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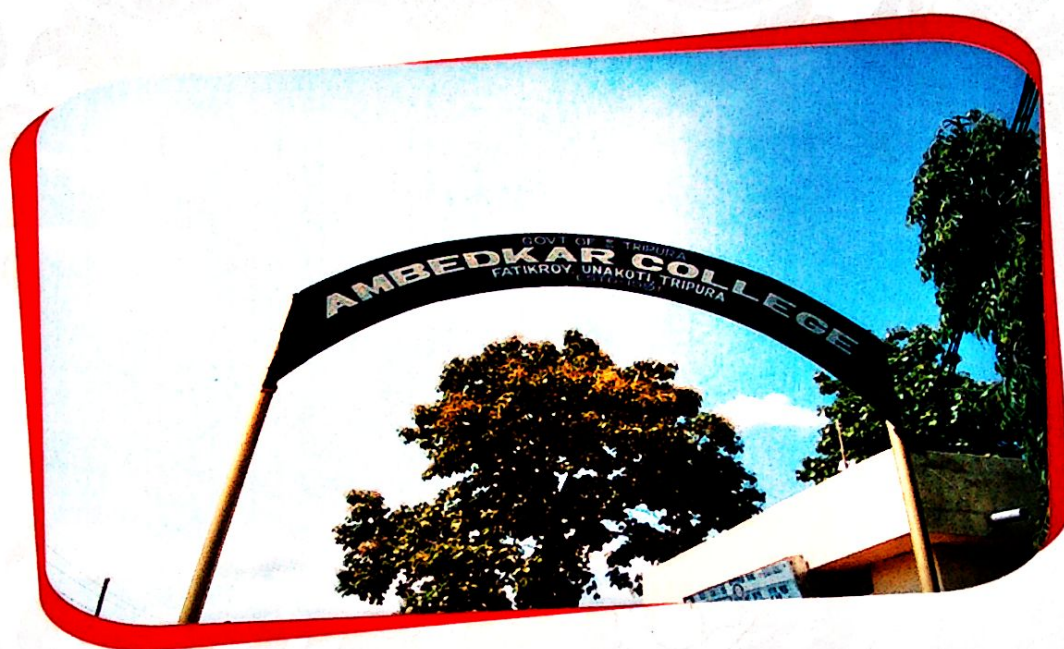
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***From the Desk of the Editor in-Chief & Principal i/c***

Publication of a Research Journal has a vital role in promotion of quality in Higher Education. Enhancing the quality of Higher Education is one of the core commitments of the Ambedkar College, Fatikroy. Thus, we did launch this journal in the year 2015, which was exciting and the response was encouraging. We are happy that we could overcome the challenging task of maintaining the continuity of the publication and bring out the second issue of the Ambedkar College Research Journal for scholars and general public. This issue contains eleven articles, of which seven are in English, three are in Bengali and one in Sanskrit, covering topics from different disciplines, viz. Social science, Philosophy, Religion, Bengali literature and Sanskrit literature.

We are extremely thankful to all researchers and scholars who have contributed their scholarly article for this issue, without which it would not have been possible on our part to materialize the publication of this journal. We do hereby convey our gratitude to the members of the Advisory Board for their valuable suggestions and advice. We are also thankful to the faculty members of Ambedkar College for their all-round help and support in bringing out the second issue of this journal.

Hope, like the first issue this issue will also receive a good response from scholars as well as reading public and will contribute to the field of research and development.

Dr. Subrata Sharma

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## EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN TRIPURA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIGHER EDUCATION

Ravi Khangai

### ABSTRACT

*Tripura, a tiny state nestled in the green forests of the North East. The government of Tripura is initiating the policy of making education available to all and there is an expansion of higher education. Since 2008, government had gone for three major recruitment drives for Assistant Professors in the colleges and Part time college teachers had been made permanent. Recently six new degree colleges have opened in the state and a new state university is in the anvil. In spite of the trend of progress mentioned above, the Higher*

*Education sector in the state suffers numerous lacunas.*

*This paper explores the shortcomings in the policies and practices in the higher education sector in Tripura with suggestion that filling up those gaps may possibly make the Higher Education scenario more vibrant.*

*The apparent lacunas that we witness in the sector are regional imbalance, problem of medium of instruction, lack of capacity building among the teachers and political interference.*

**Key words-** Medium, Capacity, Lacuna, Discipline, Interference

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1. **Regional imbalance-** Regional imbalance is obvious in the educational policies and practices in Tripura. Agartala, the state capital has hosts of educational institutes like a central university, an NIT, a medical college and a private university ICFAI. A new state university is in the pipeline, which is also coming up at Agartala. This will further aggravate the regional divide. It will be better if this new university comes up at a place other than Agartala. The new place will witness development that comes with the establishment of institute of higher learning. It is surprising that intelligentsia and students are not raising the issue.

This Agartala centric policy of government is keeping the development of other towns slow. As a result those who can afford, try to keep their children and families at Agartala as it is a place where they can have access to number of educational institute as well as other facilities that comes with the development. Many college teachers, even if they are posted at faraway places like Dharmanagar prefer to keep their families at Agartala for the obvious reason of availability of educational and other facilities and they rush to Agartala on weekends. Sometimes this period of absentee during the weekends also overlaps into Saturday on one side and Monday on the other side. Thus the working hours

are getting lost. The controlling authority feels lot of difficulties in controlling the absentees of the teachers. In case the controlling officer like Principal himself leaves for Agartala on the weekends, it badly affects the discipline in the colleges and schools. If a teacher stays even during holidays at his place of postings, it contributes indirectly towards academic improvement of the area.

**2. Problem of medium of instruction-** Narrowing down on the most suitable medium of instruction in a multilingual society like India is a very difficult task. But the issue needs certain debate, which is unfortunately lacking. The tribal like Lushais and Darlongs concentrated in Jampui hills and some places in the North Tripura face the peculiar problem. Children from these tribes do their schooling from English medium missionary schools in the area. But after the schooling is over, the students face a typical problem. Those who can afford go to Shillong or Mizoram for further studies, but for those who are relatively from the economically weaker section the education stops at the school level. Lectures in the colleges of Tripura are mostly delivered in Bengali, which puts these students at disadvantages. Officially the students can opt for either English or Bengali medium, but practically the English medium students face lot of difficulties. There is a need for the faculty members to be bilingual. The teachers need to be trained and monitored. Monitoring teachers is a big problem as we are not used to it. Generally the teachers think that they are above monitoring. This is rather unfair. No doubt there are some people who do not need monitoring, but they are very few. Monitoring, reward and reprimand are important to increase the efficiency. But there is a strong opposition to monitoring from the teachers side. Chadda commission, which submitted its recommendation in 2008, suggested that student's assessment should also play an important role in teacher's promotion. But the faculties all over the country opposed it. This indicates that we do not want to be accountable to those who are put under our care.

**3. Capacity building among the teachers-** Educational needs of the society are never static but are constantly changing. New technology, new knowledge resources as well as the means through which the knowledge is transferred are undergoing lot of changes currently. This makes training and refresher courses necessary for the faculty members at regular interval. There is a need of not only regular content enrichment, but the training in the delivery mechanism also require, like training in ICT.

However the support that the teachers receive from the establishment is not enough. Till couple of years ago the faculty members were not encouraged to apply for these courses. There was fear expressed that if a teacher remained busy in his own research and development activities and miss the college, it hampers the students. But let us remind ourselves that how much time a teacher spends

with the students is important but what quality of time it is? is also equally important. If a faculty member goes out, attends seminar, conferences outside the college, he brings different ideas back with him. It also breaks the monotony.

Thankfully the department is realizing the importance of all this and nowadays we do get permission for attending different conferences and trainings outside the state. However the permission needs to be taken from Directorate of Higher education (DHE). Many times the time between acceptance of the conference paper and the conference date is very close and we do not have adequate time. The sending of application from remote colleges to DHE and getting permission takes lot of time. A teacher also spends time in anxiety about the permission. All these factors led to the loss of precious human resources. The officers at DHE also had to devote lot of time in the routine work like giving permission for attending conferences. If this authority is delegated to the principles, the things will become much smoother. The authorities at DHE will also be relatively free to think about the policy matters. In a progressive organization, the authority in power should be seen as inspiring and not only as controlling. It should be made explicitly clear for how many days a teacher can go for attending the conferences in a year, so that they can plan it well in advance. Giving permission separately every time makes it difficult for a teacher to anticipate when he will receive the permission and he will not.

There are many teachers in colleges, who are without doctorate. UGC guideline of June 2010 says that after putting up three years of service a faculty member is eligible for unpaid leave for a maximum period of five years throughout his service life and for a period of two to three years at a time. After availing unpaid leave, a teacher is under obligation to serve the organization for a period of three years. This system is mutually beneficial. A teacher gets an opportunity for career advancement and at the same time organization also gets faculty members for a longer period. Initially for a period of three years and three years after availing the study leave. It is better if the government encourage the faculties to take unpaid leave for further studies. Some faculty members are given leave to pursue research abroad, but the matter is decided on case by case basis and not as a general rule. Having a clear policy on the important issue like this saves the teachers as well as administrative machinery from unnecessary hassles.

It is also true that this matter does not get much importance from the faculty members. It is not discussed at the organizational conferences. If the large number of faculty members starts applying for the study leave, the government will be compelled to think positive about the issue.

North East is an area where there is a lot of unexplored area for research. If the government gives encouragement to research by making liberal study leave rules,

it will greatly contribute towards improving the academic atmosphere of the college.

**4. Recruitment of teachers-** Shortage of faculty is a national phenomena, everybody says that. But when I apply for the university posts I encounter a situation that goes contrary to this. I came across number of qualified people who are yet to get break in the college/university system. I really wonder if the shortage is really there or is made out due to some ulterior motive. When I appeared for the interview at Agartala in 2007, there were five people who faced the interview at Agartala, all of them were selected. There were more than 100 people faced the interview in my subject at Kolkata. The interview continued for six days. But they have selected only one person. Will anybody buy an argument that all those five people who came to Agartala were suitable and among the more than 100 people that came to Kolkata, only one person was suitable! Obviously apart from the talent the other factors must have also influenced the selection process. The selectors might have thought that the people who came to Agartala are likely to join and stay in Tripura, and the people who appeared at Kolkata may not join. The fear is not totally unfounded. It is a fact that the people coming from outside the state tend to leave at the first opportunity. But not recruiting the teachers is not a solution for it. It is better to have a teacher for a short period than not having a teacher at all! People coming from different work culture, different universities will make the educational scenario vibrant. Among the faculty members from outside that we find in Tripura, the people are mostly from Assam, West Bengal and Orissa. The southern part of India is almost unrepresented. The language barrier may be one of the factors that the people may not be applying or may not be getting selected. But putting newly appointed faculty members who do not know Bengali through a capsule course of a month or so in communicative Bengali will help in crossing language barrier.

In 2007, in History subject 22 posts were advertised, but the government appointed only six teachers. All together nearly 350 posts were advertised, but finally only 149 Assistant Professors were selected. It is also possible that government is also fearing that if they recruit the large number of people from outside the state there may be adverse reaction from the local people. It suits the government that the posts remain vacant, so that when the local people acquire qualification the post can be filled. Giving a job to a local person adds to the vote bank. If a job is given to an outsider it does not. But in the process the educational development is slowed down.

However, when I am pointing the lacuna in the recruitment process, I must also say that I had been looking for Assistant Professor's post in advertisement since quite a long time, must be from 2002, since the time I cleared NET

examination. In a decade I did not come across any other institution or state government going for such a mass recruitment as we see in Tripura. Three recruitments in a period of five years, which had added more than 200 faculty members to the colleges of Tripura! I feel that the situation is rapidly changing for better. It makes me feel happy that the state which is my *Karmabhumi* is marching towards progress and this paper is not written only with the intention of fault finding, but as an insider these are just suggestions that will grease the wheels of progress and add speed to it.

The general degree colleges in Tripura are directly under the control of government. This ensures relative fair recruitment. In a state like Maharashtra, which is perceived as a developed state, mostly colleges are managed by management body and to get into college as an Assistant Professor one has to pay huge money as donation. Out of this some money does go for the development of the colleges, but the bulk of it goes inside the pocket of the people who calls shot. This kind of system had caused a lot of harm to the system. When I applied in a college in Maharashtra in 2007, they asked nearly 5 lakh Rs. which I refused to pay and obviously I did not get the job. In Tripura I got it without paying a penny. It goes without saying that fair recruitment without bribe will attract the talent

**5. Discrepancies in the salary structure-** Though the govt. of Tripura accepted the scale recommended by UGC. To begin with the rate of increment was fixed at 2.5% and not 3% as recommended by UGC and the salary was fixed. This had created anomalies with the salaries of those people who had got their scale fixed at the increment rate recommended by UGC. In addition the govt. of Tripura also does not give certain allowances recommended by UGC. This resulted in further differences with the salary of the Assistant professor in those institutes like Central Universities which had accepted the UGC pay package and the salary of the Assistant Professor in Tripura. This discrepancy prompts the Assistant professors to leave the state at the first opportunity. It goes without saying that if an individual gets some more money for doing the same work he will obviously prefer to leave if other factors are assumed to be constant. I am afraid that the time will come when we will be left with the teachers in the colleges, who had some personal reason to stay back or those who are not getting employment anywhere. So one can understand that if the talented and enterprising people leave the state it will do great harm to the academic atmosphere. To counteract this and to hold the people back government sometimes follows the unhealthy policy of creating maximum possible hurdle for those who wants to leave. When I joined in 2008, there was a notification that till 2010, no application to other organization will be forwarded. Now the government does forward the four applications in a year, but it do not give lien. It is like if somebody wants to leave, the doors are permanently

shut for him or her. This is indicative of the lack of liberal attitude at the level of policy makers. People should be staying and working at certain places out of choice and not out of compulsion. Tripura is a beautiful and peaceful state. It is likely that those who had gone out may like to come back. We need to keep our doors open. Shutting out the doors is like harming ourselves.

In 2010 I met a young gentleman who was basically from Agartala, but was studying in Hyderabad Central University. He finished his P.G. from there and was pursuing Ph. D. in English. He was already NET qualified. It was the same time when the vacancies for the post of Assistant professor were advertised. When I asked him why he did not apply for the post, as he is from Tripura. He without hesitation said that if he comes to Tripura, he will be trapped. There will be no further progress. Of course the gentleman was rather exaggerating. I experienced the progress, the personal growth. I got an opportunity to attend workshops at a reputed institute like Indian Institute of Advanced Studies. But by his statement one can imagine the damage done to the image of the educational scenario in Tripura due to the wrong policies that we had been following, and there is a long way to go before this damage can be undone.

**6. Remuneration of the guest faculty-** UGC recommends that the guest faculty should be he paid salary as per the regular faculty. This will attract the talented young people fresh from the universities. Young dynamic guest faculties who might come for the short period in an institute play an important role in bringing fresh breath of air to the institute. But the rate at which the government pays the guest faculty i.e. Rs 250/- per class, is an amount at which we cannot attract the talented and well qualified people. As a result we are compelled to appoint the people without NET/SLET or Ph. D. as guest faculty. I am not making a general statement that they are not in a position to do justice to their responsibilities. But it is always better to have suitably qualified people.

**7. Shortage of senior/middle level faculty member-** The general shortage of faculty members that we witness becomes more glaring when we think about the middle level or senior faculty members. The senior level faculty members make use of their connections with the influential people and get transferred to the colleges in the state capital or in the bigger towns. As a result the colleges in the remote area do not get the service of the senior faculty members.

To overcome the shortage, we can go for the direct recruitment of Associate Professors and Professors at colleges. UGC recommends that out of the total post of the Associate professors and Professors nearly 25% are to be filled by direct recruitment. But the government is not accepting that. Only way of becoming Associate professor is by promotion after 12 years of service. If talented and hard working people are appointed as Associate Professors after the eight years of

service and with the requisite research records as recommended by UGC, it can attract the experienced people from outside and the shortage that we experience can be minimized. Due to the shortage of the middle level/ senior faculty members, the young faculty members with an experience of only few years, even of few months are shouldering the responsibilities of In Charge Principal, DDO and Head of office. In the initial stage of career, young faculty members should be allowed to focus more on academics. For a development of an institute a proper combination of senior and junior members is necessary. The young members provide dynamism and new ideas and the experienced members bring maturity and balance.

8. **Shortage of academic administrator**- Only having talented faculty members is not enough. Principal plays an important role in the development of an educational institute. He is expected to be an inspiring figure, who is in a position to mitigate the differences and put a collective dream in front of the colleagues. The state had been facing a shortage of designated principals. However this is not a Tripura specific problem. Colleges all over the country face the shortage of the Principals. One suggestion to minimize the shortage is to increase the remuneration substantially to attract the talented and experienced people. Another suggestion is that to modify the minimum requirement for the post of the principal. Of course this has to be done with the consent of UGC. But instead of 15 years of experience, if a talented person is allowed to become a principal may be after the experience of 10 years it will attract more applicants, which we do not get now. If new people are recruited from other state at the level of Associate professors/professors/principals, they may be allowed to join on deputation if they wish, with the freedom to go back if they wish so. Freedom of the labor is one of the important factors that contribute to development.

9. **Open door policy**- one of the Factors that guide recruitment of the teacher is that not to appoint a college teacher, unless there is a fair degree of possibilities that he will stay back. Once somebody is appointed then all out efforts are made to hold the person back. Couple of years back, the department was not forwarding the application to other institute. The department does forward the applications now, but without lien. It is like saying if you want to go, go forever and do not come back. It may serve some purpose. The people may choose very carefully if they want to leave. But in the long run it does harm to the organization. The teachers who had worked in Tripura and goes to other state can function as brand ambassadors of the state. If he is treated fairly and allowed to go happily, without making him feel guilty, he/ she will spread good word about the educational atmosphere of the state and it will attract more and more people. When I am suggesting some improvement in the policy level, I must also add that there are

certain positive factors in the administrative practices here. The high ranking officers like director, secretary of education and even minister of the department are relatively accessible than many other states. Here I found the people do listen to you, even if you are critical. Tripura is a beautiful, peaceful state with large avenues of research, some modification in the administrative policies and practices will contribute towards attracting and retaining the talent in the field of higher education. It is quite likely that even if a person opts to go out, he may feel like coming back to the state. But for that we need to keep our doors open.

**10. Need for well defined transfer policy-** Transfer is many times used as a tool to keep the peoples mouth shut. We do not have a proper, well defined transfer policy. This suits those who have contact with the people who wields the power, but what about those, who do not?

On an average an assistant professor gives a service of nearly 30 years. To have a balanced regional educational development, it should be made compulsory that out of these 30 years, few years of service may be 10 years, should be compulsory in the colleges in the remote areas. This can also mitigate the problem of the shortage of the senior faculty in the colleges of remote areas. If a teacher is aware that everybody has to serve for a period of ten years in the remote areas, he can plan accordingly. Now the arbitrary transfers creates a kind of fear in the mind of the teachers and lot of time and energy is wasted in saving ourselves from transfer. Transfer is also helpful in a way that if a teacher stays at one place for a very long period, he/ she may develop some vested interest like indulging in an unhealthy practice like tuitions which harms the educational atmosphere in the college. Transfers put a check on these activities. Working in the remote areas as well in the urban areas is also beneficial to the teacher as different types of exposure will contribute towards his growth.

**11. Neglect of English in the higher education-** Importance of English need not be elaborated. We all know this. Having accepted that all have a right to take the education in the mothertongue, the English language need to be taught as a compulsory paper for undergraduate. We are producing number of graduates, who are not in a position to write a simple application. Before joining in the college in Tripura, I had worked in two central government organizations. In the Indian Air Force and in the Navodaya school. The representation from Tripura was very low in both the organization for the simple reason that our students are not in a position to compete in the national level examination due to the lack of adequate knowledge of English.

**12. Neglect of certain subjects-** The educational model in India is copied from the British and we continue to follow the same. There are many subjects which are relevant to the people's lives, but have not yet found the place in the curriculum.

For example, Tripura, with so many diverse populations with nineteen tribes and Bengali people, the subjects like anthropology, tribal studies and sociology will be more relevant. Similarly, training like crafts based on bamboos will be more beneficial as it will give boost to the small scale bamboo based industries. The general neglect of the skill based training that we witness almost all over the country is also obvious in Tripura. We may get numerous unemployed graduates, but it is difficult to find a good mobile repairing shop, a good bike repairing shop and good mansion. The training of these skills is left to unorganized sectors. Thankfully the policy makers are awakening to this lacuna in the educational sector and now there is an emphasis on opening more and more ITIs. The skilled manpower is one of the pre requisite for the industrial development.

**13. Need for encouragement to private entrepreneurs in the education-** Barring few examples like the Holy Cross College in Agartala, it is a government which have a sort of monopoly over the higher education sector. Government is doing a fine job, no doubt, but encouragement to private investment in this sector will also bring some dynamism in this. Government can play the role of a facilitator and ensure that the students are not cheated. Large number of students leaves Tripura to southern India for acquiring professional degree like engineering from private colleges, why can't we have it here? In the process some rich people may open the colleges and become richer, but that should not make us very uncomfortable. When we do not have a perfect choice, we have to go for the option with more benefit and minimum disadvantages. The encouragement to private educational institute will bring lot of employment along with it.

**14. Need for introducing P.G. in some of the colleges-** Not having a post graduation as a regular course in the colleges puts some students to disadvantages, who cannot afford to come to Agartala and stay here. It also puts disadvantage to the girl students. Many parents are not willing to send their daughters away from home for education. Having P.G. courses in at least some of the colleges will benefit the students.

### **Conclusion**

The shortcomings that I have mentioned in the above pages, are common to many states. This is indicative of the neglect of the higher education at the policy making and implementation level for decades. Thankfully the progressive stapes have been taken by the government, central as well as by the state government. New universities and colleges are coming up. New curriculum like peace studies are also coming up. But the wheel of the progress needs to be speeded up. Certain section of the population is opposed to the progressive ideas like having entry of the foreign institution in India. Of course there is a genuine fear that the foreign

establishment will hijack the educational sector and then influence the government policies which may not be in the national interest. But by preventing them from coming, we are depriving ourselves of the numerous advantages that the people in general will receive in the long run. The modern curriculum, modern research methodologies and modern management practices that nurture the talent that will come with the foreign institutes will greatly benefit the people. The need is to formulate the policies in such a way that the people are not cheated. If we are not able to that also, then I am afraid we do not trust ourselves.

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**Note-** The paper was written in 2011 and is mainly based on the experience of the author. It is likely that situation might have undergone changes thereafter.  
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## DHARMA AS A *PURUṢĀRTHA* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BHAGAVAD GITA

Aditya Kumar Mohanty & Monoranjan Das

### ABSTRACT

*In Indian philosophy Puruṣārtha, a Sanskrit term, denotes cardinal values for every human. Those are four in number, viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa. Among these dharma is believed to be the core of all. Dharma implies a set of cardinal values which sustain human society. Thus it has been said - "dharmo dhārayate prajā". This dharma has been delineated mainly in many philosophical texts of*

*ancient Indian literature. Bhagavad Gita, a part of the great epic Mahabharata, is one such popular text of ancient India where dharma has been discussed along with other subject matters. Thus an endeavor has been made in this paper to present the central idea of dharma as presented in the Bhagavad Gita along with mention of its different dimensions.*

**Key words:** *Dharma, Righteousness, puruṣārtha, varṇadharma, āśramadharma*

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*Dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa* have been conceived as the four cardinal values in the Indian philosophical texts. Values are person-specific. Hence, these fundamental values have been aptly termed as '*puruṣārthas*'. The concepts of 'ought' and 'ought not' do not make sense in non-human domain. Human species have the innate potentiality to transcend a given state of affair in order to judge it as 'desirable' or 'undesirable' and an action as 'right' or 'wrong'. *Dharma* is central to the understanding of the value-dialectics spelt out by the Indian thinkers. The term '*dharma*' is used in varied senses and often construed as the synonym of religion. Needless to say that *dharma* constitutes the basis of every religion. Religions differ from one another in respect of beliefs, parables and observances. Religions are bound to be many because they come into being in response to man's persistent quest to grow into the higher and nobler states of existence. *Dharma* in the primary sense of the term connotes a set of cardinal values which sustain human society. Etymologically, *dharma* is derived from the root '*dhṛ*' which means to 'uphold' or 'support'. The path of *dharma* is nothing but the pursuit of basic values such as love, service, sacrifice, tolerance, forgiveness, empathy etc. The religious modes of life prescribed by a religious denomination, are directed to help the individuals to live value-centric life. Bereft of values, social order is bound to disintegrate as it would witness conflict of selfish interests leading to dissension and discord. Human society does not consist in merely being together but living together with shared sense of goal and value-

systems. These fundamental values are always of contemporary relevance because they lend stability to a social system where people with diverse aptitudes, attitudes, ability and achievement, live together. In this sense, *dharma* is a pragmatic necessity so far as it ensures harmony, peace in the social body. In the Upanishads, *satya* and *dharma* are used as twin concepts, former referring to righteous speech and the latter, to righteous action (*satyaṃ vada| dharmam chara*). Both speech and action are to be tempered by values which facilitate the progressive march of the individual towards the goal. Interestingly, the concept of '*ṛita*' is conceived as more fundamental in relation to *satya* and *dharma*. Both refer to the underlying universal order. '*ṛita*' is both immanent and transcendent. The uniformities of nature as well as the uniformities in the domain of *karma* are nothing but two variant expressions of the fundamental order i.e. '*Ṛita*'. Action is more consequential than speech. *Dharma* is nothing but the righteous action on the part of individuals. When there is decadence of righteousness (*dharma*) society is pushed to be the brink of ruin. In the Bhagavad Gita, Lord Krishan assures that at such critical juncture when the evil (*adharma*) is in ascendance and righteousness (*dharma*) is on the wane there is the cosmic intervention and the divinity incarnates itself and show the beckon light to the people who are engulfed in the darkness without there being any apparent possibility of redemption.<sup>1</sup> Though 'good' and 'evil' are co-eternal and there is perpetual conflict between the two, eventually it is the good, righteousness or truth (*satyam*) which comes out victorious (*satyameva jayate*). It is decree of providence that those who tread the path of *dharma* are protected by it (*dharmo rakṣati rakṣitaḥ*). On the contrary, those who live contrary to the tenets of *dharma* meet their ruin. The war of Mahabharat is termed as *dharmayuddha* (war for righteousness), Kauravas representing evil or unrighteous (*adharama*) and Pandavas representing the cause of good or righteousness (*dharma*). Though the Kauravas apparently far excelled the Pandavas in size of the army, with great heroes on their side like Karna, Dronacharya, Duhsashana, Duryodhan, Bhishma etc. the fact that Lord Krishna allied with the Pandavas is significative that those who are wedded to the path of *dharma* are divinely protected. Kuruksetra is termed as *dharmakṣetra* as it was the battle field where *dharma* and *adharma* pitted against one another to settle their respective scores.

Bhagavad Gita not only espouses *dharma* as the preponderant principle of the universe but defines it in terms of the 'ought' and 'ought not' which is explicitly articulated in the concept of *Varṇadharmā* and *Āśramadharmā*. *Varṇa* literally means the 'colour'. Here, it means the unique nature of the individual determined

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<sup>1</sup> *yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānir bhavati bhārata| abhyutthānam adharmasya tadātmānam  
srjāmyaham||* (Bhagavad Gita-4.7)

by one's *karma* in the past. Each individual is unique in respect of the innate disposition and ability (*svabhāva*). The Bhagavad Gita defines one's duty (*svadharma*) according to one's *svabhāva*. It undertakes four-fold classification of human-beings according to their *svabhāva* namely; Vipra, Ksetriya, Vaisya and Sudra. The *dharma* of each class of individuals is determined by their characteristic nature. Vipras are pre-eminently inclined to the path of enlightenment. Hence, they are to play the role of goal setters and guide for the humanity. Ksetriyas by nature, are prone to the path of valour. Hence, it becomes their bounden duty to extend security to people and society, at large, against the onslaught of evil forces. Vaisyas are those who possess worldly wisdom. Hence, it is their moral obligation to undertake trade and commerce which would sustain society in the physical plane. Sudras are those who do not possess any of the qualities of other *dharma*s in particular but are pre-eminently disposed to love and serve. A society requires the services of all these four *varṇas* for its holistic growth. The social good can be optimized only when people belonging to each *varṇa* perform their *svadharma*. *Svadharma* (one's unique disposition) is determined by *svabhāva*. The Bhagavad Gita cautions that social equilibrium is disturbed when people belonging to one *dharma* tend to appropriate *dharma* of others (*paradharma*). The cause of collective well-being (*lokasaṃgraha*) is best addressed only when people perform *svadharma*. *Dharma* in the Bhagavad Gita is also used in the sense of characteristic natures of the species across different categories. The life of the non-humans are characterized by the instinctive urges and necessities such as desire for food (*āhara*), sleep (*nidrā*), sense of insecurity (*bhaya*) and libidinal urges (*maithuna*). Though human-beings share these characteristics with non-humans what distinguishes them from the rest of the living species is their awareness of *dharma* and capacity of to follow the path of *dharma*. Hence, the *svadharma* of man consists in overcoming the push and pull of the animal propensities and follow the path of righteousness. If per chance, people by and large, take to the *dharma* of the animals which is their *paradharma*, then they are bound to court greater ruin not only for themselves but also the society, at large. Collective interest should take precedence over individual interest or selfish interest. Hence, it is said; “*svadhame nidhanaṃ śreyaḥ paradharmo bhayāvahaḥ*”<sup>1</sup>.

*Varṇadharma* determines one's duty in a given existential situation whereas *āśramadharma* defines one's duty according to the stages of life that one lives through. *Āśrama* is the stage of life that one remains poised in. There are four *āśrama*, viz. *brahmacharya*, *gṛhastha*, *vānaprastha* and *sanyāsa*.

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<sup>1</sup> Bhagavad Gita 3.35

Brahmacharya, that of celibate who is supposed to cultivate the qualities of head and heart by following the principles of physical and psychic discipline. With the passage of time as one grows from one *āśrama* to another one has to ascertain one's duty i.e. *āśrama dharma* and remain non-compromisingly strict in the practice of *āśrama dharma*. *Gr̥hastha* is the stage of householder when one is supposed to discharge one's obligation for the immediate family one is born into or the family raised by oneself. *Vānaprastha* is the stage when one retires into a state of related contemplative life, having discharged one's onerous worldly obligations. The stage of *Sanyāsa* is that of renunciate when one is supposed to remain wedded to the path of complete detachment and given wholly to the pursuit of the highest goal i.e. *moksa*. *Varṇa dharma* is person-specific whereas *āśrama dharma* is station (stage of life) specific. *Varṇadharm* differs from one class of person to another sharing the same psyche and the potential ability whereas *āśrama dharma* is uniform for everyone irrespective one being a Vipra, Kṣetriya, Vaisya, Sudra.

*Dharma* is construed as eternal (*sanātana*) so far as it is bound up with the nature of reality. Dharma is also used in non-moral domain in the sense of characteristic property which bears the credential of a thing or a being. We talk in terms of *Vastudharma*, *Jaivadharm*, *Mānava dharma*, *Bhagavad dharma*. *Vastudharma* refers to the essential property of an object or matter. The essential property of water is to flow downward irrespective of place it occupies, be it a river, reservoir or test tube. It has a tendency to flow downward unless it is otherwise artificially confined. Similarly, the essential property of sugar is 'sweetness'. Bereft of its essential property (*dharma*) i.e. sweetness, sugar ceases to be what it is. *Jaivadharm* refers to the essential nature of the living beings characterized by instinctive drives and urges. Every living entity irrespective of its nature, is subject to birth, growth, decay and final extinction. An entity who is not subject to these phenomena is not a living entity, per se. Though human-beings share these properties with non-humans they stand distinguished from others by virtue of possessing certain characteristic essence termed as *Mānava dharma* or *Bhagavad dharma*. It is nothing but the ability to discriminate between righteousness (*dharma*) and the unrighteousness (*adharma*) and the ability to follow the path of excellence (*puṣṭimārga*). It points to the moral autonomy of human agent who stands at cross roads, as it were, with the freedom to pursue either the path of 'good' or 'evil'. When the path of the pleasurable (*preya*) and preferable (*śreya*) are laid out before the humans, the conscientious individuals follow the latter by eschewing the former.

*“śreyaś ca preyaś ca manuṣyam etas tau samparitya vivinaki dhīraḥ|*

*śreya hi dhīro'bhipreyaso vrinite, preyo mando yoga-kṣemād vrinite||*"<sup>1</sup>. The pursuit of Bhagavad dharma takes the individual along the righteous path leading to the attainment of moksa (the highest good).

