

# **BLOOM n' SHINE**

*A Collection of Research Papers & Articles*



**Nirmal Haloi College**

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*A Collection of Research Papers & Articles*



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## PREFACE

*"Intuition is only the higher stage of intelligence, intelligence rid of its separative and discursive tendencies. While it liberates from the prejudices of the understanding, it carries our intellectual conclusions to a deeper synthesis. Instead of being an unnatural and mysterious process, it is a deeper experience, which by supplementing our narrow intellectual visions, amplifies it."*

**Dr. S. Radhakrishnan**

Bloom and Shine is the first attempt of N.H. College Publication Cell on behalf of the college totality. Bloom and Shine is basically a collection of research papers produced by the faculty members of N.H. College only. We feel proud to say publication attempt has got tremendous positive response as a result Twenty One papers have been contributed out of 24 teachers faculties. It is really a striking one in case of the academic aspect of the faculty members.

We are grateful to Dr. Girish Sarma, former Head of the Department of Philosophy, Gauhati University, Dr. S.E. Bhelke, former Head and Dr. Late Sartre professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Pune for their inspiration and valuable guidance. Sri Dharanidhar Roy, retired Principal, Haflong Govt. College and Chairman of the Governing Body, N.H. College is the key person in the whole process for which he deserves honour.

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All the contributors of college family deserve utmost credit for this publication.

**Dr. Bhupesh Sarma**  
**Principal**  
**N.H.College, Patacharkuchi**

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# Sabdārtha and Vakyārtha in Classical Indian Philosophy

*Dr. Bhupesh Sarma*  
*Principal, N.H. College*

The central problem in the philosophy of language is that of meaning. How to determine the meaning of word and sentences and what they mean are the basic questions in linguistic analysis. The objective of linguistic analysis in Indian tradition is to comprehend the meaning of Vedic sentences as well as the sentences of everyday life. The sentences are the units of language and they are constituted by words. Hence the meaning of words has occupied an important position together with the meaning of sentences. The philosopher belonging to different schools put forward different explanations regarding the meaning of words and sentences. The grammarians again have different opinions and all these discussions and views with difference in attitude enrich linguistic analysis in Indian philosophy.

Samkhya, the oldest system of Indian philosophy also joins in the discussion of the primary meaning of a word. Whether a word means an individual (vyakti) or universal (jati) or a particular form (Akriti) is the central issue in the discussion about the meaning of a word. The Samkhya philosophers hold that a word denotes an individual (vyakti)<sup>1</sup>. An individual is a composite material body which possesses specific properties. As the possessor of the qualities like colour, taste, smell, touch etc, it is a substance. The individual is manifested and open to sense perception. In other words the individual is quantitatively determined matter and must have a manifest body.<sup>2</sup> This view that word

denotes individual becomes evident from the ordinary usage like 'that cow stands' etc. This statement refers to an individual cow not genus or universal. The reference to any individual object can be explained only with the view that words denote individuals.

But this view is not proper and sufficient to explain the meaning of a word. If a word denotes only the individual without universal then any word could mean any and every individual which is not justifiable. A word, in order to mean a particular individual, must somehow refer to a class or universal. The expression 'that cow stands' denotes only the 'cow' not any other like horse etc. Hence the property of being that object, e.g. being a cow or cowness must be implicitly there in the expression and this property or cowness is the universal. On this very ground the Naiyayikas reject this view and hold that a word means not only the individual but also the generality of being that particular individual. According to them the words by themselves do not mean individuals alone; they mean individuals as possessing or belonging to universal. The words may refer to individuals as the individuals are associated with the primary meaning which is universal.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Jainas a word denotes the particular form or configuration of individuals.<sup>4</sup> The form of a thing consists in the particular arrangement of its component parts and the constituent particles of this parts. The form of a thing is that which indicates generality and its characteristics. It distinguishes one thing from another. The 'cow' is distinguished by its form from other animals. A word expresses a form or configuration in space and denotes object. This form determines the nature of the object and also the individuality of object. Sabara, the Mimamsa philosopher also speaks of configuration as the meaning; but this configuration is not only spatial as held by the Jainas. Configuration in Sabara includes the universal essence of objects; while the Jainas admit only individual configuration. This view of the Jainas has been

criticised on the ground that the form by itself is not sufficient to constitute the nature of a thing. For example, the clay model of a cow is not what is meant by a cow although it possesses the form of a cow. Therefore, it can not be granted that a word means only the form or physical shape of an individual apart from its class-essence.

The Mimamsakas and Vedantists hold that a word means the class-character or genus of individuals. This genus is the basis of similar cognitions with regard to different individuals. Words primarily mean such universal as distinguished from the particulars of experience and at the same time capable of explaining the particulars by way of the knowledge of the genus. If a word means the individual then it must have as many meanings as there are individuals meant by it. This, however goes against the law of parsimony which requires that a word primarily mean universal and also refers to individuals; because universal and individual are inseparable in respect of both knowledge and existence. Whenever the universal is known the individuals are also known simultaneously. In other words the universal and the individual may be said to be the primary and secondary meaning respectively. The word 'cow' means 'cowness' as well as the individual possessing the attribute of cowness.

The Nyaya philosophers hold that a word means the universal, the individual and the configuration at a time.<sup>5</sup> Mere universals are not the meaning of words since they can not be understood apart from individuals and their particular form. The same is the case with the individual and configuration. Hence the Naiyayikas hold that these three together constitute the meaning of a word. It cannot be said that the word directly means the universal and indirectly the individual, for the word has only one primary meaning. All the three factors enter into the full meaning of a word which does not exclusively mean any of them. In the meaning of a word all these three factors, -the universal, the form



and the universal, are present in the same way though with different degrees of prominence. Among the modern Naiyayikas, two different views are found regarding the meaning of a word. Some modern Naiyayiks hold that a word means an individual as characterised by the universal,<sup>6</sup> while others hold it means an individual as qualified by both the universal and the configuration.<sup>7</sup> From this it may be concluded that the meaning of word has three aspects- the pictorial, the denotative and the connotative. When uttered, a word calls up the form, denotes the individual and connotes the universal (genus).

The words constitute sentence (vakya). Like the problem of meaning of words, the meaning of sentence also becomes a philosophical issue. What the meaning of a sentence is, by which the meaning of sentence is determined, and what the relation between the words and the meaning of sentence is, are the fundamental questions in this regard. As answer to such questions we find two different theories in Indian philosophy- abhihanavayavada and anvaitabhidhanavada. According to abhihanavayavada, the separate meanings of the constituent words determine the meaning of the sentence. This theory is advocated by the nyaya, Bhattamimamsa and Vedanta system. The meaning of a sentence, according to them, is merely the synthesis (anvaya) of the meaning of constituent words. After going through a sentence, the meaning of words is understood first one by one and then by patting them together according to yogyata, sannidhi, akansa and tatparya, the meaning of the whole sentence is understood. The other view i.e., anvaitabhi dhanavada holds that the meaning of a sentence is not merely the synthesis of the meaning of constituent words. A sentence possesses a unitary meaning of its own and it cannot be resolved to the complex meaning at its own. Every sentence means an action and words possess meaning only as they are related to that action. This action or verb is the central unit of a sentence and all other words develop the action. Hence in a sentence,

there is first a construction of the words with one another and then an expression of the construed meaning of the whole sentence. There is, however, difference of opinion among the propounds of this theory. The Prabhakara Mimamsakas and the grammarians. According to the grammarians the constituent words have no separate meanings of their own. On the contrary, the Prabhakaras hold that the constituent words perform two-fold functions. They convey both the separate meaning and the construed meaning of sentence. The meaning of sentence, according to the Prabhakaras, is neither an aggregate of nor quite independent of the separate meanings of words. The sentence is in fact, a new combination of the individual meanings of the words and conveys a new meaning. Supporting this prof. S.C. Chatterjee says, "Of the different views about the meaning of a sentence, that of the Prabhakaras seems to be the best."<sup>8</sup> Again Bertrand Russell's view goes in favour of abhihanavayavada when he writes, "a sentence may consist of a single word, or a wink; but generally it consists of several words. In that case it has a meaning which is a function of the meaning of the separate words and their order."<sup>9</sup> The problem of meaning of words and sentences thus becomes central issue in the philosophy of language in Indian tradition also. •

#### References :

1. Nyayabhasya, 2.2.57.; Vivaranaprameyasamgraha, P. 181.
2. Nyaya Sutra, 2.2.64.
3. Nyayabhasya, 2.2.58-59
4. Vivaranaprameyasamgraha, p.181
5. Nyayasutra & Nyaya bhasys, .. 62-63.
6. Dinakari on Siddhantamuktavali, 81.
7. Sadbasaktiprakasika, 19.
8. S.C. Chatterjee; Nyaya Theory of Knowledge, p.343.
9. Russell, B; An Outline of Philosophy, p. 266

## ভগৱান শ্ৰীশ্ৰীবিষ্ণু : এক চমু অধ্যয়ন

ড° প্ৰবোধ চন্দ্ৰ গোস্বামী  
মুৰব্বী ও সহযোগী অধ্যাপক,  
সংস্কৃত বিভাগ, নিৰ্মল হাট্টে মহাবিদ্যালয়

“ঔ নাৰায়নায় বিদ্বহে বাসুদেবায় ধীমহি তন্নো বিষ্ণুঃ প্ৰচোদয়াৎ।”  
(আমি নাৰায়ণক পূজা কৰোঁ, বাসুদেবক ধ্যান কৰোঁ, আৰু ইয়াতেই বিষ্ণু আমাৰ সহায় হওঁক।)

