes the instances

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of mental propositions verbal. A mental proposition is nothing but a bare consideration of ideas, as they are in our minds, stripped of names. They become verbal as soon as we put them into words.

There is a second reason, which prevents the separation of the two propositions. This is that generally, man in their thinking and reasoning, use words instead of ideas, where the object of their thinking or reasoning is complex ideas. When we make propositions about simple ideas, e.g. white, black, sweet, and bitter, we can frame in our minds the ideas themselves without reflecting on the names. However, when we frame propositions about complex ideas, like man, vitriol, fortitude, glory, etc., we usually consider the names for the ideas. The reason behind this is that these ideas themselves are imperfect, confused, and undetermined. In these cases, we reflect on the names, which generally stand for the ideas because they are clearer, certain, distinct, and occur more quickly to our thoughts than the pure ideas do. Locke pointed out that the idea of 'substance' is an imperfect idea. It stands for real essence, of which we have no idea. Again, the idea of mode, which consists of different simple ideas, is also a confused idea. Most of the constituent simple ideas, which make up the idea of mode, are compounded. So here, the name occurs in the mind more quickly than the complex ideas, which require time and attention for recollection.

We have noticed that Locke has admitted two types of propositions, viz. 'mental' and 'verbal.' In the case of mental proposition, our mind, by perceiving or judging the agreement or disagreement of our ideas, puts them together or separates them in our understanding, without using any word. On the other hand, verbal propositions are words, the signs of our ideas, put together, or separated in affirmative or negative sentences. Therefore, the proposition consists in putting together or separating the signs and truth consists in putting together or separating the signs as they agree or disagree with the things they stand for.

Locke has raised a doubt regarding truth, similar to the one that he raised regarding knowledge. He has argued that if truth merely consists in joining and separating of words in propositions, as the ideas they stand for agree or disagree in men's minds, the knowledge of truth will have no value. For, this account of truth suggests only the conformity of words to the chimaeras of men's brain. It has no connection with the real world. Moreover, by this account of truth, the proposition, 'Centaur is an animal,' and the proposition, 'All men are animal,' are both true propositions, for in both the propositions the words are put together according to the agreement of the ideas in our minds. The mind perceives the agreement of the idea of animal with that of Centaur as clearly as the agreement of the idea of animal with that of man.

In his answer to this objection, Locke has himself distinguished real truth from chimerical or verbal truth. (Locke 1975, 577) He said that in the case of verbal truth, the terms are put together according to the agreement or disagreement of ideas they stand for without considering whether these ideas represent anything in the nature. However, in the case of real truth, when we join terms according to the agreement or disagreement of those ideas, the correspondence of ideas with realities in nature must be taken into account.

To sum it up, the agreement or disagreement of ideas as it is when expressed by words is truth. The truth becomes real when these ideas expressed by words agree with their archetypes. This implies that Locke accepted the correspondence theory of truth. According to the correspondence theory, a judgment is correct or a proposition is true, if there is a fact corresponding to it, false if there is not. Regarding truth and error, two main questions arise – first, how truth and error are

constituted, and secondly, how they are known or tested. The first question is related to the nature and the second to the criteria of truth and error.

Locke held that it is not possible for us to perceive the world directly. In our sense experience what we are aware of are our ideas, which are wholly mind dependent. Regarding the perception of the external world, Locke said that ideas represent the objects of the external world, which causes them and provide us with a picture of the real world. This is a kind of correspondence theory, referred to as the 'copy theory of ideas' or 'picture original theory of sense perception.' We have seen that Locke admitted the copy theory of idea or picture original theory of sense perception as far as our knowledge of the outer world is concerned, (Locke 1975, 85) According to him, ideas may be divided into two classes: first, ideas that not only represent but also resemble their objects, i.e., ideas of primary qualities. Secondly, there are ideas that represent but do not resemble their objects. These are the ideas of secondary qualities.

Various objections can possibly be raised regarding the nature of Locke's picture original theory of sense perception. According to the theory, mental state and physical things both have the same order of existence and the former is a copy or resemblance of the latter. However, we cannot say that when we perceive an external object; our perceptive consciousness also takes the shape of the object. Consciousness has no extension and therefore no shape at all (Chatterjee 1964, 183).

Regarding the copy theory of ideas, Woozley has put forward some criticisms (Woozley 1976, 137). The theory does not explain how a proposition can be a copy of the thing it represents. A proposition has no similarity with the things that it represents. Woozley said the proposition 'My dog is brown and lazy' is true if my dog is brown and lazy but this proposition and 'My lazy brown dog' are not alike. It makes sense to say of that dog that it is lazy and brown or that it needs brushing. Nevertheless, we cannot say these things about a proposition.

Woozley pointed out that this objection is valid about the theory that holds that a proposition corresponds with an event or a thing. However, it is not effective for the theory that holds that a proposition corresponds with a fact. The fact and the proposition are both unlike the thing to which they refer. Thus, my brown dog's laziness is not the same as my lazy brown dog; i.e., the proposition is different from the thing.

Woozley argued that we normally take one thing to be a copy or picture of another, if both are visible. Nevertheless, neither the fact that the dog is lazy and brown nor the proposition asserting this is visible here.