The life of action involving the pursuit of requisite mundane needs is not incompatible with pursuit of *dharma*. Rather human life is looked upon as a veritable opportunity to undertake expeditious march towards the cherished goal. So long as one has desires (*kāma*) which need to be fulfilled one needs *artha*. But anything that one tends to desire may not be what one ought to desire (desirable). A desire is worth pursuing only if its fulfillment facilitates one's goal-ward march. This is possible only when *kāma* is regulated by principles of *dharma*. *Dharma* reminds one of the ultimate goal and helps one adjudge whether and to what extent what one desire is worth desiring. If desired object is the end, then *artha* remains as means. One should also ascertain the moral worth of the means. This is possible only when the pursuit of *artha* is tempered by the awareness of *dharma*. In other words, the worthwhileness of *kāma* and *artha* is determined by *dharma*. In this sense, *dharma* can be seen as the regulative principle. On the contrary, the unbridled pursuit of *kāma* and *artha* prove to be self-defeating and retrograde. In other words, the attainment of *mokṣa* calls for pursuit of *artha* and *kāma* according *dharma*. In this sense, *dharma* stands paramount among the *puruṣārthas*, the four-fold value schemata espoused by Indian scholars.

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## MAKING OF A TRILINGUAL SPOKEN-SANSKRIT WORDBOOK: AN EFFORT TO EASE THE STUDY OF SANSKRIT IN TRIPURA

Anil Kumar Acharya

### ABSTRACT

*This paper aims to announce the ongoing minor research project titled "Student's English-Sanskrit-Bengali Spoken-Sanskrit Wordbook" financed by the University Grants Commission, from 2015 to 2017, and at the same time sharing the nitty-gritty of making*

*this trilingual wordbook. There are two main parts in this article. The first part presents the brief history of Sanskrit dictionaries. And the second narrates aims and objectives of the ongoing project and highlights its specialties.*

**Key words:** Dictionary, Kośa, Wordbook, Spoken-Sanskrit

शक्तिग्रहं व्याकरणोपमान-कोशाप्तवाक्याद्व्यवहारतश्च।

(śaktigrahaṃ vyākaraṇopmāna-kośāptavākyaādvvyavahārataścal)

वाक्यस्य शेषादिवृत्तेर्वदन्ति सान्निध्यतः सिद्धपदस्य वृद्धाः।<sup>1</sup>

(vākyaśya śeṣādivṛtṛter-vadanti sānnidhyataḥ siddhapadasya vṛddhaḥ||)

Wordbooks, dictionaries, lexicons and glossaries are very important sources for study of a language. All these help the reader to improve his vocabulary for better expression in a language; but the difference lies in their size and presentation of matters. Wordbook, a handy primary level reference book containing words with their meanings in one or more than one languages, is a reduced version of dictionaries which records words in alphabetical order usually under different sections. Thus generally dictionaries and other lexicographical sources are the sources for compilation of words for a wordbook, and therefore herein it is necessary to present the lexicographical sources in Sanskrit literature in a historical perspective.

It is believed that "the beginning of Indian lexicography is found in the Vedic nighaṇṭus"<sup>2</sup>; though those nighaṇṭus (collections of Vedic terms) are different in many respect, viz. structures, aims and objectives, form a typical kośa or dictionary of later classical Sanskrit literature. In post-Vedic period many dictionaries were compiled, but those have come to us either through citations in other texts or only in fragments. Nānārthakośa, Nāmamālā, Śabdārṇava etc. are some of the older dictionaries known to us only through citations. And according to Winternitz

<sup>1</sup> Amarakośa, Chowkhamba Krishnadas Academy, 2013, *Bhūmikā*, p.1

<sup>2</sup> Winternitz, M., History of Indian Literature, vol. III, p. 491

"probably the oldest fragments of a dictionary are contained in eight leaves found among the so-called "Weber-Manuscripts" from Kashgar in Central Asia."<sup>1</sup> Amongst the old available Sanskrit dictionaries Amarakosa, otherwise known as Nāmalingānuśāsana of Amarasiṃha is believed to be the oldest one; though scholars are not unanimous regarding this. Thus, Winternitz has opined that ".... this too is not certain that Amarasiṃha's book is the oldest among the extant dictionaries."<sup>2</sup> And according to Macdonell - "Śāśvata's *Anekārtha samuccaya* (ed. Zachariae, 1882) is possibly older than *Amara*."<sup>3</sup> Subsequently Abhidhānaratnamālā or Halāyudhakośa by Halayudha Bhatta of tenth century A.D., Vaijayantī by Yadava of the eleventh century A.D., Abhidhānacintāmaṇi and Anekārthasaṃgraha by Hemachandra of the twelfth century A.D., Viśvaprakāśa by Mahesvara of twelfth century A.D., Medinīkośa of Medini Kara, Nāmamāla, Anekārthamañjarī, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, etc. were composed, and by those the horizon of the lexicographic history of classical Sanskrit literature become widened. In nineteenth century two voluminous lexicographical works namely Vācaspatyam and Śabdakalpadrūma compiled by Taranatha Tarkavachaspati and Rdhakantadeva Bahadur respectively came into existence, and occupy the same popular and important position in Sanskrit Kośa literature as Amarakośa.

All the above dictionaries are monolingual, i.e. Sanskrit to Sanskrit. But there are many bilingual dictionaries, composed during the nineteenth century A.D., such as Sanskrit English Dictionaries compiled by H. H. Wilson, M. Monier Williams, A. A. Macdonell, Vaman Sivarama Apte, are works of outstanding merits in this tradition. Besides, subsequently, many multilingual dictionaries have been compiled by many scholars to express meaning of Sanskrit words in other regional languages like Hindi, Odia, Bengali etc.

Above is the brief history of Sanskrit dictionaries. And from the above discussion we could observe that the activity of compilation of Sanskrit dictionaries is continuous since the classical period till modern times, and thus varied monolingual, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries or wordbooks have been compiled in distinct style with different aims and objectives. In this case question may rises that in presence of number of excellent dictionaries what was the necessity of undertaking this minor project? The answer to this question will be delineated in the following paragraphs.

During my few years of teaching experience in the general degree colleges of Tripura I did realize that the students, as well as the Sanskrit learners of this state are not well equipped to learn the simple or spoken form of the Sanskrit Language.

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<sup>1</sup> ibid, p.493

<sup>2</sup> ibid, p.494

<sup>3</sup> Macdonell, A. A., A History of Sanskrit Literature, p.368

The Sanskrit students of the colleges, as per old three years degree syllabus had to answer questions valued thirty-five marks pertaining to spoken/simple Sanskrit in their first and second years and in recently introduced six semester CBCS degree program ten marks have been allotted for spoken Sanskrit for B. A. pass students. Therefore it is necessary that all appliances should be ready before them to facilitate their study of the Sanskrit language; but unfortunately no Word-book or Dictionary of spoken Sanskrit including the Bengali language is available to assist and enhance their understanding of the popular version of Sanskrit, i.e. spoken Sanskrit, for which there exist a worldwide craze. And, though there exists online Sanskrit-English/English-Sanskrit spoken Sanskrit dictionary, but the percentage of students who have access to internet to avail the benefit of the online dictionary is very less. Thus, this project has been necessitated to fulfill the above mentioned need.

In fact, as has been mentioned earlier, there are few published editions of spoken Sanskrit dictionaries and few are online dictionaries, but this project is unique in its own merit by including three languages inclusive of the regional language, i.e. Bengali, by which it can serve the regional learners of Sanskrit. And the inclusion of English will serve the national and international learners. Thus, in absence of a spoken-Sanskrit dictionary inclusive of Bengali language in the state of Tripura, in which a large numbers of students enroll for the study of Sanskrit and a considerable numbers of people have strong desire to learn this ancient language, this project will be a significant contribution towards the learning of Sanskrit specially in Tripura and India in general. Attainable intended goals of this project are: (i) to meet the wants pertaining to the spoken form of Sanskrit of the Degree student community of Tripura. (ii) to avail the general public of the Bengali speaking community who may wish to speak in Sanskrit. (iii) to provide assistance to all readers of Sanskrit in translating Sanskrit passages dealing with day-to-day ordinary subjects, as well as technical subjects. (iv) to eradicate the situation of inaccessibility of voluminous dictionaries for students due to their prohibitively high prices. (v) to create an awareness about the simple spoken form of the Sanskrit Language.

In modern times no subject could be understood completely if that is studied in isolation from other related subjects. And especially for Sanskrit language, which has been used in ancient India to record knowledge form varied fields, viz. Science, Technology, Medicine, Poetics etc., the interdisciplinary study has its own importance. Therefore, keeping in mind the importance of the relevance of interdisciplinary study it has been planned in this project to include terms form varied disciplines, by which this project will not only be helpful to the college students studying Sanskrit but also the Sanskrit learners outside of the domain of this ancient Language.

The present work derives its material mainly from English Samskrit Dictionary, published by Samskrita Bharati, online spoken Sanskrit dictionary (www.spokensanskrit.de) and the *śabdakośaḥ* (3.3) section of the book 'Functional Sanskrit: Its Communicative Aspect' by Dr. Narenda, Pondicherry. Words in this work have been presented under different sections, and for division of sections the *vyāvahārikāḥ saṃskṛtaśabdakośaḥ*, edited by Dr. Kumar Ch. Mishra, has been followed. Besides, various other dictionaries, viz. Monier Williams's Sanskrit-English and English-Sanskrit dictionaries, V. S. Apte's English-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-English dictionaries, A. A. Macdonell's Sanskrit dictionary, Samsad's English-Bengali dictionary, Vācaspatyam etc., have been consulted for this work. Regarding arrangement of words it has been planned to first arrange the English words under more than thirty categories. English words under each categories have to be arranged alphabetically. Then the Sanskrit and Bengali equivalents of the English words have been chosen to be mentioned therein respectively. Also it has been planned to give the transliteration of Sanskrit words by their side in bracket. Since this work aims to help the learners of Sanskrit at primary level, therefore recording of synonyms of Sanskrit equivalents have mostly been avoided. And in case of MFN (words possible in masculine, feminine & neuter forms) words mostly masculine forms have been mentioned. The Sanskrit equivalents recorded under the section 'Computer' have been taken exclusively from Srikant Jamadagni's draft edition of English-Sanskrit Computer Dictionary.

During compilation of this book most of the Sanskrit equivalents have been taken from the abovementioned different sources; but few have been independently coined. Following are few of those: (1) Postal life insurance - प्रेषालय-जीवनरक्षा-योजना (*preṣālayajīvana-rakṣāyojanā*) (2) Rural postal life insurance - ग्राम्य-प्रेषालय-जीवनरक्षा-योजना (*grāmyapreṣālayajīvanarakṣāyojanā*) (3) Ticket booking counter - यात्रापत्रसंरक्षणफलकम् (*yātrāpatra-saṃrakṣaṇa-phalakam*) (5) Season ticket - दीर्घावधियात्रापत्रम् (*dīrghāvadhiyātrāpatram*) (6) Class routine - दैनन्दिनपठनवर्गक्रमः (*dainandinapaṭhana-vargakramah*) (7) Internal examination - आन्तरिकी परीक्षा (*āntarikīparīkṣā*) (8) Teaching staff - शिक्षाकर्मचारिवर्गः (*śikṣā karmacārivargah*) (9) Non-teaching staff - अशिक्षककर्मचारिवर्गः (*aśikṣakakarmacārivargah*) .

Also it is observed that coining of Sanskrit equivalents of day to day used modern English terms is much more scientific and logical than coining equivalents

in any other Indian regional languages. For example - *dirghāvadhiyātrāpatram*, the Sanskrit equivalent for the English term Season ticket, sounds scientific and logical than *sījan-tikiṭ*, the English adoption in Bengali language, and many more examples could be cited in this regard.

In the end we would hope that successful completion of this ongoing work will be a new addition to the existing vast modern lexicographic literature in Sanskrit language. Also wish that this will be a great help to the students and others who are desirous of communicating in Sanskrit language like their mother tongue.

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## TRANSITION IN MUNDA RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES: AN OBSERVATION

Satyajit Das

### ABSTRACT

*India that is Bharat, a land of multi-linguistic and multi-religious people. It is divided into so many castes and tribal groups. Every community has their own religion and follows their own beliefs and practices from time immemorial. But for the last several decades, few changes have taken*

*places in their religious beliefs and practices with the passage of time and issues. Keeping this view in mind, an attempt has been made in this paper to understand the Munda religious beliefs and practices and its transition.*

**Key-words:** India, Community, Munda tribe, Religious beliefs, Religious practices, Transition

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### INTRODUCTION

The Munda tribe is one of the important tribes of India as well as Tripura. Infact, this tribal group occupies a good position in the demography of the state. In Tripura Munda Tribe is treated as one of the major tribes in terms of their population. According to 2011 census report, there are 14,544 Munda people in Tripura<sup>1</sup>. This tribe migrated to Tripura a century ago from their ancestral home like Jharkhand, Orissa, Chotonagpur and few are from West Bengal, Comilla district of presently Bangladesh<sup>2</sup>. Most of them practice their own ancient beliefs, which they had since the time of their origin. But the beliefs and practices of the Munda religion are now disappearing rapidly. It is to be mentioned here that young generation of this tribe almost forget their rituals and ceremonies. However the Munda cannot completely be free from certain beliefs, superstitions and traditional practices which are inherent in their minds.

The religion of the Mundas is similar to the general tribal religion as it is animistic in beliefs and practices. It consists of the components of the sacred beliefs, types of spirits, sacred specialists, sacred rituals and performance. Among the Mundas the religious performance of the various rituals and sacrifices imply recognition of the supernatural powers that can be exercised by the spirits. This rituals or sacrifices are performed to secure the goodwill of the benevolent spirits and to avert the ill-will of the malevolent ones. So the realm of Munda

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<sup>1</sup> Census report 2011, Govt. of India

<sup>2</sup> Adhikari, 1988, p.11

religious beliefs and rites are really comprehensive. The Munda concept of religion is not limited to the sphere of tradition-bound beliefs alone; it is translated into action in their daily lives.

### **Objectives of the Study**

This paper intends to represent a systematic exposition of the religious beliefs and practices of Munda people in Tripura. In order to achieve this, the objectives of this study are as follows;

1. To know the basic principles of Munda religion
2. To know the distinctive religious beliefs and practices of Munda people
3. To know the transition in Munda religious beliefs and practices

### **Methodology**

This study is basically based on the information collected from primary and secondary sources. Data has been collected through structured questionnaire and also from secondary sources like published books, reports, research works, journals and news papers. Information has also been collected through internet browsing.

### **Sampling Design**

For the purpose of this study, 100 numbers of respondents have been selected through purposive random sampling method. Respondents have been selected from three numbers of tea gardens of North Tripura district such as Ranibari tea garden, Pearacherra tea garden and Maheshpur tea garden. The field survey has been conducted in 2013-14.

### **Significance of the study**

There are a number of studies made on Munda religion. This study highlighted religious beliefs and practices of the Munda tribe. The outcome of the study will help in understanding the religious aspects and reason behind transition that are taken place in Munda religious beliefs and practices. The present study may enable us to have an idea about their past and present. It may provide a guideline to those who deal with societal problems.

### **MUNDAS NOTION OF RELIGION**

The Munda people are not atheists. They are polytheists. They are worshippers of many God and Goddesses. The nature and character of the God vary. Some Gods are benevolent & some Gods are supposed to be malevolent. Their religious rites and rituals are adjusted according to the cycle of socio-economic life patterns.

### **DEITIES IN MUNDA BELIEFS AND PRACTICES**

The Munda believe in several Gods and Goddesses. According to their belief there are both benevolent and malevolent Gods and Goddesses. The names of the

benevolent Gods are: Sing Bonga, Desauli Bonga, The Jaher Buri, The chandi Bonga, A chrael Bonga and Ora Bongako. The names of the malevolent Gods are: Banita and Bongas.

### **Principal Deities in Munda Religion**

There are some principal deities and spirits who are of great significance to the religious minded Mundas.

★**Sing Bonga:** The believers of sing Bonga invoke the blessings before every important religious ceremony. Besides Sing Bonga, the Mundas ordinarily worship the spirits of his deceased ancestors and the presiding deities of his village. Sing Bonga or the Supreme Deity has indeed no specific worship, but is reverentially remembered by the Mundas when, before every meal he puts down on the ground a few grains of rice from his plate. In serious calamities, has ever, Sing Bonga is specially invoked and a white fowl is sacrificed to him.

★**Desauli Bonga:** This God aids the Mundas in their agricultural operations and also aid them in their hunting excursions.

★**The Jaher Buri:** This God Jaher Buri is worshipped for guiding them in every concern of life.

★**Chandi Bonga:** Chandi Bonga is worshipped for guiding them in their life and orders every human event.

All the three deities are worshipped by the ‘Pahan’ or village priest at stated times in the sacred groves of each village.<sup>1</sup>

★**Achrael Bonga :** There are another benevolent deity of Mundas whose function again is one of beneficence. These are protecting deities – the guardian angels of particular families and classes. Such is the Achrael bonga, who presides over the interests of married women, but should any such women surreptitiously carry away any article from the house of her parents, the Achrael Bonga would mark his displeasure by bringing sickness to the house where the stolen goods are taken.

★**Ora Bongako :** Ora Bongako (house gods) are the gods of the household. These gods are the spirits of the deceased ancestors of each Munda family. The head of every Munda family worships these household deities in the ‘ading’ or sacred tabernacle of his house. Their blessings are invoked at every social ceremony and religious festival.

★**Banita Bongas:** The Munda are also worshipper of Malevolent deity. Such as Banita Bonga. This Banita Bongas required to be appease or propitiated by the Mundas.

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<sup>1</sup> Roy, 2004, p. 258

According to the good or bad life led by a man during his present life, he will be sent back to the world by Sing Bonga either as a man or as a beast, as a bird or as an insect. On death the 'roa' or soul is carried away by the 'Jom Raja' (the devouring king), the god of death to his abode in the south (Kata – jambar). Such is the Munda's idea of re-birth which is yet in a rudimentary stage, and not half so elaborately worked out as by his neighbors.<sup>1</sup>

#### FESTIVALS

The worship of various deities is gradually getting institutionalized in so far as some *pujas* and festivals are organized in definite months and dates for definite purposes. The following *pujas* and festivals are performed by the Mundas.

★**Sarhul:** It is held in the month of *vaisak* (April-May). It is a three-day long famous festival. It is ancestors worship. During the *puja pahan* comes with three water jars; two jars are filled with pond water. Only males are allowed to participate in this festival; they offer *sakua's* flowers, *Arwa* rice, *handia* to the God. On the first day they offer cooked *arwa* rice and some fruits and afterwards take *prasadam*.

On the second day third water jar is filled with *handia* and kept in front of God as offerings. They drink the offerings as *prasadam*. On the third day, a hen is sacrificed and offered to the deity. Afterwards they cook and eat it as *prasadam*. The residue of *prasadam* is brought to the home to be consumed by males only.

★**Karma:** It is held in the month of *Aswin* (September- October). All the villagers without any restrictions can participate in this festival. It is a fertility cult. The myth of this festival is like this: Karma and Dharma were two brothers, once their father asked them who among them was greater. On being asked this Karma started worshipping the tree of *Karam* and started farming and Dharma kept busy himself in doing something else. Finally Karma became richer than Dharma. Therefore this sacred performance is celebrated.

*Pahan* sow the seeds of paddy grains one week before the worship gets started. One week later, village people come with *kettledrum* to bury 'a twig of *Kadumba* plant' in *Akhra* and the *pahan* worships that twig. When the whole process is done all the children and adults have *handia*, rice and dance around *Kadumba* plant buried in *Akhra*. This process takes place for three days. By that time, the plant of rice, which was sown by *pahan* in *Akhra*, grows up to 20 cm, which is a sign of good farming. After three days, the whole objects offered in *Akhra* are then put into the river and afterwards all the villagers get *gud*, *chiwda* and *mudhi* in the form of *prasadam*.

★**Phagun:** It is held in the month of *falguna* (February-March). This festival is celebrated outside the courtyard, near a *simar* tree. Hen *arwa* rice, fruits, flowers,

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<sup>1</sup> *ibid*, pp. 259 & 260

handia are offered to the deity. The hen is let loose to eat the arwa rice. Next the hen is sacrificed and offer to the deity. The sacrificial bird is cooked, and the meat is served to the children and the adults drink rice beer. Womenfolk are not allowed to participate here.<sup>1</sup>

★**Roghara:** It is held in the month of *chaitra*(March-April). It is a magical ceremony designed to ward off evil spirits from the village. Only females are allowed to participate in it. During the *puja*, they keep fasting. At that time, the females with all earnestness wash their utensils and cloths; clean their houses and sweep their courtyard. After this operation, they assemble at *Akhra* and decorate one pitcher with sacred water, mango twig, vermilion and flowers. At the same time the womenfolk put vermilion on each other's forehead. The village women and the *pahan's* wife throw *arwa* rice at the courtyard of the *Akhra*. Hens are let loose to eat the rice grains. After some time, they jointly sing and dance.<sup>2</sup>

★**Karam Puja:** This *Puja* is organized by the Munda in the month of September every year. Karam Puja means to worship a tree named '*Karam*'. This puja is also called *Aattimongala*. The main purpose of this *puja* is to cure from illness and for living happily and peace fully throughout the year. In this occasion he-goats were sacrificed and its meats are taken as *prasad* with *Handia*. The Munda man and women dance together in this occasion.

★**Ora Puja:** Ora Puja means ancestors worship. It is performed during the month of 'Aswin' (October) on the eve of the Durgapuja. It is very important to note that a particular plant called 'Khaimuta' is collected from the wild jungles and worshipped with great respect. The place of worship is usually selected at a place outside the house. All the villagers are assembled at the time of this worship. It is significant to point out that one pigeon or a cock is allowed to fly away from the alter in the name of their ancestors. It is believed that, it gives peace to the departed soul of their ancestors.

★**Ghardevta puja:** This puja is done while a Munda family suffering from disease. This puja is organised any time in a month of a year. In this *puja* the deity 'Oang Hafrom' is worshipped. *Oaa* means home and *Hafrom* means *devta* or God. The main components of this *Puja* are rice, *handia*, chicken, goat etc. Generally the Munda Headman worships this God. He spells the mantras in his own Munda language.

★**Bhakti puja or Baghua puja:** In this puja, tigers are worshiped in a jungle. They make an image of tiger with clay and put it in a clean place. This *puja* is done with a view to protect their domestic animals like cow, goat etc from the attack of tiger. Red cock, rice, coconut, banana, *handia* are the main ingredients

<sup>1</sup> Source-wikipedia.org/wiki/Munda\_people

<sup>2</sup> sodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/105750/4/th-1906-%20chapter%202

of this *puja*. The Headman of Munda himself performs this *puja*. *Prasad* is usually taken by them in the jungle itself.

★**Daram Puja:** This *puja* is organised in the square of village paths. In this *puja* wind god is worshipped. On the path, they make a sketch with coal dust and vermilion. Black & red chicken are sacrificed in the *Puja*. The Head man plays the key role to perform the *puja*. The ‘*prasad*’ is taken on the spot. Dance & song continue goes on during the *puja*.

★**Marangbonga Puja:** In the Bengali month ‘*falguna*’ this *puja* is held every year. The Munda women are strictly prohibited to participate in this *puja*. The Munda believe that, participation of women in this *puja* might have harmful for them. The white he-goat was sacrificed in this *puja* and they used to eat its meat as *prasad* with ‘Handia’. The important thing relating to this *puja* was that the *Prasad* was not allowed to bring into the home.

#### CHANGES

The core of the Munda religion is clothed with some superstitions. Advancement of the culture and civilization of a people demands gradual elimination of superstitions, prejudices, errors and abuses. It is in this light that the following observations are made.<sup>1</sup>

1. The cure of disease assumes a magico-religious character. A *puja* is supposed to be a must, and a *saran*, is engaged to make offerings and sacrifices and to utter spells. It is time to depend more on herbal or modern medicines than on such *pujas*.
2. Worship of the guardian deities of elephant, tiger and bear had relevance when there was deep forest infested with animals. The Bengalese too worship the tiger-god in different names. In Tripura and eastern parts of Bangladesh the tiger-god is known as *baghai*.
3. The series of sacrifices of unfortunate domestic birds and animals constitute a heavy drainage on their meagre economy. Trust in God does not essentially require sacrifice and bloodshed. There is a bottomless basket because of the habit of fuddling and endless offering.
4. The killing of a person on the simple suspicion of being a witch is most unkindly. But this system is not exists in the Munda society.

#### Existence of witchcraft in the society

<i>Practising of witchcraft</i>		<i>Count</i>	<i>%</i>
	<i>Yes</i>	5	5

<sup>1</sup> Chaudhuri, 1983, pp. 71 & 77

	<b>No</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>95</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Field survey

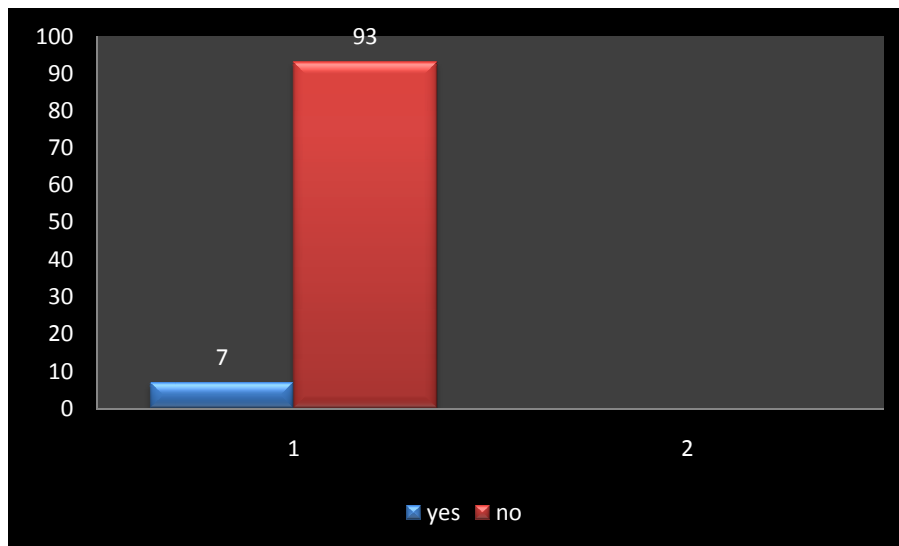
It is evident from the above table that only 5% Munda people still believe on the practice of witchcraft but rest of the numbers (95%) are not agree with the existence of witchcraft in their society. It means due to the spread of education, increasing awareness and dependence on modern modes of science and technology, the local Munda people are not believe on their traditional superstitious activities.

5. In the wake of growing scarcity, population explosion, spread of literacy, availability of medical facilities and cultural contact the very faith in certain traditional beliefs and practices is getting eroded. The educated Munda often question the reasonableness of those traditions. It may be expected that in future the Munda society will get rid of many of its superstitions.
6. There are few Munda families who have been recently converted to Christianity.
7. It is interesting to note that the Munda people are found to take part in all sorts of rituals and festivals organized by one ethnic group or the other inside or outside the garden. Especially in the Hindu organized 'pujas', Mahadeva or Shiva is most widely worshipped God among the Munda. Besides, there are Goddesses like 'Kali', 'Laxmi', 'Manasa', 'Sasti', 'Durga' are worshipped by them.
8. It is to be mentioned here that while the elderly people are trying to maintain their traditional religious ceremonies, many younger people do not even know their names. The present generation is very much conversant with the names and ceremonies of local deities.

***Awareness of ancestral deities***

<b><i>Know the names of ancestral deities</i></b>		<b><i>Count</i></b>	<b><i>%</i></b>
	<b><i>Yes</i></b>	<b><i>7</i></b>	<b><i>7</i></b>
	<b><i>No</i></b>	<b><i>93</i></b>	<b><i>93</i></b>
<b><i>Total</i></b>		<b><i>100</i></b>	<b><i>100</i></b>

Source: Field survey



It is cleared from the above table that only 7% Munda people still know the name of their ancestral deities but rest of the numbers (93%) are not aware of the same. It means changes have taken place in their beliefs.

9. The folk-song, folk-dance and folk-tale of Munda in Tripura are losing its existence gradually. This is because of the apathy and indifference or lack of interest of young generation in all these age old tradition. They love to see and listening songs of the silver screen. Playing of Hindi songs through Stereo or microphone is a common scene in the tea garden.

#### CONCLUSION

Change is perhaps inevitable for any society at any point of time and at any place. Human society usually treats itself as a changing unit. So Munda society is also come under this societal principle; hence it is in the phase of transition. The factors contributing to these changes are modern day trend and progress in education, medicine and economy. It can be concluded by saying that Munda society now passes through a transition between tradition and modernity.

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## AN APPROACH AND STRATEGY OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

Lalthlamuana Darlong

### ABSTRACT

*Right from the British rule in India, there have been many changes and shifts in the approaches and strategies to tribal development. Tribal development have changed not only in conformity with the developmental policies and strategies that has evolved over a period of time, but also in keeping with the changing needs and priorities of tribal people.*

*Though the problems of tribals had attracted the attention of country's politicians, policy makers and social workers much before independence, the whole perspective with regard to the role of state vis-*

*avis the tribal people in India underwent a significant change only after the adoption of the Constitution. the builder of modern India took the task of development of tribal people and their integration with the mainstream of Indian society as one of the problems of nation-building and accordingly, the subject of tribal development ha been accorded an important place in India's strategy for national development since then. The study tends to show does the approaches and strategies of tribal development ha taken place.*

**Key words:** Economic Development, Tribal, Approach, Strategy, Pre-Independence, Post-Independence Period etc.

### Introduction

The economic development of tribals is on the agenda of the independent India and one of the measures of alleviation the sufferings and removing their backwardness. Unfortunately there exists a disheartening scenario when one tries to envisage the plight of the tribals in their efforts to amalgamate themselves into the fabric of developing society and its culture. The fruits of Independence have not somehow been tasted by this neglected society spread over hills, valleys and plains. But after independence, the Indian Government accepted the policy of integration of tribals into the mainstream of national life and to provide opportunities for their economic development. Though the problems of tribals had attracted the attention of country's politicians, policy makers and social workers much before independence, the whole perspective with regard to the role of state vis-à-vis the economic conditions of tribal people in India does not change as expected.

During the Pre-Independence period, the British rulers mostly followed the policy of segregation and tried to keep the tribals isolated from the rest of the population, in the name of safeguarding the tribes from possible consequences of non-tribal incursion. They were out off from the main currents of India's social and economic life. The desire for protection was good but unfortunately the policy was entirely negative. What tribal people needed was not isolation but planned contact on the basis of positive policy of economic progress.

The first Prime Minister of free India late Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, who had great love for the tribals, wanted the tribals to 'develop along the lines of their own genius' and further assured that in no case should these be any imposition in the name of their development.<sup>1</sup> Delivering the inaugural address at the Conference of Tribes and Scheduled Areas held at New Delhi, in 1952, he states that "I am not at all sure which way of living is better, our or theirs . . . . . They are people who sing and dance and try to enjoy life; not people who sit in stock exchanges and shout at each other and call that civilization".<sup>2</sup> Further, addressing an all-India Conference of the Tribals held at Jagdapur (Bastar District, Madhya Pradesh), in March 1955, he advised the tribals of India in the following words: "Wherever you live, you should live in your own way. That is what I want you to decide yourselves. How would you like to live? Your old customs and habits are good. We want that they should survive but at the same time we want that you should be educated and should do your part in the welfare of the country".<sup>3</sup>

The overall policy approach towards the tribals had been: isolationist; assimilative; and integrationist. The first approach is to, 'let them choose their own way, let them remain isolated and not touch them. The third approach is to integrate them into the national mainstream, let them develop a sense of oneness with other people, a sense of unity and understanding. Despite, economic development of tribal populations received special attention as their problems are different from other backward communities. Consequently, with the natural geographical barriers separating them, the tribal population still lived in their forests and hills over centuries unaffected by outside changes.

India, a democratic and secular nation is committed to the development and welfare of the tribals who form approximately 8.20 percent i.e. 84,326,240 constituting of the total population of the country, as per the 2001 Census. They also form to be the most backward sections of the country. Here, we propose to

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<sup>1</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, in his "Forward" to the Second Edition of Verrier Elwin, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, "Inaugural Speech" delivered at the Conference of Tribes and Scheduled Areas held at New Delhi, on 7<sup>th</sup> June 1952. Published in *Vanyajati*, 1964.

<sup>3</sup> Jawaharlal Nehru, "Inaugural Speech" Inaugural Address delivered at the all India Conference of the Tribals held at Jagdulpur, Bastar district (Chattisgarh), in March 1955.

examine the strategy of the colonial rulers as well as that of independent India and the study seeks to present an overview approaches and strategies of tribal development in India as it evolved over the years.

### **Defining a Tribe**

The Constitution of India nowhere states explicitly how a 'tribe' can be recognized and how it can be distinguished from a 'caste' or a 'non-tribal'. In fact, there exists no satisfactory definition of 'tribe' anywhere. To the ordinary man the word suggests simple folk living in hills and forests, to the people who are a little better informed, it signifies colourful folk famous for their dance and song; to an administrator it means a group of citizens who are the special responsibility of the President of India; to an anthropologist it indicates a special field for study of social phenomenon".<sup>1</sup> All these are impressionist distinctions. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, 1911, defines a tribe as a "collection of families bearing a common name, speaking a common dialect, occupying or professing to occupy a common territory and is not usually endogamous though originally it might have been so". Different scholars have attempted to provide definitions of a tribe. Some of them provided by eminent scholars are as follows:

According to Raisley (Shashi Bairathi-1991) a "tribe" is a collection of families or groups of families, bearing a common name which as rule, does not denote any specific occupation, generally claiming common descent from a mythical or historical an animal but in some parts of the country the tribe is held together only by the obligation of kinship. Members speak the common language and occupy a definite tract of country.