ধৰ্মই বিশ্বক ধাৰণ কৰে আৰু দেৱ, মনুষ্যাদিৰ পৰিপুষ্টি সাধন কৰে। ধৰ্ম সকলোৰে  
আধাৰ। আধাৰ নহ'লে আধেয় থাকিব নোৱাৰে। ধৰ্মৰ বল অসীম। ধৰ্মৰ কনিকা এটায়ো এই বিশ্ব  
ব্ৰহ্মাণ্ডক ৰক্ষা কৰে। পৃথিৱীৰ আকৰ্ষন-বিকৰ্ষন, চন্দ্ৰ-সূৰ্য্য, গ্ৰহ-নক্ষত্ৰাদিৰ প্ৰকাশ, অগ্নিৰ দাহিকা  
শক্তি আদি ধৰ্মৰ বলতে অক্ষুণ্ণ থাকে। ভগৱতী বিশ্বেশ্বৰী আৰু বিশ্বনাথ মহাবিষ্ণুই হৈছে সকলো  
বল শক্তিৰ আধাৰ। আমাৰ এই অধ্যয়ন হৈছে জগতৰ মূলাধাৰস্বৰূপ 'শ্ৰী শ্ৰী বিষ্ণু'। কিয়নো, এই  
ভগৱান বিষ্ণু হৈছে আমি সকলোৰে একমাত্ৰ আশ্ৰয় আৰু এই দুঃখময় সংসাৰৰ পৰা উদ্ধাৰ  
কৰোঁতা।

“ভৱজলধিগতানাং দ্বন্দ্ববাতাহতানাং সূতদুহিত্ৰিকলএত্ৰানভাৰ্দিতানাম্।

বিষমবিষয়তোয়ে মজ্জতামপ্লৱানাং ভবতি শৰণমেকো বিষ্ণুপোতো নৰানাম্।।”

(ভৱ সাগৰত মজি থকা, সুখ-দুখৰূপ দ্বন্দ্ববাতৰদ্বাৰা আহত, পুত্ৰকন্যা-ভাৰ্য্যাৰ ভৰণপোষণৰূপ  
ভাৰাত্ৰান্ত, বিষমবিষয়জলত ডুবগৈ কক্ বকাই থকা সংসাৰী মানুহৰ বাবে ভগৱান শ্ৰীবিষ্ণু  
নৌকাই একমাত্ৰ আশ্ৰয়।)

“অবিনয়মপনয় বিষেণ দময় মনঃ শময় বিষয়মৃগতৃষণম্।

ভূতাদয়াং বিজ্ঞাৰয় সজ্জনসঙ্গতি কাৰয়তাৰয় সংসাৰ সাগৰতঃ।।”

(হে বিষ্ণু, মোৰ অবিনয় দূৰ কৰা, মনক সংযমী কৰা, বিষয়ৰূপ মৃগতৃষণৰ অন্ত পেলোৱা,  
জীৱৰ প্ৰতি অন্তৰত দয়াভাৱ বঢ়োৱা আৰু সজ্জনৰ সঙ্গ কৰাই সংসাৰ সাগৰৰ পৰা উদ্ধাৰ

কৰা।)

বিষ্ণু শব্দটো বিষ্ ধাতুৰ লগত নুক্ প্ৰত্যয় সংযোজিত কৰি নিষ্পন্ন কৰা হৈছে। বিষ্ণুশব্দৰ নিৰ্বাচন  
হৈছে বিশ্বক ব্যাপ্ত কৰা অৰ্থাৎ এই জগতখন বিয়পি থকা। কোনো কোনোৱে “বিশ্বপ্ৰৱেশনে”  
অৰ্থাৎ প্ৰৱেশ কৰা অৰ্থবোধক ‘বিশ্’ ধাতুৰ পৰাও “বিষ্ণু” শব্দৰ ব্যুৎপত্তি দেখুৱাইছে। তৈত্তিৰীয়  
উপনিষদত পোৱা যায় যে- “সৃষ্টি কৰি তেওঁ পিছত তাতেই প্ৰৱেশ কৰিলে।” পদ্মপুৰাণত বিষ্ণুক  
প্ৰকৃতিত ব্যাপ্ত ঈশ্বৰ বোলা হৈছে— “স এৱ ভগৱান্ বিষ্ণুঃ প্ৰকৃত্যাম্ আবিৰেশহ।” আকৌ  
বিষ্ণুপুৰাণত কোৱা আছে—

“যস্মাদ্বিশ্বমিদং সৰ্বং তস্য শক্ত্যা মহাত্মনঃ

তস্মাদেৱোচ্যতে বিষ্ণুৰ্বিশ্বধাতোঃ প্ৰৱেশনাৎ।।”

অৰ্থাৎ যিজন সৰ্বব্যাপী তেওঁৰেই নাম বিষ্ণু- “বিষ্ণুব্যাপকত্বাৎ।” মুঠতে বিষ্ণুৰে সমগ্ৰ  
বিশ্বতে পৰিব্যাপ্ত হৈ সমগ্ৰবিশ্বখন তেৱেই নিয়ন্ত্ৰণ কৰিছে- এই ভাৱ ভাৰতীয় ধৰ্মৰ ধাৰাত স্বীকৃত  
হৈছে।

বিষ্ণুৰ অসীম শক্তিৰ কথা যদিও ঋগ্বেদতেই প্ৰথমতে উল্লেখ কৰা হৈছে তথাপিও  
আনবেদসমূহতো ইয়াৰ উল্লেখ পোৱা যায়। ঋগ্বেদত ১০৪ বাৰ, সামবেদত ২৪ বাৰ, যজুৰ্বেদত  
৫৯ বাৰ আৰু অথৰ্ববেদত ৬৬ বাৰ, মুঠতে ২৫৩ বাৰ বিষ্ণুৰ উল্লেখ এই চাৰিবেদত পোৱা যায়।  
বৈদিকযুগৰ বৈদিক সাহিত্যত ভগৱান বিষ্ণুৰ মহত্ব আৰু উপাস্যতা প্ৰতিপাদিত হৈছে। বিষ্ণুৰ  
মহাত্ম্য পৰবৰ্ত্তী কালত ৰামায়ণ, মহাভাৰতৰ অন্তৰ্গত শ্ৰীমদ্ভাগৱদগীতা আৰু শান্তিপৰ্ব্বৰ নাৰায়ণীয়  
অধ্যায়ত বহুলভাৱে বৰ্ণিত হৈছে। পুৰাণৰ যুগত অগ্নি, মৎস্য, কুৰ্ম, বিষ্ণু, পদ্ম, স্কন্দ, শ্ৰীমদ্ভাগৱত  
আদি পুৰাণসমূহত বিষ্ণুৰ মহিমা অন্তহীনভাৱে বৰ্ণনা কৰা হৈছে। আনকি পৰবৰ্ত্তীকালৰ ভাৰতীয়  
মহাকাব্য, নাটক, কথা-আখ্যায়িকা আদিতো বিষ্ণুৰ মহাত্ম্য আৰু শক্তিৰ কথা বহুলভাৱে উল্লিখিত  
হৈছে।

বিষ্ণুৰ ব্যাপকত্ব আৰু মহত্ব ইমান দৃঢ় হৈছিল যে বিভিন্ন গ্ৰন্থত বিভিন্ন কালত বিষ্ণুক  
ভিন্ন নামেৰে ভক্তসকলে অভিহিত কৰি অতি আনন্দিত হৈছিল। সেই কাৰণেই মহাভাৰত আৰু  
পদ্মপুৰাণৰ উমামহেশ্বৰ সংবাদত বিষ্ণুৰ সহস্ৰনামৰ মহাত্ম্য কীৰ্তিত হোৱা দেখা যায়— “ঔ  
বাসুদেৱঃ পৰমব্ৰহ্মা পৰমাত্মা পৰাৎপৰঃ। পৰংধাম পৰংজ্যোতিঃ..... সিংহোমুগেদ্রোনাগেদ্রো  
বাসুকীৰ্বৰোন্পঃ। বৰ্ণশোভ্ৰান্মানশ্ৰেষ্ঠঃ কৰুণাপ্ৰ্যং নমোনমঃ।।” ইতি। সচৰাচৰ বিষ্ণুক বাৰটা বিশেষ

নামেৰেও জনা যায়। সেই নামসমূহ হ'ল — কেশৱ, নাৰায়ণ, মাধৱ, গোবিন্দ, বিষ্ণু, মধুসূদন  
ত্রিবিক্রম, বামন, শ্ৰীধৰ, হৃষিকেশ, পদ্মনাভ আৰু দমোদৰ। এই নামসমূহ উচ্চাৰণ কৰি ভিন্নভাৱে  
ভক্তই ভিন্নসময়ত নিজৰ মুক্তিৰ পথ বিচাৰি পাইছিল।