Woozley maintained that if 'copy' means resemblance, the invisibility of the proposition and the fact does not prove that they cannot resemble each other. He said that not only could other sensible like two smells or two sounds resemble each other but also two insensible, e.g. two arguments or two religious doctrines. Woozley opined that whether this answer would support the correspondence theory is hard to decide unless the supporters maintain that the relation of resemblance is fundamental. He pointed out that this is unacceptable for he has failed to see in which respect a fact and a proposition differ from each other. For two things to be qualitatively similar they must be numerically different, i.e. they must be two things.

Further, Woozley contended that Locke's theory suffers from a grave disadvantage. If the theory is true, Locke was, by its very truth, prevented from ever knowing that it was so. The arguments,

which he has, therefore advanced in favour of his theory, were not available for him. Locke faced a dilemma here: if the arguments for the theory were available to him; the theory cannot be true; if the theory is true, no reason can be available for accepting it. The dilemma is explained briefly below.

Locke held that what we get immediately in our sense perception is not an object but a representation of it. Woozley argued that it is impossible for Locke's theory to recognize anything to be a representative of something else. He pointed out that there are two ways of identifying anything to be a representative of something. Either this can be done by comparing the representative and the represented or by showing some document, which the representative carries on it, guaranteeing that it does represent what it intends to represent. The first method of recognising a representative is not open to Locke. For according to him, we never perceive the objects in the external world directly but mediate via ideas. We cannot compare ideas with objects to discern the relation of the copy and the original that holds between them.

The second method is also not consistent with Locke's theory. This is so because the sense data, which produce ideas, do not carry with them any document, showing that they do represent what they want to represent. Moreover, barely as data of sensation, they claim to represent nothing.

Woozley contended that if Locke's theory of perception is correct, we have no reason whatsoever for suspecting that there are such things as 'original.' Our experience is confined only to what is representative. We can have no reason for supposing that it is representative.

The relationship to original is verifiable or meaningful only when we can step outside the circle of representative objects into the outer circle of represented objects. Woozley pointed out that it is this step, which we can never take if Locke's basic epistemological principle is true.

We have already discussed different criticisms raised against the nature of the correspondence theory. Regarding the application of this theory, some criticism remains to be discussed.

S. S. Barlingay and Padma B. Kulkarni pointed out in *A Critical Survey of Western Philosophy* that one of the chief defects of the correspondence theory is that it is difficult or even impossible to know the correspondence without involving either a vicious circle or an infinite regress (Barlingay and Kulkarni 1980, 139). According to Locke, we cannot know an object directly but only through its idea. However, we cannot know whether an idea corresponds with its object without the previous knowledge of the object. We know an object through its idea and the idea is validated by the previous knowledge of an object. An infinite regress is involved here. We know an object directly through its idea, which, according to Locke, has a twilight existence, that is, it shares the character of the thing as well as the mind. However, it is impossible to know that aspect of the idea where it shares the thing's aspect without an intervention of another idea, which will stand between the first idea and the mind. This will go on indefinitely.

The correspondence theory of truth can be relevant only to Locke's sensitive knowledge. The question of correspondence in the context of intuitive and demonstrative knowledge is illegitimate. In case of intuitive knowledge, we perceive the agreement or disagreement of two ideas immediately by themselves without the intervention of any other idea. We need no proof or examination; the mind perceives the truth as eye sees the light. In order to know the truth, the question of correspondence does not arise. In the case of demonstrative knowledge, the mind

perceives the agreement or disagreement of any idea, not immediately but by the intervention of some other idea that it uses as a proof. Every step in the demonstration that produces knowledge has intuitive certainty. In demonstrative knowledge mind requires memory in order to recall that enables it to reach the conclusion. However, memory is fallible. Hence, demonstrative knowledge also becomes uncertain and is less clear and distinct than intuitive truth. The mind requires proofs and memory in order to know the demonstrative knowledge. The question of correspondence in this context is thus illegitimate. However, as the external objects are never directly perceived, the correspondence theory is inapplicable in the case of Locke's sensitive knowledge also.

Locke adhered to the correspondence theory probably in order to overcome the defects of the naïve or direct realism. According to naïve or direct realism, truth consists of a direct correspondence between knowledge and reality. Every knowledge or experience reveals the objects as they really are. However, sometimes we do not perceive the things as they really are. Our perception does not correspond to the character of what we claim to have perceived. This doctrine therefore cannot explain such cases as errors of perception, dreams, illusions, hallucinations, and the like. Locke, however, in his representationalism, suggests that we perceive external things through the medium of ideas, which are states of mind. It seems that if sensible appearances are regarded as mental phenomenon then this doctrine can satisfactorily explain illusions, hallucinations, etc. However, it carries the seeds of its own destruction within itself. According to Locke, the immediate data of our perception are ideas, which are completely mind dependent entities. Therefore, it is difficult to pass from ideas to anything outside them. Our knowledge is confined within the realm of our own ideas and we cannot compare our ideas with those external objects. Hence, Locke's doctrine of representationalism again fails to explain errors of perception, dream, illusion, and hallucination.

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First published in 2008, Victorian Journal of Arts, a peer reviewed, UGC enlisted, bi-lingual, multidisciplinary journal, has been publishing original research articles and book reviews on a wide range of disciplines from the field of Humanities. Published bi-annually in January and July, the Journal has already found its niche in the academic world, attracting scholarly articles both from India and abroad. In selecting articles the journal is not prejudicial to any particular political, social or religious ideology. Victorian Journal of Arts is an open forum that embraces both hard-core discipline specific articles and articles with an inter-disciplinary approach.