Mahendra Mohar Verma (1996) defines that the tribe may be defined as a group of people speaking a common language, covering uniform rules of social organization and working together for common purposes such as trade, agriculture or welfare. Other typical characteristics include a common name, a contiguous territory, a relatively uniform culture or way of life and a tradition of common descent.

### **Approaches and Strategies of Tribal Development in India**

Right from the British Rule in India, there have been many changes and shifts in the approaches and strategies to tribal development. The institutional, structural and functional contours of tribal development administration have changed not only in conformity with the developmental policies and strategies that has evolved over a period of time, but also in keeping with the changing needs and priorities of tribal people.

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, 1961, pp.1.

Prior to independence, British Government, on the one hand, and the social workers, reformers and missionaries on the other, had work for the development<sup>1</sup> of the tribals and evolved their respective lines of approaches. These approaches to tribal development may separately be considered in the context of pre-independence and post-independence periods. While the approaches during the pre-independence period mostly varied at the two extremes, i.e. the policy of isolation or total assimilation process is still these, but mostly at the initiative of the social reformers. Historically, the approaches to the development of the tribal people in India, can, therefore, be divided into three categories such as:

- (i) Isolationist Approach;
- (ii) Assimilation Approach; and
- (iii) Integration Approach

### **Isolationist Approach**

During the British rule in the pre-independence period, most of the tribal communities in India remained isolated from the mainstream of national life. Deliberately, the tribal areas were kept scheduled and cut off from the rest of the people. The policy of the British government was solely directed and dominated by the colonial interests and based on isolation and exploitation of the tribals. Since the policy of isolation and neglect encouraged and usurp the tribal land forests, the tribesmen had to remain at the Mercy of the officials and usurers. It was a policy of total neglect and saga of exploitation.<sup>2</sup> The vested interests i.e. non-tribal landlords, contractors and moneylenders not only took possession of the tribal land but also brought the tribals in perpetual bondage. Such encroachments on the tribals right in land and forest led to the exploitation of anger in the form of tribal uprising in many places.<sup>3</sup>

On the whole, the British government was inclined to leave the tribesmen alone, partly because of the task of administration, especially in the broader areas, was difficult and unrewarding, partly from a desire to quarantine the tribes from possible political infection, and partly because a number of officers sincerely held the view that the people were better and happier as they were.<sup>4</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> By development Gandhiji meant “the development of man in his entirety, making him aware of himself as part of the development process, raising the standard of his living and life and giving him freedom not only from foreign domination but also from economic exploitation, economic indebtedness and intellectual servitude. It is the process of growth of man, gaining in self-confidence and becoming self-sufficient. For him the attainment of self-sufficiency, self-reliance and self-confidence are the major aspects of development. See as quoted in K.K. Mukherjee, Vol.2, No.5, 1081, 00.6.

<sup>2</sup> Verrier Elwin, 1963, pp.10.

<sup>3</sup> Revankar, R.G., 1971, pp.151.

<sup>4</sup> Verrier Elwin, 1959.

policy of isolation by the British government was largely affected by their deliberate efforts not to develop communication in the tribal areas, which, as a result, remained cut off from the rest of the population. They had no communication with the rest of India and consequently, a sense of separatism developed in them. Apart from the policy of isolation and neglect, the British never hesitated to intervene to mop up whenever any untoward tendency, detrimental to their colonial interest, was sensed among the tribals. Verrier Elwin, the renowned anthropologist and the advisor on tribal affairs to the Government of Assam, recommended the isolation of tribal groups in certain extreme cases. Advocating the establishment of a sort of 'National Park' for the tribal people, Elwin advised that their contact with the outside world should be reduced to the minimum.<sup>1</sup> The social reformers and the national leaders fighting for the freedom of the country did not subscribe to Elwin's 'National Park' policy for keeping the tribals as museum specimens. Criticizing the 'isolationistic' and 'separatistic' approach as dangerous for national solidarity, A.V. Thakkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, advocated for the assimilation of tribals with the mainstream of Indian society which later came to be known as assimilation approach.

The Government of India after independence also continued with the policy of isolation, of course, in a slightly modified form. The partial exclusion of large tribal areas was followed by special welfare measures, which resulted in a separatist move, i.e. the demand for an independent Naga State and an autonomous Jharkhand. The declaration of "a few particular areas of tribal concentration as Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas" is also an example of partial isolation. The fund meant for 'tribal welfare' was kept reserved for tribal development and the general fund was not utilized for the developmental work among them. They were not given the benefit of being a part of the general mass.

#### **Assimilation Approach**

Assimilation as an approach to tribal development refers to the assimilation of tribal people with the rest of the population through acculturation and their ultimate incorporation into the mainstream of society. Acculturation according to anthropologists is a phenomenon "which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups".<sup>2</sup> This process of tribal transformation has been conceptualized by M.N. Srinivas as Sanskritisation.<sup>3</sup> The process of tribal acculturation or sanskritisation is expected

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<sup>1</sup> Verrier Elwin, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> Redfield, Robert, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> Srinivas, M.N., 1957.

eventually to result in tribal assimilation. Park and Burgers define assimilation “as a process of interpretation in which one group acquires the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other groups and in this way incorporated with them in a common cultural life”.<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that through this process of assimilation, cultural differences tend to disappear.<sup>2</sup>

Being moved by the plight of the tribals, the social workers and politicians under the leadership of A.V. Thakkar strongly criticized the isolation policy and argued for their assimilation with mainstream of India society. Dealing with the problems of Aborigines of India in his R.R. Kale Memorial Lectures, in 1941, Thakkar observed that “to keep these people confined to or isolated in their inaccessible hills and jungles is something like keeping them in glass cases of a museum for the curiosity of purely academic persons”.<sup>3</sup> Analysing the tribal problems in terms of poverty, illiterate, lack of communication, ill health, defects in administration of all these problems from tribal areas an indicated a line of action to be applied to any tribal concentration. Emphasising the need and importance of contact, he argued that unless the aborigines realized through contacts with more advanced people their own backwardness in the economic, social and political field, they could not make any progress.

Anthropologists like Elwin, Majumdar, Dube and Ghurye opine that this culture contact has created a set of different types scholars have come out with different categories of tribes, their classification reveal that the process of assimilation has been a part and parcel of the tribal's in India have acquired the way and life pattern of the Hindu religion. Ghurye characterized the tribal's as ‘Backward Hindus’ or ‘as imperfectly integrated classes of Hindu Society’ and argued that “any attempt to isolate them from the mainstream of Indian life would be meaningless”.<sup>4</sup>

### **Integration Approach**

The third way in which the tribals of India were approach is of integration of the tribes with the regional and national setting. Paying due attention to different arguments and counter arguments, the leaders of independent India rejected the policy of isolation on the ground that it would deepen and perpetuate division within the Indian nation and considered it wise to adopt a middle path of national integration by pursuing the policy of protection and welfare simultaneously. The base of Indian culture being ‘unity in diversity’, the politicians, social reformers,

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<sup>1</sup> Park, R.E. & Burgess, W.W., 1921, pp.735.

<sup>2</sup> Rose, A.M., 1956, pp.557-558.

<sup>3</sup> As quoted in Vidyarthi, L.P. & Rai, B.K., 1977, pp.429.

<sup>4</sup> Ghurye, G.S., 1963.

anthropologists as experts on the tribal ways of life and the administrators combined approach towards the tribals.

In the background of pre-independent thinking about the tribals, the forest Prime Minister of India gave a serious thought to the problems of tribals and suggested his own enlightened approach 'to develop the tribals along the lines of their own genius', and expressed his disapproval against our false idea "to call some people primitive and to think of ourselves highly civilized". The Panchsheel, i.e. the five fundamental principles for tribal development enunciated by Pundit Nehru and the latest approaches to tribal development as visualized through the tribal Sub-Plan strategy since the fifth five year plan clearly reflect the policy of integration through protection of tribals against exploitation and their socio-economic development.

### **Tribal Development in Pre-independence Era**

For centuries the tribes have been living in the remote hills and forests, leading an independent life. The Britishers came in contact with them in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They did not like to interfere with the tribals. Therefore administration of tribal areas was kept separate from the normal administration of the General Mass. This policy is known as 'Isolation Policy'. When British had spread into part of the Indian sub-continent, the tribal areas in India were the last to come under the British rule. This was mainly due to inaccessibility to the difficult terrain and remote forests they were living in with the development of transport and communication, which opened up the hitherto inaccessible tribal areas, the British rulers entered into the hills and forests inhabited by the tribals that ultimately led to the extension of British administration and establishment of law and order in these areas. With this change, there was an influx of other caste people from a more civilized world who rushed into the tribal areas to exploit its economic potentials.

Being supported by the British Policy, the non-tribal vested interests namely, landlords, contractors and moneylenders started exploiting the tribals and usurp their land and forests. These vested interests not only took possession of the tribal land, but also brought the tribals in perpetual bondage. While the British administration, along with the vested interests, started exploiting the tribals and the resource rich tribal areas, it did not take any positive step to improve the tribal's lot. Therefore, the tribal people continued to rise in rebellion for a long period for asserting their right to self-governance particularly in relation to their rights over land and forests. History reveals that there were instances of clashes between the tribal groups and the police, which ultimately resulted of sovereign

power by the colonial. Though a number of Acts<sup>1</sup> were passed by the British government to deal with the tribal problems, the history of tribal development in India can, however, be traced to the 1930's when for the first time an official reference was made to the 'backward tribes' in the Government of India Act 1935. By passing the Government of India Act 1935, the British government declared some of the tribal areas as 'excluded' and others as 'partially excluded' and adopted a somewhat soft policy in administering those areas.

Taking an opposite stand to Verrier Elwin's 'National Park' theory, A.V. Thakkar, a close association of Mahatma Gandhi, strongly criticized the isolation of the tribal people and argued for their assimilation with the mainstream of Indian Society. To him, 'separatism' and 'isolationism' seemed to be dangerous theories as they struck at the root of national solidarity. Emphasising the need and importance of contact, he argued that unless the tribals realized through contacts with more advanced people their own backwardness in the economic, social and political field, they could not make any progress.

### **Tribal Development in Post-Independence Era**

Although the problems of tribals attracted a great deal of attention of the Indian polity much before independence, concrete efforts of solving their problems were taken up only after independence. In the initial years after independence, the British policy of isolation was followed, but with little modification. Gradually it was replaced by the policy of assimilation (as a result of contact of the tribes with the non-tribals) and the integration of the tribals in the regional and national spheres. The observation made by the sub committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly under, the chairmanship of Shri. A.V. Thakkar that "the declaration of a few particular areas of tribal concentration as Scheduled Areas and Tribal Areas does not always indicate the isolation policy" shows that some form of isolation was suggested to check exploitation and not to keep the tribal isolated. The committee, however, recommended that "considering the past experiences and the strong temptation to take advantage of the tribal simplicity and weakness, it is essential to provide statutory safeguards for the protection of the land". Being fully aware of the responsibilities of democratic state, the Constituent Assembly accepted the recommendations of the Sub-Committee, and thus, the subject of development of the tribals been an integral part of India's strategy for national development.

Keeping in view the recommendations of the Sub-Committee and the philosophy underlined in the Objective Resolution moved by Pundit Nehru and

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<sup>1</sup> Though a large number of Acts were passed by the British Parliament from time to time, the important Acts which had a direct bearing with the tribal problems are the Scheduled Tracts Act 1870, Scheduled Districts Act 1874 and the Backward Tracts Act 1919.

adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 2, 1947, the Constituent Assembly incorporated a number of provisions in the Constitution to protect and safeguard the interests of the tribals and raise their standard, so that they could participate in various activities on terms of equality with the other sections of society. One such important provision made for the development of the scheduled tribes is Article 46 of Part IV (Directive Principles of State Policy) of the Constitution, which succinctly states that: “The state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”.

As a Directive Principle of State Policy, Article 46 of the Constitution cannot be questioned in the court of law. Still it is significant from the point of view of policy formulation for the tribals and other weaker sections of the society. Other provisions contained in the Constitution stem from this important Article. Lastly, for the welfare of the tribal people and to improve the level of administration in the scheduled areas Grants-in-aid are provided by the Central Government.<sup>1</sup> The Government of India has taken bold steps to develop the tribal economy and tribal areas. Some areas were declared as scheduled areas and were given more emphasis for their overall development,<sup>2</sup> through Five Year Plans

#### **Economic Development Provisions for the Scheduled Tribes**

The Indian constitutional provisions for tribes are protective, political and developmental nature. As per clause (1) of the Article 342, a presidential notification was issued in 1950. Containing the names of tribal groups and communities deemed to be “scheduled tribes” in relation to a particular state or union territory.<sup>3</sup> The Constitution makers were fully aware of the need for specific provisions in the fundamental law of the land for the overall development and welfare of this weaker and downtrodden section of the society. Apart from Article 46 of the Constitution which constitutes one of the most important elements of the ‘Directive Principles of State Policy’, the Constitution of India contains several other provisions for the upliftment of the tribals.

The new Economic Policy (1991-92) Act, needs to be looked at in the frame work of economy of production and reproduction in society, other. The value of this act will however, be reduced in the socially context of the material circumstances created by the new economic policy. Accordingly, the significance of this act for tribal forest dwellers autonomy and self rule can be understood in the light of the liberation of the Indian economy from the respective of the

<sup>1</sup> Shukla, D.N., 1970, pp.319, 552 & 554.

<sup>2</sup> Bhowmik, P.K., 1982, pp.298.

<sup>3</sup> Malhotra, R., 1992, pp.265-266.

constitution of India.<sup>1</sup> Keeping in view the prevailing divergence among different tribal groups all over the country, the constitution entrusted the states with the responsibilities of tribal development and administration. Under the fifth schedule of the Constitution the Governor of a state has been given the authority to modify certain central and state laws in the interest of the tribals.

Nehru had a deeper insight into the problem of tribal development and greater love and appreciation for the tribal life and culture. He observed ‘they are an extremely disciplined people, often much more democratic than most others in India. Without a constitution, they function democratically and carry out the decisions made by their elders and their own representatives almost without exceptions’.<sup>2</sup> As for the general policy approach to tribal development, it is pertinent to recall the statement made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the first President of India, indicated that “there should be no idea of forcing anything on the tribals either by way of religion, language, or even mode of living and customs. Facilities for educating and for general improvement in their economic life should be provided for them, and it should be left to them, to choose whether they would like to be assimilated with, and absorbed by the surrounding society, or would like to maintain their own separate tribal existence”.<sup>3</sup>

To sum up, it can be said that although enormous approaches and strategies for the economic development of tribal are made, however, the tribal people were still the most backward sections of the society. Therefore, there is an urgent necessity to re-look and re-think the processes which should ensure and in accordance with the social, economic and cultural condition of the diverse people in the country.

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## PROSE IN THE TAITTIRĪYA SAMHITĀ OF THE KṚṢṆAYAJURVEDA

Ranajoy Bhattacharjee

### ABSTRACT

*Among four Vedic Samhitās the Yajurveda Samhitā occupies a prominent position in the Vedic literature. It has got much importance in the field of Vedic sacrificial rituals. It has two main divisions, viz. Śukla and Kṛṣṇa. Peculiarly enough, we come across prose composition in abundance in the Taittirīya Samhitā of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda; in contrary to the fact that almost the entire Vedic Samhitās are consist of hymns composed in verse form. And prose seems to be conspicuously absent in the Samhitās of the Ṛgveda, Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda and Śuklayajurveda in particular. Therefore in this article an attempt has been made to discuss the importance of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda as prose composition in Sanskrit literature, nature and function of prose and the syntactical relation system of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda in the light of Taittirīya Samhitā.*

**Key words:** Veda, Kṛṣṇayajurveda, Taittirīya Samhitā, Prose, Verse form,

With the advent of Aryan civilization, a plethora of knowledge, which arose in the sacred land of India and enlightened other countries transcending the barriers of land. The first written record of Indian civilization containing the highest fountain of the ancient wisdom, the record of the deepest realization of supreme reality, is known by the word ‘Veda’. The Vedic literature is one of the vast literature in the world. This very literature is enriched with the four Vedic Samhitās, many texts of the Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads with their commentaries. Among the four Vedic Samhitās the Yajurveda Samhitā occupies a prominent position in the Vedic literature. It has got much importance in the field of Vedic sacrificial rituals. The definition of the Yajurveda has been enunciated by Jaimini in his Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtra as “शेषे यजुः शब्दः (śeṣe yajuḥ śabdaḥ)”<sup>1</sup>. The definition of the Yajus as commented upon by Śvavarasvāmin is as follows, “या न गीतिर्न च पादबद्धं तत् प्रशिष्टपठितं यजुः (yā na gītir na ca pādabadham tat praśliṣṭapaṭhitam yajuḥ)”. The words which are syntactically connected and continuous and free from metrical form or musical melody but designated as mantra is called Yajuḥ. The Yajurveda

<sup>1</sup> Pūrvamīmāṃsā, II.1.37.

has two main divisions, viz. Śukla and Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1</sup> The former is called Śukla because of its purity and clear injunction and also for its well arranged hymns unmixed with explanatory prose passages. The name Śukla appears to be justified also for the reason that it was said to have revealed by the Sun.<sup>2</sup> The later school came to be known as Kṛṣṇa due to unarranged nature of its content.<sup>3</sup> The former branch has the hymns only to be recited while the later has additional explanatory prose portions in it applicable in the performance of the sacrificial rites. Hence, the Kṛṣṇayajurveda is contrasted with the Śuklayajurveda for the former's content of both the prose and verse intermingling in the text.<sup>4</sup> In the sacrifice, verses and formulas are recited first and then the explanatory portions of prose formulas appear. We may reasonably presume that geographical separation might be responsible for differences between the Kṛṣṇayajurveda and Śuklayajurveda in regard to their individual characteristics and accent marking system.

Śuklayajurveda has two main recensions viz., Kāṇva and Mādhyandina and the Kṛṣṇayajurveda is rich in four recensions namely, Kaṭha, Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha, Maitrāyaṇī, and Taittirīya, having much significant role to play in revealing the liturgical formulas and performances. It is well informed that the Kaṭha, Kapiṣṭhalakāṭha and Maitrāyaṇī are also called by the name Caraka. They form the offshoots of the Carakas and are too closely related amongst themselves. This is why they constitute a different group from the Taittirīya school on the one side and the Vājasaneyi school of the Śuklayajurveda on the other.

Almost the entire Vedic Saṁhitās are covered by the mantras composed in metrical form. The main characteristics of the versical form of composition are the metres. The metrical form is measured and restrained by foot and number of syllables. The movement of the letters or syllables in a verse after succession of particular number has to stop or pause for starting again in the next movement. This is like the wave of sea that proceeds with breaks in the middle to rise and advance again. Like the wave length the versical form of composition is measured by several feet. There are, therefore, two characteristic elements. One is the measurement of syllables and the other is the length of movement measured by syllables. This is why it is said that 'यदक्षरपरिमाणं छन्दः' (*yadākṣaraparimāṇam chandaḥ*)<sup>5</sup> and again पदव्यवस्था (*padavyavasthā*) i.e. the particular and peculiar arrangement of

<sup>1</sup>Cf T.N. Dharmadhikari, (ed.), Taittirīya Saṁhitā, Vol. IV, Part - II, p. xii.

<sup>2</sup>Mahīdhara on the introductory commentary of Śuklayajurveda, (Mādhyandina).

<sup>3</sup>Shanti Bandyopadhyaya, Vaidik Sahityer Itihas, p. 87.

<sup>4</sup>Cf T.N. Dharmadhikari, (ed.) op-cit, Vol. IV, Part - II, p. xii.

<sup>5</sup>Cf K.C. Chatterjee (ed.), Vedic Selection, Part - I, p.12.

foot management. The length of the foot is measured or limited by the number of syllables to stop, to rise again of the equal length of the preceding foot. To define a Rk verse it is stated in the Mīmāṃsā ‘यत्रार्थवशने पादव्यवस्था सा ऋक् (yatrārthavaśane padavyavasthā sā ṛik)’<sup>1</sup> Here of course the peculiar arrangement of the number of syllables to measure a foot length, the meaning aspect of the words is not ignored. The intrinsic sense value has not been over looked as it accelerates and controls the speed action. In the metre used in classical Sanskrit the fact is measured by number of syllables or moras. But in the Veda the foot is not measured by the moras. This metrical system is a significant factor of creating rhythmic movement. As a result of such rhythmic impulse, a certain amount of soothing effect is produced in the brain centre creating sometimes a measure of overwhelming something like hypnotic trance. A feeling of relief by means of releasing stress is created. This state of mind brings within a state of happy mood and it is very much helpful to enhance the potential for remembering things for a long time. Perchance, these are the factors why versical forms were preferred to prosaic form by the poets as well as by the authors of nonliterary compositions.

Prose is defined by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyaḍarśa as ‘आपादः पदसन्तानं गद्यम् (āpādaḥ padasantānaṁ gadyam)’<sup>2</sup> Although, there is no management of foot, no acknowledged boundary of pause, yet it has a stop in the end. There is no fixed recognized pause in the middle to create a situation for a further rise of the speed gaining momentum from the prepositional condition. Such prose composition may in a way be constructed that even being free from metrical pause, it may have the nature of motion creating at intervals wave like vibrative condition. Such momentum series may create feeling of pleasure that appeals to our consciousness something like aesthetic experience. The nature of prose form may not be always so appealing. It may be boring with the feeling of drudgery.

We have observed different specimens of prose compositions in the literary field of classical Sanskrit. The prose romance, fable literature, campū literature and dramatic compositions have different types of prose forms. We have also observed prose forms in the Vedic and Purāṇic field. Beside these the prose form of nonliterary compositions also draw our attention and deserve mention. After such a survey of the cultivation of the prose compositions we may come to a special point of discussion having a specific reference to the Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. Prose was conspicuously absent in the Saṁhitās of the Ṛgveda,

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<sup>1</sup>Pūrvamīmāṃsā, II.1.35.

<sup>2</sup>Kāvyaḍarśa, I.23.

Sāmaveda, Atharvaveda and Śuklayajurveda in particular. Peculiarly enough, we come across prose composition in abundance in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda.

Each and every Vedic Saṁhitā has its separate and independent Brāhmaṇa affiliated to it. The Brāhmaṇa part is the explanatory portion of the Saṁhitā. It explains the significance of the hymns addressed to several deities. The explanation is related to the employment of the hymn in a sacrificial ritualistic performance. It is like a translation of a theory into an action. This type of exposition is clearly and categorically mentioned and highlighted in the Brāhmaṇic literature. The Brāhmaṇic literature is, therefore, the practical application of the sacrificial system with relevant exposition in details. Such characteristics of the Brāhmaṇa portion are to be found in the Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. This explanatory portion is recorded in prose. The mixed form of prose and verse provides the scope of adding an epithet Kṛṣṇa or black to the Saṁhitā concerned. This peculiar feature of ‘mixture’ element is conspicuously absent even in the Śuklayajurveda not to speak of other Saṁhitās.

The first majestic appearance of prose with pomp and glory is the most predominant in the Yajurveda Saṁhitā specially in the Kṛṣṇayajurveda. To speak about the nature and function of the prose in this Taittirīya Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇayajurveda, it is all clear that the prose portion is termed as Brāhmaṇa by the yājñikas. It is because of the peculiarity of relevance to the sacrificial injunctions and their ancillaries. The nature of the sentences are long and continuous.<sup>1</sup> The punctuation system is absent,<sup>2</sup> of course, each sentence has a stop but it is after travelling a long distance.<sup>3</sup> The use of punctuation might have made the sentence more intelligible to the readers. The prose sentence is, of course, free from long compounds.<sup>4</sup> The simplicity of the words used has spread the block in the process of understanding the syntactical significance. It may appear that the subject matter itself has no touch with poetical qualities.<sup>5</sup> So, the sense of feeling is dry to the readers of the other literary fields. The expression like that of scientific literature must be measured in the context of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā. The prose portions having the characteristics of the Brāhmaṇa not only contain sacrificial formula but also are connected with some other details and story elements in reference to

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<sup>1</sup>Taittirīya Saṁhitā, I.7.6; II.1.1;2;3;4;5;8;10;5.1;11; VI.1.1-11.etc.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

sacrificial function.<sup>1</sup> That is why some opine that all is not beautiful and charming like poetry.

The syntactical relation system of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā is flexible, not rigid.<sup>2</sup> It is almost rigid in English, Bengali, and Hindi etc. In the Vedic and classical Sanskrit language the use of subject object and verb is free from any compulsion. This characteristic gives the employer of the sentence the unlimited freedom for positing the subject, object, verb, adjectives and adverbs anywhere in the sentence he likes. The peculiar syntactical and grammatical characteristics as recorded and explained by A.B. Keith and T.N. Dharmadhikari are of great importance in this respect.<sup>3</sup> Scholars may find them interesting and illuminating.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, II.4.1-3;6.6 etc.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, I.7.6; II.1.1;2;3;4;5;8;10;5.1;11;V.5.6-9; VI.1.1-11.etc.

<sup>3</sup>A.B.Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School entitled Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, Vol.I, pp.cxl-clix. & T.N. Dharmadhikari, *The Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā: Its Ritual and Language*, pp.564 – 580.

## KALPANĀ IN BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY: A CRITICAL STUDY

Sujit Roy

### ABSTRACT

*In Buddhist philosophy Dignāga was the first to use the term 'kalpanā' in the definition of pratyakṣa. The term 'kalpanā' is the association of name, class, character, genus etc. Kalpanās are not real objects of cognition proper. It is produced a moment later. Kalpanā belongs to the world of thought and not to the world of reality. The Buddhists are of the*

*opinion that reality is momentary. Svalakṣaṇas are momentary. Svalakṣaṇa can be cognized through pratyakṣa alone, and that pratyakṣa again is nirvikalpaka which is free from kalpanā.*

*The aim of this paper is to explain the views of the Buddhists on the term 'kalpanā'. In this paper I shall also try to explain why should it be unreliable?*

**Key words:** *kalpanā, svalakṣaṇa, momentary, nirvikalpaka, pratyakṣa*

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### INTRODUCTION

In Buddhist philosophy Dignāga (400 B.C.) was the first to use the term '*kalpanā*' (conceptual construction) in the definition of *pratyakṣa* (perception). *Kalpanā* or conceptual construction is the association of name, class character, genus etc. *Kalpanās* are not real objects of cognition proper. It is produced a moment later. For these reason it is the subject matter of *savikalpaka-pratyakṣa* which involves conceptual construction (*kalpanā*), and it is also erroneous perception. *Kalpanā* belongs to the world of thought and not to the world of reality. The Buddhists are of the opinion that reality is momentary. *Svalakṣaṇas* are momentary. *Svalakṣaṇa* can be cognized through *pratyakṣa* alone, and that *pratyakṣa* again is *nirvikalpaka*.

### DIGNĀGA'S VIEW ON KALPANĀ

The master logician Dignāga has used the term '*kalpanā*' in the definition of *pratyakṣa*. The term '*kalpanāpodha*' means free from any type of conceptual construction (*kalpanā*). "Dignāga in his *Nyayamukha* defined *kalpanā* as the association of *jāti* (class-character), *guṇa* (quality), *kriyā* (action), *dravya* (substance) and *sañjā* (name) which are known as *pañcakalpanā* in Buddhist logic."<sup>1</sup> All conceptual knowledge refers to false, ideal or conceptual constructions, having nothing whatever to do with reality. These ideal or conceptual constructions are of five kinds, viz., (i) class-character (ii) quality (iii) action (iv) name and (v) substance (*dravya*). These are regarded as ideal constructions, as they proceed on the assumption of difference where there is identity and of identity, where there is difference. Thus, the class-character is not anything distinct from the individual but it is fancied to be distinct. The quality and action is really non-distinct from the

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<sup>1</sup> Mookharjee, S., p.283

substratum, but they are imagined to be distinct and so they are called ‘false constructions’. On the other hand, name and individual are actually distinct and different, one being a word and the other being a substantive object. But they are regarded as identical, as for instance, ‘he is Caitra’. Here, ‘Caitra’ being a mere name. The identification is so complete that a man invariably responds when his name is called out. And the substance is illustrated by such verbal usage as ‘He is a staff-bearer’ (*daṇḍī ayam*). Here the staff and the man are distinct as poles apart, but there is identification of the two. Some critics says that *jāti*, *guṇa*, *kriyā* etc. are all imaginary constructions and not objective existences and so, cannot be associated with a real object, since association is possible only between two real substances like milk and water. Śāntarakṣita (749 A.D.) admits that verbal association alone is sufficient to characterize *kalpanā* and the association of *jāti*, and the like has been mentioned only out of regard for other’s views which have found wide currency.<sup>1</sup>

In the definition of *pratyakṣa* we can see that Dignāga has used the term ‘*podha*’ with *kalpanā*. Here, ‘*podha*’ means free (from ideal or conceptual constructions). So, the term ‘*kalpanāpodha*’ means free from any type of conceptual construction. That’s why Dignāga says, *pratyakṣa* is that cognition which is free from conceptual construction (*kalpanā*) that is from the association of name, class character, genus etc.<sup>2</sup> Now, it is clear that why Dignāga used the term *kalpanā* in his definition of *pratyakṣa*. So, the term ‘*kalpanāpodha*’ means free from conceptual construction which is definitely indicates the *nirvikalpaka* form of *pratyakṣa*; which is considered by the Buddhist logicians as the only form of *pratyakṣa*. According to them, it is only *nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa* which is real and unerring. The pure particular is the object (*ālambana*) of *nirvikalpaka-pratyakṣa*. The pure particular is called *svalakṣaṇa* that is grasped by us in *nirvikalpaka-pratyakṣa*. The term ‘*kalpanāpodham*’ has been deemed sufficient to exclude inference, which is invariably associated with imaginary constructions (*kalpanā*). And it is also competent to exclude errors and illusions (*bhrama*) from the category of *pratyakṣa*.

#### DHARMAKIRTI’S VIEW ON KALPANĀ

Dharmakīrti (7<sup>th</sup> century A.D) defines *kalpanā* as: “*abhilāpa-samsargayogya-pratibhasa-pratitih kalpanā*”,<sup>3</sup> i.e. *kalpanā* is a distinct cognition of a mental reflex (*pratibhasa*) which is capable (*yogya*) of coalescing (*samsarga*) with a verbal expression (*abhilāpa*). Dharmottara (847 A.D.) says, this association takes place when the mental reflex (*pratibhasa*) and verbal expression are cognized in one

<sup>1</sup> “*paraparaprasiddhe’yam kalpanā dvividha mata*”. --- TS, sl. 1221, Ibid, p.284

“*satyam lokanuvrttye’dam uktam nyayavide’drsam*.”

*īyan eva hi sabde’smin vyavaharapatham gatah*”. --- TS, sl. 1228, Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> “*pratyakṣam kalpanāpodham namajatyadyasamyutam*.” ---- PS, verse 3.

<sup>3</sup> NB, 1.5

sweep, so both are felt to be one inseparable whole.<sup>1</sup> The word capable (*yogya*) is advisedly put in to include even the conceptual cognitions of new born baby, who have not yet learnt the use of language, but whose knowledge has reached the state of judgment and so would have been actually associated with articulate word. The actual employment of words is, at best, symptomatic of conceptual thought and does not constitute its essential character. The criterion of conceptual thought is found in the indefinite, blurred presentation of the mental reflex (*aniyata-pratibhasa-tvāt*) and this indefiniteness is due to the absence of sense-datum, which alone is the cause of a definite invariable presentation. But as the objective datum in question is not present before the eyes and the conceptual thought arises independently of this objective reality, the presentation of the *pratibhasa* lacks the distinct richness and vividness of direct perceptual cognition. Conceptual knowledge (*vikalpa*) has a past and a future reference and identifies the past and the present datum of experience and so is authentic being based upon and determined by a living fact. Conceptual thought or experience mixed with conceptual thought is independent of a live fact and so is unauthenticated and unreliable as evidence of objective reality.<sup>2</sup> Dharmottara in his *Nyayabinduṭīkā* mentioned it. The word '*pratīti*' means awareness, i.e. cognition (*buddhi*). And '*taya rahitam*' means free from construction.