পুৰাণত বৰ্ণিত হোৱা বামন অৱতাৰৰ মূল উৎস হৈছে ঋগ্বেদ। ভগৱান বিষ্ণুৱে বামন  
অৱতাৰৰূপে ভূতলত অৱতীৰ্ণ হৈ মাত্ৰ তিনিটা খোজেৰে ত্ৰিভুবন ব্যাপ্ত কৰি বলিক ছলনা কৰা  
কাহিনী আছে। এই কাহিনীৰ মূল উৎস হৈছে ঋগ্বেদৰ বিষ্ণুসূক্ত। বেদৰ মধ্যাহ্ন মাতৃস্তৰ (দুপৰীয়া  
সূৰ্য্য) নাম বিষ্ণু। দুপৰীয়াৰ সূৰ্য্যৰ আকাৰ ক্ষুদ্ৰতম। বামনৰূপৰ আকৃতিও ক্ষুদ্ৰ। সূৰ্য্যৰ এই ক্ষুদ্ৰৰূপে  
হৈছে বামনৰূপ। মধ্যাহ্নৰ সূৰ্য্যৰ আকাৰ ক্ষুদ্ৰ হ'লেও প্ৰচণ্ড প্ৰতাপী। সেইদৰে বামন অৱতাৰে  
বাহ্যিক ক্ষুদ্ৰৰূপ ধাৰণ কৰিলেও প্ৰতাপত অদ্বিতীয় অখণ্ড। “ইদং বিষ্ণুৰ্বিচক্ৰমে ত্ৰেধা নিদে  
পদম্।” ঋগ্বেদৰ এই বিষ্ণুমন্ত্ৰৰ ব্যাখ্যাৰূপে একেলে এইদৰে অৰ্থ উপস্থাপন কৰিছে— সূৰ্য্যৰ প্ৰথম  
পদক্ষেপ হৈছে উদয়াচলত দ্বিতীয় পদক্ষেপ হৈছে মধ্যাহ্ন সময়ত (অৰ্থাৎ যেতিয়া সূৰ্য্যই মাতৃ  
আকাশত বিৰাজ কৰে), আৰু তৃতীয় পদক্ষেপ হৈছে অস্তাচলত। এইদৰে তিনিটা খোজত সূৰ্য্যই  
সমগ্ৰ বিশ্ব আয়ত্ত কৰে। সেইবাবে সূৰ্য্যৰূপ বিষ্ণুৰ আন এটা নাম হৈছে ত্ৰিবিক্রম। শাকপুনি নাম  
প্ৰাচীন নিৰুক্তকাৰৰ মতে বিষ্ণুৰ তিনিটা পদক্ষেপ পোহৰৰ তিনিটা ৰূপৰ প্ৰতীকহে মাথোন।  
পৃথিৱীত অগ্নি, অন্তৰীক্ষত বিদ্যুৎ আৰু দ্যুলোকত সূৰ্য্য। ওৰ্ণনাভ নামৰ আন এজন নিৰুক্তকাৰ  
মতে ব্যাপনশীল বিষ্ণু সূৰ্য্যৰ বাহিৰে অন্য একো নহয়। এই তিনিটা পদক্ষেপ হৈছে প্ৰাতঃকাল,  
মধ্যাহ্নকাল আৰু সায়ংকালৰ সূৰ্য্যৰ প্ৰতীক। আনহাতে শ্ৰীমদভগবদগীতাতো কৃষ্ণকপী  
চৰমসত্ত্বাটোৱে হাজাৰ হাজাৰ ৰূপৰ ভিতৰত নিজকে আদিত্য তথা সূৰ্য্যবুলি অভিহিত কৰিছে—  
“আদিত্যানামহং বিষ্ণুঃ।”

পশ্য মে পাৰ্থ! ৰূপানি শতশোহত্ব সহশ্ৰশঃ।

নানাবিধানি দিব্যানি নানাবৰ্ণকৃতীনি চ।।

পশ্যাতিত্যান্ বসূন্ ৰুদ্ৰানশ্বিনৌ মৰুতস্তথা।

বহূন্যদৃষ্ট পূৰ্বানি পশ্যাশ্চৰ্য্যানি ভাৰত।। (গীতা ১১/৫-৬)

(হে পাৰ্থ, মোৰ শ শ, হাজাৰ হাজাৰ ৰূপ চোৱা। এই ৰূপ নানা প্ৰকাৰৰ দিব্য, বিভিন্ন বৰ্ণ আৰু  
আকৃতিপূৰ্ণ।

হে ভাৰত, আদিত্য, বসু, ৰুদ্ৰ, দুই অশ্বিনী আৰু মৰুত চোৱা, বহু অদৃষ্টপূৰ্ণ আশ্চৰ্য্যও চোৱা।।)

বেদৰ বহুদেৱবাদৰ সময়ত অসংখ্য দেৱতাৰ মাজত বিষ্ণুৰ প্ৰাধান্য অগ্নি, ইন্দ্ৰাদি  
দেৱতাৰদৰে নাছিল। বেদত বিষ্ণুক ইন্দ্ৰৰ সহায়কাৰী বিশিষ্ট বন্ধুৰূপে পোৱা যায়। কিন্তু পুৰাণসমূহত  
বিষ্ণুক মূলৰূপে অংকন কৰা হৈছে। আনকি বিষ্ণুমূৰ্ত্তিৰো কল্পনা কৰা হৈছে। বেদৰ বিষ্ণুৰ সৈতে  
পুৰাণৰ বিষ্ণুৰ কোনোধৰণৰ ৰূপৰ সাদৃশ্য নাথাকিলেও গুণগত সাদৃশ্য পোৱা যায়। প্ৰজাপতি  
হিচাপে বিষ্ণুৰ তিনিটা ৰূপ। প্ৰথমতে সক্ৰিয়া স্ৰষ্টাৰূপে ব্ৰহ্মা, দ্বিতীয়তে পালকৰূপে বিষ্ণু আৰু  
তৃতীয়তে লয় তথা ধ্বংসৰ কাৰণৰূপে মহেশ্বৰ। দেৱীভাগৱততো এই কথাৰ উল্লেখ পোৱা যায়  
আৰু দেৱীভাগৱতমতে মহামায়াই সত্ত্বগুণৰ পৰা বিষ্ণুক, ৰজোগুণৰ পৰা ব্ৰহ্মাক আৰু তমোগুণৰ  
পৰা শিৱক সৃষ্টিকৰি, সৃষ্টি, পালন আৰু সংহাৰৰ দায়িত্ব দি সকলোৰে মাজত বিষ্ণুক প্ৰধান দেৱতাৰূপে  
স্বীকৃতি দিছে।

পুৰাণ অনুসৰি বিষ্ণুৱে মহৰ্ষি কাশ্যপৰ ঔৰষত আৰু আদিত্যৰ গৰ্ভত জন্মগ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল।  
তপোবলৰ দ্বাৰা দেৱতাসকলৰ মাজত তেওঁ শ্ৰেষ্ঠত্ব লাভ কৰিছিল। তেওঁৰ স্ত্ৰী হৈছে লক্ষ্মী,  
তেওঁৰ প্ৰসিদ্ধ বাহন গৰুড় আৰু প্ৰসিদ্ধ অস্ত্ৰ হৈছে সুদৰ্শন চক্ৰ। এই জগতখনেই হৈছে বিষ্ণুৰ  
শৰীৰ।

ভাৰতবৰ্ষত বিষ্ণুৰ পূজা-পাৰ্বন আদি বহুকাল আগৰ পৰাই প্ৰচলিত হৈ আহিছে। অসমতো  
ইয়াৰ ব্যতিক্ৰম নহয়। বিষ্ণু হৈছে পূৰ্ণব্ৰহ্ম অৱতাৰ। পৃথিৱীত হোৱা অধৰ্মক বিনাশী ধৰ্মক সংস্থাপন  
কৰিবলৈ এই ভগৱান বিষ্ণুৱে মৎস্য, কূৰ্ম, বামন আদি দশ অৱতাৰ ধাৰণ কৰিছিল আৰু জগতৰ  
সকলোকে বিপদৰ পৰা ৰক্ষা কৰিছিল। এই বিষ্ণুক মানুহে জগতৰ য'তেই যিধৰণে বিচাৰে তাতেই  
তেওঁক সেই ধৰণেই পাবলৈ সক্ষম হয়। কিয়নো, এই মহান সত্ত্বাটোৱে জীৱ আৰু জগতৰ  
কল্যানসাধনৰ উদ্দেশ্যেই নিজৰ কাৰ্য্য সম্পাদন কৰি যায়। সেয়েহে বিষ্ণুৰ অনুগতসকলে তেওঁৰ  
উদ্দেশ্যে পূজা-পাঠ, যাগ-যজ্ঞ আদি সম্পাদন কৰি জগতৰ কল্যান সাধন কৰা দেখা যায়। সেয়েহে  
কঠোপনিষদত কোৱা হৈছে যে সংযত ইন্দ্ৰিয়ৰ ব্যক্তিসকলে সংসাৰৰ অজ্ঞান-সুখ-দুঃখ-মৃত্যুময়  
মানৱজীৱন অতিক্ৰম কৰি বিষ্ণুৰ পৰমপদ অৰ্থাৎ সচ্চিদানন্দময় ব্ৰহ্মলোক পাব পাৰে।

**প্ৰসঙ্গ গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী :**

ঋগ্বেদ, সামবেদ, যজুৰ্বেদ, অথৰ্ববেদ, উপনিষদ, বামায়ন, মহাভাৰত, শ্ৰীমদ্ভগবদগীতা, পুৰাণ,  
দেৱীভাগৱত, আৰু অন্যান্য বহুতো প্ৰৱন্ধ।

## Humanistic Attitude in Rabindranath Tagore's Philosophy

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"Tagore was the greatest figure of the modern Indian renaissance. A poet of his qualities we have not had for some generations. He was a great prophet and wise counsellor and a guide for our future destiny." This is the homage paid by Dr. Radhakrishnan to the great poet Rabindranath Tagore in his birth centenary, 1961. Tagore is not only a great poet but also a mystic philosopher and a spiritual humanist of international repute. He is a firm believer in the evolution of man to a higher destiny. He stresses the ideal of human unity.

Tagore's philosophy would not be complete without making a mention of his humanistic beliefs. His humanistic attitude pervades all aspects of his thought, and yet, he does not allow it to fall down to the status of narrow anthropomorphism.

Tagore humanises not only nature and objects but also god. At times man is raised higher to the status of god, at other times, god is brought down to man so far as divinity is said to be discernible in the heart of man. Tagore's god is somehow god and man at the same time and he asserts that "if this faith be blamed for being anthropomorphic, man is to be blamed for being man."<sup>2</sup>

The humanism of Tagore is just the application of the belief that feeling anything as human- in the human way is a source of joy. It is the

human mind that reveals the meaning and significance of things. Tagore's 'Idealism' is humanistic. He says, "It is almost a truism to say that the world is what we perceive it to be. We imagine that our mind is a mirror, that it is more or less, accurately reflecting what is happening outside us."<sup>3</sup> The one effort of man's personality is to transform everything with which he has any true concern into the human. For example, the description of the beauty of sunrise has its eternal interest in us because in fact, it is not the sunrise that catches our interest, but the fact of sunrise in relation to our interest or aesthetic sense.

This is why we always find human touch in the writings and poems of Tagore if a river is described a ferry at once appears, if a scene or a landscape is painted, a human form must remain there; when a flower is presented, it is presented as bringing a message for the human soul; when the beauty of the rainy night is being described, the rains have to fall on 'the spire of the temple rising above the undefined mass of blackness grouped around the village huts; and if the quietness of solitude is pictured, its peace has to be intensified with joy by the rising notes of a faint song. The outer world according to Tagore is nothing but 'a cradle for the human spirit.' That is why in Tagore's thought the notions of 'life', rhythm, beauty, harmony, order, love, delight, music etc. have become important. All these are human concepts, they become meaningful when they are related to human values. In fact, most of the analogies that Tagore uses to describe nature are related to man's disposition and urges and feelings.

It is on account of such a disposition that he feels that an intellectual approach to nature and to problems of life has to be cold and indifferent approach, because intellect surveys a thing from a distance and

an dispassionate manner. An approach with the heart full of feelings and interest is a human approach. The philosopher usually neglects this, but a philosopher who is also a poet makes truth dive in the form of beauty and thereby establishes a personal bond between man and objects. That most probably is the reason for Tagore's humanistic convictions. Tagore himself admits this when he says, "I have great faith in humanity. Like the sun it can be aluded, but never extinguished... We are waiting for the time when the spirit of age will be in carnated in a complete human truth and the meeting of men will be translated into the unity of man"<sup>4</sup>

The poet conceives that man in his very being unites spirit and nature. He us a finite0infinite being. The poet-philosopher says that it is possible for man to realise the supreme personality through love in his life time. •

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## Peasant Movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Demographic Changes in Assam

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Demographic issue in one of the most- important phenomena in relation to the existence of a Community or Nationality. Demographic Changes always effects the genetic, ecological, historycal, geographic, social cultureal, religious and political aspects of a Society.<sup>1</sup> An attempt has been made here to focus how the peasant movement fastered the immigration into Assam from out side the state and latter effects on its demography.

During the 19th century the Indian people in different parts of the Country rose in revolt against the British and foreboded the loss of thier territories. The British came into Assam after signing the treaty of yandaboo in 1826 with the Burmese. The people of Assam and their neighbours had fought a series of battles since 1826, in protracted war of resistance waged separately against the same alien power. Though they failed to organised an open insurrecton in 1857, their sprit of freedom found glowing expression through the martyrdom of their valiant compatriots that inspired them to carry on the struggle for decades to come. Thus a series of Agrarian outbreaks marks the later of half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Assam. All of them were organised a protest against the enhanced rates of land, revenue and imposition of new taxes. Thus discontent against alien rule, which in the earlier period was generally confined to the members of the royalty and the aristocratic few, now touched every member in the society and popular movement became a usual feature of this period.

The uprising of 1857 had imposed several financial strains on the British Indian Govt. The deficit in budget in 1858-9 exceeded forty million pounds sterling and the public debt shot up to over seven million. Indeed as a result of the huge deficit caused by the revolt of 1857, new sources of revenue had to be found out and the financial system had to be reorganized. Thus in 1858 stamp duties were introduced. This was followed by the imposition of the income tax in 1860 and the introduction of a uniform import tariff of ten percent. In Assam, excise duties were levied at the sadar stations of Kamrup, Darrang and Nowgaon. Washing of gold was already farmed out and the right fish in rivers and beels was offered to the highest bidder. Cutting of timber and reeds and use of grazing fields were also made taxable.

The first popular rising against the new taxation measures took place in the Jaintia Hills. When a house tax and a stamp duty were imposed on the people of the region in 1860 who till then were not accustomed to paying any kind of money tax, they rose in open rebellion. In its very early stage, the rising was suppressed with an iron hand for which it could not attract wide attention. But trouble did not end there. The Khasi people of the region were roused to action once again when licence tax was introduced shortly afterwards, and some of their tribal dances were interfered with by the government.<sup>2</sup> All the Khasis soon organised themselves under the respective Chiefs and together they rose in revolt against British.

In Assam, Scott the Agent to the Governor General in Assam based his revenue measures entirely on the earlier system and altered the existing institutions only when it was considered absolutely necessary. In Upper Assam, the executive details of the Khel system were retained intact. In lieu of personal service and produce revenues were demanded in cash. After the annexation of lower Assam in 1828 and Upper Assam in 1838 the British harassed the people in collection of revenue from the people. The people suffered most due to non-availability of coin and inefficient revenue officers. To solve the coin problem, money lenders came to Assam to relieve the people from the shortage

of money people in general and peasants in particular were exploited at the hands of Marwari and money lenders. In 1929-30, Dr Guha writes, "Many Assamese farmers had turned into land speculators. They sold off their lands to immigrants at a good price; then they cleared new plots on waste lands and sold them again. The immigrants were financed by their own headman (matbar) as well as by the Marwari and Assamese (Barpetia) money lenders. Even the 'hati' (indigenous Co-operative bank) funds of Barpeta were involved in this financing, to a small extent."<sup>3</sup>

The increase in land revenue on the dry crop land in 1861 was much resented to in Nowgong as in the three other affected districts. However, it was the 1860 ban on poppy cultivation that affected the peasant economy of Nowgong most, for it was the largest opium producing district of Assam. The Income Tax Act as amended in 1861, in fact did not touch a single agriculturist in Assam. Nevertheless, because of an information gap, it created misapprehensions about the government intentions.

People knew that in the adjoining Jaintia Hills, peasants had already fought with arms against unfair taxes. At this juncture, the Bengal government called upon its officers in Assam to report on the feasibility of a tax on betel nut and pan cultivation. This led to an agitation in Nowgong, mainly in the Phuluguri area inhabited by tribal people (Lalung). This movement is known as the Phuluguri uprising (Dhawa).

The people organised revolt through the Rajmel. The district magistrate treated the demonstrators casually and was callous to their grievances. It was established through an official enquiry later that the said magistrate used to deal with ryots always in a high-handed and provocative manner and did not allow them even to enter his office compound. The Rajmel was convened for five days. The British wanted to suppress the movement. The people became furious and Lt Singer the Assistant Commissioner was beaten to death. The movement was suppressed by the British. Firing took place and several persons lost their lives while many were injured.

The Phuluguri Dhawa failed to teach a lesson to the British. It did

not stop the enhancement of revenue. It had also strengthened its police force to create a sense of fear among the restless rayats. In 1868-69 the government had increased the rates of revenue on rupit lands in the Assam Valley district from 25 to 50 P.C. Peasant movement took place particularly in the district of Darrang and Kamrup through their Rajmels. The people of Lakhimpur surrendered so much of their land that only 26 PC of the enhanced assessment could be collected. The govt suppressed the movement.

After two phases of the peasant movement the govt did not change their policy. The govt again ruthlessly imposing higher rates of assessment. Sir William Ward the Chief Commissioner of Assam made a new assessment and increased revenue to 70-80 PC and in some cases even to 100PC.<sup>4</sup> Again peasant movement took place in Rangia, Lachima in Kamrup and Patharughat in Darrang. These rising however were not merely against the British but also against the Marwari traders monopolising the internal trade of Assam and exploiting the peasants through usury. These rising is known in history as Patharughat Rani. The govt adopted similar path of suppressing the movement. In some cases the govt suppressed the mels and did it with the help of arms and sometimes with brutal cruelty.

The people of Assam in general and the peasants in particular suffered more in the peasant movement. The peasants community found nothing as their expectation from the historic peasant movement. Though the govt decrease the revenue to some percent but if failed to calm them.

A major section of peasant left their cultivable lands and went to other places where revenues were nominal. The peasants community lost encouragement in their cultivation. Some confined their production only for maintain their family, and some left their cultivation.

The land abundant economy of the Brahmaputra valley failed to grow enough foodings to feed its increasing population. The annual import of food grains into the valley increased from 0.3 million mounds around 1872 to some 0.7 million mounds during the last five years of

the century.<sup>5</sup> This deficit was marginal to the tune of less than two percent of the total requirements, but the tendency in this context was a pointer. With 1884-85 as the base year, the index number of the total tea acreage in Assam proper, for which alone more or less complete agricultural data are available, steadily increased to 192 in 1900-01. But the Comfortable index of the total gross cropped area exclusive of the area under tea, after having risen to a peak of 129 by 1892-93, went on decreasing from year to year until it was 113 in 1900-01. Thus, more or less, it just kept pace with the rate of population growth. It was of course the impact of the black fever epidemic that explains much of the stagnation. Prices of foodgrains were rising, and many starvation death from Nowgong were reported in the bad season of 1896. On 16 October of that year troops had to be called out there to suppress a riotous outburst against the banias who had cornered the grain market.<sup>6</sup> Conditions were further worsened by the Great Earth Quack of 1897 that caused many deaths and a have over many hundreds of across of farm lands. The imperialist British administration wanted to transfer wasteland to cultivable land for increase the foodgrains and collection of additional revenue. But at that time peasant were not available to fullfil their plan.