It is clear that after the definition of *pratyakṣa* Dharmakīrti simply presents the definition of *kalpanā* to make the definition (*pratyakṣa*) proper. It is to be noted that Dharmakīrti accepts Dignāga's definition of *pratyakṣa*, but adds another epithet '*abhranta*' (non erroneous) to it. According to him, *pratyakṣa* is that cognition which is free from conceptual construction, and which is non-erroneous.<sup>3</sup> According to Dharmakīrti, the characteristic *kalpanāpodha* alone is not sufficient for the definition of *pratyakṣa*.<sup>4</sup> If the second characteristic of *abhranta* were not added, the following misconception would not have been guarded against. The vision of a moving tree (by an observer travelling by ship) and similar cases of perception are cases of right perception, because it is not a construction. Indeed a man acting upon such a perception reaches something which is a tree (*vrkṣa-mātram*). Hence, that experience supports (*samvadakatvāt*) the validity of his perception. It would thus be consistent knowledge and so far would be direct, as not being a mere construction. In order to guard against this view the characteristic '*abhranta*', has been inserted. According to Dharmakīrti, the aforesaid twofold qualification is introduced in the definition to combat a prevailing misconception and not for the exclusion of *anumāna*. According to Dharmakīrti, *pratyakṣa* is such knowledge which is free from such construction, when it is not affected by an illusion produced by colour-blindness, rapid motion, travelling on board a ship, sickness or other causes.<sup>5</sup> So, knowledge when it is free

<sup>1</sup> "abhilapena samsarga ekasmin jjane'bhidheyakara ya'bhidhanakarena saha grahyakarataya silanam". --- NBT, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> "indriyavijnanam tu sannihitamatra grahitvat artha-apeksam, arthasya ca pratibhasaniyamahetutvan niyatapratibhasam". --- Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> "tatra kalpanāpodhamabhrantam pratyakṣam." ----- NB, I.4.

<sup>4</sup> T H. Stcherbatsky, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> "timirasubhramanana uyanasamksobhadyanahita bibhramam jnanam pratyakṣam." NB, I.6.

from illusion which is produced by the aforesaid reasons is called perceptive knowledge.<sup>1</sup> Thus, it is shown that the above characteristics combined with one another determine the essence of *pratyakṣa*.

The Sautrantika Buddhists hold that relational thought, which, of necessity, is carried on by the use of words, cannot be a true measure of reality, since an entity is unique and unrelated (*svalakṣaṇa*), being entirely cut off from the rest of the world of similar as well as dissimilar things. What, however, is perceived in direct experience in this unique, self-characterized real, which has nothing in common with others. All reals are momentary point-instances, absolutely independent of each other and they only emerge into being under the inexorable law of *pratityasamutpāda* (causality) and exercise a casual efficiency, which is peculiarly individualistic. Relations, therefore, are only ideal constructions (*vikalpas*) and have nothing corresponding to them in the objective world. These constructions are purely subjective and independent of both sense-data and sense-organs. It cannot be urged that as: this relational thought arises due to the sense-object contact, it should be valid as much as non-conceptual and non-relational (*nirvikalpa*) cognition. Because, this sequence is purely accidental and as relational thought it is seen to arise even in the absence of such contact. Again even in the presence of sense-object contact there may be no relational thought, unless and until words expressive of the objects perceived are actually or implicitly associated with the latter. If sense-object contact had competency for the generation of relational thought, it could not fail to do so even in the first instance. Even if the sense-object contact is seen to persist, the determinate, relational knowledge cannot be set down to its credit, as the act of remembrance, which is a non-sensuous and purely psychical fact, would detach the resultant experience from the objective reality.<sup>2</sup>

The above discussions unambiguously highlight the indeterminate character of perception which is 'free from conceptual construction' (*kalpanāpodha*). All the Buddhists logicians consider that *pratyakṣa* which is free from conceptual construction (*kalpanāpodha*) is a kind of pure sensation – a piece of cognition by which the object is revealed only in its simple and pure nature, devoid of all attributes and associations. *Pratyakṣa* as a presentation determined exclusively by the

<sup>1</sup> According to Dharmakīrti, *pratyakṣa* is such knowledge which is free from such construction, when it is not affected by an illusion produced by colour-blindness, rapid motion, travelling on board a ship, sickness or other causes. But Vinitadeva says that the term 'jnana' is not mentioned in the sūtra I.4. How then is it available? Vinitadeva answers that construction (*kalpanā*) is always found to be related to knowledge only and illusoriness (*abhīranta*) also is found to be an attribute of knowledge only. Therefore, what is free from construction and not illusory must be nothing but knowledge (*jnana*).

<sup>2</sup> "arthopayoge'pi punah smartam sabdanuyojanam.

aksadhir yady apekṣeta so'rtho vyavahito bhavet." --- NM, p. 92, Mookerjee, S., p.284

object and free from all conceptual constructions (*kalpanā*). Obviously it is *nirvikalpaka* knowledge, since *savikalpaka* knowledge involves the conceptual activity of the mind. Dharmakirti is of opinion that names and relations are imposed by the mind, while the senses reveal the objects accurately unless they are themselves perverted by organic or extraneous causes. This pure *pratyakṣa*, free from all traces of conceptual activity, is said to give us the object in its own nature (*svalakṣaṇam*). In Buddhist philosophy, *dravya*, *nāma*, *jāti*, *guṇa*, and *kriyā* are known as *pañcakalpanā*. So perceptual cognition is free from any type of association with *dravya*, *nāma*, *jāti*, *guṇa*, and *kriyā*.

#### FINDINGS

After a brief survey of the entire proceedings following facts were found:

- (1) Dignāga was the first to use the term '*kalpanā*' in Buddhist epistemology around 400 B.C.
- (2) In the formulation of *kalpanā*, Dharmakirti is more cautious than his predecessor Dignāga. He does not specify the type of words when associated with words will constitute *kalpanā*. He simply presents the definition of *kalpanā*.
- (3) *Kalpanā* belongs to the world of thought and not to the world of reality. *Kalpanā* occurs after a moment. So, it is not real objects of cognition proper.
- (4) The Buddhists are of the opinion that reality is momentary. Admitting reality as momentary they cannot accept the validity of *savikalpaka pratyakṣa*. *Savikalpaka pratyakṣa* is the cognition of unreal entities and ipso facto not cognition proper.
- (5) The Buddhists view that only *nirvikalpaka-pratyakṣa* is valid *pratyakṣa* which is free from any type of *kalpanā*.
- (6) *Svalakṣaṇas* are alone reals which is cognized by *nirvikalpaka-pratyakṣa*.

#### CONCLUSION

We can easily say from the above discussion that the conceptual construction (*kalpanā*) which is the association of name, class character, genus etc. are not real. For, the real is unique and changes from moment to moment. The real of the previous moment is absolutely different from the reals of the present and succeeding moments. Therefore, there can be nothing common to the reals of different moments. *Svalakṣaṇa-s* are alone real entities which lasting only for a moment. *Svalakṣaṇa* being momentary is destroyed in the very next moment, and the question of *savikalpaka pratyakṣa* does not arise at all in Buddhist philosophy. *Savikalpaka pratyakṣa* involves conceptual construction (*kalpanā*) i.e., association of name, class, character, etc. and for this reason, it is erroneous perception. Perception captures the unique and momentary particular, which is found in the *nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa*, and it is free from all conceptual constructions. On the other hand, conceptual

construction occurs after a moment. That's why it is erroneous, and for these reason the term '*kalpanā*' should not be reliable in Buddhists philosophy.

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## বাংলা সাহিত্যে প্রতিফলিত মুসলমান সমাজের আর্থ-সামাজিক অবস্থা

মনমোহন দেবনাথ

### সারাংশ

আধুনিক বাংলা সাহিত্যের শ্রেষ্ঠ ফসল উপন্যাস, ছোটগল্প ও নাটকের মধ্যে সমাজব্যবস্থার প্রত্যক্ষ প্রতিফলন লক্ষ্য করা যায়। বঙ্কিমচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায় থেকে শুরু করে রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর, শরৎচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায়, মানিক বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ, সাম্প্রতিক কালের কথাসাহিত্যে নরেন্দ্রনাথ মিত্র, জ্যোতিরিন্দ্র নন্দী, আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, নারায়ণ গঙ্গোপাধ্যায়, বিমল মিত্র, কিন্নর রায় প্রমুখ এবং সমকালে বাংলাদেশের লেখক সৈয়দ ওয়ালীউল্লাহ, রশীদ করিম, আব্দুল গাফফার চৌধুরী, আবুল ফজল, শওকত ওসমান প্রমুখ - এদের সকলের উপন্যাস ও ছোটগল্পে মানুষের জীবন সমস্যার পাশাপাশি সমকালীন সমাজব্যবস্থা, রাজনৈতিক পরিস্থিতি ও অর্থনৈতিক

সংকটের চিত্র ফুটে ওঠেছে।

আমার বর্তমান আলোচনায় বিশেষ করে বাংলা সাহিত্যে প্রতিফলিত মুসলমান সমাজের চিত্র অর্থাৎ তাদের জীবন সমস্যা, প্রেম ও হৃদয় সম্পর্ক, মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দ্বন্দ্ব, সমকালীন সমাজব্যবস্থা, সামাজিক রীতিনীতি, আচার-আচরণ, সংস্কার-নিয়ম, অর্থনৈতিক অবস্থা ইত্যাদির চিত্র তুলে ধরার চেষ্টা করব। পাশাপাশি বিভিন্ন সামাজিক, রাজনৈতিক ও অর্থনৈতিক সংকটের ফলে তাদের জীবনে নেমে আসা বিপর্যয়ের সংক্ষিপ্ত পরিচয় এবং এই বিপর্যয় কীভাবে তাদের জীবনকে প্রভাবিত করে এক অনাকাঙ্ক্ষিত পরিস্থিতির দিকে ঠেলে দেয় তারও সংক্ষিপ্ত পরিচয় দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করব।

**মুখ্যশব্দ-** সংখ্যালঘু, তালুক, শোষণ, পুনর্বিবাহ

সাহিত্যকে অনেকেই সমাজের দর্পণ বলে থাকেন, কারণ সাহিত্যে পারিপার্শ্বিক সমাজই প্রতিফলিত হয়। তবু সাহিত্য বাস্তবের ছব্ব প্রতিকৃতি নয়, সাহিত্যিক বাস্তবের সঙ্গে তাঁর কল্পনার সংযোগে নতুন সৃষ্টির জগৎ গড়ে তোলেন। সেক্ষেত্রে সাহিত্যিক তাঁর সৃষ্টির উপকরণ হিসেবে বাস্তব সংসারের নরনারীর প্রেম ও হৃদয় সম্পর্ক, মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দ্বন্দ্ব, সমকালীন সমাজব্যবস্থার চিত্র, সামাজিক রীতিনীতি, আচার-আচরণ, সংস্কার-নিয়ম ইত্যাদি গ্রহণ করেন এবং এগুলির সার্থক প্রতিফলন ঘটিয়ে তাঁর সৃষ্টিকে পাঠকের কাছে গ্রহণযোগ্য করে তোলেন, এমনকি তাঁর সৃজনী প্রতিভার গুণে তা কালের সীমা অতিক্রম করে চিরকালীন হয়ে ওঠে। বাংলা সাহিত্যের প্রাচীন যুগের নিদর্শন চর্যাপদ থেকে শুরু করে মধ্যযুগের সাহিত্য পেরিয়ে আধুনিক যুগের সাহিত্যের দিকে তাকালে আমরা দেখতে পাই প্রত্যেক সৃষ্টিতেই সমাজব্যবস্থার প্রতিফলন একটা

মুখ্য স্থান দখল করে আছে, পাশাপাশি সমকালীন সমাজব্যবস্থা সাহিত্যের পাত্র পাত্রীর জীবনকে কীভাবে প্রভাবিত করে তারও পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়।

শরৎচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায়ের ‘মহেশ’ গল্পটি তাঁর প্রখর সমাজসচেতনতার অন্যতম নিদর্শন। এই গল্পে একদিকে রয়েছে সংখ্যালঘু তথা গ্রামের একমাত্র মুসলমান প্রজা গফুর এবং অন্যদিকে রয়েছে হিন্দু সমাজব্যবস্থার বিস্তৃত অঙ্গন যার প্রতিনিধিত্ব করেছেন জমিদার শিবচরণ ও ব্রাহ্মণ পণ্ডিত তর্করত্ন। গল্পটির মূল উপাদান হল বাংলাদেশের অত্যাচারিত, শোষিত ও রিক্ত কৃষকের বিচিত্র জীবনসংগ্রাম যার প্রতিনিধি গফুর। হিন্দু অধুষিত কাশীপুর গ্রামে একমাত্র মুসলমান প্রজা হিসেবে গফুর বহুমুখী শোষণের শিকার। মুসলমান হওয়ায় গ্রামের একেবারে শেষপ্রান্তে পথের ধারে ছোট্ট মেয়ে আমিনাকে নিয়ে তার বাস। সম্পদ বলতে তার একটিমাত্র বলদ, যার নাম মহেশ। এই মহেশ শুধু তার গৃহপালিত জন্তুবিশেষ নয়, এটি তার অপত্য স্নেহ লাভ করেছে যার পরিচয় পাওয়া যায় উপবাসী মহেশের মাথায় পিঠে হাত বুলিয়ে যখন গফুরকে বলতে শুনি- ‘মহেশ তুই আমার ছেলে, তুই আমাদের আটসন প্রতিপালন করে বড়ো হয়েছিস। তোকে আমি পেট পুরে খেতে দিতে পারিনি- কিন্তু তুইতো জানিস, তোকে আমি কত ভালোবাসি।’ কিন্তু গফুর যেহেতু মুসলমান এবং গরু তাদের কাছে খাদ্যবিশেষ, তাই মহেশের সঙ্গে তার হৃদয় সম্পর্কে কেউ আমল দেয়নি। খাদ্য ও খাদকের সম্পর্কটা যেখানে প্রধান, সেখানে হৃদয় সম্পর্ক সোনার পাথরবাটির মতোই অবিশ্বাস্য। তাই তর্করত্ন তাকে শাসিয়ে বলেছেন, ‘গোহত্যা হলে কর্তা তোকে জ্যান্ত কবর দেবো।’

হিন্দু সমাজে মুসলমান শ্রেণীর মানুষকে কত অবহেলা ও অসহনীয় দুঃখের মধ্য দিয়ে বাস করতে হত তার ও জীবন্ত পরিচয় রয়েছে এই গল্পে। গফুরের ব্যক্তিগত সমস্যা হল হিন্দু গ্রামে সে একমাত্র মুসলমান প্রজা এবং তার দারিদ্র্য এত প্রকট যে অন্তঃপুরের লজ্জা পথিকের করুণার উপর নির্ভর করে। তাছাড়া মুসলমান প্রজা হিসেবে তৃষ্ণার জলটুকু সংগ্রহ করার অধিকারও তার ছিলনা। মেয়ে আমিনা সকাল থেকে কলসী নিয়ে পুকুর পাড়ে ঠায় দাঁড়িয়ে থাকে, যদি কেউ দয়া করে দূর থেকে একটু জল কলসীতে ঢেলে দেয় তবেই তারা তৃষ্ণার জল পায়। তাছাড়া সকলের কাছেই তারা তুচ্ছতাচ্ছিল্যের শিকার। যেমন পণ্ডিত তর্করত্নের কণ্ঠে গফুর হয়েছে গফরা, আবার ক্রোধের বশে গফুরকে হারামজাদা, পাষন্ড, স্বেচ্ছ বলেও উল্লেখ করেছেন। আসলে শিবচরণের মতো জমিদার ও তর্করত্নের মতো ব্রাহ্মণ পণ্ডিতের কাছে ধর্ম হয়ে উঠেছে শোষণের হাতিয়ার এবং সংখ্যালঘু গফুর হয়েছে শোষণের শিকার। এপ্রসঙ্গে সত্যচরণ চট্টোপাধ্যায় বলেছেন, ‘শরৎচন্দ্র ‘মহেশ’ গল্পে শাসক শক্তি ও ধর্মীয় শক্তির সমন্বয়ের রূপটিকে শোষণের হাতিয়ার রূপে চিহ্নিত করে শিল্পায়ত করেছেন।

দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধোত্তর কালের ছোটগল্পের ক্ষেত্রে অন্যতম শ্রেষ্ঠ গল্পকার নরেন্দ্রনাথ মিত্র ছিলেন অত্যন্ত সমাজসচেতন শিল্পী। গ্রামবাংলার সাধারণ মধ্যবিত্ত, নিম্নমধ্যবিত্ত ও নিম্নবিত্ত মানুষের জীবন ও জীবনের নানা ঘাত প্রতিঘাত, মানসিক টানাপোড়েন, হৃদয় সম্পর্কের জটিলতা ইত্যাদি যেমন তাঁর গল্পে ফুটে উঠেছে তেমনি তাদের সমাজের নানা রীতিনিয়ম, প্রথা পদ্ধতির চিত্রও ধরা পড়েছে। নরেন্দ্রনাথ মিত্রের কিছু ছোটগল্পে মুসলমান সমাজের বিস্তৃত পরিচয় ফুটে

উঠেছে, বিশেষ করে নিম্নবিত্ত মুসলমান মানুষেরাই তাঁর গল্পে ঘুরে ফিরে এসেছে। মুসলমান সমাজ নিয়ে লেখা তাঁর অধিকাংশ গল্পের কাহিনীসূত্রে তাদের সমাজে প্রচলিত তালাক ও পুনর্বিবাহ, একাধিক বিবাহ, পীর ফকির দরবেশের স্মরণাপন্ন হওয়া ইত্যাদি প্রথার কথা এসেছে, আবার কোনো কোনো ক্ষেত্রে এই প্রথাকে কেন্দ্র করে গল্প গড়ে উঠেছে। তাঁর ‘রস’ গল্পের কাহিনী বিশ্লেষণ করলে দেখা যায় যে, নায়ক মোতালেফ মুসলমান সমাজে প্রচলিত ‘তালাক’ প্রথাকে নিজের গোপন স্বার্থ সিদ্ধির উপায় হিসেবে গ্রহণ করেছে। মোতালেফ খেজুর গাছ থেকে রস সংগ্রহের ক্ষেত্রে দক্ষ তথা নিপুণ শিল্পী। গল্পটিতে দেখা যায় মোতালেফ বিধবা মাজুখাতুনকে বিয়ে করেছে সুন্দরী ফুলবানুকে বিয়ে করার জন্য ; কথাটি অদ্ভুত শোনালেও এটাই সত্য। অর্থাৎ সুন্দরী ফুলবানুকে বিয়ে করার জন্য তার পিতা এলেম শেখ যে পণ হিসেবে নগদ পাঁচ কুড়ি টাকা দাবি করেন তা সংগ্রহ করার জন্য মোতালেফ তার উস্তাদ রাজেক মুখার বিধবা স্ত্রী মাজুখাতুনকে বিয়ে করেছে, কারণ মাজুখাতুন খেজুর রস জ্বাল দিয়ে উন্নতমানের গুড় তৈরী করতে দক্ষ শিল্পী। তার তৈরী গুড় বাজারে চড়াদামে বিক্রি করে মোতালেফ পণের টাকা সংগ্রহ করে মিথ্যে অপবাদ তুলে তাকে তালাক দিয়ে ফুলবানুকে বিয়ে করে ঘরে আনে। অর্থাৎ মাজুখাতুনকে সে সচেতন ভাবেই প্রয়োজন সিদ্ধির উদ্দেশ্যে বিয়ে করেছিল এবং প্রয়োজন শেষে ছুঁড়ে ফেলে দিয়েছে। তার মূল্যবোধের এই অবক্ষয়জনিত মানসিকতার পরিচয় রয়েছে ফুলবানুর পিতা এলেম শেখ মাজুখাতুনের সঙ্গে তার বিয়ের প্রসঙ্গ উল্লেখ করলে সে বলেছে, ‘তার জৈন্যে ভাবেন ক্যান মেঞাসাব ? গাছে রস যদিই আছে, গায়ে শীত যদিই আছে, মাজুখাতুনও তদিন আছে আমার ঘরে। দক্ষিণা বাতাস খেলালেই সব সাফ হইয়া যাবে উইড়া।’

এই গল্পে দেখা যায় ফুলবানুর ও পূর্বে একবার বিয়ে হয়েছিল, কিন্তু বর পছন্দ না হওয়ায় মনগড়া অভিযোগ তুলে পিতার সাহায্যে তালাক নিয়ে এসেছিল, আবার মাজুখাতুনও তৃতীয়বার বিয়ে করেছে মাঝি নাদির শেখকে। তবে এইভাবে বারবার বিয়ে ভাঙ্গা ও পুনরায় বিয়ে করার প্রথা মুসলমান সমাজে প্রচলিত থাকলেও তা বিশেষকরে নিম্নবিত্ত ও অশিক্ষিত সমাজেই লক্ষ্য করা যায়। শিক্ষিত ভদ্রসমাজ যে একে যথাসম্ভব এড়িয়ে চলার চেষ্টা করতেন তার পরিচয় পাওয়া ফুলবানুর পিতা এলেম শেখের মধ্যে। মোতালেফ ফুলবানুর রূপে মুগ্ধ হলেও সে যখন রস জ্বাল দিয়ে ভালো গুড় তৈরী করতে ব্যর্থ, তখন ফুলবানুর প্রতি তার দৈহিক আকর্ষণ ফিকে হয়ে আসে। উভয়ের দাম্পত্য জীবনে অশান্তির খবর পেয়ে ফুলবানুর পিতা এলেম শেখ নিজে এসে মেয়েকে বুঝিয়ে স্বামীর ঘরে রাখতে চেয়েছেন। কারণ তিনি ভেবেছেন-‘একটু আঙ্কারা দিলেই ফুলবানু পেয়ে বসবে, আবার তালাক নিতে চাইবে। কিন্তু গৃহস্থ ঘরে অমন বারবার অদলবদল আর ঘর বদলানো কি চলে, তাতে কি মান সম্মান থাকে সমাজের কাছে।’ তাছাড়া পুরুষের একাধিক বিবাহের প্রথাও সেসময় মুসলমান সমাজে প্রচলিত ছিল, তবে কোনো মেয়ের পিতাই পারতপক্ষে মেয়েকে সতীনের ঘরে বিয়ে দিতে চাইতেন না। ‘রস’ গল্পেও দেখা যায় মোতালেফ যখন পণের টাকা নিয়ে ফুলবানুর পিতার কাছে গেছে, তখন তিনি বলেছেন-‘এখন আর টাকা আগাম নিয়া আমি কি করব মেঞা ? তুমি তো শোনলাম নেকা কইরা নিছ রাজেক মেরধার

কবিলারে। সতীনের ঘরে যাবে ক্যান আমার মাইয়া, যাইয়া কি ঝগড়া আর চিল্লাচিল্লি করবে, মারামারি কাটাকাটি কইরা মরবে দিনরাইতা’

তারপরও দেখা যায় কোনো কোনো ক্ষেত্রে বিভ্রান্তালী মুসলমান পরিবারে কর্তাদের একাধিক বিয়ে করাটা অনেকটা রেওয়াজের মতোই ছিল। কেননা কেউ একাধিক বিয়ে করতেন সন্তান লাভের আশায়, কেউবা অকারণে নিছক ভোগতৃষ্ণা পরিতৃপ্ত করতে বা নবাবদের মতো প্রতিপত্তি দেখাতে ছোটখাটো হারেম সাজাতেন। যেমন ‘চাঁদমিঞা’ গল্পে দেখা যায় মীরপুর ও তার আশপাশের পাঁচ সাতটি গ্রামের জমিদার নসরৎ আলী মৃধার ধন দৌলত, লোক লঙ্কর, পাইক পেয়াদা কিছুরই অভাব ছিলনা, অভাব শুধু সন্তানের। অনেক বাইরের দরগায় সিন্নি দিয়ে, ফকির দরবেশের কাছ থেকে গাছ গাছড়া তাবিজ কবচ নিয়েও তার সে অভাব পূরণ হয়নি। ফলে তার মধ্যে এক অদ্ভুত জেদ দেখা দেয়। তিনি বলেছেন, ‘ছেলে যতদিন না হবে ততদিন কেবল বিবির পর বিবি এনে ঘর ভ’রে ফেলব, দেখি ছেলে না হয়ে যায় কোথায়। আমি জানি আমার নিজের কোন দোষ নেই, ছেলে যে হয়না তা কেবল এই বিবিদের দোষ।’ তাই তার প্রায় ষাট বৎসর বয়সেও দেখা যায় পাঁচ বিবির মৃত্যুর পর আরও চার বিবি ঘরে রেখে পুনরায় বিয়ে করে এনেছেন আঠারো উনিশ বছরের সদ্য স্বামীহারা রূপসী রাবেয়াকে। তাঁর ‘পুনশ্চ’ গল্পেও দেখা যায় জৈনুদ্দীনের স্ত্রী পুত্র নিয়ে সুখের সংসার, অথচ বড়ভাই মৈনুদ্দীনের মৃত্যুর পর তার বিধবা পত্নী ফতিমা ওরফে বরু বিবিকে নিকা করে ঘরে এনেছেন। এখানে শুধু তার রূপমোহ কাজ করেছে এবং মুসলমান সমাজের পুনর্বিবাহ প্রথার সুযোগ নিয়েছে। ‘দ্বিরাগমন’ গল্পেও দেখা যায় উকিল আমিনুর রহমান চৌধুরীর বড় মেয়ে কুসুম বিয়ের বছর খানেকের মধ্যেই বিধবা হয়ে বাপের বাড়িতে চলে এসেছে এবং দ্বিতীয়বার বিয়ে করতে রাজী নয়। তার ছোটবোন রোশেনারার বিয়ে হয় আতোয়ারের সঙ্গে, কিন্তু কিছু দিনের মধ্যেই স্বামীর সঙ্গে মনের মিল না হওয়ায় তালাক নিয়ে বাপের বাড়িতে চলে আসে এবং বছরখানেকের মধ্যেই পুনরায় বিয়ে করে এক সরকারী অফিসারকে। পাশাপাশি যে বিধবা কুসুম এতদিন দ্বিতীয়বার বিয়ে করতে চায়নি, সেও ছোটবোনের প্রাক্তন স্বামী আতোয়ারকেই বিয়ে করে নেয়। এ প্রসঙ্গে ডঃ মঞ্জুরী চৌধুরী বলেছেন-‘পারস্পরিক সম্পর্কে অনেক সময় কিছুটা জটিলতার সৃষ্টি হলেও এই প্রথা মুসলমান সমাজের নিজস্ব ধ্যান ধারণার পরিচয়বাহী।’

দ্বিতীয় বিশ্বযুদ্ধ, আগস্ট আন্দোলন, মন্বন্তর ও মহামারী, দেশবিভাগ ইত্যাদি ঘটনা বাঙালির সামাজিক, অর্থনৈতিক ও পারিবারিক জীবনে যে আকস্মিক বিপর্যয় নিয়ে এসেছিল সেই পটভূমিতে নাটক রচনা করে যারা বিশিষ্টতা পেয়েছিলেন তাদের মধ্যে বিজন ভট্টাচার্য ও তুলসী লাহিড়ীর নাম বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখযোগ্য। তুলসী লাহিড়ীর ‘ছেঁড়া তার’ নাটকটি পঞ্চাশের মন্বন্তরের পটভূমিকায় রংপুর জেলার গ্রামীণ কৃষক সমাজকে নিয়ে রচিত হলেও এ নাটকে একটি মুসলমান পরিবারের দুঃখ বেদনার কাহিনীই প্রধান বর্ণনীয় বিষয় হয়ে উঠেছে। মন্বন্তর কীভাবে একটি সুখী স্বচ্ছল মুসলমান পরিবারের স্বামী-স্ত্রীর জীবনে ভয়াবহ বিপর্যয় নিয়ে এসেছিল তার বিশ্বস্ত দলিল এ নাটক। নরেন্দ্রনাথ মিত্রের ‘রস’ গল্পে মুসলমান সমাজের তালাক প্রথাকে মোতালেফ ব্যবহার করেছে আপন স্বার্থ সিদ্ধির প্রয়োজনে অর্থাৎ এক স্ত্রীকে তালাক দিয়েছে অপেক্ষাকৃত সুন্দরী অন্য

একজনকে পাওয়ার জন্য। কিন্তু এ নাটকে তালুক প্রথার ব্যবহার হয়েছে নিজের স্বীকৃতি দূর্ভিক্ষের হাত থেকে বাঁচিয়ে রাখার জন্য। নাটকে দেখা যায় গ্রামের স্বচ্ছল কৃষক রহিমুদ্দীও দূর্ভিক্ষের কবলে পড়ে অর্ধাহারে, অনাহারে দিন কাটাচ্ছে, স্বী পুত্রের মুখে অন্ন তুলে দিতে পারছে না। গ্রামের এক ধনী ব্যক্তির বাড়ীতে লঙ্গরখানা খুলে সরকারী ভাবে খাবার দেওয়া হলেও রহিমুদ্দী বা তার স্বী ফুলজানের সেখানে প্রবেশাধিকার নেই ঐ ব্যক্তির সঙ্গে ব্যক্তিগত খারাপ সম্পর্কের কারণে। ফলে বাধ্য হয়ে রহিমুদ্দী স্বীকে তালুক দিয়েছে। এতে ফুলজান সন্তুষ্ট হয়েছে এবং তার মাথায় যেন আকাশ ভেঙ্গে পড়েছে। কিন্তু রহিমুদ্দী বলেছে, ‘এখন তুই আর আমার জরু নস।’ ফলে এতদিন ফুলজান লঙ্গরখানা থেকে খাবার সংগ্রহ করতে না পারলেও এখন আর কোনো বাধা রইল না। মনস্তত্ত্বের দিনগুলি কাটিয়ে উঠে সে পুনরায় তাকে ঘরে তুলবে অর্থাৎ শুধু বউ বাচ্চাকে বাঁচানোর জন্যই তার এমন কঠিন পদক্ষেপ। এখানে নাট্যকার একটি নির্দিষ্ট সামাজিক প্রথার যেমন পরিচয় দিয়েছেন, তেমনি অপরদিকে একটি সুখী স্বচ্ছল পরিবারের অর্থনৈতিক বিপর্যয় ও দুঃখের কাহিনীকে আমাদের সামনে তুলে ধরেছেন।

বাংলাদেশের উপন্যাস লেখকদের মধ্যে অন্যতম শ্রেষ্ঠ ঔপন্যাসিক ছিলেন সৈয়দ ওয়ালীউল্লাহ। তিনি সমাজ সচেতন লেখক হলেও সমাজের বহিঃপরিবেশ ও ঘটনা তাঁর কাছে বড় হয়ে উঠেনি, ব্যক্তির অন্তরের আবেগ, আলোড়ন, বিপর্যয় ও মনোলোকের জটিলতাই তাঁর কাছে মুখ্য, আর সে জটিলতার গ্রন্থি মোচনই তাঁর আগ্রহ বেশী। বাংলাদেশের প্রাকৃতিক পরিবেশ, চিরপরিচিত মানুষ ও সামাজিক পটভূমিতে তাঁর উপন্যাস রচিত। নিম্নমধ্যবিত্ত ও মধ্যবিত্ত বাঙালী মুসলমান সমাজ হল ওয়ালীউল্লাহের আগ্রহের এলাকা, তাঁর ভাষা যেমন নিজস্ব চিহ্নিত, তেমনি বিষয়বস্তুও তাঁর নির্বাচিত। তিনি একুশ বছর বয়সে এক সমসাময়িক লেখককে লিখেছিলেন-‘\*\*\*I want to write মুসলমান সমাজ নিয়ে- আমার সমগ্র মনের ইচ্ছে সেদিক পানে। এওএকরকম passion থেকে সৃষ্ট। মুসলমান সমাজ সম্পর্কে আমরা কেউ হয়তো অজ্ঞ নই, কিন্তু অধঃপতনের এই যে একটা চূড়ান্ত অবস্থা- এই অবস্থা নিয়ে লিখে আমার লেখা কলঙ্কিত (?) করতে চাই।’ এ প্রসঙ্গে সৈয়দ আবুল মকসুদ বলেছেন- “অধঃপতিত বাঙ্গালি মুসলমান সমাজকে তিনি এক ‘বিরিট সভ্যতার জঞ্জাল’ বলে অভিহিত করেন। তাঁর উপন্যাস নাটক গুলো পাঠ করলেও আমরা দেখতে পাবো তিনি তাঁর লেখক জীবনের শুরুতে যে কমিটমেন্ট বা অঙ্গীকার ব্যক্ত করেছিলেন তা তিনি শেষ পর্যন্ত রক্ষা করেছেন। যা লিখেছেন তার সবকিছুরই উপজীব্য ‘বাঙালি মুসলমান সমাজ’; তিনি হয়ে উঠলেন কুসংস্কারাচ্ছন্ন, ধর্মান্ধ, আত্মঘাতী ও সংকীর্ণ বাঙালি মুসলমান সমাজের কঠোর সমালোচক।” তাঁর এই মন্তব্যের প্রত্যক্ষ প্রমাণ দেখতে পাই ওয়ালীউল্লাহের অন্যতম শ্রেষ্ঠ ছোটগল্প ‘একটি তুলসীগাছের কাহিনী’র মোদাক্ষের চরিত্রে। দেশভাগের ফলে পূর্ববঙ্গ থেকে পশ্চিমবঙ্গে চলে আসা কোনো এক অবস্থাপন্ন হিন্দুর পরিত্যক্ত বাড়ীতে পশ্চিমবঙ্গ থেকে পূর্ববঙ্গে চলে যাওয়া একদল মুসলমান সরকারী কর্মচারীর আশ্রয় নেওয়া ও সেই বাড়ীতে থাকা একটি তুলসীগাছের কাহিনী গল্পের বিষয়বস্তু। গল্পের ইউনিস, কাদের, মোদাক্ষের, আমজাদ, মতিন প্রমুখ চরিত্রগুলি প্রত্যেকেই মুসলমান, অথচ এদের মানসিকতা আলাদা। মোদাক্ষের প্রবল