The british also facing problem of labour in tea cultivation. After the discovery of tea plant in Assam 1826, its cultivation was first started by the East India Company (EIC) in 1835 in the district of Lakhimpur. The initial attempt was a failure, it was succesfully cultivated at Jaypur, the district of Sibsagar and a garden was established there. The Successful cultivation brightened the future economic prospect of the region and the East India Company invited the European capitalists or private cultivation. By 1859 there were only 51 gardens in Assam owned by private individuals or private firms; ten in Lakhimpur, fifteen in Sibsagar, three in Darrang and the remainder in Kamrup and Nowgaon.<sup>7</sup> The situation however changed drastically after the official report of their success and the handsome profits they were able to earn. Tea was considered to be money spinner and a madness seized men's minds and normally level headed financiers and speculators began to

seramble widely for tea shares and tea lands.<sup>8</sup> In the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was considerable expansion and production of tea. 1881 total acreage under tea plant was 24,1000 acres which increased to 33.8000 acres in 1901.<sup>9</sup> In 1911-12 it was 35.4000 acres and in 1921 reached 42,0163 acres. The expansion of tea cultivation thus increased considerably within a very short span of time and most of the important areas of waste lands were covered with tea plants.

The most important requirement of tea industry are capital and labour. In Assam shortage of labour to work in the tea gardens was perennial problem.

However, it would be a travesty of truth to say that the Assamese people did not work in the tea gardens at all. After initial hesitation some Assamese peasants, mostly of the kacharis tribe, sought employment as labour. Even some other Assamese ryots were also induced to work as hired labour during their 'spare time' in the nearby tea gardens. In the initial stage, however attempts were made to introduce Chinese labours by Bruce, but on their resorting to riot the attempt failed and with their departure in 1843, the planters had to depend solely on the local Assamese labours and since then the local people remained partially the sole source of labour for the industry till 1859 and even thereafter. For instance, a total of 2873 acres under tea in 1869<sup>11</sup> in Kamrup district was carried on by a labour force of 1821 of which 127 were local men.<sup>12</sup>

The local labours had a considerable bargaining power, their monthly wage rate varying between Rs. 2.50 to 3.50 before 1857. In 1848 the labour of the Assam Company struck work and succeeded in realising from the Superintendent three months arrears of their wages as well as in securing an assurance that no such default of payment be repeated in future. Again during the revolt of 1857, they struck work under the leadership of Madhuram Koch to fraternize with the rebels. Further, in 1859, the Company's kachari labours went on a strike demanding a wage increase. But the strike was suppressed with a strong hand. On being convinced that it could no longer depend on local labour

who were constantly agitating, the company succeeded in getting "the transport of native labours' Act" passed in 1863, obviously for licensing recruits and registering in migrants. This marks the beginning of a tragic chapter of in human recruitment and ruthless oppression on millions of indentured labour imported from different parts of India. "Men, women and children were enticed, even kidnapped and traded like cattle, absconders were hunted down like run-away slaves."<sup>13</sup> The planters also took liberty of law to inflict upon them fortune of the cruelest kinds.

The government of India attempted to encourage immigration of labour mostly from the famine affected and poverty stricken areas of the different provinces of British India during the period from 1873-80. And accordingly several thousands of famine stricken people immigrated into the Assam tea gardens.<sup>14</sup> The Nothbrook administration (1872-76) earmarked an amount of 750 thousand for encouraging immigration into Burma and Assam. But as 'the planters of Assam did not want additional labours at that time the scheme to encourage immigration to that province was abandoned.'<sup>15</sup>

However, the important of labour to the tea gardens of Assam, particularly the Brahmaputra valley, became merged with the immigration, under government initiative, or otherwise, of the cultivators into it. The Assamese middle class advocated immigration into province in view of the fact that land available for cultivation was vast in extent in comparison to its available manpower at that time. Captain Butler, the collector of Nowgaon, while stating that it was not the Ryotary settlement which retarded the increase of land revenue but the paucity of population advocated that 'our extensive wastes or jungle cannot be cultivated with a scanty population decreased by epidemics. The people are not inductive or enterprising and will not cultivate more land than is sufficient for their own wants.' And therefore "unless Assam is colonized from Bengal, there is no prospect or hope of the province being brought fully under cultivation for centuries to come."<sup>16</sup> The increase of land revenue by bringing the land under cultivation with the help of immigrants was the main consideration of Captain Butter. Mills White



speaking on the matter of immigration of the people from outside states that "In a country like Assam, where there is a super abundance of land and a deficiency of labour. I strongly deprecate the granting of waste land to natives of the province. This indirectly implies that he favoured immigration into Assam across the border.

Francis Jenkins, Agent to the Governor-General, Northeast frontier and commission of Assam and the Director of Assam Company strongly favoured the development and expansion roads and communication so as to make them conducive to large scale immigration, into Brahmaputra valley, both in terms of the labour and ordinary cultivators.

however the much cherished immigration did not take place in the intervening period till 1874, except in case of immigration of labour into the tea gardens of the Brahmaputra valley. At the time of visit Northbrook, the viceroy of India, in Assam 1874, some members of the Assamese middle class repeated the appeal of Anandaram Dhekia Phukan in their memorial to take effective measure for the importation of people from Audh and North Bihar into the province of Assam for its eventual development.

Thus it follows that the British officials and a section of the Assamese middle class were of the opinion that land revenue in the province could not be enlarged without proper inducement being given to the outsiders to come and settle down in the province. As a matter of fact, government too did not lag behind in their policy and endeavour to encourage immigration into the province.

But despite best government effort no large.....immigration was noticed from across the Bengal border before the end of the 19th century.<sup>17</sup> In the census Report of 1891, EA Gait writes that "It might have been thought that the amount of available land, the fertility of the soil, and the low rents, prevailing, would have induced some portion of at least of the overcrowded cultivators of Bengal to find their way to Assam and take up land here. But this does not appear to be the case".<sup>18</sup> However, only a small number of person from the Bengal district of

Mymensing, Dacca and Rangpur crossed the borders and settled down in the Goalpara district as cultivators after the expiry of their terms of contract. And therefore, the government policy for settlement of land with the immigrants and more particularly with ex-tea garden labour met with great success as it becomes evident from official statistics. The following table shows the extent of land settled with, or held from government by the ex-tea garden labourers in the Brahmaputra valley district during 1891-95.

(in acres)

Sub Division	1891-92	192-93	1893-94	1894-95
Gauhati	63.10	92.56	116.69	92.93
Mangaldoi	200.35	185.45	154.29	434.18
Tezpur	8,282.33	10432.00	10,090.00	10,027.00
Nowgaon	2095.00	2,359.00	2,242.00	2,801.00
Golaghat	2,907.00	3,145.00	3,163.85	3,298.47
Jorhat	3,175.00	3,571.57	3,787.38	4014.04
Sivsagar	NA	5,461.15	5,133.33	5,819.50
N.Lakhimpur	929.00	1,196.00	1,304.00	1,847.00
Dibrugarh	4,795.00	5,262.00	6,984.00	8,828.00
Total	27,245.79	31,704.73	32,975.54	37,163.42

**Source :** Land Revenue administrative Report of the Assam valley district for the respective years.

According to an estimate of 1878, the total area taken up for tea cultivation was 5,87,409 acres of which only 1,47,840 acres were actually under tea in the whole Assam.

However the gradual expansion of the area hold by the ex-tea garden labourer as shown in the table above, is sufficient to prove that by the last quarter of the 19th century at least, a sizeable section of the tea garden labour population formed a major segment of the ordinary peasants cultivators in the Brahmaputra valley district.

With the turn of the century, the immigration into Assam from

various parts of British India and that at Nepal started to increase laps and bounds. It appears that the time had approached for the realisation of the plicy of the British Official as well as the wishes and aspirations of the members of the Assamese middle class for the effectual increase in the population of Assam through immigration of pepole from the densely populated parts Bengal Districts. Simultaneously with the immigration of cultivators from the erst while districts of East Bengal (New Bangladesh), the influx of people from Nepal to Assam also increased greatly. as a matter of fact Assam became the meeting ground of three major streames of immigration Nepali settlers from Nepal, tea labourers from various parts of british India and the peasent Cultivatio mostly from Bengal and East bengal from Bengals.

In this way the settlement of lands to the outsiders in the velley heavily caused the reduction of lands for future expansion and development of the indigenous Assamese Society including those of the ethnic groups, and generated social tensions in a multi-dimensional plan and led to the political polarization of social forces, and the latter proved detrimental for the economy in the velley. This becomes very conspicuous during the Assam movement 1979,85 and in the year that follow.

Large scale expansion of tea cultivation and the British encroachment on the possession and rights seriously affcted the economy and livelihood of the tribal people. They therefore reacted to the British rulers with nothing but blind fury, and raided the plantations and other important places on several occasions. Such behaviour on the part of the tribes invited British relations and the latter threatended them by burning villages, killing people and arranging blockades.

The large scale immigration of people from uotside the velley, the tea labourous Nepalis, and the East Bengal peasentry besides other professionals and Marwari traders and businessmen radically transformed its demographic landscape as well as the prevailing social cultural million. The peasent Society in the velley became almost diversified in so far as the ethnic or racial and religious and linguistic traits and characters of the immigrants as well as the indigenous popu

lation were concerned. As a matter of fact the Assamese peasent Socieyt under British Colonial rule lost its earilier social hegemony and became exposed to uotside elements and influences.

It may be observed here that the immigrant peasant from East Bengal districts Contributed much towards the transformation of the agricultural practices, methods and aims int he Brahmaputra Velley. They adopted 'better farming practices and methods and as cultivators they<sup>19</sup> were naturally in ' good economic conditions. Their farm practices and methods were remunerative and they made some impact on the indeginous peasent of the velly.<sup>20</sup> Under their initiative the area of rice cultivation increased greatly, and jute rape and mustered and tobacco etc came to be extensively cultivated as commercial crops. On the overall change in the pattern of agricultural practices brought into being by the immigrant peasants in the velley, Dr. Goswami writes, "The most noteworhty increases are of the areas under Jute and Tobacco. The largescale cultivation of Jute as a commercial crop began only after the inflow of East Bengal cultivators to the province. Before that Jute was grown only for home consumption. The Tobacco cultivation also spread after the settlement of immigrants, coming from East Benagl...With the increase of the number of immigrants the acreage under these two crops also increased rapidly". Moreover, "The emergence of Jute and Tobacco as commercial crops show the most remarkable development in the agricultueal history of Assam."<sup>21</sup>

It may be obsrved here that at all the immigrants into the velley, the Bengals, both Hindus and Muslims, were the most numerous, and they were unwanted by the Assmese on two counts. The immigrants Bengali Hindus were mostly educated and Job Seekers and the urban dwellers, and were a direct threat to the prevailent employment evenues and proffesions naturally belonging to the Assamese minds. Bengali had been the language of the courts and Schools in Assam during 1836-1873. Thus they had some hisorical Justification, though the Bengali peoples were not at all respponsible for that inglorious incident of history. Secondly the fear of Assamese Hindus being turned out into a

religious minority by the majority Muslim immigrants peasant mostly from East Bengal were there all the time during 1904-47. As 85 percent of the East Bengal immigrants were muslim, the fear appeared to them all the more serious and alarming. As a matter of fact, the progressive increase in the number of East Bengal and muslim peasants in Assam simultaneously led to the proportionate growth and expansion of communal politics. In other words immigration of East Bengal, Muslim peasants led to the Communalisation of politics in Assam during the period from 1921 till the attainment of Independence. By skilfull manoeuvring of these forces, the imperialists, while succeeded in weakening the mass movements of the time, reaped good political dividend.

Thus the peasant movement of 19th century fastered the immigration into Assam from outside and later brought about a demographic change in Assam. •

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## Cultural and social convergence Between boros and non-boros of the bajali area

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Culture is not the product of a particular period of human history. It grows through ages since it is as old as the human society itself. It is living as against obsolete customs and blind beliefs and composite in the sense that it cannot claim any originality and indigenous identity of its own. As far as its social aspect is concerned, it is characterised by place, social climate and environment.

Boro and non-Boro cultures are natural conglomeration of boros groups. This conglomeration, rather I should say assimilation represents the assimilation of different groups of Assamese society irrespective of caste, creed and community. It finds expression in our code of conduct and behaviour in our day-to-day life and social festivals.

Since time immemorial the Boros and the non-Boros of Bajali area have been living together. In religious, cultural and social aspects each group has some distinctive features. So, naturally, there are some differences between these two groups. But the exchange of thoughts and feelings has loosened such differences. As a result one group practices the customs of the other. So, to-day it is difficult to find out where a custom actually originated from. The convergence of the Boros and the non-Boros in socio-cultural aspects of Bajali area is discussed below :

The offer of betel nut to guest in usual way of living and in social festivals, particularly marriage ceremonies act. is a very prestigious behaviour in the Assamese society. This custom is very significant in the Boro society to

specially in a marriage ceremony, Doing honour by offering betel-nut to the aged members of the bride's family and her close relatives is a must for the family of the bride-groom the bairathy (a girl or an aged woman who conducts the marriage party of the groom) must distribute betel-nut to every person. Young or old, even the little children present in the marriage ceremony in the house of the bride. This rigidity is not observed in other Assamese society.

In celebrating 'Bihu' there may be some main difference between Boros and non-Boros. But according to the manner and significance of their observance, Boros and non-Boros observe them at the same time, same manner and with the same conviction. According to Dhuparam Basumatari the word 'Bihu' is of Boro origin 'Bi' means to beg something like alms, and 'Hu' means to give or to donate, hence, Bi+hu= Bihu means to give what it begged. During the Baisagu festival, which is one of the most popular seasonal festival of the Boros, the young boys and girls beg alms from door to door singing and dancing in tune of some traditional musical instruments. They arrange feasts with the goods they get as alms like rice, eggs, chickens etc. from the householders at the end of the Baisagu festival, The non-Boro also observe this spring festival at the same time. In Assamese it is called Bohag (Rongali) Bihu. During the time of the Baisagu or Bohag Bihu festival. the Boros and non-Boros of this area observe some common beliefs and customs and sing same kinds of songs. This is due to the cultural and social contact with the both community. For instance, the first day of Baisagu of the Boros is called Magou or cattle Bihu, which is observed as Garu Bihu by the non-Boro Assamese people. On this day, the Boro take their cows to the river to take bath, beating by Dighalati, a kind of tree. They prepare garlands of the brinjals and the ground. When they take their cows to the river the Boro young people sing :

"Lau zaa pha-nthauza,  
bwswr bwswr er hanza hanza,

bimani khither phipani khither  
 nwyswr zagwn halua gidir"  
 The non-Boro Assamese people also observe this festival in the  
 same manner. They also take their cows to the river to bath and sing  
 "lao kha, bengena kha,  
 basare basare bari ja,  
 mare saru, bapere saru,  
 tai habi baladh garu".  
 The meaning of these two song is same. English rendering is

follows :

Eat your ground eat your brinjal,  
 grow up every year.  
 to spite your mother and your father,  
 you will be large large bullock.

The significance of cattle or garu Bihu is the welfare of cows.  
 From the primitive age cows are associated to the life of people. By  
 observing this festival the Boro and non-Boro Assamese people wish  
 the prosperity of cows.

Another seasonal festival 'Domashi' or 'Domahi', the harvest festival, is also observed among the Boros. This festival is also known as Bhagali Bihu in Assamese. Both the Boros and the non-Boro Assamese people celebrate this festival prestigiously enjoying with different types of foods, like cakes or pithas and entertaining the friends and relatives with food. In this festival the young boys, both Boro and non-Boro construct the Bilagur or Bhelaghar, a high temple like with dried banana leaves, stubble of paddy and green bamboos. The bilagur seem to symbolize winter. The during of the winter indicates the advent of spring. 'Bilagur' is the Boro way of pronouncing bhela-ghar in Assamese, which in turn may be a corruption from bhera-ghar (Mesha-ghar) recalling the ancient practice of Mashadaha.

The 'Katrigassa Saonai' is another seasonal festival of the Boro of Bajali area. This festival is observed on the last day of the month Ahin. In Assamese this festival is known as Kati Bihu or Kangali Bihu which means the Bihu the crisis. Like the Assamese, the Boros observe this festival very simply, by burning gasa or the earthen lamp at the paddy field, at the cowshed (goli) and at the granary (Bakri) in the last day of Ahin.

The custom of welcoming Lakshmi to the household by every family is observed both the Boros and the non-Boro Assamese people of this area. This might have originated in Boro practice. It is done at the time of harvesting sali paddy. Before harvesting is started one member of the family purifies himself by taking bath and then goes to the paddy field with a sickle and a tender banana leaf in his hand. As he reaches the field, he kneels down there to worship and welcome Lakshmi. This deed being over he cuts a handful of paddy plants of ripe corn and rap them with the banana leaf and takes it to his house and place them somewhere within the granary. But unlike the Assamese, the Boro person lights up a light in front of the granary and offers a cock cut asunder at the neck, by sprinkling its blood on the wall of the granary.

The customs of driving mosquitoes in the full moon light of Aghan month is a very popular of the Assamese of this area. In Assamese it is called Mohkheda. In this festival the young boys of the village drive the mosquitoes with the sticks in their hands and walk from door to door singing songs and asking for donations from every household in the village. Then they arrange a feast with the goods they get as donation from the householders. This festival is not originally found amongst the Boros of Assam. They have another festival called 'Mausaho' which is equivalent to the 'Moh-kheda' festival of the non-Boro of people. The Boro synonym for the tiger is 'mausa'. The Boro-Kachari equivalent of the Assamese verb 'kheda' (driving away) is 'ho'. So the meaning of the term 'mausaho' denotes driving away of the tiger. It is very much likely that the

Assamese term 'Maho-ho' have come from the Boro-Kachari word 'mausaho'. But now-a-days the Boros of Bajali area observe this (Maho-ho) festival in the same way as the non-Boro people observe it. It is due to cultural and social convergence between the Boros and the non-Boros in this area.

The Boros of this area mainly depends on the paddy cultivation. At first, they select the plots which are suitable for the cultivation of paddy crops. Earlier the cultivation of paddy was done with the help of rain water only. Thus the Boro constructed 'bandhs' or embankment to preserve water for the use in cultivation. All system of agricultural practices of the Boros are commonly used by the non-Boro Hindus.

The impact of the Boro language upon Assamese vocabulary is obvious. The names of many rivers are believed to have come from Boro language. In Boro language Dai means water, so the names of many rivers begins with 'di' such as Digara (a small river near Patacharkuch).

Lastly, we can say that the Boro socio-culture of this area has to some extent influenced the Assamese culture and vice-versa.