সংস্কারাঙ্গ ও হিন্দুবিদ্বেষী। হিন্দু মুসলমান দাঙ্গা ও দেশভাগের ফলে দেশছাড়া হলেও তার মন থেকে হিন্দুবিদ্বেষ চলে যায়নি। সে ঐ পরিত্যক্ত বাড়ীতে তুলসী গাছ দেখতে পেয়ে সেটি উপড়ে ফেলার কড়া নির্দেশ দিয়ে বলেছে, ‘আমরা যখন এ বাড়ীতে এসে উঠেছি তখন এখানে কোনো হিন্দুয়ানীর চিহ্ন সহ্য করা হবে না।’

বাংলাদেশের সংস্কারবদ্ধ মুসলমান সমাজের শোষণ ও অত্যাচারের পটভূমিতে ব্যক্তির জীবন জিজ্ঞাসার সার্থক রূপায়ণ সৈয়দ ওয়ালীউল্লাহের ‘লালসালু’ উপন্যাস। এর একটি বিশেষ বৈশিষ্ট্য হল বাঙালি মুসলমান সমাজের একটি মারাত্মক আত্মঘাতী দিকের স্বরূপ এতে উন্মোচিত হয়েছে। এতে সভ্যতার আলো থেকে অনেক দূরে অবস্থিত একদল অসংস্কৃত মানুষের জীবনকাহিনী ফুটে উঠেছে। এমন এক জনপদের কাহিনী লেখক তুলে ধরেছেন যেখানে ‘শস্যের চেয়ে টুপি বেশি, ধর্মের চেয়ে আগাছা বেশি’, সে জনপদের মানুষের চোখ যেন বিশ্বাসের পাথরে খোদাই করা। অতীতের কোনো এক অজ্ঞাত ব্যক্তির পরিত্যক্ত কবরকে কেন্দ্র করে মজিদ নামের এক অজ্ঞ, অশিক্ষিত, অন্তঃসারশূন্য ভন্ড ব্যক্তি কীভাবে গ্রামের সহজ সরল মানুষকে প্রতারিত করে নিজের ভাগ্য গড়ে তুলেছে তার পরিচয় লেখক সুন্দরভাবে তুলে ধরেছেন। ধর্মীয় ব্যাপারে পুরোপুরি অনভিজ্ঞ মজিদ ধর্মীয় কুসংস্কারের ভাবাবেগে কীভাবে সরল গ্রামবাসীকে ভাসিয়ে দিয়েছে তারই বিশ্বস্ত দলিল এ উপন্যাস। এ প্রসঙ্গে সমালোচক সৈয়দ আবুল মকসুদ বলেছেন, “অশিক্ষিত অধ-শিক্ষিত মুসলমানসমাজে এমনটি প্রায়ই ঘটে থাকে। অতীতেও ঘটতো, এখনও ঘটবে। ‘মাছের পিঠের মতো চিরনীরব মাজারটি’ বাংলার মোল্লা-মোড়লচালিত মুসলমান সমাজের নিশ্চতন শুধু নয়, নিপ্পাণ সমাজেরই প্রতীক। ধর্মব্যবসায়ী মজিদ বাঙালি মুসলমান সমাজের শোষক, নিপীড়ক ও প্রতারকদের প্রতিনিধি। আন্যায়, মিথ্যাচার, অন্ধবিশ্বাস ও ভন্ডামি তার পুঁজি।” এখানে লেখক মূলত দেখাতে চেয়েছেন শিক্ষা ও বিজ্ঞান মনস্কতার অভাবই মজিদের মতো প্রতারক ও ভন্ড ধর্মব্যবসায়ীকে ধর্মীয় ও সামাজিক শোষণের পথ করে দেয়।

সাম্প্রতিক কালে কিন্নর রায়, আবুল বাশার, আফসার আহমেদ প্রমুখরা তাঁদের উপন্যাসে মুসলমান সমাজের নানা দিককে স্পষ্ট রেখায় তুলে ধরেছেন। কিন্নর রায়ের লেখা ‘অন্ধকারে ছবি’(১৯৯২) উপন্যাসে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের মুসলমান মেয়েদের জীবনযাপনের কথা, ‘আগুনের সিঁড়ি’(১৯৯৩) উপন্যাসে ভারত-পাক সীমান্ত সংঘর্ষ চলাকালে এলাহাবাদের মুসলমানদের অস্তিত্বের সংকটের কথা, ‘সংখ্যালঘু’ উপন্যাসে বাঁশদ্রোণী ব্রহ্মপুর অঞ্চলের মুসলমানদের সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক সংকটকে রূপায়িত করেছেন। আবুল বাসার তাঁর ‘সঈদাবাদি’(১৯৮৯) উপন্যাসে মুর্শিদাবাদ লালবাগ অঞ্চলের অবহেলিত মুসলিম নারী সমাজের এক অচেনা জগতের কাহিনী তুলে ধরেছেন। এ উপন্যাসে সঈদার দুর্ভাগ্যের কথা, তার নারীত্বের লাঞ্ছনার কাহিনী ও সন্তানহীনতার বেদনা ভাষা পেয়েছে। মুসলমান সমাজের বিশ্বাস সবেবরাতের রাতে (ভাগ্যের রাত) আল্লা সারা বছরের খোরাকি মেপে দেন, অথচ সঈদার ভাগ্যে কীভাবে জুটেছিল শুধু অপমান আর লাঞ্ছনা, সেই করুণ কাহিনীই তুলে ধরা হয়েছে এ উপন্যাসে। আফসার আহমেদের ‘ঘর গেরস্তি’, ‘অন্তপুর’, ‘সঙ্গ নিসঙ্গ’, ‘বিবির মিথ্যা তালাক ও তালাকের বিবি এবং হলুদ পাখির কিসসা’, ‘কালো বোরখার বিবি ও কুসুমের গন্ধ এবং চল্লিশজন লোক’, ‘দ্বিতীয় বিবি’ ইত্যাদি উপন্যাসে

গ্রামীণ মুসলমান সমাজের সামাজিক জীবনচিত্র যেভাবে জীবন্তরেখায় তুলে ধরেছেন তা অন্য কোনো লেখকের পক্ষে সম্ভব হয়নি। ১৯৯৮ সনে তাঁকে দেওয়া ‘সোমেন চন্দ স্মৃতি পুরস্কার’ প্রদান অনুষ্ঠানে প্রকাশিত পুস্তিকায় তাঁর পরিচয় দিতে গিয়ে যা লেখা হয়েছে তাতে লেখক ও তাঁর লেখার মাহাত্ম্য বুঝে নেওয়া যায়- “বাংলার মুসলমান সমাজ আফসারের কথাসহিতের মূলভিত্তি। এই সমাজের নিজস্ব বাস্তবতা এবং নারীজীবনের জটিল অবস্থান তেমন করে প্রাত্যহিক অভিজ্ঞতার আলোকে এপার বাংলার কথাসহিত্যে এযাবৎ বিশেষ ওঠে আসেনি।\*\*\* গ্রামীণ মুসলমান নারী জীবনের অর্থনৈতিক-সামাজিক শোষণের প্রত্যক্ষ অভিজ্ঞতা আফসারের গল্প উপন্যাসের মূল কাঠামো তৈরী করেছে। এই সমাজে খুঁটিনাটি, নারীজীবনের চাওয়া পাওয়া, স্বভাব, সংস্কার, ভাষা, আহর-বিহার এমন আশ্চর্য বাস্তবতায় তাঁর গল্প উপন্যাসে ধরা পড়েছে যে তা বৃহত্তর পাঠকসমাজের কাছে একটি অনাবিস্কৃত রাজ্যের যবনিকা অপসারণের মতো।”

সবশেষে আমি বলতে চাই বাংলা সাহিত্যে শরৎচন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায় থেকে শুরু করে নরেন্দ্রনাথ মিত্র, সৈয়দ ওয়ালীউল্লাহ, আবুল বাশার, আফসার আহমেদ প্রমুখ সাহিত্যিকেরা তাঁদের সৃষ্টিতে সমকালীন মুসলমান সমাজের চিত্র অর্থাৎ তাদের জীবন সমস্যা, প্রেম ও হৃদয় সম্পর্ক, মনস্তাত্ত্বিক দ্বন্দ্ব, সমাজব্যবস্থা, সামাজিক রীতিনীতি, সংস্কার বিশ্বাস ইত্যাদি চিত্র তুলে ধরে আমাদের একদিকে যেমন সচেতন করতে চেয়েছেন তেমনি অপরদিকে সমাজ ব্যবস্থার নানা দোষ ত্রুটি গুলি দূর করার কাজে আত্মনিয়োগ করার জন্য উদ্বোধিত করতে চেয়েছেন। মুসলমান সমাজের নিম্নবর্গীয় স্তরে যেসব রীতিনীতির অপপ্রয়োগ বা ভুল প্রয়োগ ঘটে থাকে, তার মূলে যে কাজ করে অশিক্ষা ও অন্ধবিশ্বাস সে সম্পর্কেও সূক্ষ্ম ইঙ্গিত দিয়েছেন। শিক্ষা মানুষের মূল্যবোধকে পরিশীলিত করে সুস্থ সুন্দর সমাজ গঠনে উদ্বুদ্ধ করে। তাই উপযুক্ত শিক্ষা ও সচেতনতা বৃদ্ধির মধ্য দিয়ে মানুষকে বিভিন্ন সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক সংকট থেকে মুক্ত করে এক শোষণমুক্ত ও কুসংস্কারমুক্ত সমাজ উপহার দেওয়া যাবে বলে আমার বিশ্বাস।

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## মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্তের শ্রেষ্ঠ কবিতা : নারীবাদী ভাবনার আলোকে

শংকরী দাস

### সারাংশ

নারীবাদের উৎপত্তির মূলে রয়েছে লিঙ্গসংশ্লিষ্ট নানা গুরুতর প্রশ্নের তাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ ও ব্যাখ্যা। নারীর বর্তমান অবস্থান, তার কার্যকারন ব্যাখ্যা, তার অবস্থান পরিবর্তনের সম্ভাবনা এবং অন্তরায় এসবই নারীবাদের আলোচ্য বিষয়। পিতৃতান্ত্রিক, সামাজিক ও রাজনৈতিক কাঠামো থেকে নারীকে মুক্ত করার ভাবনা থেকেই নারীবাদের সৃষ্টি। এই নারীবাদের আলোকে

মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্তের শ্রেষ্ঠ কবিতার পরিচয় দেওয়ার চেষ্টা করব। প্রসঙ্গত ফ্রয়েডের তত্ত্ব ও মার্কস-বাদের প্রেক্ষিতে নারীচেতনার কথা কিভাবে তাঁর কবিতায় প্রতিফলিত হয়েছে তারও একটা সংক্ষিপ্ত পরিচয় দেব। এক্ষেত্রে তাঁর রক্তচিহ্ন, আম্রপালি, পাণ্ডুর পুত্রাকাংক্ষা, কন্যাবর্ষে, অর্ধেক পৃথিবী, ফ্রয়েডকে লেখা খোলা চিঠি, আপনি বলুন মার্কস প্রভৃতি কবিতা বিষয়ে বিশেষভাবে আলোচনা করব।

**মুখ্য শব্দ** - নারীবাদ, লিঙ্গবৈষম্য, পিতৃতন্ত্র, সমাজতন্ত্র

নারীর সমস্যাকান্দ্রিক চিন্তাভাবনা ও প্রতিবাদ শুরু হয় অষ্টাদশ শতাব্দীতে। ১৭৯২ সনে মেরি ওলস্টন ক্রাফট তাঁর ‘A Vindication of the Right of Woman’ গ্রন্থে মেয়েদের ‘মেয়েলি’ করে রাখবার জন্য যে সামাজিক প্রক্রিয়া, তার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ তোলেন। ব্রিটেন ও আমেরিকায় এক এক করে নারীর শিক্ষা ও ভোটাধিকার প্রসঙ্গ নিয়ে আলোচনা দানা বাধে। উনিশ শতকে জন স্টুয়ার্ট মিল ও হ্যারিয়েট টেলরের ‘The Subjection of Woman’ গ্রন্থে মেয়েদের শিক্ষা ও জ্ঞানের আলো থেকে বঞ্চিত করে অন্ধরমহলে আটকে রাখার বিরুদ্ধে প্রতিবাদ করা হয়। সিমন দ্য বুভোয়া তাঁর ‘The Second Sex’ গ্রন্থে ইউরোপে বুর্জোয়া শ্রেণির ধনতান্ত্রিক উৎপাদনে পুরুষের ভূমিকা উৎপাদনমুখী ও নারীর অন্তঃপুরের ভূমিকাকে প্রতিবাদী স্বরে ‘Second Sex’ বলে অভিহিত করেছেন। ভার্জিনিয়া ওলফ তাঁর ‘A Room of One’s Own’ গ্রন্থে প্রথম ঘোষণা করেন ‘লিঙ্গ পরিচয় জন্মগত নয়, সামাজিকভাবে নির্মিত এক অভ্যাস।’ বেদের যুগে পুরুষের মতো উপবীত ধারণে, শিক্ষাগ্রহণে, বেদের মন্ত্র উচ্চারণে নারীর অধিকার ছিল। শুধু ‘মনুসংহিতা’র আমল থেকেই শিক্ষা, বেদমন্ত্র উচ্চারণে নারীর অধিকার ছিনিয়ে তাকে সর্বাবস্থায় পুরুষের অধীন বলে বর্ণনা করা হল। রাজা রামমোহন রায়, ঈশ্বরচন্দ্র বিদ্যাসাগর, দয়ানন্দ সরস্বতী, রবীন্দ্রনাথ ঠাকুর প্রমুখ নারীশিক্ষণ প্রবর্তন চেয়েছেন এবং লিঙ্গবৈষম্যের বিরোধিতা করেছেন।

বিংশ শতকের গোড়া থেকেই নারী-পুরুষ সমবেতভাবে কাজ করে স্বাধীনতা আন্দোলনে অংশীদার হয়েছেন। নারীশৃঙ্খল কিছুটা শিথিল হলেও দীর্ঘমেয়াদি লড়াই শুরু হয় সাতের দশকে।

বিংশ শতকের সাতের দশকে নারীবাদী সমালোচনাও সাহিত্যতত্ত্ব গুরুত্ব পেতে শুরু করে। পুরুষের লেখা সাহিত্যে নারীবাদে, নারীর প্রতি অবহেলা এবং নারীর অধিকার হরণের প্রচেষ্টাকে সরাসরি আক্রমণ করা হয়েছে। এই পর্যায়ে একজন নারীবাদী লেখিকা হলেন মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত।

নারীবাদী ভাবনাকে দুটো ভাগে ভাগ করা যেতে পারে। যথা (১) উদারনৈতিক বা লিবারাল নারীবাদ (২) র্যাডিকাল নারীবাদ

প্রসঙ্গত লিবারাল নারীবাদীরা বিধি-নিয়মের উপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করেন। সমাজকে পরিচালনা করবে কতগুলি বিধি-নিয়ম, সবসময় লক্ষ্য রাখতে হবে যাতে বিধিগুলি নিরপেক্ষ হয়। তারমধ্যে লিঙ্গগত পরিচয় বা লিঙ্গগত অসাম্য থাকবেনা। তারা মনে করেন নারী-পুরুষের লিঙ্গমোচন সম্ভব নয়, কিন্তু লিঙ্গ উত্তরণ সম্ভব।

যে নারীবাদ পিতৃতন্ত্রকেই একটি স্বতন্ত্র শোষণ ব্যবস্থা বলে মনে করে, তাকে র্যাডিকাল নারীবাদ নামে চিহ্নিত করা হয়েছে। র্যাডিকাল নারীবাদীরা লিঙ্গঅনপেক্ষ বিশুদ্ধ প্রজ্ঞার সম্ভাবনা স্বীকার করেন না। তারা সবসময় বৈষম্যের মূল কারন খুঁজে বার করার চেষ্টা করেন। তারা বলেন, বৃহত্তর সমাজে যা দেখি তার বীজ লুকানো আছে ব্যক্তিগত সম্পর্কে অবস্থিত অবদমনে। ব্যক্তিগত সম্পর্কের টানা পোড়েনে, আশা-আকাঙ্ক্ষার মধ্যে কাজ করে চলেছে পিতৃতন্ত্রের ক্ষমতার কাঠামো। র্যাডিকাল নারীবাদীরা মূলস্রোতকে পাশ কাটিয়ে যেতে চান না। নারী পুরুষ যুগ্ম সহযোগে কাজ করবে সেটাই তারা চান। এই নারীবাদের প্রবক্তা হলেন মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত।

কিছু কবিতায় মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্তের নারীবাদী ভাবনার বহিঃপ্রকাশকে তুলে ধরার চেষ্টা করা হল।

‘রক্তচিহ্ন’ কবিতায় মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত নারীর জীবনের চিরস্থায়ী এক বন্দোবস্তকে তুলে ধরেছেন, যা যুগ যুগ ধরে তার আধিপত্য দ্বারা নারীকে পুরুষের সম্পত্তি রূপে স্বীকৃতি দিয়েছে। আদিম কৌম সমাজে পুরুষ কোন নারীকে দখলে নিলে শকুনের পালক দিয়ে তার সিঁথি চিরে রক্তচিহ্নিত করে দিত। আর উপজাতিরা এক্ষেত্রে নখ বা অস্ত্রেরও ব্যবহার করত। কালক্রমে এই প্রথাই সংস্কৃতায়িত হয়ে হিন্দুর সংস্কৃতিতে জায়গা করে নিল। সঙ্গে জুরে গেল হাতের শৃঙ্খল। তাহলে কি নারী চিরকাল পুরুষের বন্দী? তার ইচ্ছা, পছন্দ সবকিছুই কি লুপ্ত? এ অবস্থায় সে যেন যন্ত্র। আর প্রয়োজন তাই সংরক্ষনের, তা নাহলে যখন-তখন সে ভ্রষ্টা হয়ে যেতে পারে। (রামায়নে সীতাকে যারজন্য ভীতি প্রদর্শন করে বাইরের জগতে চলার আত্মবিশ্বাস কেড়ে নেওয়া হয়েছিল।)

পিতৃতান্ত্রিক এই সমাজ হাজার হাজার বছর ধরে নারীকে অসূর্যস্পর্শ করে রেখেছে। ছোট ছোট প্রতীকের মাধ্যমে তাদের উপর আধিপত্য বিস্তার করে চলেছে। দ্রৌপদীকে পণ রাখার উপকরণও এর প্রামাণ্য দলিল।

এঙ্গেলস বলেছেন ‘পরিবার স্থাপনের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে মেয়েদের পরাজয় ঘটে’। বিশেষ করে যৌথ পরিবারে নারীরা দাসীতে পরিনত হয়। মল্লিকার এক্ষেত্রে একটা কথাই বলার : “যে মাটিতে তুমি দাঁড়িয়ে রয়েছ তাঁর অপমান করো না / পুরুষ, আমি তো কখনো তোমার বিরুদ্ধে হাত তুলিনি।”

‘আম্রপালী’ কবিতাটিতে কবি বৈশালী নগরের বিখ্যাত নর্তকী আম্রপালীকে তুলে ধরেছেন। যে পুরুষতান্ত্রিক সমাজের লোলুপ দৃষ্টির স্বীকার হয়েছেন। কিন্তু যখনই সে সুস্থ ভাবে বাঁচতে চেয়েছে তখনই তার প্রেমিকরূপী রাতনাগররা তাকে ‘নষ্ট মেয়ে, মেরে তাড়াও’ বলে রব উঠিয়েছে। আর সমাজ তাদের কথায় কথা মিলিয়ে সমস্ত প্রমান লুপ্ত করেছে। পুরুষ নিজ কামনার বোঝা চাপিয়ে নারীকে দোষীর কাঠগড়ায় দাঁড় করিয়েছে। মল্লিকার জিজ্ঞাসা ধ্বনিত হয়েছে আম্রপালীর মুখে- ‘গনিকালয়, মীনাবাজার তৈরি করে কারা?/ প্রতি যুগেই ইন্দ্র কোন উর্বশীর অধিশ্বর হন?’ তার এই প্রশ্নগুলো প্রতিধ্বনিত হয়েছে আকাশে, বাতাসে। পরমুহূর্তেই তা মুছে যায়, লুপ্ত হয়ে যায়।

তাহলে ‘নষ্ট মেয়ে’ কি শুধু নারীদের শিরোপা আর যারা তাকে এই চোরাবালির ফাঁদে নামিয়েছিল তারা কী কোনো দোষের দোষী নয়। তাদের কপালে কি ভ্রষ্ট, নষ্ট, চরিত্রদোষ ইত্যাদি

বিশেষণ জুটে না। শাস্তি বর্ষিত হয় আম্রপালীর উপর। গনসভায় রায় হয় : “ আম্রপালী পরমনারী, নিয়তি তার নগরনটি হওয়া ” শুধু তাই নয় সাংবাদিক, গুপ্তচর আম্রপালীকে টেলিভিশনের পর্দায় ‘সমাজকে রাষ্ট্র করে’।

সমাজতত্ত্বের অধ্যাপিকা মল্লিকা, সিমোন দ্য বোভোয়ার ন্যায় বিশ্বাস করেন সমাজতন্ত্র প্রতিষ্ঠিত হলেই সমস্ত সমস্যার সমাধান হবে।

মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত শুধু আজকের প্রেক্ষিতে নয়, প্রাচ্য-প্রাচ্যাত্যের সমস্ত গ্রন্থ, পুরান, ইতিহাসের নির্যাস সংগ্রহ করেই তাঁর ভাবনা-চিন্তা, প্রশ্ন উত্থাপন করেছেন। নারীর অধিকার হরণের দলিল, বঞ্চনার ইতিহাস পৌরানিক যুগ থেকেই স্বীকৃত। একবিংশ শতাব্দীতে তা আরও স্পষ্ট। ‘পান্ডুর পুত্রাকাঙ্ক্ষা’ কবিতাটি তারই ইঙ্গিত বহন করে। হস্তিনাপুরের রাজা পান্ডু তার পুত্রাকাঙ্ক্ষার জন্য সহধর্মিণী কুন্তীকে অন্যের সহবাসে দিয়েছিলেন। শুধু তার আকাঙ্ক্ষা :

“ রাজ্যসুখ ধনমান কিছুই চাই না

চাই না কন্যার জন্ম, আমাদের পুত্র চাই শুধু। ”

এখান থেকে এটা স্পষ্ট যে মহাভারতের যুগে নারীদের যৌন স্বাধীনতা ছিল। তবে তারা স্বেচ্ছায় নয়, মাতা, পিতা ও স্বামীর প্রয়োজনেই ব্যবহৃত হয়েছিল। আর তার উদ্দেশ্য কন্যাসন্তান নয়, পুত্রসন্তান প্রাপ্তি।

জীবনানন্দ দাশের কণ্ঠে মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত রোমান্টিকতার আবেশে পুরুষের অনুশাসনকে প্রকট হতে শুনছেন :

‘ সুরঞ্জনা অইখানে যেওনাকো তুমি  
বলোনাকো কথা অই যুবকের সাথে ’

আর রাসসুন্দরী দেবী বলেছেন “ আমার নারীকূলে কেন জন্ম হইয়াছিল? আমার জীবনে ধিক। ”

নারীর মুখে, নারীর জীবনলাভের অনুশোচনা এক ভয়ঙ্কর অনুভূতি এনে দেয় মনে। যার দরুন আজ পান্ডুর পুত্রাকাঙ্ক্ষা যুক্তিযুক্তই, ভ্রূণহত্যা নিয়তি হয়ে পড়েছে।

‘কন্যাবর্ষে’ কবিতাটিতে ভ্রূণহত্যার জ্বলন্ত সমস্যা ওঠে এসেছে। পাশাপাশি পুরুষের স্বেচ্ছাচারিতার কথাও ওঠে এসেছে। আদি প্রজাতির পুরুষেরা নারীর গর্ভকালীন বেছে নিয়েছিল অন্য এক জীবন সঙ্গিনীকে। অথবা কন্যাসন্তান জন্ম দেওয়ার দায়ে তাকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করা হয়েছিল।

‘কন্যাবর্ষে’ কবিতায় এসমস্ত কিছুর বিরুদ্ধে জেহাদ ধ্বনিত হয়েছে মল্লিকার কণ্ঠে :

‘আসুক আমার মধ্যে প্রতিভা আমার  
তুলতুলে অথচ স্বাধীন, ছোট্ট এক শিশুকন্যা  
খরজ্যেষ্ঠে যে তোমাকে ছায়া এনে দেবে।’

এক আশাবাদী কণ্ঠে পুরুষের ক্রান্তির অবসান যা কন্যারূপে প্রস্ফুটিত হবে। আদর্শ নারীরূপে ধর্মপ্রানা বা সুগৃহিণী নয় এক স্বাধীন স্পষ্টভাষী নারী শিশুর জন্ম দিতে চেয়েছেন মল্লিকা। পিতৃতন্ত্রের মগজধুলাই করা অনুষঙ্গ ভুলে নতুন অভিজ্ঞতায় সঞ্জীবিত হবে আগামী জন্মের মেয়েরা। মল্লিকা মনে করেন এযাবৎ নারীর নিজস্ব অনুভূতি ও অভিজ্ঞতার জগত কুয়াশাচ্ছন্ন ছিল তার উদ্ভাসিত সত্ত্বা যতই উন্মোচিত হবে ততই ‘এক নতুন মহাকাশ’ রচিত হবে। তার জন্য নতুন পুরুষ, নতুন পৃথিবীর প্রয়োজন। নারীর নিজস্ব ভাষা, বিদ্রোহের ভঙ্গি তার নিজেকে তৈরী করে নিতে হবে।

‘অর্ধেক পৃথিবী’ কবিতায় নারীর অবস্থান নিয়ে প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন মল্লিকা। এই পৃথিবী, আকাশ, বাতাস সবকিছুতেই সবার সমান অধিকার। তবে কেন পুরুষতান্ত্রিক সমাজ সম্পূর্ণ পৃথিবী নিজেই

কেড়ে নিয়েছে। আর নারীকে দিয়েছে পুরুষের ঘরের কোনে আর এক পৃথিবী। একবিংশ শতাব্দীর পেক্ষাপটে যখন নারীরা তাদের অধিকার, বঞ্চনা, অবস্থান নিয়ে প্রশ্ন তুলছে তখনই পুরুষ সমাজ তাকে ‘ফেমিনিষ্ট’ বলে আখ্যা দিয়েছে।

কেন, নারীতো তার নিজস্বতাকেই পাবার লড়াই করছে অন্যায় চাপাতো তা নয়। শুধু শিশু উৎপাদন, শুশ্রূষা, সংসারের পরিচর্যা নয় ; শিল্প, রাজনীতি, পুঁথি, অর্থনীতি সবকিছুর অর্ধাংশ তার চাই। মল্লিকার দৃঢ় সংকল্প :

“গেলেও যাবার আগে উত্তরনারীকে  
বাঁচবার উপযুক্ত একটি পৃথিবী দিয়ে যাব”

ব্যক্তিগত আধিপত্য, মালিকানার অবশেষ হলেই ‘মানুষ’ এর পাশে ‘মানুষী’ ভাল থাকবে।  
মল্লিকার কণ্ঠে :

‘ঘাস মাটি বায়ু জল এতদিন পুরুষের ছিল  
সমাজ পুরুষ ছিল, এইবার উভলিঙ্গ হোক।’

মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত লিঙ্গ রাজনীতির প্রবক্তা ফ্রয়েডের বিরুদ্ধে দাঁড়িয়েছেন তার ‘ফ্রয়েডকে খোলা চিঠি’ কবিতাটির মাধ্যমে। তিনি, ফ্রয়েডকে জেরা করেছেন এই বলে যে, কে তাঁকে এই পৃথিবীর উত্তম অধমের মীমাংসার অধিকার দিয়েছে। ফ্রয়েডের ‘পেনিস এনভি’ অর্থাৎ শিশু ঈর্ষাতত্ত্ব অনুযায়ী ছেলে মেয়েরা, মা-বাবার চেতন-অবচেতন আচরণ থেকে বুঝে যায় পরিবারে ছেলের মূল্য বেশি। তাই পৃথিবীকে শাসনের অধিকার তারই প্রাপ্য। এই বানানো লিঙ্গনির্মাণ ও শ্রমবিভাগকে কেউ অস্বীকার করলেই তাকে ব্যাঙ্গের ন্যায় হিংস্র থাবা দিয়ে আক্রমণ করা হয়। সীতা ও ডেসডিমনার লিঙ্গনির্মাণ সম্পূর্ণ পিতৃতন্ত্রের আদর্শেই গড়ে উঠেছিল। যেখানে তারা বিনা প্রতিবাদে স্বামীর সমস্ত অন্যায় মুখ বুজে সহ্য করেছে এবং মৃত্যুবরণ করতে বাধ্য হয়েছে।

মল্লিকা ফ্রয়েডকে জিজ্ঞাসাবাদ করেছেন :

‘রোহিত মালিক হবে কোন পৃথিবীর ?

যেখানে রোহিতা তার সহকারী! অধমলিঙ্গ!’

কার্লমার্ক্স হলেন মার্ক্সবাদের প্রবক্তা। যিনি শ্রেণীহীন, শোষণহীন, সাম্যবাদী সমাজ কামনা করেন। তিনি বলেছেন উৎপাদনে কায়িক শ্রম কমে গেলেই নারীর হাত থেকে চাবিকাঠি ছিটকে পড়বে। ‘আপনি বলুন, মার্কস’ কবিতায় মল্লিকা প্রশ্ন করেছেন, নারীর কি তাহলে সন্তান পালন ও গৃহকাজে দৈহিক শক্তির প্রয়োজন পড়ে না। তিনি আরও প্রশ্ন তুলেছেন:

“ ছড়া যে বানিয়েছিল, কাঁথা বুনেছিল

দ্রাবিড় যে মেয়ে এসে গমবোনা শুরু করেছিল

আর্যপুরুষের ক্ষেতে, যে লালন করেছিল শিশু

সে যদি শ্রমিক নয়, শ্রম কাকে বলে ?

আপনি বলুন, মার্কস, কে শ্রমিক, কে শ্রমিক নয় ”

যারা ‘কাস্তে হাতুড়ি’ নেয় তারাই কমরেড। আর যারা সেই বিপ্লবীর ভাত রুঁধে দেয় তারা কি বিপ্লবীর সেবাদাসী হয়ে রবে? তারা কি স্বর্গরাজ্যে রাজাক্তী হয়ে বাস করতে পারবে না?