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## ‘অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তল’ম নাটকত বস

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বস হ'ল কাব্যসাহিত্যৰ আটাইতকৈ উৎকৃষ্ট উপাদান। বসানুভূতিৰ উৎপাদন কৰাই কবি সকলৰ প্ৰধান উদ্দেশ্য। কাব্য কেৱল শব্দ আৰু অৰ্থৰ বাচ্যৰ্থতে সীমাবদ্ধ নহয় বৰং ই অনিৰ্বচনীয় অনুভূতিৰ কথাও সূচনা কৰে। এই অনিৰ্বচনীয় অনুভূতিৰ নামেই বস। বস কিন্তু ইন্দ্ৰিয়গ্ৰাহ্য নহয়। ইয়াক অনুভূতিৰ দ্বাৰাহে উপলব্ধি কৰিব পাৰি। আলংকাৰিক সকলে সেয়েহে বসক “সহৃদয় হৃদয় সংবাদী” বুলি অভিহিত কৰিছে। কাব্য প্ৰকাশ কাৰ মন্মত ভট্টই বসানুভূতিৰ দ্বাৰা সৃষ্টি হোৱা অনন্দক “বিগলিত বেদ্যাস্তৰম্” বুলি উল্লেখ কৰিছে। অৰ্থাৎ বসানুভূতি হ'লে বাহ্যিক জগতৰ পৰা জ্ঞানশূণ্য হৈ আনন্দত নিমগ্ন হয়। গতিকে বস হ'ল এক অখণ্ড অনুভূতি। প্ৰসিদ্ধ আলংকাৰিক বিশ্বনাথ কবিৰাজে কাব্যৰ সংজ্ঞা নিৰূপণ কৰাৰ প্ৰসংগত উল্লেখ কৰিছে যে-“বাক্যং বসাত্মকং কাব্যং”। অৰ্থাৎ বসাত্মক বাক্যই কাব্য। অগ্নিপুৰাণে আকৌ “বসক” কাব্যৰ জীৱন বুলি স্বীকাৰ কৰি কৈছে যে-“কগৈদন্ধা প্ৰধানে হপি বস এবাত্ৰ জীৱিতম্”। কাব্যৰ প্ৰধান উপাদান যে বস এই বিষয়ে কোনো মানুহৰে দ্বিমত থাকিব নোৱাৰে বুলি মহিম ভট্টই উল্লেখ কৰিছে।

“বস” পদটোৰ ব্যুৎপত্তিগত অৰ্থ হ'ল “বসতে ইতি বসঃ”। গতিকে বস যিহেতু আত্মদান যোগ্য গতিকে ভাব, বসাভাস, ভাবাভাস আদিকো বস পদেৰে গ্ৰহণ কৰা হয়। নাট্যাচাৰ্য্য ভৰতৰ মতে বস হ'ল- “বিভাবানুভাব ব্যাভিচাৰী সংযোগাদ্ৰস নিম্পত্তিঃ” অৰ্থাৎ বিভাব অনুভাব আৰু ব্যাভিচাৰী ভাবৰ সংযোগত বসৰ সৃষ্টি হয়। বিশ্বনাথৰ মতে বস হ'ল—

“বিভাবেনানুভাবেন ব্যক্তঃ সঞ্চাৰিণী তথা।

বসতামেতি বত্যাতি স্থায়ীভাবঃ স চেতযাম্ ॥”

অৰ্থাৎ সহৃদয় পাঠকৰ অন্তৰত ৰতি আদি স্থায়ী ভাবেই বিভাব, অনুভাব আৰু ব্যাভিচাৰী ভাবৰ

দ্বাৰা প্ৰকাশিত হৈ বসত পৰিণত হয়।

নাট্যাচাৰ্য ভৰতমুনিয়ে সংস্কৃত নাটকত ব্যৱহাৰ্য আঠবিধ বসৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰিছে। এই আঠপ্ৰকাৰ বস হ'ল- শৃংগাৰ, হাস্য, কৰুণ, বৌদ্ৰ, বীৰ, ভয়ানক, বীভৎস আৰু আত্মতুত।

“শৃঙ্গাৰ হাস্য কৰুণ বৌদ্ৰ বীৰ ভয়নকাঃ।  
বীভৎসাভুত চেত্যাষ্টৌ নাট্যে বসাঃ স্মৃতাঃ।।”

এই আঠপ্ৰকাৰ বসৰ উপৰিও “শান্ত” নামৰ আন এক প্ৰকাৰৰ বসৰ অস্তিত্বও স্বীকৃত কৰি লোৱা হয়। প্ৰত্যেকবিধ বসৰে আকৌ একোটাকৈ স্থায়ী ভাব আছে। যেনে শৃঙ্গাৰৰ স্থায়ীভাব “ৰতি” হাস্যৰ “হাঁহি”, কৰুণৰ “শোক”, বৌদ্ৰৰ “খং”, বা “ক্ৰোধ”, বীৰৰ “উৎসাহ”, ভয়ানকৰ “ভয়”, বীভৎসৰ “ঘৃণা” আৰু আত্মতুতৰ স্থায়ীভাব হ'ল “বিস্ময়”। সেইদৰে শান্তৰ স্থায়ীভাব হ'ল “শান্তি”। এই নববসৰ ভিতৰত শৃঙ্গাৰ বসেই হ'ল অন্যতম প্ৰধান বস। “শৃঙ্গাৰ প্ৰকাশ” নামৰ গ্ৰন্থত ভোজৰাজে উল্লেখ কৰিছে - “শৃঙ্গাং যেন নীয়তে স শৃঙ্গাৰঃ”। অৰ্থাৎ শৃঙ্গাৰ বসে আনন্দৰ চৰম প্ৰাপ্তত উপনীত কৰায়। আনন্দবৰ্ধনৰ মতে শৃঙ্গাৰ বিহীন কাব্য বসহীন।

“শৃঙ্গাৰী চেৎ কবি সৰ্বং বসময়ং জগৎ।

স এব বীতৰাগশেচনীৰসং সৰ্বমেব তৎ”।।

অৰ্থাৎ কবি জন যদি শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ হয় তেন্তে তেওঁৰ কাব্য বসময় হয় আৰু অন্যথা কাব্যখন বসহীন হৈ পৰে।

শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ জৰিয়তে পৃথিৱীৰ সকলো দৰ্শনীয় বস্তু উপলব্ধি কৰিব পাৰি। এই প্ৰসংগত নাট্যাচাৰ্য ভৰতৰ এফাকি কথা প্ৰণিধানযোগ্য - “যৎ কিঞ্চিৎ লোকে শুচিমেধ্যমুজ্জ্বলাৎ দৰ্শনীয়ং তৎ সৰ্বং শৃঙ্গাৰেণোপমীয়তে।” মহাকবি কালিদাস শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ পৰিবেশণত সিদ্ধহস্ত। অৰু “অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তলমেই নহয় তেওঁৰ কাপৰ পৰা সৃষ্টি হোৱা আনদুখন নাটক “মালবিকাগ্নিমিত্ৰ আৰু “বিক্ৰমোবশীৰম”ৰ প্ৰধান অঙ্গীৰস হ'ল শৃঙ্গাৰ। প্ৰসিদ্ধ আলংকাৰিক বিশ্বনাথ কবিৰাজে নাটকৰ মুখ্যবস শৃঙ্গাৰ বা বীৰ বস হ'ব লাগে বুলি মন্তব্য কৰিছে। “এক এব ভবেদঙ্গী শৃঙ্গাতো কী এব বা।” অবশ্যে আন আন বস বিলাকো মুখ্য বসৰ সহযোগী হৈ থাকিব লাগে।

অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তলম নাটকৰ প্ৰথম অংকত “প্ৰীবাভঙ্গাভিৰামং.....।।” শ্লোকফাকি জৰিয়তে ভয়ানক বসৰ বৰ্ণনা কৰিলেও প্ৰকৃততে উক্ত অংকটো বীৰবসপূৰ্ণ বুলি কব পাৰি। কাৰ এই অংকটোত ৰজা দুৰ্য্যন্তক মৃগয়াৰ প্ৰতি উৎসাহিত কৰা হৈছে। অবশ্যে প্ৰথমাংকৰ কিছুম

শ্লোকত শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ বৰ্ণনাও দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়। উদাহৰণস্বৰূপে

ইদং কিলাব্যাজমনোহৰং বপুস্তপঃ থমং সাধয়িতুম্ য ইচ্ছতি।

প্ৰবং সনীলোৎপল পত্ৰধাৰায়া শমীলতাং ছেতুম্বিৰ্ব্যবস্যতি।।

এই শ্লোকফাকিৰ বাচ্যৰ্থ হ'ল মহৰ্ষি কৰই শকুন্তলাক আশ্ৰম ধৰ্মত নিয়োগ কৰি তেওঁ যেন নীলা পদুমৰ পাহিৰে শমীলতা ছেদ কৰিবলৈ প্ৰয়াস কৰিছে। ব্যাঙ্গ্যৰ্থ হ'ল শকুন্তলাৰ প্ৰতি আকৃষ্ট হোৱা ৰজা দুৰ্য্যন্তই যেন শকুন্তলাই দুখ-কষ্ট পোৱাটো সহ্য কৰিব নোৱাৰিছে উল্লেখ কৰিছে। গতিকে শ্লোক ফাকিত শৃঙ্গাৰ বস সুন্দৰ ভাবে ব্যঞ্জিত হৈছে। শৃঙ্গাৰ দুই প্ৰকাৰৰ বিপ্লৱ আৰু সন্তোষ। নায়ক নায়িকাৰ মিলন বাধাপ্ৰাপ্ত হলেই বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰ বস অনুভৱ হয়। বিশ্বনাথ কবিৰাজৰ মতে শৃঙ্গাৰ বস পূৰ্বৰাগ, মণি, প্ৰবাস আৰু কৰুণ নামে চাৰি প্ৰকাৰৰ হব পাৰে। নাটকত নায়ক-নায়িকাৰ দৃষ্টি, আলিঙ্গন আদি কাৰ্যত সন্তোষ শৃঙ্গাৰ অনুভৱ হয়। বিশিষ্ট আলংকাৰিক ভোজৰাজে “সৰস্বতী কণ্ঠাভৰণম্” নামৰ গ্ৰন্থত উল্লেখ কৰিছে - “ন হি বিপ্লৱশ্চ সন্তোষঃ পুষ্টিমশ্লুতে।” অৰ্থাৎ বিপ্লৱত অবিহনে শৃঙ্গাৰে পৰিপূষ্টি লাভ কৰিব নোৱাৰে। অভিজ্ঞান শকুন্তলম নাটকৰ প্ৰথমাংকৰ শেষৰ শ্লোকফাকি সন্তোষ শৃঙ্গাৰৰ উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰি। সেই অপূৰ্ব শ্লোকফাকি হ'ল—