‘রোহিতাশ্ব’ কবিতাটি মল্লিকার নবজাত শিশুপুত্রকে নিয়ে লেখা। সম্পূর্ণ নিজস্ব উপলব্ধি ও অভিজ্ঞতা। যে নারী অশুচি, নৈতিক ও শারীরিক পতনের উৎস; সেই নারীই মা হিসাবে উপযোগী, শুচি, পবিত্র, কামগন্ধহীন ও মমতাময়ী। যে মাতৃত্ব নারীর নিজস্ব সম্পদ, তাকে করায়ত্ত করেছে

পুরুষ তার মালিক হয়ে উঠেছে। যার ফলে উপার্জনমুখী নারীকেউ পিঠ ঠেঁকাতে হয়েছে অন্দর মহলে।

মল্লিকা বলেছেন, এই ছোটোশিশু প্রানটি কি মঙ্গলের দূত নতুবা বিপদসংকেত। তথাপি তিনি তাকে তার হাসি, সমাজ, সংসার, প্রণয় সবই দিতে উৎসুক। জন্মের পর থেকে মায়ের সঙ্গে শিশুর যে ব্যক্তিগত সম্পর্ক গড়ে উঠেছে তাকে মল্লিকা ‘নাড়ীর টান’ বলেছেন। আর এই ‘নাড়ীর টান’ এই অনিশ্চিত ভাবে তাঁর প্রশ্ন :

‘আমার বিছানা তাকে দিতে চাই কেন ?’ কারন ‘তিল তিল করে আমারই রক্তে

মাংসে বেড়ে উঠছে একটি অবোধ প্রান,’।

মল্লিকা সন্তানের দায়িত্বের ভার একমাত্র নারীর কাঁধে থাকবে একথা বলতে নারাজ। তিনি বলেছেন এই দায়িত্ব মা- বাবা দুজনেরই। এমনকি রাষ্ট্র ও সমাজেরও।

সর্বোপরি বলা যায়, মল্লিকার কবিতাগুলোর কন্ঠে উচ্চারিত হয়েছে নারী-পুরুষ যুগ্ম সহযোগিতায় এগিয়ে আসার আহ্বান ধ্বনি।

### সহায়ক গ্রন্থ

(১) মল্লিকা সেনগুপ্ত ‘শ্রেষ্ঠ কবিতা’ দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা, নতুন সংস্করণ: আগস্ট ২০১২

(২) শেফালী মৈত্র ‘নৈতিকতা ও নারীবাদ’ নিউ এজ পাবলিশার্স প্রাইভেট লিমিটেড, কলকাতা, দ্বিতীয় সংস্করণ: জুন ২০০৭

## সমকালীন সমাজ ও নারীর অবস্থান : প্রেক্ষাপটে সমুদ্র হৃদয়

সঞ্জিতা দাস

### সারাংশ

বাংলাসাহিত্যে নারী লেখকদের মধ্যে প্রতিভা বসু এক স্মরণীয় নাম। তাঁর ‘সমুদ্র হৃদয়’ উপন্যাসটি বর্তমান নিবন্ধের আলোচ্য বিষয়। ‘সমুদ্র হৃদয়’ উপন্যাসটি প্রতিভা বসুর গভীর সমাজ মনস্কতার পরিচয় বহন করে। উপন্যাসটিতে লেখক দেশবিভাগ-সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গাকে পটভূমি করে তৎকালীন সময় ও সমাজে নারীর অবস্থানকে তুলে ধরেছেন নারীর দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে। দেশবিভাগকে কেন্দ্র করে বাংলাসাহিত্যে নারীবতার চাদর পড়েছিল অনেক সমালোচকের মতো। কিন্তু সেই নারীবতার

চাদর সরিয়ে অবলোকনের ঘোমটা উন্মোচন করে যেসব সাহিত্যিকরা লেখনি ধারণ করেছিলেন, তাদের মধ্যে প্রতিভা বসু একজন। যেখানে দেশভাগের ফলে উদ্ভাস্ত সমস্যাতে বড়ো করে দেখানো হয়েছে, সেখানে প্রতিভা বসু শোনালেন দেশভাগ পর্বে সমকালীন সমাজে নারীর বেদনাবিধুর ইতিহাস। দেশভাগ-সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গাকে কেন্দ্র করে প্রতিভা বসুর ‘সমুদ্র হৃদয়’ সমকালীন সমাজের এক বাস্তব দলিল বলা যেতে পারে।

### মুখ্যশব্দ - নিঃশব্দ, খেয়ালি জীবন, সবাধীনতা

বাংলা সাহিত্যের বিভিন্ন শাখার মধ্যে উপন্যাস একটি বিশিষ্ট স্থান আধিকার করে আছে। কেননা, উপন্যাস উপন্যাসিকের সমাজ ভাবনার বাস্তব দলিল। ছোটগল্পে গল্পকার দেখাতে পারেন একটি খন্ড জীবনের বা একটি খন্ড ঘটনার কাহিনি। যাতে সমগ্র জীবনের ছবি পাওয়া যায় না। তেমনি কবিতায় কবি বাস্তব কথাকে আনেকটা কল্পনায় রাঙিয়ে তোলেন। কিন্তু উপন্যাসে উপন্যাসিকরা বাস্তব সমাজের আভিজ্ঞতাকে রূপ দেন। উপন্যাসে কখনো লেখক নিজের চোখে দেখা সমাজকে সনগ্ৰহতা দান করেন। কখনো একটি অঞ্চলের আঞ্চলিক মানুষের জীবনযাত্রা, আচার-আচরন, পূজা-পার্বন, সমাজ-সংস্কৃতির পূর্ণতার রূপ দেন। অর্থাৎ উপন্যাসে সমাজ-পরিবেশ-পরিস্থিতির জীবন্ত ছবি ফুটে ওঠে। উপন্যাসিকরা বাস্তব থেকে উপাদান বা উপকরন গ্রহণ করে সমাজ পটভূমিতে দাঁড়িয়ে প্রেক্ষাপটকে ধরার চেষ্টা করেন। যদিও উপন্যাসে কল্পনা থাকে সীমিত। উপন্যাসে থাকে ঘটনার ঘনঘটা। কাহিনির পাশাপাশি উপকাহিনি উপন্যাসের কথাশিল্পকে বয়ন করে যায়। উপন্যাসে উপন্যাসিক জীবনযাত্রা, আচার, রীতি-নীতি, সমাজ-সংস্কৃতি, নানা সমস্যার কথা যেমন বলেন, তেমনি শেষে একটি সমাধানসূত্র বের করে নতুন আলোর দিশাও দেখান।

‘সমুদ্র হৃদয়’ উপন্যাসটি লেখকের গভীর সমাজ ভাবনার ফসল। কেননা, উপন্যাসের দীর্ঘ অংশ জুড়ে লেখক সমসময়ের চিত্র তুলে ধরেছেন। সে সময়ে রাজনীতির কুচক্রে দেশ অস্থির। হিন্দু-মুসলমান দাঙ্গা, স্বদেশী আন্দোলন, অসহযোগ আন্দোলন, যুদ্ধ মন্বন্তর, ইংরেজদের কূটনীতি প্রভৃতি সবই লেখক উপন্যাসের আখ্যানে বর্ণনা করেছেন। যা লেখকের সমাজ ভাবনার পরিচয়বহন করে। আবার মেয়েরাও যে স্কুল-কলেজে পড়াশোনা করে অধিকার সম্পর্কে সচেতন হয়ে উঠেছে তারও পরিচয় মেলে উপন্যাসের নায়িকা সুলেখার কলেজে পড়ার মধ্যে। সর্বোপরি কলেজ থেকেই সে রাজনীতির অঙ্গনে পা বাড়িয়েছে। মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, বিশশতকের চার ও

পাঁচের দশকের লেখক প্রতিভা বসু। তাঁর জীবনকালেই মেয়েদের যাপিত জীবনের পরিধি অনেক দূর সীমারেখা টেনেছে। রাজনৈতিক পটপরিবর্তনের সঙ্গে পাল্লা দিয়ে এগিয়ে এসেছে নারীর শিকল ভাঙার গান। তৎকালীন সময়ে পুরুষের সাথে নারীরাও যোগ দিল সেই মারণযুদ্ধে। তারাও উপলব্ধি করতে পারলো; বদ্ধ ঘরে আবদ্ধ না থেকে যুগান্তরের ঘূর্ণিপাকে তাদেরও সামিল হওয়া দরকার। এ উপন্যাসেও দেখা যায় সুলেখার সঙ্গে আরো মেয়েরা অধিকার সচেতন হয়ে রাজনীতিতে যোগ দিয়েছে। সে অধিকার স্বাধীনতার অধিকার খুব সুন্দরভাবে লেখক বর্ণনা করেছেন -

“এই স্বাধীনতা শব্দটি উচ্চারণের সঙ্গে সঙ্গে, যদি উঁচু কিছু থাকে সেখানে, নয়তো যে কোনো একজন মেয়ের পিঠের উপরেই সুলেখা ঘুষি মারে একটি। তারপরেই গানের গলা রিন রিন করে ওঠে, ‘বলো, প্রতিজ্ঞা করো, আমরা স্বাধীনতা চাই।’ সঙ্গে সঙ্গে সরুগলায় মিলিত চিৎকার ওঠে ‘আমরা স্বাধীনতা চাই।’”<sup>১</sup>

তাছাড়া পূর্ববঙ্গে যে হিন্দু-মুসলমানের মধ্যে সম্প্রীতি ছিল তার কথাও লেখক বলেছেন। নবাবগঞ্জে হিন্দু-মুসলমান শান্তিতেই একসঙ্গে মিলেমিশে বসবাস করে এসেছেন। নবাব আমির আলি সাহেব কমলাপুর গ্রামের উকিল ভূবনমোহন তালুকদারের বাড়িতে যে কোনো উৎসব আনষ্ঠানে আসতেন। তিনি হিন্দুদের অনেক আচার-আচরন পালন করতেন। অন্যদিকে -

“কত হিন্দু দরগায় যায়, পরের দিন আলো জ্বালে, মুশকিল আসানকে পয়সা দেয়।”<sup>২</sup>  
একে অপরের প্রীতি ভালোবাসা বজায় রেখে দীর্ঘদিন ধরে বাস করেছেন। কিন্তু দেশবিভাগের পূর্বমুহুর্তে সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গার আগুন সেখানেও বাধ সাধল -

“চিরদিন যারা সুখে দুঃখে পাশাপাশি বাস করে এসেছে, বিদ্বেষের বিষ ছড়ালো সেখানে। আগুন লাগলো ঘরে ঘরে।”<sup>৩</sup>

হিন্দু-মুসলিম পাশাপাশি বাস করলেও উচ্চবর্ণের হিন্দুরা কোনদিনই মুসলিমদের সাদরে গ্রহণ করেনি। অবজ্ঞা-অবহেলা-অস্পৃশ্য বলে দূরে সরিয়ে রাখত। দাঙ্গা-দেশবিভাগ এসবের ফলে সেদিনের সমাজে রক্তক্ষরণ, নারী নির্যাতন, নারী হরন, ধর্মান্তরিকরণ চলেছিল সবই লেখক চিত্রিত করেছেন নিজের বাস্তব অভিজ্ঞতা দিয়ে।

“.... এই শহর রক্ত বন্যায় ভাসল, কত সংসার ধ্বংস হয়ে গেল, কত প্রাণ বলি হল, আর কত মেয়ের পবিত্র জীবন নরকের কদমে কদমাক্ত হল।”<sup>৪</sup>  
সেদিন মেয়েরা প্রাণের ভয়ে, সম্মানের ভয়ে ধর্মান্তরকে বেছে নিয়েছিল তার কথাও সুলতানের মুখ দিয়ে প্রকাশ পেয়েছে।

“..... তিন দিনের আগুনে এই শহরে যত লোক মরেছে, পুড়েছে, নষ্ট হয়েছে, যত মেয়ে ধর্মহীন হয়েছে তাদের সংখ্যার অন্তর্গত তুমি নও।”<sup>৫</sup>

<sup>১</sup> প্রতিভা বসু, ২০১০, পৃঃ ৫৪

<sup>২</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ১০৬

<sup>৩</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ৫১

<sup>৪</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ১০৩

<sup>৫</sup> তদেব

এছাড়া নারী নির্যাতনের দিকটি লেখক কৌশলে সুলেখার বক্তৃতার মধ্যদিয়ে তুলে ধরেছেন। সন্তানবতী মহিলাকে লাথি মেরে গর্ভ থেকে অকালে সন্তানকে বের করে দিচ্ছে তার ভয়ংকর চিত্র সুলেখা সভায় তুলে ধরে।

দেশবিভাগের পর তৎকালীন পাকিস্তানে দাঙ্গার আগুন ভয়ংকর রূপ নিলে দলে দলে হিন্দুরা ভারতের দিকে পা বাড়ায়। শিকড়হীন মানুষরা সহায়সম্বলহীন হয়ে নিরুদ্দেশ যাত্রার উদ্দেশ্যে প্লেন ঘাঁটি, প্ল্যাটফর্মে ভিড় করেছে। অসহায় মানুষের আত্ম চিৎকারে আকাশ-বাতাস ভারি হয়ে উঠেছে। একমুঠো অন্নের জন্য সেদিন মানুষ-কুকুরে নোংরা খাবার নিয়ে কাড়াকাড়ি করেছে। তার বাস্তব চিত্র পাওয়া যায় এই উপন্যাসে -

“লোকগুলো হা হা করতে করতে রাস্তায় বেরুল, গ্রাম ছেড়ে শহরে এল, পেটের তাড়নায় দিগ্বিদিকে ছড়িয়ে গেল, ডাস্টবিনের নোংরা পচা গলিত খাদ্য নিয়ে ছেঁড়া ছেঁড়ি করতে লাগল কুকুরে সঙ্গে, শরীর শুকিয়ে কঙ্কাল হয়ে গেল। কেউ গলায় দড়ি দিয়ে বুলতে লাগল গাছের ডালে, কেউ কাপড়ে আগুন ধরিয়ে জ্বালা জুড়লো, কেউ জলে ডুবে ঠান্ডা হল। আর যে সব হতভাগ্যরা তা পারল না, তারা ভাত দে ফ্যান দে<sup>১</sup> বলতে বলতে ফুটপাথের উপরেই নিঃশেষ হয়ে গেল।”<sup>২</sup>

- এইসব লেখকের গভীরতম সমাজভাবনার নিদর্শন। এই পরিস্থিতির কথা সেদিন অনেক নাট্যকার তাঁর নাটকে, ঔপন্যাসিক উপন্যাসে, কবি তাঁর কবিতার বিষয় করেছিলেন। যা সে সময়ের সমাজ সমস্যার একটি জ্বলন্ত দৃষ্টান্ত।

কিন্তু সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গার মর্মান্তিক চেহারা, এমন বীভৎস হৃদয়বিদারক চিত্র শুধু নবাবগঞ্জে নয়। নবাবগঞ্জে তার ঢেউ মাত্র। আসল দাঙ্গাটা যে হয়েছিল নোয়াখালি আর কলকাতায় তার কথাও জানাতে ভোলেননি লেখক -

“পরশু চন্দননগর নিশিহ্ন করেছে, তার আগে মমিনপুরের শোথ নিয়েছে চারগুণ হত্যা করে। পাকিস্তানের প্রতিশোধ হিন্দুস্থানে এবার খুব সমারোহের সঙ্গেই সম্পন্ন হচ্ছে।”<sup>২</sup>

এসব উক্তি থেকে মনে হয় যে, হিন্দু-মুসলিম পরস্পর সাম্প্রদায়িক দাঙ্গায় যেন ‘রক্তের উৎসবে’ মেতে উঠেছে। সেদিন শিখরাও যে হিন্দুদের সঙ্গে হাত মিলিয়েছে তার প্রমাণো পাওয়া যায় আলোচ্য উপন্যাসে। সুলতাব আমেদ সুলেখাকে পৌছে দিতে কলকাতায় এসে এক শিখ ড্রাইভারের গাড়ি ভাড়া করেন। উদ্দেশ্য সুলেখার দাদামশায়ের বাড়িতে পৌঁছানো। কিন্তু সেখানে পৌঁছে প্রাণ দিতে হল সুলতান আমেদকে জাতিবৈরিতার ইতিহাস সবজায়গায় এক রকম। কলকাতা-নোয়াখালি বলে কোনো পার্থক্য নেই। ধর্মীয় উন্মাদনা মানুষের মনুষ্যত্বকে লুপ্ত করে - এই সত্য চিরদিনের। সমসময়ের তান্ডব লীলাকে প্রতিভা বসু প্রত্যক্ষ করেছিলেন। ফলে তার প্রতিচ্ছবি তাঁর উপন্যাসের বিষয়ী হয়ে উঠেছে।

দেশবিভাগের ফলস্বরূপ সেদিনের সমাজে ‘উদ্বাস্ত সমস্যা’ একটি বিষয় ছিল। পূর্ব-পাকিস্তানের টালমাটাল পরিস্থিতিতে স্বাভাবিকভাবেই সংখ্যালঘু হিন্দুরা প্রাণের ভয়ে আত্মরক্ষার

<sup>১</sup> তদেব, ৯৯

<sup>২</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ৭৭

জন্য পশ্চিমবঙ্গে যাত্রা শুরু করে। কোন পরিস্থিতিতে কিভাবে মানুষ সর্বহারা হয়ে এপার থেকে ওপারে চলে যাচ্ছে তার কথা বিমানবন্দরের বর্ণনায় লেখক দেখিয়েছেন -

“দিনে রাতে এখানে এই এরোড্রামে দাঙ্গার কদিন মুর্ছমুর্ছ প্লেন-আসা-যাওয়া করছে, পাকিস্তানের হিন্দুরা হিন্দুস্থানে যাচ্ছে। এয়ারপোর্টে গিশগিশ করছে লোক। চারদিকের সাজানো ফুলবাগান পায়ের চাপে পিষ্ট। কেউ বুক চাপড়াচ্ছে, কেউ, পড়ে আছে মাটিতে, কেউ উদ্ভ্রান্ত।”<sup>১</sup>

এই অস্থির পরিস্থিতিতে আনেকেই পরিবার থেকে বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়েছে। কেউ হারিয়েছে সন্তানকে কেউ হারিয়েছে স্ত্রীকে, কেউ বা স্বামীকে। প্রসঙ্গক্রমে স্মরণ করি কবি শামসুর রাহমানের ‘তোমাকে পাবার জন্য, হে স্বাধীনতা কবিতার কয়েকটি পংক্তি -

তুমি আসবে বলে, হে স্বাধীনতা,  
সাকিনা বিবির কপাল ভাঙল  
সিধির সিঁদুর মুছে গেল হরিদাসীর।

এসব তথ্য লেখকের অভিজ্ঞতা থেকেই উঠে এসেছে। সমসময়ের প্রেক্ষাপটেই লেখকের সমাজ ভাবনা প্রকাশ পেয়েছে। দাঙ্গা-দেশবিভাগ পর্বে দেশের আইন, পুলিশের ভূমিকা কোথায় ছিল। তারও বর্ণনা দিয়েছেন লেখক পুঙ্খানুপুঙ্খভাবে। পুলিশের ভূমিকা সম্পর্কে ইংগিত দিয়েছেন সুলেখার দাদামশায়ের ভাবনায়। সুলতান আমেদকে মারতে আসে হিন্দুরা। দাদামশায় নিরুপায় হয়ে চারদিকে তাকান। কেননা, ঘন্টায় ঘন্টায় পুলিশের গাড়ি টাইল দেয়। কিন্তু এই বিপদের মুহূর্তে একটি গাড়িও আসছে না। আবার গজেন্দ্রনাথের কথা থেকে পুলিশের ভূমিকার স্পষ্ট একটি চিত্র পাওয়া যায়। কলা, রসগোল্লা নিয়ে সুলেখাদের বাড়িতে আসলে পিসি অর্থাৎ সুলেখার জ্যাঠাইমার প্রশ্নের উত্তরে সে জানায় -

“.... এ সব হল গিয়ে ভেটের জিনিস। রুলের গুঁতো আর বুটের চোঁকরে সব বেরিয়ে এসেছে। রসগোল্লাগুলো দেখুন না, অত বড় রসগোল্লাই কি পাবেন কোনোখানে? অথচ একটা পয়সা লাগেনি।.... এরই নাম পুলিশ।”<sup>২</sup>

এছাড়াও লেখকের গভীরতর সমাজভাবনা তাকে উঠে এসেছে সমাজে বহুবিবাহ প্রথা, বৈধব্য যন্ত্রণা, লিঙ্গ বৈষম্য। আবার মুসলমান সমাজে যে ‘পর্দাপ্রথা’র প্রচলন কোথাও কোথাও উঠে যাচ্ছে তার কথাও আছে। নবাবগঞ্জে হিন্দু-মুসলমান সব ছেলেমেয়েরা এক সঙ্গে স্কুলে যায়। শিক্ষার আলো পড়েছে মুসলমান সমাজে।

সমাজে অসহায় বিধবা মায়ের যন্ত্রণাই ভাষা পেয়েছে। বিধবার বেশকে অনেক নারী লেখক তাঁদের লেখনীর বিষয় করেছেন। বৈধব্য যন্ত্রণা কোনো পুরুষ উপলব্ধি করতে পারেন না। কেন না, বৈধব্য নারী জীবনের অঙ্গীভূত। তাই নারী লেখকদের লেখায় বিধবার জীবনচিত্র বেশি ফলপ্রসূ হয়েছে। বাৎলাসাহিত্যের নারীচেতনাবাদী লেখক জ্যোতির্ময়ী দেবী নিজের জীবন দিয়ে বৈধব্য যন্ত্রণাকে উপলব্ধি করেছেন। তাই বৈধব্য অভিজ্ঞতা থেকে ‘আত্মজীবনী’-তে লিখেছেন-

<sup>১</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ১৩৪

<sup>২</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ১৩১

“এ শোক পুরুষদের জানা নেই। যাতে এসে পড়ে বিয়োগশোক ছাড়াও এক চিরকালের আনুষ্ঠানিক শোক ..... আসে এক সানাহিক সোক, সমস্ত উৎসব, সামাজিক মাস্তুলিক আনন্দ-আনুষ্ঠান থেকে বিমুড়ভাবে অপাংক্তেয় এক নতুন জগৎ”<sup>১</sup>

বৈধব্য তাঁর কাছে ছিল এক নবজন্ম নেওয়া - কোন এক অপাংক্তেয়র শূদ্র জগতে। আর প্রতিভা বসু বিধবা জীবন যন্ত্রনাকে দেখিয়েছেন সুলেখার চোখ দিয়ে -

“বিধবা হবার পরে মা অনিয়মে অত্যাচারে শরীরটাকে একেবারে ক্ষতবিক্ষত করে তুলেছিলেন। যেন অদৃষ্টের বিরুদ্ধে এটাই তাঁর মস্ত লড়াই।”<sup>২</sup>

চিরপরিচিত সমাজ পরিবেশ থেকে লেখক বিধবা জীবনকে ভাষারূপ দিয়েছেন। প্রতিভা বসু বিধবা হলেও তাঁর বাস্তব জীবনের ছবি এখানে পতিফলিত হয়নি। কেননা, মনে রাখা প্রয়োজন যে, ১৯৭৪ সালে বুদ্ধদেব বসুর আকস্মিক মৃত্যুতে তিনি বিধবা হয়েছিলেন। তার আগেই ১৯৫৯-এ ‘সমুদ্র হৃদয়’ লেখা হয়ে গিয়েছে। ফলে লেখকের নিজের জীবনের বৈধব্যযন্ত্রণার অভিজ্ঞতা এখানে নেই। যা কিছু বলেছেন সমাজের বিধবা নারীর যন্ত্রণা থেকে।

তাছাড়াও সমাজের একটা বড়ো ব্যাধি লিঙ্গবৈষম্য। লিঙ্গরাজনীতি বা লিঙ্গবৈষম্যের কথা নারী ঔপন্যাসিকদের নিজস্ব সমাজভাবনা থেকেই উঠে আসে। এখানেও দেখা যায় সেই লিঙ্গবৈচিত্র্যের কথা। নিবারণবাবু বড় ছেলে হারানকে অপদার্থ বললে, জ্যাঠাইমা প্রতিবাদ করেন। তিনি বলেন সোনার আংটি আবার বাঁকা। আর্থাৎ পুরুষতান্ত্রিক সমাজে পুরুষরাই সমাজের প্রতিভা। তাই তারা সুন্দর হলে বা না হলেও কিছু যায় আসে না। কেননা, সে তো মেয়েদের মতো ধনে-পাণে নিয়ে যাবে না। তার বিয়ের জন্য মাথায় হাত দিতেও হবে না। ধনে-পাণে শব্দগুলির মধ্যে একটা নৈঃশব্দের ইংগিত লুকিয়ে আছে। আর সেটা হল ‘পণপ্রথা’-র কথা। জ্যাঠাইমা যখন ছেলের সম্বন্ধের কথা বলেন - “এই তো সেদিন পদির মাসি একটা সম্বন্ধ এনেছে, মেয়েকে গয়না দেবে, বাস্তবরা কাপড় দেবে” যা পণপ্রথার ইংগিতবাহি।

আবার মেয়েদের চোখ দিয়ে মেয়েদের অবস্থানের স্বরূপ দেখিয়েছেন প্রতিভা স্বরূপ দেখিয়েছেন প্রতিভা বসু। জ্যাঠাইমা নিজের স্বার্থে দূর সম্পর্কে ভাইপো গজেন্দ্রনাথের সঙ্গে সুলেখার বিয়ের প্রস্তাব দেন। বয়সের দিক থেকে সুলেখার অনেক বড়। তাই সুলেখার মা মৃদু-গলায় আপত্তি করলে জ্যাঠাইমা প্রতিবাদ করে বলেন -

“তোদের বাপু কিছুতেই মন ওঠে না। কচি খোকাটি কোথায় পাবি শুনি ? ছেলে সুন্দর হবে, বয়েস কম হবে, বংশ বড় হবে, তিন পাশ থাকবে, চাকরি ভালো করবে, বাপের লক্ষ টাকার সম্পত্তি থাকবে - এত যদি চাও তাহলে বাপু মেয়েকে চিরকুমারী করে রাখতে হবে। ঘটটা বুঝে তো ফলটা দিবি - না কি? মেয়ের দিকে তাকাবি তো ? ওই তো চেহারা, ওই তো রং।”<sup>৩</sup>

<sup>১</sup> ‘স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির তরঙ্গ’, ‘জ্যোতির্ময়ী দেবী রচনা সংকলন’ দ্বিতীয় খন্ড, পৃঃ ৩৬

<sup>২</sup> তদেব, পৃঃ ৩৬

<sup>৩</sup> তদেব, ৪৭

সমাজে মেয়েদেরকে চিরদিন-চিরকাল ধরে পুত্র সন্তান উৎপাদনের যন্ত্র হিসাবে দেখা হয়েছে। এরও একটা চিত্র পাওয়া যায় উপন্যাসে। সুলেখাকে দেখতে আসার কথা শুনে সুসমা দেবী তার পরীক্ষার কথা বলেন। এর উত্তরে জ্যাঠাইমা বলেন -

“ওই তোদের পরীক্ষা। আরে বাপু মেয়ে মেয়েই। সে জজও হবে না, ব্যারিস্টার ও হবে না, এগারো হাত শাড়ির কাছাও দিতে পারবে না। সেই বিয়েই করতে হবে, আর বছর-বছর ছেলেও বিয়াতে হবে।”<sup>১</sup>

এই উক্তি থেকে লেখক সমাজের দুটি দিকের প্রতি ইংগিত দিয়েছেন। একদিকে লিঙ্গবৈষম্য অর্থাৎ সে তো মেয়ে। তার লেখাপড়া করে কি হবে? আবার অন্যদিকে মেয়েরা যে শুধুই সন্তান উৎপাদনের যন্ত্র তারও আভাস দিয়েছেন।

পিতৃতান্ত্রিক সমাজে মেয়ে হয়ে জন্মানো যে কত অপরাধের বিষয়, তা নারী ঔপন্যাসিকদের লেখায় নানভাবে ভাষা পেয়েছে। মেয়ে হয়ে জন্মালে সবকিছুকে মেনে নিতে হয়। অর্থাৎ ধৈর্য থাকতে হয় মেয়েদের। উপন্যাসে দেখা যায় সুসমা দেবী সুলেখাকে বলেছেন - “মেয়ে হয়ে জন্মেছিস, এত তেজ ভালো না। ধৈর্য ধরতে শেখো।” এ প্রসঙ্গে বলা যেতে পারে, সাবিত্রী রায়ের ‘পাকাধানের গান’ উপন্যাসের একটি চরিত্র আনাকালীর কথা। আনাকালীর মুখেও উচ্চারিত হয়েছে - “মেয়ে হয়ে জন্মানোর অর্থই তো দুঃখের বেড়ি পরে জন্ম নেওয়া।” এই ক্ষোভ উঠে এসেছে কঠিন রুঢ় বাস্তব থেকে। মেয়ে হয়ে জন্ম নেওয়া মানে সব দুঃখ-কষ্টকে সাদরে গ্রহণ করতে হবে তাই-ই যেন। কিন্তু এর ব্যতিক্রম কথা শোনা যায় আশাপূর্ণার ‘প্রথম প্রতিশ্রুতি’র নায়িকা সত্যবতীর মুখে - মেয়ে জন্ম নেওয়াটা ছাঁই নয়রে পুণি, আমাদের বিধেন দাতারাই ছাঁই” এসব প্রশ্ন নারী লেখকদের গভীর সমাজ জিজ্ঞাসা থেকে প্রাপ্য। কেননা, নারী লেখকরা তাদের নিজস্ব জীবন দিয়ে মেয়েদের যাপিত জীবনকে উপলব্ধি করেছেন। আবার কখনো তাঁরা সমাজের চারপাশে নারীজীবনকে দেখেছেন-জেনেছেন বলেই তাঁদের কলমে অবিরলভাবে উঠে এসেছে অন্দরমহলে মেয়েলি জীবনের বেদনাবিধুর কথা চিত্র। যা পুরুষ লেখকদের থেকে স্বতন্ত্র মাত্রা দান করে।

পুরুষতান্ত্রিক সমাজব্যবস্থায় যুগ যুগ ধরে নারীকে পণ্য রূপেই দেখা হয়েছে। সমাজে-পরিবারে নারীকে চিরকাল সম্পত্তির সঙ্গে এক করে দেখা হয়েছে। ইতিহাসের পাতায়ও রাজা-মহারাজার যুগে একই কথা পাওয়া যায়। যা সমাজে আজও কোথাও না কোথাও বহমান ধারায় চলে আসছে। উপন্যাসে প্রতিভা বসুও সেই দিকটি দেখাতে চেয়েছেন। দাসী চরিত্র জবেদান্নেসার মাধ্যমে। জবেদান্নেসার জীবন চিত্র আঁকতে গিয়ে লেখক খুব সুন্দর উপমার সাহায্যে বর্ণনা করেছেন -

“শোনা যায় সুলতানের বাবার কীর্তি ইনি। অল্প বয়সেই পত্নীবিয়োগ হয়েছিল, তারপর আর বিবাহ করেননি। এর জন্যই হয়তো দরকার হয়নি। একেবারে শিকারে গিয়ে শ্রান্ত হয়ে কোনো গরিব প্রজার বাড়িতে পায়ের ধুলো দিতে বাধ্য

<sup>১</sup> তদেব

হয়েছিলেন, সেবা-যত্ন-জল-ফল সব কিছুকেই ভালো লাগার সঙ্গে এটিকেও মনে ধরে গিয়েছিল।’’<sup>১</sup>

‘এটি’ শব্দের উপর গুরুত্ব আরোপ করলে দেখা যায়, এই উদ্ধৃতি থেকে এটাই প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, নারীর পছন্দ-অপছন্দের নিজস্ব কোনো মূল্য নেই। পরিবারে আন্যান্য দ্রব্যের সঙ্গে নারীও একটি দ্রব্য। তাই আখতার আমেদ প্রজার বাড়ি থেকে ‘জল-ফল’ - এর সঙ্গে একটি (জবেদায়েসাকো) ‘ভেট’ হিসেবে এনেছেন। এই উপমা ব্যবহার করে লেখক দেখিয়েছেন সমাজে নারী ‘বিষয়’ মাত্র। জবেদার গরিব পিতা অনেক টাকা এবং পাকা কোঠার বিনিময়ে মেয়েকে বিক্রি করেছিলেন আখতার আমেদের কাছে। এই তথ্যটিও সুলেখা সাহেবানুর মুখে শুনতে পায়।

মেয়েলি শব্দ ব্যবহার, প্রবাদ-প্রবচন, উপমা, চিত্রকল্প নির্মাণে প্রতিভা বসু সমাজভাবনার পরিচয় দিয়েছেন। একান্ত মেয়েদের নিজস্ব ভাবনার জগৎ থেকে প্রচলিত রীতি-নীতিকে পটভূমি করে, সেই পটভূমিতে নারী-পুরুষ চরিত্র নির্মাণ করে, প্রসঙ্গ অনুযায়ী তাদের মুখে আঞ্চলিক ভাষা প্রয়োগ করে চরিত্রগুলিকে যেন প্রাণবন্ত করে তুলেছেন। ফলে উপন্যাসটি উঠেছে বাস্তবানুযায়ী জীবন্ত ও সজীব।

সমকালীন সমাজের ছবি আঁকতে গিয়ে নারী-পুরুষের অবস্থান গত লিঙ্গবৈষম্য, পণপ্রথা, কন্যাদায়, পুরুষের দ্বিতীয় বিবাহ, বৈধব্যে নিঃসঙ্গতা নানা দৃষ্টিকোণ থেকে সমাজে নারী জীবনের যন্ত্রণাময় উপস্থিতি তাঁর উপন্যাসের বিষয় হয়েছে। সমকালীন সমাজে দাঁড়িয়ে নারীর অবস্থাকে ধরার চেষ্টা করেছেন প্রতিভা বসু।

### সহায়ক গ্রন্থ

- ১) ‘সমুদ্র হৃদয়’ - প্রতিভা বসু, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা - ৭৩, ষষ্ঠ সংস্করণ - জুলাই ২০১০
- ২) ‘স্মৃতি বিস্মৃতির তরঙ্গ’, ‘জ্যোতির্ময়ী দেবী রচনা সংকলন’, দ্বিতীয় খন্ড
- ৩) ‘প্রথম প্রতিশ্রুতি’ - আশাপূর্ণা দেবী, মিত্র অ্যান্ড ঘোষ পাবলিশার্স, কলকাতা, ষাট সংস্করণ, বৈশাখ ১৪১৮

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<sup>1</sup> ভদেব, পৃঃ ৭৯

## अदीक्षितानां माहेश्वरधर्ममुखबन्धः शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः\*

अनिल-कुमार-आचार्यः

### शोधप्रबन्धसारः

शिवधर्मशास्त्रम्, शिवधर्मोत्तरम्, शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः, द्वादशशताब्देः प्राग् नेपालदेशे विरचितस्यास्य शिवोपनिषद्, उमामहेश्वरसंवादः, उत्तरोत्तरमहा- शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहग्रन्थस्य सङ्ग्रहरूपं वायुपुराण- संवादः, वृषसारसङ्ग्रहः, धर्मपुत्रिका, निश्वासतत्त्वसंहितयोः श्लोकैः सुपुष्टं वर्तते। ललितविस्तरश्चेत्येते शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयपदेना- आद्याध्यायत्रयं विहाय अन्येषाम् अध्यायानां साम्यं भिप्रेताः ग्रन्थाः। एते ग्रन्थाः शैवेतिहासानुसन्धातुभ्यः निश्वासतत्त्वसंहितया वायुपुराणेन च साकं निरूप्यते। विद्वद्भ्यः प्राचीनशैवाचारविषये नवोन्मेषं प्रयच्छन्ति। सन्त्यस्मिन् द्वादशाध्यायाः। प्रथमाध्यायस्य एते ग्रन्थाः प्रायशः सम्भूय एकस्यामेव तृतीयश्लोकः शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः शम्भुना सनत्कुमारेण मत्तुकायामुपलभ्यन्ते। एतेषां ग्रन्थानां प्राचीनाः वायुना द्वैपायनेन च कृतानां शास्त्राणां सारसङ्ग्रह तालपत्रमातृकाः नेवारीलिप्या लिखिताः प्रायः इत्याख्यापयति। ग्रन्थस्यास्य विषयप्रसरः प्रायः नेपालदेशे, कोलकताप्रान्ते, वाराणस्याञ्च प्राप्यन्ते। देवीश्वरसंवादरूपेण प्रवर्तते। प्रबन्धेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थस्य अस्मिन् शोधप्रबन्धे शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयेषु तृतीयस्य विषयसारः, समयः, स्थानम्, लेखकः इत्येते विषयाः शिवधर्मशास्त्राख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य विवरणं प्रदीयते। सप्रमाणं निरूप्यन्ते।

**विशेषशब्दाः** - शिवधर्मः, शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयः, शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः, उपपुराणम्, आगमः

धर्मप्रधानभारतीयसमाजे भारतीयाः धर्मानुरक्ताः मुमुक्षवश्चासन् सन्ति भविष्यन्तीत्यत्र नास्ति सन्देहः। धर्मस्यास्य प्रवाहः बहुशाखासु प्रवहन्नपि एकलक्ष्यानुगामी वर्तते। तल्लक्ष्यं मोक्षस्य। मोक्षानुगाम्यं धर्मः बहुरूपी वर्तते। जनैरस्य धर्मस्य प्रवाहः भक्ति-कर्म-यज्ञादिषु चानुभूयते। भक्तिमार्गानुसारिण आत्मानं भक्तिसागरे निमज्ज्य मोक्षपदं भजन्ति। अत्र विशेषाः मीरा चैतन्यादयः। कतिपयः कर्म एव धर्म इति स्वीकृत्य सुकर्मणि प्रवृत्ताः सन्तः भगवतः सत्तामनुभूय परमपदमाप्नुवन्ति। तथैव यज्ञादिष्वनुरक्ताः यजनादिकर्मणैव ईश्वरसान्निध्यं प्राप्नुवन्ति। पूर्वोक्ताः सन्ति मोक्षप्राप्त्यर्थं विशेषानुरक्तास्तस्मात् स्वस्वमार्गेषु सुप्रवृत्ताः। एतेषां व्यतिरेकेऽपि सन्त्यत्र अविशेषाः सामान्याः वा। अधिकाराद् (अत्र अधिकारशब्दः भारतीयवर्णव्यवस्थायाः द्योतकः) उत स्वभाववशात् तेषां प्रवृत्तिस्तेषु यज्ञादिविशेषमार्गेषु न भवति। ते अविशेषाः सामान्या एवात्र अदीक्षितपदवाच्याः। एनमदीक्षितशब्दं शैवागमशास्त्रपरं कृत्वा विचारयामश्चेदेषस्तादृशानां द्योतकोऽस्ति ये शिवपूजायै शैवागमविहितदीक्षायामदीक्षिताः।

महेश्वरः शिवश्च पर्यायशब्दौ। तस्माल्लोकप्रयोगे अनयोः भेदः न। परन्तु शास्त्रीयप्रयोगेऽनयोर्भेदः। शास्त्रेषु माहेश्वर इत्यस्य प्रयोगः तमेव जातिमुद्दिश्य भवति यस्मिन् शिव एव परदेवः। तेषु माहेश्वरेषु शैवेति कश्चन उपजातिमात्रम्। अतः शास्त्रीयप्रयोगे शैव इत्यस्य प्रवृत्तिस्तद्धर्मदीक्षितानां साधकानां कृते भवति यत्र पतिः पशु पाशश्चेति त्रयः पदार्थाः। शिलालेखेषु माहेश्वर इत्यस्य सामान्यप्रयोगः तद्धर्मानुरक्तानां शिवभक्तानां राज्ञां कृते भवति।<sup>1</sup> तस्मात् माहेश्वरेति प्रयोगः भगवतः शिवानुयायीनां कृते भक्तिबीजरूपः सामान्यश्च। अर्थात् शास्त्रीयदृष्ट्या यः कोऽपि शिवभक्तः माहेश्वरपदवाच्यः भवितुमर्हति परन्तु शैवपदवाच्यः न। तद्वदसाम्प्रतमस्माकं विचारान्तर्गतः शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्थः (येषां विवरणम् अधः प्रस्तूयते) तृतीयग्रन्थः शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः गृहस्थ-सामान्यजनानां कृते भक्तिपर-लौकिकशिवधर्मस्य उपदेशं करोतीति कारणादत्र माहेश्वरशब्दस्य प्रयोगः।

प्राचीनशैवपरम्परां पोषयन्तः नव ग्रन्थाः प्रायः सम्भूय उपलभ्यन्ते। ते – १-शिवधर्मशास्त्रम् २-शिवधर्मोत्तरम् ३- शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः ४-शिवोपनिषत् ५-उमामहेश्वरसंवादः ६-उत्तरोत्तरमहासंवादः उमोत्तर अथवा उत्तरोत्तरतन्त्रम् ७- वृषसारसङ्ग्रहः ८-ललितविस्तरः ९-धर्मपुत्रिका इति। आद्यत्रिषु ग्रन्थेषु आद्यपदं शिवधर्मम् उररीकृत्य ते ग्रन्थाः शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चय<sup>2</sup> इत्यभिधीयन्ते। तमिलशैवाचार्येषु अन्यतमः षोडशशतकीय मरैज्ञानसम्बन्धेन<sup>3</sup> कृतं शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य तमिलभाषानुवादं व्याख्यानञ्च १८६७ तमे वर्षे तिरुनेल्-वेलितः प्रथमं प्रकाशितम्।<sup>4</sup> शिवोपनिषत्

<sup>1</sup> In support of this, following are few significant instances gathered from secondary sources: (1) “the commentaries on *Brahmasūtra* 2/2/3 which states: “For the Lord there can be no creatorship for that leads to incongruity.” Commenting on this aphorism, *Śaṅkara* simply refers to *Māhesvaras* as those who worship *Śiva* as the supreme God. *Vācaspati Mishra* (c. 850 AD) divides the *Māhesvaras* into four: *Śaiva*, *Pāśupata*, *Kāpalika* and *Kāruṇika Siddhantins*.” - The Canon of the *Śaivāgama* and the *Kubjikā Tantra* of the Western Kaula Tradition, p.16. (2) “.....गुरूणां च कीर्त्य[मुपमितेश्वर]-कपिलेश्वरौ गुर्वयतने गुरु...प्रतिष्ठापितौ नैतत्त्व्यात्यर्थमभिलिख्यते [अथ]माहेश्वराणां विज्ञाप्तिः क्रियते सम्बोधनं यथाकालीनाचार्याणां परिग्रहणमिति मत्वाविशङ्कं पूजा-पुरस्कारपरिग्रहपरिपाल्यं कुर्यादिति विज्ञाप्तिरिति।” डाक्टर देवदत्त-रामकृष्ण-भाण्डारकरेण १९३१ तमे वर्षे ‘एपिग्राफिआ इण्डिकेति’ पुस्तके मथुरास्थपाशुपतशैवस्तम्भलेखः। - शिवतत्त्वसम्बन्धी कुछ चित्र और मथुराका शैवस्तम्भ, शिवाङ्क, कल्याण, p.594

<sup>2</sup> अयं शब्दः विद्वद्भिः आङ्गलभाषायां प्रयुक्तस्य “*śivadharmā corpus*” इत्यस्य मत्कृतसंस्कृतानुवादः।

<sup>3</sup> Though the identity of the Tamil *śivācārya* named Maraiñāna, the author of the Tamil rendering in verse and notes on *Śivadharmottaram* is not quite clear still it is worth mentioning that an identification is proposed in the English summary on the *Śaivāgamapariḥbhāṣāmañjarī* Published from French Institute of Pondicherry, which says: “The word “*veda*” is translated in tamil by “*marai*” and we know at least four authors who lived between the XIVth and the XVIth centuries, who were *śaivasiddhānta* devotees and whose name was Maraiñāna , that is the exact tail translation of Vedajñāna. One of them is Maraiñānacampantar author of a lot of tamil works amongst which a translation of the *Śivadharmottara* and two *Sthalapurāṇa*-s (dated 1548 and 1555 AD) are noticeable.” - *Śaivāgamapariḥbhāṣāmañjarī*, p.363

<sup>4</sup> *Civatarumottaram* (in Sanskrit *Śivadharmottaram*): Tamil rendering in verse and notes by Maraiñānadicakar, Muttamilakara Press, Tirunelveli, 1886. Also published in 1888 under the same title by S. Subbarāya Pillai under the supervision of Sanmukam Pillai.

प्रथमं १९३३ तमे वर्षे अड्यार-ग्रन्थालयेन प्रकाशिता।<sup>1</sup> अपि च उपर्युक्तेषु नवसु ग्रन्थेषु नवमं ललितविस्तरं विहाय अन्येषां ग्रन्थानां पाठसंशोधनरहितं एकं संस्करणं नेपालसम्बत् २०५५तमे वर्षे (क्रिस्ताब्दः १९९८) नेपालदेशात् प्रकाशितम्। एतेषां प्राचीनतालपत्रमातृकाः नेवारिलिप्या लिखिताः नेपालप्रान्ते प्राचुर्येण उपलभ्यन्ते। भारतस्योत्तरप्रान्ते कोलकताप्रदेशे च शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य मातृकाः उपलभ्यन्ते। दक्षिणभारते शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य व्याप्तिः शिवधर्मशास्त्र-शिवधर्मोत्तर-परिच्छिन्ना दृश्यते। यतो हि दक्षिणे शिवधर्मशास्त्रस्य शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य च दक्षिणभारतीयलिप्या लिखिताः मातृकाः बहुत्र संरक्षिताः दृश्यन्ते। परन्तु ग्रन्थद्वयमतिरिच्य अन्येषां ग्रन्थानां मातृकाः दक्षिणभारते दक्षिणभारतीयलिप्यां नागरीलिप्यां वा द्रिष्टव्यन्ते। तस्मादेतदनुमीयते यदेतेषां ग्रन्थानामुत्पत्तिः प्रभूतव्याप्तिश्च नेपालप्रान्ते अथवा उत्तरभारते स्यात्। एते ग्रन्थाः समकालीनाः भवितुं नार्हन्ति। तस्मात् शिवधर्मशास्त्रस्य कालः २०० - ५०० AD, शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य ७०० - ८०० AD इति डा. हजरारव्यस्य निर्णयः।<sup>2</sup> अपि च धर्मपुत्रिकायाः रचना नेपालदेशस्य राज्ञः शङ्करदेवस्य शासनकाले १०६९तमे क्रिस्तब्दे अभवदिति अनुमितम्।

### शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः

शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयेऽन्तर्भूतेषु नवसु ग्रन्थेषु अन्यतमोऽयं शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः। ग्रन्थोऽयं वायुपुराण-निश्वासतत्त्वसंहितयोः<sup>3</sup> श्लोकैः सुपुष्टो वर्तते। शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्थविभिन्नाध्यायानां सादृश्यं निश्वासतत्त्वसंहितया वायुपुराणेन च साकं निरूपितम्। सामान्यदृष्ट्या विचारयामश्चेत् सर्वादौ ग्रन्थस्य अभिधानमेव तस्य सङ्ग्रहरूपं प्रतिपादयति। पुनश्च ग्रन्थस्वरूपस्वीकृतिरूपश्लोकः<sup>4</sup> 'शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः' शम्भुना सनत्कुमारेण वायुना द्वैपायनेन च कृतानां शास्त्राणामाधारेण कृत इति उद्घोषयति। अस्मिन् शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहे द्वादशाध्यायाः सन्ति। तेषामध्यायानां विवरणं 'ग्रन्थाध्यायानां विवरणम्' इत्यस्मिन् अग्रिमे खण्डे विशदीकरिष्यते। देवीश्वरयोः संलापेन शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य विषयप्रसरः। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् जीवस्योत्पत्तिः, भवपीडाः, सांसारिकी संश्लिष्टता, उत्तमानामनुत्तमानाञ्च कर्मणां परिणामान्यपि उदित्वा शिवभक्तिरेव जीवस्य परित्राणम् इत्युपदिश्यते।

<sup>1</sup> Un-published Upanishads Ed. By The Pandits of Adyar Library, under the supervision of Dr. C.KunhanRaja, 1933. Also published 1970 under the title Upanishadsangraha: Containing 188 Upanishads, Edited and Sanskrit Introduction by J.L.Shastri, Motilal Banarasidas.

<sup>2</sup> "... it appears that the Śivadharma was written later than the Yājñavalkyasmṛiti. So, this work is to be dated between 200 and 500 A.D.; and this early origin of the work explains why it is totally free from Tantric influence" & "Thus, the date of composition of the Śivadharmottara (in its present form) falls between 700 and 800 A.D." - The Śivadharma & Śivadharmottara, Hazra

<sup>3</sup> This is an early Śaiva Tantra. The critical edition of this text is under process at École française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO), Pondicherry, by a team of scholars including Dr. Dominic GOODALL and Mr. Nirajan Kafle.

<sup>4</sup> शम्भोः सनत्कुमारस्य वायोर्द्वैपायनस्य च। ग्रन्थसारं समुद्धृत्य कियते धर्मसङ्ग्रहः॥१.३॥

**ग्रन्थकारः :-** पूर्वोक्तेषु शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्थग्रन्थेषु शिवधर्मशास्त्रं (लोकप्रयोगे शिवधर्म एवेति) शिवधर्मोत्तरं चेत्यस्य प्रमुखग्रन्थद्वयस्य गणना उपपुराणेषु उपागमेषु च भवति। वस्तुतः अष्टादशोपपुराणेषु शिवधर्मस्यैव गणना क्रियते न तु शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य।<sup>1</sup> परन्तु शिवधर्मोत्तरं शिवधर्मस्यैव उत्तरभागम् इति मत्वा शिवधर्मोत्तरमपि उपपुराणमित्यभिधीयते इति विद्वन्मतम्।<sup>2</sup> आगम-उपभेदेषु अथवा उपागमेषु शिवधर्मस्य शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य च उल्लेखः प्राप्यते।<sup>3</sup> एवं पुराणशास्त्रपरम्परया आगमशास्त्रपरम्परया च साकम् अनयोः शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः सम्बन्धे स्थितेऽपि तस्य ग्रन्थद्वयस्य मातृकासु कुत्रापि शिवधर्म-उपपुराणम् अथवा शिवधर्म-उपागमः, शिवधर्मोत्तर-उपपुराणम् अथवा शिवधर्मोत्तर-उपागमश्चेति उल्लेखः न प्राप्यते। वस्तुतः मातृकासु अनयोरुल्लेखः शिवधर्मशास्त्रं शिवधर्मोत्तरं चेति भवति। अपि च ग्रन्थद्वये सर्ग-प्रतिसर्गादीनि उपपुराणस्य लक्षणानि,<sup>4</sup> क्रिया-चर्या-योग-ज्ञानपादपरा आगमशैली च न दृश्यन्ते। अतः साम्प्रतम् उपलब्धौ शिवधर्मशास्त्र-शिवधर्मोत्तरौ न उपपुराणे न चोपागमौ इति प्रतीतिः।

किन्तु महापुराणेषु उपपुराणेषु च पुराणपञ्चलक्षणस्य न्यूनाधिक्यम् अवलोक्यते। केषुचित् पुराणेषु पुराणपञ्चलक्षणभिन्नानाम् अन्येषामेव विषयाणां प्रतिपादनं वर्तते। तथापि तेषां गणना पुराणेषु भवत्येव। तथैव एकतः शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तराख्ये ग्रन्थद्वये उपपुराणस्य लक्षणानाम् अभावेऽपि लोके अनयोः गणना उपपुराणरूपेण भवति। अन्यतः आगमेषु उपागमरूपेण अनयोः शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः प्रत्यक्षोल्लेखत्वात् क्रिया-चर्या-योग-ज्ञानपादपराया आगमशैल्याः अभावेऽपि ग्रन्थद्वयस्य उपागमरूपत्वमपि सिध्यति।

इत्थं शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः उपपुराणरूपम् उपागमरूपञ्च सिध्यति इत्यस्मात् कारणात् 'वस्तुतः एतौ शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरौ उपपुराणे अथवा उपागमौ' इति जिज्ञासा आयाति। मम मते एतौ शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरौ उपपुराणे एव। यतो हि आगमशास्त्रपरम्परायां ग्रन्थविभागाः प्रायः 'पटलाः' इत्यभिधीयन्ते। शिवधर्मं शिवधर्मोत्तरं

<sup>1</sup> 1 चतुर्थं शिवधर्माख्यं साक्षान्नन्दिकेशभाषितम् । (Kūmapurāṇa I. 1.18a & KP quoted in Nityācārapradīpa of Narasimha Vajapeyin, Malamasatattva of Raghunanadana, Vīramitrodaya of Mitra Mishra, Caturvargacintāmaṇi of Hemadri, Śabdakalpādruma ) 2 चतुर्थं शिवधर्माख्यं पुराणं नन्दिनेरितम्। (Skandapurāṇa-saurasamhitā)

<sup>2</sup> " . . . its name does not occur in any of the numerous lists of eighteen Upapurāṇas known to us. Yet it came to be recognized as an Upapurāṇas, probably because of its title which connects it with the Śiva-dharma as the latter part of that work." *The Śivadharmottara*, 1952-53, R. C. Hazra

<sup>3</sup> ईशानं शिवधर्मं च शिवधर्मोत्तरं तथा ॥ ६६ ॥ दिव्यप्रोक्तं कुबेराख्यं शार्वोक्तस्यैह पञ्चमम्। ६७। (उत्तरकारणागमः प्रथमपटलः) ईशानं शिवधर्मं च शिवधर्मोत्तरं तथा। दिव्यप्रोक्तं कुबेराख्यमिति भेदस्य पञ्चमम्। ८९।। (अजितागमः क्रियापादः प्रथमपटलः)

<sup>4</sup> सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च। वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्।। ब्राह्मादीनां पुराणानाम् उक्तमेतत् लक्षणम्।

एतच्चोपपुराणानां खिलत्वाल्लक्षणं स्मृतम्।। सौरपुराणम्, ९.४-५ (quoted in *The Upapurāṇas*, R. C. Hazra, p.59)

च ग्रन्थविभागाः अध्याया इत्यभिहितम्। अपि च आगमानां विषयोपस्थापने दृश्यमानाः क्रिया-चर्यादयः भेदाः शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरे च नोपलभ्यन्ते।

पुनः संशयः आयाति - भिन्ना शैली, ग्रन्थविभागानां स्थितेऽपि भिन्नं नाम शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः निवेशनम् उपागमेषु किमर्थम्? शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः ग्रन्थयोर्विषयः शिवपरत्वात्, शैवपरम्परायां ग्रन्थद्वयस्य महत्वाच्च शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोर्निवेशनम् उपागमेषु कृतं स्यादिति उत्तरम्।

एवम् उपर्युक्तस्य पर्यालोचनस्याधारेण शिवधर्म-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः पुराणशास्त्रपरम्परायां निवेशनं दोषाय न स्यात्। तथैव अस्मिन् शोधप्रबन्धे विशेषविचार्यस्य शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहाख्यस्य तृतीयस्य ग्रन्थस्यान्तर्भावः पुराणशास्त्रपरम्परायाम् एव स्वीकर्तव्यः। यतो हि शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहे उपपुराणानां लक्षणेषु वंशं वंशानुचरितञ्च विहाय अन्यानि सर्ग-प्रतिसर्ग-मन्वन्तरादीनि लक्षणानि प्राप्यन्ते। शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य प्रथमाध्याये सर्ग-प्रतिसर्गयोः एकादशाध्याये मन्वन्तरस्य च विचारः दृश्यते। तस्माद् उपपुराणेषु औपपुराणेषु च शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य उल्लेखस्याभावेऽपि ग्रन्थे पुराणोक्तलक्षणानां पुराणशैल्याश्च प्रतिफलनात् शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य निर्माणं पुराणानामाधारेण एव कृतं स्यात्। किन्तु शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहाख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य मातृकासु न कुत्रापि तद्वन्थकर्तुरुल्लेखः प्राप्यते।

पुराणशास्त्रपरम्परायां ग्रन्थाः पुराणानि, उपपुराणानि, औपपुराणानि अथवा उपउपपुराणानि<sup>1</sup> चेति विभज्यन्ते। देवताविशेषेणैव कस्मिन्नपि प्रसङ्गविशेषे आविर्भूतानां पुराणानां सम्पादनं महर्षिणा व्यासेनैव कृतम्।<sup>2</sup> तथैव उपपुराणानां रचना प्राक्तनैर्विभिन्नैर्मुनिभिरेवाष्टदशानां महापुराणानां छायामाश्रित्य कृता इति निरूप्यते।<sup>3</sup>

शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य पुराणशास्त्रपरम्परायाम् अन्तर्भावत्वात्तस्योद्भवस्तु भगवत्सकाशात्, सम्पादनञ्च केनापि व्यासतुल्येन महर्षिणा कृतम् इति स्वीकर्तव्यम्। एवं मातृकासु ग्रन्थकर्तुः नाम्नः अनुपलब्धत्वात्, पुराण-शास्त्रपरम्परायां निवेशत्वाच्च दुःशक्यमस्य शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य ग्रन्थकाराकलनम्।

**ग्रन्थास्पदम् :-** उपलब्धाः वस्तुस्थितीः पर्यालोच्यास्य शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचना नेपालदेशे अथवा नेपाल-भारतसीमायाम् अथवा भारतस्य उत्तरभूखण्डे कृता इत्यनुमीयते। ताः वस्तुस्थितयः :- १. ग्रन्थस्य प्राचीनासु

<sup>1</sup> केचन पुराणानाम् औपपुराणाख्यं भेदं न स्वीकुर्वन्ति। ते महापुराणेतराणां सर्वेषां पौराणिकग्रन्थानाम् उपपुरारूपेण गणनां विधाय तान् सर्वान् उपपुराणेष्वेवान्तर्भावयन्ति। तेषां मते असंख्यानि उपपुराणानि। परन्तु बृहद्विवेके अष्टादशानामौपपुराणानां नामानि संकेतितानि। तद्यथा – “आद्यं सनत्कुमारं च नारदीयं बृहच्च यत्। आदित्यं भानवं प्रोक्तं नन्दिकेश्वरमेव च।। कौर्मं भागवतं ज्ञेयं वासिष्ठं भार्गवं तथा। मुद्गलं कल्किदेव्यौ च महाभागवतं ततः।। बृहद्धर्मं परानन्दं वह्निं पशुपतिं तथा। हरिवंशं ततो ज्ञेयमिदमौपपुराणकम्।। (बृहद्विवेक ३)” quoted in the article: *उपपुराणादीनां पर्यालोचनम्*, श्रीकृष्णमणित्रिपाठी।

<sup>2</sup> अष्टादशपुराणानां कर्ता सत्यवती सुतः। कामिकादिप्रभेदानां यथा देवो महेश्वरः।। श्रीकरभाष्ये उद्धृतः सूतसंहितायाः श्लोकः

<sup>3</sup> महापुराणान्येतानि द्वादशमहामुनेः। तथा चोपपुराणानि मुनिभिः कथितानि च।। विष्णुपुराणम् ३-६-२४ & अष्टादशभ्यस्तु पृथक् पुराणं यत्प्रदृश्यते। विजानीध्वं द्विजश्रेष्ठास्तत्तथाभ्यो विनिर्गतम्।। मत्स्यपुराणम् ५३-६३

मातृकासु द्वादशशताब्द्याः नेवारीलिपेः प्रयोगः, नेपालदेशे एव मातृकाणां सुलभता च। २. अद्यावधि नेपालदेशे रचिते पुष्पचिन्तामणौ<sup>1</sup> एव शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहः उद्धृतः। इतरेषु स्मृतिनिबन्धग्रन्थेषु आगमेषु च शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहोऽनुद्धृतः। ३. पुष्पमालया उद्विज्यमानस्य कुकुरस्य उपमा – शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य प्रथमाध्यायस्य षष्ठश्लोके विद्यया उद्विज्यमानस्य खलस्य तुलना पुष्पमालया उद्विज्यमानस्य कुकुरेण साकं क्रियते। प्रायः ग्रन्थेषु तात्कालिक्याः तद्देशीयायाश्च परम्परायाः प्रतिफलनं भवति। तथैव उपरि सङ्केतिता उपमा नेपालदेशे कुकुरपूजायाः प्रतिफलनं स्यादिति प्रतिभाति।<sup>2</sup>

४. शैवक्षेत्रेषु अन्यतमयोर्दक्षिणभारते स्थितयोः अमरमनाथ-वाराणस्योरुल्लेखः - शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य द्वितीयाध्यायस्य ६०तमे श्लोके “कथन्त्वगत्वामरनाथमन्दिरं भवन्ति पुंसो व्यसनानि बाधिताः।।”<sup>3</sup>; ६९तमे श्लोके “गत्वा वाराणसीक्षेत्रं मुच्यते ब्रह्महत्या।।” इत्यनयोरुल्लेखः प्राप्यते।

**ग्रन्थकालः** :- शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः क्रिस्ताब्दस्य सप्तमशतकाद् एकादशशतकमध्ये (C 7<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> A.D) एव निर्धारणीयः। निर्धारणमिदं निश्चासतत्त्वसंहिताया साकं शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य सादृश्यम्, शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य अस्मत्प्राप्तानां कालाङ्कितानां मातृकाणां कालञ्चोरीकृत्य विहितम्। अस्मिन् निर्धारणे सन्ति अधःप्रदत्तानि अन्तरङ्गानि बहिरङ्गानि च प्रमाणानि।

**अन्तरङ्गप्रमाणानि** – शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य कालनिरूपणपरं पूर्वोक्तं निर्धारणं पोषयन्तः सन्ति कानिचन अन्तरङ्गप्रमाणानि, येषामाधारेण शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालस्य परमावधिः चरमावधिश्च निर्धारितम्। तत्रादौ -

**(क) परमावधिः** - निश्चासतत्त्वसंहिताया वायुपुराणेन च साकं शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य सादृश्यं मनसि निधाय ‘शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः क्रिस्ताब्दस्य सप्तमशतकात्पूर्वं न स्याद्’ इत्यनुमितिः। तस्मात् शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालस्य परमावधिः सप्तमशताब्दिः इति निर्णयः। शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य भूयान् अंशः निश्चासतत्त्वसंहितायाः मुख्यागमेन गुह्यसूत्रेण च सह समानो वर्तते। अग्रे ‘शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य ग्रन्थान्तरैस्साकं सादृश्यम्’ इत्यस्मिन् खण्डे इयं समानता प्रपञ्चयिष्यते। निश्चासतत्त्वसंहितायाः कालविषये विद्वत्सु मतान्तरेषु सत्स्वपि २००७तमे वर्षे प्रचलितायां निश्चासाधारितसंगोष्ठ्यां शैवागमविशारदैस्तस्य कालः ४५० – ५५० क्रिस्ताब्दः (C 5<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> A.D) भवेदिति अनुमितः।<sup>3</sup>

पुनः शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य द्वादशाध्यायस्य सादृश्यं वायुपुराणेन साकं वर्तते। पुराणेषु वायुपुराणस्य पुरातनत्वं

<sup>1</sup> This is a text on flower for worship in 4 prakasa-s; ascribed to king Pratapamalla of Nepal; but written by his protege Mayasimha, at the shrine of Pasupatinatha, Kathmandu; sponsored by King Jayalakshminarasimha, 16<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>2</sup> “... in Nepal, the dog is one of the four creatures revered, with flower garlands, sweetmeats, and unguents, at the annual Tihār (Diwālī) festival.” *Myths of the Dog-Man*, David Godan, 1991, p.105

<sup>3</sup> This date of the *Niśvāsātattvasamhitā* is what was proposed in the course of the workshop about the text held in the EFEO, Pondicherry, from 2<sup>nd</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> January, 2007 and published in the Newsletter of the Nepal-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), Number-3, January – February 2007.

निःसन्दिग्धम्। अस्य कालः डा. हजुरा, पि. वि. काणे इत्यादिभिः विद्वद्भिः क्रिस्ताब्दस्य चतुर्थशताब्द्याः पञ्चमशताब्द्याः मध्ये निर्णीतः।<sup>1</sup> तस्मात् शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालस्य पूर्वोक्तः परमावधिः युक्तियुक्तं भवेत्।

**(ख) चरमावधिः** – शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य कालाङ्कितानां मातृकाणाम् आधारेण ‘शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः नूनं क्रिस्ताब्दस्य एकादशशतकात्परं न स्याद्’ इत्यनुमितिः। अनया अनुमित्या शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालस्य चरमावधिः एकादशशताब्दिः इति निर्णयः। अधोनिर्दिष्टाः ताः कालाङ्किताः मातृकाः -

\* मातृका G 4077 (The Asiatic Society, Kolkata क्रमाङ्कः G 4077 अङ्किता इयं तालपत्रमातृका।) - एसियाटिक्-सोसायिटीतः प्राप्तायाम् अस्यां शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य मातृकायां ‘ललितविस्तरः’ नाम्नोऽष्टमग्रन्थस्य पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनस्य<sup>2</sup> आधारेण एषा मातृका एकादशशतकीया (C 11<sup>th</sup> A.D) इति निश्चितिः।<sup>3</sup>

\* मातृका G 3852 (The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, क्रमाङ्कः G 3852 अङ्किता शिवधर्मपुराणं नामधेया इयं तालपत्रमातृका।) – ‘इयं मातृका द्वादशशतकीयनेवारीलिप्या (C 12<sup>th</sup> A.D) लिखिता’ इति निश्चितिः डा. हरप्रसादशास्त्रीवर्याणाम्।<sup>4</sup>

\* मातृका Add 1645 (इंग्लण्डदेशस्थक्याम्ब्रिज-विश्वविद्यालयस्य ग्रन्थालये संरक्षिता (University Library, Cambridge, England) इयं तालपत्रमातृका। क्रमाङ्कः Add 1645 (Reel No./Class-Mark) – मातृकेयं द्वादशशतकीया (C 12<sup>th</sup> A. D) इति निश्चितिः। एषा ११३६तमे वर्षे (नेपालसंवत् २५६तमे वर्षे) नेवारीलिप्या लिखिता मातृका।<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “The Vāyu has generally been recognized as “perhaps the oldest” (Hazra 1940, 13), or at least as “one of the oldest and most authoritative” (Kane V, 906) purāṇas [...] the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. have generally been proposed as the date of Vāyu. (Rocher 1986, 245).” *The Skandapurāṇa* Vol – I, Editor H.T.Bakker, 1998, Prolegomena, p.21.

<sup>2</sup> पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनम् - “संवत् अ ५ भ (१५६) श्रावणशुक्लद्वादश्यां परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेवस्य विजयराज्ये श्रीतैत्तिरीयशालायाधिवासिना कुलपुत्ररत्नसिंहेन लिखितम्। श्रीपञ्चक्रमायां श्रीसातीश्वलर्के पश्चिमरथ्यायानिवासिनः रजकरादाधारसिंहेन करणीयं पुस्तकं शिवधर्मम्। तस्य पुण्यसम्भारेण यावन्तक(?) सर्वसत्त्वातीतानागतप्रत्यासन्नसत्त्वानामवीचिनरकोत्पत्तिसत्त्वोद्धरणकामनामीप्सितशिवमाङ्गल्यश्रेयसा नैरञ्जनपदफलप्राप्ता भवन्तीति।” -*Descriptive Catalogue of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol-V, p.721.

<sup>3</sup> “In Ms. No. G4007 the eight work, styled *Lalita-vistara*, has a post-colophon statement, according to which one ‘Kula-putra-Ratnasimha’ copied in the ‘संवत् अ५भ’ (i.e., Newari year 156=1036 A. D.) during the victorious reign (vijaya-rājye) of ‘Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-śrī-Lakṣmīkāmādeva’.” *The Śivadharmā*, R.C.Hazra, 1952-53, Footnote 1(i).

<sup>4</sup> “Substance, palm-leaf. . . . Character, Newari of the twelfth century.” - Haraprasad Shastri, *Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 4085, p.723.

<sup>5</sup> This date of the MS has been proposed by Dr. Dominic Goodall in his *Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's Commentary on the Kiraṇatantra*, which reads: “MS Add. 1645 is complete but for a few folios and was written in 1136 AD (dated samvat 256 on f. 247 r[6])”, p.376

\* मातृका प्र. 1075 (नेपालदेशस्य काष्ठमण्डपस्थ-राष्ट्रिय-अभिलेखालये संरक्षिता (National Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal) क्रमाङ्कः प्र. १०७५ अङ्किता इयं तालपत्रमातृका।) – एषा ११७०तमे वर्षे (नेपालसंवत् २९० तमे वर्षे) लिखिता द्वादशशतकीया (C 12<sup>th</sup> A. D) मातृका।

अस्मिन् चरमावधिनिरूपणप्रसङ्गे ललितविस्तराख्यः ग्रन्थः, ललितविस्तरे पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनम्, राजा लक्ष्मीकामदेवश्चेति केचन अवधातव्याः विषयाः। (क) **ललितविस्तरः** - नायं बौद्धानां प्रसिद्धः ललितविस्तराख्यः ग्रन्थः, परन्तु तन्नाम्नैव शैवानां कश्चन अप्रसिद्धः ग्रन्थोऽयम्। मया सङ्गृहीतासु शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य एकविंशतिमातृकासु एकस्यामेव मातृकायामयं ललितविस्तराख्यः ग्रन्थः उपलभ्यते। सा वङ्गीयैसियाटिकसोसाइटीस्था क्रमाङ्क- G 4077 अङ्किता तालपत्रमातृका। एसियाटिकसोसाइटीतः प्रकाशिते मातृकाणां व्याख्यानपरविवरणपुस्तके (Descriptive Catalogue) G 4077 क्रमाङ्काङ्कितायाः मातृकायाः विवरणे अस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्योल्लेखः मातृकास्थेषु ग्रन्थेषु अष्टमग्रन्थरूपेण नवमग्रन्थरूपेण च क्रियते। अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य ‘उमामहेश्वरोत्तरोत्तरसंवाद’ इति नामान्तरम्। (ख) **ललितविस्तरे पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनम्** - अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य अन्ते एकं पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनम् (Post Colophon Statement) उपलभ्यते। तस्याः मातृकायाः कालनिर्धारणे इदं पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनं गुरुत्वमावहति। पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनमिदं ‘मातृकेयं परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरश्रीलक्ष्मीकामदेवस्य विजयराज्ये एकादशशतके लिखिता’ इति उद्धोषयति। स्थितेऽपीदृशं महत्त्वं सम्प्रत्यनुपलब्धोऽयमष्टमः ललितविस्तराख्यः ग्रन्थः।<sup>1</sup> सम्प्रति ललितविस्तराख्यः नवमः ग्रन्थ एव उपलभ्यते।

<sup>1</sup> शोधकार्यार्थं सङ्गृहीतेषु G 4077 क्रमाङ्काङ्कितायाः मातृकायाः छायाचित्रेषु (Photocopy) उमामहेश्वरसंवादाख्यस्य चतुर्थग्रन्थस्य (G 4007/4) प्रारम्भे स्थिते मातृकाविवरणपत्रे आङ्ग्लभाषया लिखिता एका टिप्पणी प्राप्यते। यया अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तरस्य अनुपलब्धिः विज्ञाप्यते, तद्यथा – “It is to be noted that the name of the ms. *Lolitavistara* as mentioned in the Des. Cat. Of Sans. Ms. Vol. V is not available at all in this manuscript.”

अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य अनुपलब्धिविषये केचन विचारणीयाः विषयाः – १. शिवधर्मशास्त्रं शिवधर्मोत्तरश्चोररीकृत्य १९५२-५३तमे वर्षे डा. हजरावर्येण प्रकाशितयोः द्वयोः शोधलेखयोः अस्याः G 4007 क्रमाङ्काङ्कितायाः मातृकायाः विवरणं प्रदत्तम्। तस्मादिदमनुमीयते यत्तदानीम् (१९५२-५३तमे वर्षे) उपलब्धः G 4077 क्रमाङ्काङ्कितायाः मातृकायाः स भागः, यस्मिन् अष्टमः ललितविस्तराख्यः ग्रन्थः लिखितः, अनन्तरकाले विलुप्तः। २. १९२८तमे वर्षे प्रकाशिते मातृकाव्याख्यानपरविवरणपुस्तके, हजुरावर्येण प्रकाशिते शोधलेखद्वये च प्रथमस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य क्रमोऽष्टम इत्युल्लेखः। परन्तु मया सङ्गृहीते छायाचित्रे अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तरस्य अप्राप्तेः सूचना चतुर्थग्रन्थस्य प्रारम्भे प्राप्यते। वस्तुतः सा सूचना नवमग्रन्थस्याप्रारम्भे एव भवेत्। ३. मातृकाव्याख्यानपरविवरणपुस्तके, हजुरावर्येण प्रकाशिते शोधलेखद्वये चोल्लिखितः ललितविस्तर इति नवमग्रन्थः मया सङ्गृहीते G 4077 मातृकायाः छायाचित्रे अष्टम इति (G 4077/8) सूचितम्। तस्मात् G 4077 मातृकायाम् अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तरस्य विलुप्तिः मातृकाव्याख्यानपरविवरणपुस्तकप्रस्तुत्युत्तरं (after 1928) सूक्ष्मचित्रकरणात्पूर्वं (before 1952-53) च स्यादित्यनुमीयते।

परन्तु असम्पूर्णोऽयं नवमः ललितविस्तरः। असम्पूर्णस्य नवमस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य विस्तृतिः चतुर्विंशतितमाध्यायाद् द्वात्रिंशत्तमाध्यायपर्यन्तं वर्तते।

अस्मत्सङ्गृहीतायाम् G 4077 इत्यस्याः मातृकायाः फोटोस्टैट्-प्रत्याम् अष्टमग्रन्थस्यानुपलब्धत्वाद् एसियाटिक्-सोसाइटीद्वारा प्रकाशितं मातृकाविवरणपुस्तकस्थं विवरणमेव मातृकायाः कालनिर्णयस्य परमसाधनम्। एवं प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणस्याभावे काश्चन शङ्काः स्वतः मनसि आगच्छेयुः। तद्यथा- मातृकायाः जीर्णदशात्वात् तत्रस्थानां पत्राणां सङ्ख्यानं क्रमशः आसीद्वा न वा इति शङ्कायां सत्यां मातृकास्थानां सर्वेषां ग्रन्थानां कालः समान इति निश्चितिः युक्तियुक्तं भवेद्वा न? अपि च प्रायः कस्यापि मातृकायाः कालविषयकविज्ञप्तिः तस्याम् अन्तिमतमग्रन्थस्य अन्तिमे पत्रे प्राप्यते। परन्तु अस्यां मातृकायां नवमग्रन्थे स्थितेऽपि अष्टमस्यैवान्ते विज्ञप्तिरियं प्राप्यते। अतः पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापनोक्तोऽयं कालः केवलं तस्यैव ग्रन्थस्य, अर्थाद् अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तराख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य स्याद् अथवा सर्वेषाम्? परन्तु एताः शङ्काः निराधाराः प्रतीयन्ते। यतो हि नवमः ललितविस्तरः अष्टमस्य ललितविस्तरस्य अनुस्यूतिरिति पूर्वं ललितविस्तरस्य विषयविवरणे अनुमितम्। अपि च पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापने “ ..... करणीयं पुस्तकं शिवधर्मम्” इत्यनेन वाक्यांशेन तज्ज्ञापनं सम्पूर्णस्य शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य कृते आसीदिति प्रतिभाति। तस्मात् तस्यां मातृकायां सर्वेषां ग्रन्थानां लेखनं तज्ज्ञापनोक्तकालेनैव स्यात्। सर्वोपरि डा. हज्रावर्याणां महद्वैदुष्यं मनसि निधाय मातृकाया अयं कालः निःसन्दिग्धः ग्रहणीयः अस्माभिः। यतो हि यद्यस्यां निश्चित्यां काचन विप्रतिप्रतिः स्यात् तर्हि डा. हज्रावर्येण नूनं सङ्केतितं स्यात्। अतोऽस्माकं विचार्यस्य शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रह इति तृतीयग्रन्थस्य कालः नूनं एकादशशताब्देः प्राक् स्यादिति निश्चेतुं शक्नुमः।

(ग) **लक्ष्मीकामदेवः** - नेपालदेशे लक्ष्मीकामदेवाविति ठाकुरिवंशोद्भवौ द्वौ राजानौ आस्ताम्। एकस्य कालः १०२०तः १०४१पर्यन्तम्, अन्यस्य ११९२तः ११९८पर्यन्तं चासीत्।<sup>1</sup> अस्मिन् पुष्पिकोत्तरविज्ञापने उल्लिखितोऽयं लक्ष्मीकामदेवः प्रथमः स्याद्, यः गुणकामदेवस्योत्तरवर्ती आसीत्। यतो हि पुष्पिकोत्तरज्ञापने मातृकायाः कालः १०३६ क्रिस्ताब्द इति लिखितम्।

**बहिरङ्गप्रमाणानि** - शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य कालनिरूपणस्य सन्ति कानिचन बहिरङ्गप्रमाणानि, तानि च इमानि।

(क) **लिपिः** - समीक्षात्मकपाठसंशोधने प्रयुक्तासु नवसु मातृकासु मातृकाद्वयं विहाय अन्याः Add 1694, Add 1645, A11/03, G 3852, Ma I 528, B7/3 चेत्येताः मातृकाः द्वादशशतकीय-नेवारिलिप्या एव लिखिताः। मातृकासु अन्यतमा 'को१' इति मातृका अन्याभ्यः प्राचीनतमा, या प्रायः दशमशतकस्यान्तिमे भागेऽथवा एकादशशतके प्रचलितया नेवारिलिप्या एव लिखिता। एकादशशतके प्रचलिता नेवारिलिपिः द्वादशशतके प्रचलितनेवारिलिप्यपेक्षया भिन्ना भवति। द्वादशशतकीया नेवारिलिपिस्तु आकृत्या वर्तुला भवति। परन्तु एकादशशतकीया नेवारिलिपिः त्रिकोणाकारा एव।

<sup>1</sup> For details see the text: *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, Luciano Petech, 1958, pp. 38-39 & 74-75.

(ख) **मातृकापरिमितिः** - प्रायः नेपालदेशीयपुरातनमातृकाः (पञ्चमशतकाद् एकादशशतकमध्ये लिखिताः मातृकाः) अतिदीर्घाः भवन्ति। अस्मत्प्राप्तमातृकासु प्रमुखाः G 4077, G 3852, Add 1694 (इंग्लण्डदेशस्थक्याम्ब्रिज्-विश्वविद्यालयस्य ग्रन्थालये संरक्षिता (University Library, Cambridge, England) इयं तालपत्रमातृका। Add 1694 (Reel No./Class-Mark), Add 1645, B 7/3 इत्यादयः ५०सेण्टिमिटरतः दीर्घाः सन्ति।

(ग) **शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चये विद्यमानानां ग्रन्थानां क्रमः** - शिवधर्मसमुच्चये विद्यमानाः ग्रन्थाः नैव समकालीना इति निश्चितिः निःसन्दिग्धा एव। एते ग्रन्थाः कालक्रमेण लिखिताः शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चये योजिताश्च। द्वितीयपरिच्छेदे शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य शिवधर्मस्य च परिचयप्रकरणेऽयं विषयः पर्यालोचितः।

शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य मातृकासु शिवधर्मशास्त्र-शिवधर्मोत्तर-शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहादयः ग्रन्थाः येन क्रमेण प्राप्यन्ते, यदि तेषां ग्रन्थानां रचनाकालः तेनैव क्रमेण स्यात् तर्हि शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः प्रायः क्रिस्ताब्दस्य अष्टमशतकात्प्राग् न स्यादित्यनुमितुं शक्नुमः। यतो हि शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्थेषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रथमस्य शिवधर्मशास्त्रस्य कालः २००क्रिस्ताब्दतः ५००क्रिस्ताब्दमध्ये (C 3<sup>rd</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> A.D.) , द्वितीयस्य शिवधर्मोत्तरस्य कालः ७००क्रिस्ताब्दतः ८००क्रिस्ताब्दमध्ये (C 8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> A.D.) स्यादिति निश्चितिः डा. हजुरावर्याणाम्। पुनश्च अष्टमस्य धर्मपुत्रिकाख्यस्य ग्रन्थस्य अनुमितः रचनाकालः १०६९क्रिस्ताब्दः। अत्रास्माकं विचार्यः शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्तु शिवधर्मग्रन्थसमुच्चयस्य मातृकासु क्रमेण प्रायः तृतीयग्रन्थरूपेण प्राप्यते। तस्मात्तस्य शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः ८००क्रिस्ताब्दात्प्राक् १०६९क्रिस्ताब्दस्य पश्चाच्च न स्यात्।

एवमुपर्युक्तस्य पर्यालोचनस्याधारेण शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः निश्चासतत्त्वसंहिता-शिवधर्मोत्तरयोः रचनाकालस्य पश्चाद्भवेदित्यनुमितिः। अपि च शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य एकादशतकीयायाः मातृकायाः उपलब्धिं मनसि निधाय शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकाल एकादशशतकात्प्राग्भवेदिति निश्चेतुं शक्नुमः। तस्माच्छिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहस्य रचनाकालः नवमशतकस्य पश्चाद् दशमशतकस्य मध्ये एव स्यादित्यन्तिमा अनुमितिः।

**ग्रन्थाध्यायानां विवरणम्** - शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहे विषयाः प्रायः देवीश्वरयोः प्रश्नोत्तररूपेण उपस्थाप्यन्ते। ग्रन्थोऽयं द्वादशाध्यायेषु व्याप्य तिष्ठति। ते द्वादशाध्यायाः -

**प्रथमोऽध्यायः** - अध्यायपुष्पिकायां गर्भोत्पत्तिरित्यभिधानमस्याध्यायस्य। अस्मिन् अध्याये शिखिवाहनकार्तिकेयस्य जिज्ञासामधिकृत्य कैलासशिखरासीनदेवेनोक्तः जीवस्योत्पत्तिविषयः प्रपञ्चितः।<sup>1</sup> कार्तिकेयस्य उपर्युक्तां जिज्ञासामुपशम्य देवेन 'जगत्सृष्टेः मूलकारणं ॐकारम्' इति उपदिष्टम्। यस्माद् ॐकारात् क्रमेण तिस्रः व्याहृतयः, चत्वारो वेदाः, पञ्चेन्द्रियाणि, पञ्चमहाभूतानि च जायमानाः सन्तः लोकत्रयस्य उत्पत्तिर्जाता।

<sup>1</sup> शि.ध.सं - १.९

पश्चात् स्वर्गस्थाः क्षीणकर्माणः क्षीणे कर्मणि भुवि पावकरूपेणावतीर्य क्रमेण धूमाभ्राद्यवस्थान्तरप्राप्त्यनन्तरं मातृगर्भे मनुष्यरूपेणोत्पत्तिर्जायते इति वर्णितम्।<sup>1</sup> इत्थं चराचरस्य मनुष्ययोनेश्चोत्पत्तिं वर्णयित्वा अध्यायोऽयं गर्भोत्पत्तिरिति नाम सार्थकीकरोति।

अस्मिन् अध्याये अष्टम-नवमश्लोकाभ्यां शर्व-शिखिवाहनयोः प्रश्नोत्तरेण विषयस्य पुरोगतिः भवतीति स्पष्टं ज्ञायते। परन्तु पञ्चदशे श्लोके “पूर्वं चाहं शिवेनोक्तः” इत्यनेन, पञ्चदशश्लोकतः अष्टादशपर्यन्तानां श्लोकानां परिशीलनेन च तस्य भागस्य (श्लो. १५ – १८) विषयः ब्रह्मदेवदेवयोः संलापेन अग्रे सरतीति प्रतीयते। अनेन प्रवक्तृपरिवर्तनं ज्ञाप्यते। परन्तु मातृकासु प्रदत्ते ग्रन्थपाठे प्रवक्तृपरिवर्तनस्य सङ्केतः नैव प्राप्यते। तस्माद् ग्रन्थे पञ्चदशश्लोकात् प्राक् [ब्रह्मोवाच] सप्तदशश्लोकात् प्राक् [देवदेव उवाच] इत्यनयोर्योजनेन अथवा “पूर्वं चाहं शिवेनोक्तः प्रजां वत्स सृजेति हि।” इति पञ्चदशश्लोकस्य प्रथमद्वितीयपादयोः लोपेन प्रवक्तृपरिवर्तनक्लेशं निवारयितुं शक्यते।

प्राप्तासु मातृकासु सर्वप्राचीनायां G 4077 इत्यस्यां एकादशशतकीयमातृकायां पूर्वोक्तं पादद्वयं नोपलभ्यते। अतः पूर्वोक्ता पङ्क्तिः प्रक्षिप्ता स्यादित्यनुमीयते। किन्तु प्रायेण ग्रन्थेषु प्रक्षिप्तश्लोकाः तद्वन्धविषयानुरूपाः भवन्ति, न तु विषयानुरूपाः। शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहे इयं पङ्क्तिः ग्रन्थविषयानुरूपा प्रतीयते। तस्मात् G 4077 इत्यस्याः मातृकायाः लिपिकारः ग्रन्थे प्रवक्तृपरिवर्तनक्लेशम् अनुभूय तन्निवारणाय स्वयमेव ग्रन्थपाठे तस्याः पङ्क्तेः लोपः कृतः स्यात्। अपि च इतरमातृकापेक्षया G 4077 इत्यस्यां मातृकायां केचन असामान्यपाठभेदाः दृश्यन्ते – अध्यायपुष्पिकासु अध्यायानां नामकरणम्, यद् अन्यासु मातृकासु प्रथमाध्यायमेव विहाय अन्येषु अध्यायेषु नोपलभ्यते। अपि च केषुचिद् अध्यायपुष्पिकासु ग्रन्थविभागस्य नाम अध्यायः पटलश्चेति युगपत् कृतो दृश्यते। तत्र उदाहरणम् – पञ्चमाध्यायस्य पुष्पिकायां “इति शिवधर्मसङ्ग्रहे पुष्पविधि-लिङ्गोत्पत्तिः पञ्चमोऽध्यायः पटलः।” इति। तस्मात् G 4077 इत्यस्याः मातृकायाः लिपिकारः अध्यायानां विषयं सम्यगवगम्य अध्यायानां नामकरणं कृतं स्यादिति प्रतीयते। ईदृश्याम् शङ्कायां सत्यां ग्रन्थपाठे पूर्वोक्तपङ्क्तेः लोपम् अकृत्वा पञ्चदशश्लोकात् प्राक् [ब्रह्मोवाच] सप्तदशश्लोकात् प्राक् [देवदेव उवाच] इत्यनयोर्योजनं सम्यग् भवेत्।

**द्वितीयोऽध्यायः** – अध्यायपुष्पिकायां संसारवर्णनमित्यभिधानमस्याध्यायस्य। अध्यायस्य इदं नामकरणं G 4077 इत्यस्यां मातृकायाम् एव उपलभ्यते न तु इतरासु मातृकासु इति पूर्वं सूचितम्। अस्मिन्नध्याये मातृगर्भाद् बालोत्पत्तेरनन्तरं बहुभिः रिपुभिः क्रियमाणानां पीडानां वर्णनं हितैः मनोहारिभिश्च उपदेशवचोभिः क्रियते। मनुष्यः भवदुःखं ज्ञात्वापि कथं तैर्यस्तः भवतीत्यस्य वर्णनम् उपमालङ्कारप्रयोगेण सुन्दरतया वर्णितम्।<sup>2</sup> ते सर्परूपिपरिवः यथा - १. क्षुत् - अनया पीडितः मनुष्यः बहुदुष्कर्माणि करोति। महत्येषा क्षुत्पीडा दण्डकशादिभिस्ताडनपीडामपि

<sup>1</sup> शि. ध. सं - १.२९ तु.च. - ३०

<sup>2</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.२

उत्कर्षति।<sup>1</sup> २. कामः - यदा ग्रासैः कुक्षिः पूर्यते तदा कामः जागर्ति। येन कामेन पीडितः मानवः धर्मशास्त्रादिषु निवृत्तिपूर्वकम् अनित्यस्त्रीसम्बन्धम् अभिनन्दति। प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् स्त्रीणां चरित्रं वर्णयन् धनं हि तासां प्रियतमम् इत्युपदिष्टम्।<sup>2</sup> ३. क्रोधः - अनेन मनुष्यः निःसन्देहं विनाशं प्राप्नोति। क्रोधी जनः स्वस्मिन्नेवाज्ञानं पुष्पाति। तमोरूपि तदज्ञानं शतसूर्या अपि निवारयितुं न शक्नुवन्तीति उपदेशः।<sup>3</sup> ४. लोभः - लोभग्रस्तः धनवान् अपि कस्मै न प्रददाति क्षितौ मृतवज्जीवनं यापयति च। लोभवशादेव परिवारस्थाः पितृपुत्रादयः परस्परं विरुध्यन्ते।<sup>4</sup> ५. मोहः - अयं कामक्रोधादीनां सेनानीः। अस्य वर्णनावसरे मद्यपानस्य द्यूतक्रीडाया आखेटस्य च दोषत्वं प्रतिपाद्यते। प्रसङ्गेऽस्मिन् व्याकरण-साहित्य-न्याय-वेदान्तादीनि शास्त्राणि मोहजनकानीति प्रतिपादितम्।<sup>5</sup> अस्मिन् क्रमे बौद्ध-जैनमतानुयायिनस्तिरस्कृत्य शिवधर्मस्यैव औत्कर्ष्यं प्रतिपादितम्।<sup>6</sup> इत्थम् अध्यायोऽयं भवपीडानिवारणाय शिवधर्मस्य सर्वोत्कर्ष्यं प्रतिपादयति।

**तृतीयोऽध्यायः** - अस्मिन् अध्याये शुक इव संसारपञ्चरे बद्धस्य मोहग्रस्तस्य मानवस्य कालेन वियुक्तानाम् आत्मीयानां लोकान्तरप्राप्त्यनन्तरं प्राप्यानि दुःखानि विव्रियन्ते। असारे संसारेऽस्मिन् सम्बन्धिनोऽपि असाराः, तेऽपि मरणान्ते बान्धवं प्रेतवेतालसंकुलं श्मशानं प्रापयित्वा स्वगृहं सानन्दं प्रत्यागच्छन्ति। अतोऽस्मिन् संसारे सांसारिकसम्पर्कानाम् असारतां प्रतिपादयन् धर्मस्यैव सारत्वं प्रतिपादितम्।<sup>7</sup>

**चतुर्थोऽध्यायः** - पूर्वोक्तविषयस्यानुस्यूतिमावहन् अस्मिन् अध्याये संसारदुःखपीडितमानवेन मरणानन्तरं प्राप्यानां नरकाणां व्याख्यानं क्रियते। अवीच्यादीनाम् अष्टनरकाणाम् इदं व्याख्यानम्, नरकाणां हेतुभूतकर्मणां वर्णनञ्च देव्याः नरकाधारितजिज्ञासायाः प्रशमनाय भगवता एव क्रियते।<sup>8</sup> नरकवर्णनादनन्तरं देव्याः नरकनिवृत्त्युपायपरजिज्ञासया प्रचोदितेन ईश्वरेण धर्मः, अहिंसादयः दश धर्मलक्षणानि, शिवधर्मस्य अष्टाङ्गलक्षणं च विव्रियन्ते। अध्यायेऽस्मिन् नरकवर्णमेव मुख्यविषयः, तस्मात् 'कोः' इत्यस्याः मातृकायाः अध्यायपुष्पिकायाम् उल्लिखितं 'नरकवर्णनम्' इति अस्याध्यायस्याभिधानं निर्दोषं भवेत्।

<sup>1</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.१६

<sup>2</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.५१

<sup>3</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.७०

<sup>4</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.८१

<sup>5</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.११४

<sup>6</sup> शि.ध.सं - २.१७९

<sup>7</sup> शि.ध.सं - ३.५७

<sup>8</sup> शि.ध.सं - ४.२७ - २९ प्र. द्वि.

**पञ्चमोऽध्यायः** – अस्मिन् अध्यायेऽज्ञानार्जितपापध्वंसनसाधनानां दानधर्मादीनामौत्कर्ष्य प्रतिपाद्य ऋषीणां जिज्ञासायां लिङ्गार्चनस्य सविस्तरं वर्णनं क्रियते। लिङ्गार्चनप्रसङ्गे दध्यादिभिः द्रव्यैः अशोककर्णिकारादिभिः पुष्पैः वस्त्रालंकारादिनैवेद्यप्रदानैः गवादिपशुदानैर्लेपनसम्मार्जनादिभिः गीतनृत्यवाद्यादिभिश्च लिङ्गस्नपनस्य, कृष्णाष्टम्यां कृष्णचतुर्दश्याञ्च जागरस्य च फलानि प्रोच्यन्ते। एतानि पुण्यफलानि वर्णयित्वा विषयानुस्यूतित्वाद् लिङ्गोत्पत्तिं तन्महिमानञ्च प्रतिपाद्य एकया कथया अस्याध्यायस्य समाप्तिर्भवति। सा च कथा<sup>1</sup> - एकदा संसारस्य कर्तृपदमुररीकृत्य ब्रह्मविष्णोः कलहे जाते जले पर्वाङ्गुष्ठप्रमाणस्य तेजोमयलिङ्गस्याविर्भावः जातः। तद्वद्वा चकितौ तौ वर्धमानस्याद्भुतलिङ्गस्य व्याप्तिं ज्ञातुम् अधः ऊर्ध्वं च अगच्छताम्। परन्तु लिङ्गस्याद्यन्तौ अज्ञात्वा खिन्नौ तौ प्रत्यागत्य अर्चनया शिवं सन्तुष्टयामासतुः। तेन सन्तुष्टो हरः तौ स्वाभीष्टवरप्रार्थनाय आदिदेश। अथ विष्णुना उपदिष्टः ब्रह्मा पुत्रोत्पत्तेः वरम् अयाचत। परन्तु वरोऽयं हरस्याननुरूपत्वाद्विषणुः स्वभूर्विष्णुम् “अप्रजो भव” इत्युक्त्वा शशाप। पश्चाद् ब्रह्मणा शप्तः विष्णुः महेश्वरं शापमोचनोपायं पप्रच्छ। परन्तु ब्रह्मणा दत्तं शापं सम्पूर्णं वितथीकर्तुं स्वस्यायोग्यतां प्रकटयन् शापस्य शिथिलीकरणोपायम् उपदिष्टवान्। पश्चाद् महेश्वरः विष्णुं स्वाभिष्टवरं ददौ। अत उपरोक्तविषयाणामाधारेण G 4077 इत्यस्याः मातृकायाः अध्यायपुष्पिकायाम् अस्याध्यायस्य अभिधानं ‘पुष्पविधि-लिङ्गोत्पत्तिः’ इति निर्दिष्टम्।

**षष्ठोऽध्यायः** - अस्याध्यायस्य प्रारम्भः ऋषीणां लिङ्गनिर्माण-स्थापनविषयाधारिताया जिज्ञासायाः प्रशमनार्थं नन्दिकेश्वरस्य बहुविधलिङ्गानां निर्माणस्थापनयोर्व्याख्यानेन भवति।<sup>2</sup> विषयानुस्यूतिरूपेण बाह् कालिङ्गार्चनस्य सविस्तरं वर्णनं कृत्वा तिल-कृष्णाजिन-सुवर्ण-गो-भवादीनां बहुविधदानानां माहात्म्यं देव्याः तदा तदा कृतप्रश्नप्रशमनार्थं भगवता महेश्वरेण वर्णितम्। बाह् कालिङ्गार्चनप्रसङ्गे सद्योजात-वामदेव-अघोर-तत्पुरुष-ईशानेत्येतेषां बीजमन्त्राणां प्रयोगः उपदिश्यते। तस्मात् G 4077 इत्यस्याः मातृकायाः अध्यायपुष्पिकायां निर्दिष्टं ‘दानधर्मम्’ इति अस्याध्यायस्य अभिधानं युक्तियुक्तं भवेत्।

**सप्तमोऽध्यायः** - अध्यायेऽस्मिन् देव्याः जिज्ञासायां भगवता तीर्थधर्म उपदिश्यते। अस्मिन् तीर्थधर्मोपदेशप्रसङ्गे तीर्थस्नानस्य, तीर्थेषु अनशनस्य, उचितनक्षत्रेषु दानस्य, पर्वसु दानपरिमाणस्य च फलानि वर्णितानि। तस्मादस्याध्यायस्य तीर्थधर्मवर्णनमित्यभिधानं युक्तियुक्तं भवेत्।

<sup>1</sup> शि.घ.सं - ५.१३५ - १५६

<sup>2</sup> शि.घ.सं - ६.१

**अष्टमोऽध्यायः-** अस्मिन् अध्याये कथं कञ्च देवमाश्रित्य उपवासस्य फलं महद्भवतीति देव्याः जिज्ञासायां भगवता तिथिक्रमेण देवतापूजनस्य सविस्तरं वर्णनं क्रियते।<sup>1</sup> तद्यथा –

ब्रह्मापूजनम् - प्रतिपदायाम्	अग्निपूजनम् – द्वितीयायाम्	यक्षपूजनम् – तृतीयायाम्
गणेशपूजनम् – चतुर्थ्याम्	नागपूजनम् – पञ्चम्याम्	स्कन्दपूजनम् – षष्ठ्याम्
सूर्यपूजनम् - सप्तम्याम्	शिवपूजनम् – अष्टम्याम्	महादेवीपूजनम् – नवम्याम्
यमपूजनम् – दशम्याम्	धर्मदेवतापूजनम् – एकादश्याम्	केशवपूजनम् – द्वादश्याम्
अनङ्गपूजनम् – त्रयोदश्याम्	देव-शिव-पूजनम् – चतुर्दश्याम्	पितृगणपूजनम् – अमावास्यायाम्
चन्द्रपूजनम् - पूर्णिमायाम्		

अनन्तरं तिथ्यनुसारिदानानां वर्णनेन अध्यायोऽयं समाप्तिं याति।

**नवमोऽध्यायः-** अयं ग्रन्थस्य लघुतमोऽध्यायः। अस्मिन् कोऽयं वेदधर्मः कथञ्चास्य कर्तव्यतेति देव्याः पार्वत्याः प्रश्नस्योत्तररूपेण भगवता शिवेन स्वर्गापवर्गयोः साधनभूतः वेदालम्बनरूपः धर्मः वर्णितः।<sup>2</sup> अतोऽस्याध्यायस्य वेदधर्मवर्णनमिति नामकरणं सार्थकं भवेत्।

**दशमोऽध्यायः-** पूर्वाध्यायेषु अखिलान् धर्मान् श्रुत्वा अध्यायेऽस्मिन् धर्मानुसारिणां शरीरपातादनन्तरं प्राप्यानां लोकान्तराणां द्वीपान्तराणां च विषये देव्याः जिज्ञासायाः प्रशमनाय शिवेन पातालादनुपूर्वशः लोकानां सविस्तरं वर्णनं कृतम्।<sup>3</sup>

**एकादशोऽध्यायः -** अध्यायेऽस्मिन् सप्तानां लोकानां<sup>4</sup> वर्णनमुपलभ्यते। तत्र भूर्लोकस्य विस्तरशः वर्णनावसरे वर्षाणां नामाधिपत्यस्य वर्णनं वर्तते।<sup>5</sup> इत्थं स्वायम्भुवो मनोः वंशानुक्रमं वर्णयित्वा तस्य पुत्राणां पृथिव्यां भिन्नभूखण्डेषु आधिपत्यम्, तेषां नामान्यधिकृत्य भूखण्डानां नामकरणविषयश्च वर्णितः। अनन्तरं तेषां भूखण्डानां तत्रस्थानां जनानाञ्च लक्षणं वर्णितम्। अस्मिन् क्रमे ‘गङ्गा का?’ इति देव्याः जिज्ञासायां भगवता गङ्गाया यत्परिचयं दत्तं तद् रमणीयम् अश्रुतपूर्वञ्च वर्तते।<sup>6</sup> अन्ते अन्येषां लोकानां सारगर्भं संक्षेपञ्च वर्णनं वर्तते।

<sup>1</sup> शि.घ.सं - ८.१

<sup>2</sup> शि.घ.सं - ९.१

<sup>3</sup> शि.घ.सं - १०.१ – २

<sup>4</sup> भूर्लोकः (पृथिवी-अधोलोकः), भुवर्लोकः, स्वर्लोकः, महर्लोकः, जनलोकः, तपोलोकः, सत्यलोकश्चेति।

<sup>5</sup> शि.घ.सं - ११.१ – ३

<sup>6</sup> शि.घ.सं – ११.४४ - ५३

**द्वादशोऽध्यायः** - पूर्वाध्याये सप्तानां लोकानां सविस्तरं वर्णनं श्रुत्वा ऋषयः लोकान्तरेषु जिज्ञासवः जाताः। अतः ऋषयः वायुदेवं लोकान्तरपरप्रश्ने<sup>1</sup> पृष्टे वायुदेवेन कृतात्मभिः योगप्रत्यक्षदर्शिभिः ऋषिभिः प्रत्याहारेण ध्यानेन तपसा च दृष्टस्य सूक्ष्मभगवत्तत्त्वस्य ब्रह्मलोकस्य शिवलोकस्य च वर्णनं कृतम्।

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