“গচ্ছতি পুৰঃ শৰীৰং ধাবতি পশ্চাদসংস্কৃতং চেতঃ।

চীনাংয্যকমিব কেতোঃ প্ৰতিবাতং নীয়মানস্য।।”

উক্ত শ্লোকফাকিত শকুন্তলাৰ সংগ পৰিহাৰ কৰি ৰজা দুৰ্য্যন্তই যাবলৈ ইচ্ছুক নোহোৱা কথাটো ফুটি উঠিছে। যেনেদৰে শকুন্তলায়ে “কুশৰ গজালিয়ে” বিদ্বা বুলি ৰজাৰ সংগ পৰিত্যাগ কৰিবলৈ ইচ্ছা কৰা নাছিল। কিন্তু নায়ক-নায়িকা দুয়োজনৰে মনৰ সংকল্প পূৰ্ণ নোহোৱাত সন্তোষ শৃঙ্গাৰ বিপ্লৱ শৃংগাৰত পৰিণত হৈছে।

নাটকখনৰ দ্বিতীয় অংকত বিদুষকৰ সুমধুৰ ভাষণৰ দ্বাৰা নাট্যকাৰ কালিদাসে হাস্যবসৰ খলকনি তুলিছে। সেইদৰে নাটকখনৰ তৃতীয় অংকৰ শেষত শকুন্তলা গৌতমীৰ সৈতে আশ্ৰমলৈ প্ৰত্যাগমন কৰাত শকুন্তলাই উপভোগ কৰা পুষ্পশয্যা মূলালৰ খাক, মলিয়ন প্ৰেমপত্ৰ আদি বিষয়সমূহ প্ৰত্যক্ষ কৰা ৰজা দুৰ্য্যন্তই বেতসকুঞ্জ পৰিত্যাগ কৰিবলৈ ইচ্ছা কৰা নাছিল। ৰজাৰ মনোভাব জানিব পাৰি সহৃদয় দৰ্শকৰ অন্তৰত বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰ বস অনুভৱ হয়। চতুৰ্থ অংকৰ আৰম্ভণীতে কৰ্ণজীয়ৰী শকুন্তলা ৰজাৰ চিন্তাত আপোন পাহৰা হৈ অন্যমনস্ক হোৱাত বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ উদ্ৰেক হৈছে।

শকুন্তলাৰ প্ৰতি প্ৰদান কৰা মহৰ্ষি দুৰ্বাসাৰ অভিশাপত বৌদ্ৰবসৰ প্ৰতিফলন ঘটিছে। শকুন্তলাৰ বিদায় বেলাত গোটেই আশ্ৰমখনতেই এক কৰন পৰিবেশৰ সৃষ্টি হয়। মহৰ্ষি কল্পৰ শকুন্তলাৰ থকা স্নেহত বাৎসল্য বসৰো উদয় হৈছে। সেইদৰে পঞ্চম অংকতো শৃঙ্গাৰাদি নানা বসৰ সমালোচনা ঘটিছে। পঞ্চম অংকৰ অন্তত বজাৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰত্যাখ্যাত হোৱা শকুন্তলাই নিজৰ ভাগ্যক ধিয়াই কান্দি গৈ থকা অৱস্থাত এক উজ্জ্বল জ্যোতিয়ে ওপৰলৈ তুলি নিয়া কাৰ্য্যত আত্মত বসৰ কপোৱা যায়। ষষ্ঠ অংকটো বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰ বসেৰে সিক্ত হোৱা বুলি কব পাৰি। কাৰণ আঙুঠি প্ৰাপিছত বজাই মাছমৰীয়াক আঙুঠিৰ দ্বিগুণ মূল্য প্ৰদান কৰা, বসন্তোৎসৱ বন্ধ কৰা আৰু শকুন্তলা স্মৃতি ৰোমছন কৰা কাৰ্য্যবিলাকৰ বৰ্ণনাত বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ বৰ্ণনা বাৰুকৈয়ে অনুভৱ শেষৰ অংকত ইন্দ্ৰৰ সাৰথি মাতালিৰ সৈতে বজা দুৰ্য্যন্ত আকাশীপথত বিচৰণ কৰা কাৰ্য্যত বসৰ ধাৰা প্ৰাবহিত হলেও মাৰীচৰ আশ্ৰমত শকুন্তলা আৰু পুত্ৰ সৰ্বদমনৰ সৈতে বজাৰ হোৱাত সন্তোগ বস অনুভৱ হয়।

ওপৰৰ আলোচনাৰ পৰা এইটো অনুধাৱন কৰিব পাৰি যে নাট্যকাৰ কালিদাসে অভিশাপ শকুন্তলা নাটকত নৱবসৰ সমাবেশ ঘটাইছে। বস পৰিবেশনৰ নিপুনতাক লক্ষ্য কৰিয়েই কালিদাসক “বসেশ্বৰ” বুলি অভিহিত কৰিছে। কিন্তু নাটকখনত নানা বসৰ অনুভৱ হলেও মুখ্য সন্তোগ শৃঙ্গাৰ। কিয়নো নাটকৰ শেষত অনুভৱ হোৱা সন্তোগ শৃঙ্গাৰ বসে আৰম্ভণীতেই অনুভৱ হোৱা বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰ বসৰ প্ৰাবল্য হ্রাস কৰিছে। অবশ্যে বিপ্লৱ শৃঙ্গাৰৰ দ্বাৰাহে সন্তোগ শৃঙ্গাৰ পৰিপূৰ্ত্তি লাভ কৰে।

সহায়ক গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী :

- ১। সাহিত্যদৰ্পনম- বিশ্বনাথ কবিৰাজ
- ২। শকুন্তলা- লক্ষ্মণদেৱ বৰা
- ৩। কুসুমাজলী- ড° ৰবীন্দ্ৰ নাথ দেৱশৰ্মা
- ৪। মহাকবি কালিদাসৰ অভিজ্ঞানম শকুন্তলা এক সমীক্ষা- ড° থানেশ্বৰ শৰ্মা

## Trends in Victorian Novel

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There is no doubt that the Victorian period (1830-1890) is one of the most fertile periods for the growth and development of English novel. The Victorian novel certainly constitutes golden phase in the history of English literature. The English novel has made an outstanding progress in the hands of some eminent novelists such as Charles Dickens, W. M. Thackeray, Disraeli, Kingslaka, Mrs Gaskel, Brontes, George Eliot, Hardy and many others.

The literature of the Victorian period presented the natural characteristics of the era which was marked for social change and intellectual advancement. In this era, there was a growing tendency to make literature, specially the novel, a hand maiden of social reform and an instrument for propagation of moral and social ideas. The novels became the vehicles of social, political and moral problems faced by the people of Victorian age. In the novels of Charles Dickens Thackeray and George Eliot, realism is the keynote, because they were mostly dependent on the materials of their lives.

Dicken's approach seems to be more original than most of the English novelists. Educated in the heartless school of life. Dickens learn much from contemporary society. He knew the people who despite their poverty had noble heart and the Aristocrat who had million of pounds but no heart at all. He was familiar with the wailing of the poor children, and the complaints of the victims of the society, corruption that tainted the society. Again Dickens himself was brought up in slums,



had his schooling at Salem House School, for which he could not write of princes and prelates living in luxury. Dickens has drawn the dirt picture of London in his novels and not of Bloombury and Mayfair. Dickens is called novelist of childhood as there are vivid descriptions of his own Childhood's poverty in his novels. The children characters such as Gorge David, Tiny Tim, Pip, and Oliver Twist are depicted without any mystical glow. They become the real characters which linger in the memory of the readers. But some critics observe that Dickens sometimes deviated from the reality as he was endowed with a keen imagination. So whatever he created, it had passed through the prism of his imagination. In this regard Hugh walker remarks-<sup>2</sup>"What Dickens gives is not bare hard fact. But the fact suffused with the glow of imagination".

Thackeray also portrayed the contemporary life, society, dress habits and manners with rare force and realism in his novels. Besides Dickens and Thackeray, George Eliot also believed that novel should be realistic through and through, in her earlier novels she portrays her childhood memories. She gives us faithful picture of the English Midlands and the life and character of the people with whom she had lived. Indeed, in her realism she was greatly dependent on the material of her own life.

The note of conventionalism is another main feature of the Victorian novels. Most of them seemed to follow Fielding's tradition. Generally the plot is loose. The story consists of a large variety of characters. The protagonist is surrounded by incidents and variety of characters. These characters and incidents are some how connected together by any intrigue or love affairs. The end of the novel comes with the ringing of wedding bells or pitiful death knell. The Victorian novel is an extraordinary mixture of sentimental, flashy melodrama and lifeless characterization. The character and incidents fail to form an integral part of the whole novel, and very often do not keep tight grip over their plots. Dickens and Thackeray have such conventional plots. There are elaborate passages of the story in Dickens' novel. Thackeray also

never cared for a coherent and unified plot. most of his novels are rambling in their discourse and are very loosely constructed. The interest in his novels depends not on plot and incident but on the creation and development of characters. The Brontes are also deficient in the art of plot construction.

Though the plot is loose and ill constructed, the Victorian novels grip the attention of the readers by the story. It may be said that the Victorian novelists were endowed with a marvelous power of story telling. In fact most of them were brilliant story teller. The stories of the Victorian novels are so, entertaining that children still love to read and enjoy a novel of Dickens and Thackeray. The element of suspense is essential in a novel as it keeps the readers mind curious to know what is happening next. So that the readers can hardly leave their novels in the middle or unfinished. Among the great Victorian masters Dickens, Thackeray, George Eliot and the Brontes keep the readers attention engaged in suspense and excitement throughout.

The Victorian novelists did not touch the heights and depth of human passion, and the psycho-analytical aspect of the modern novel is almost absent in their novels. But their range is very wide. The novels of Victorian novelists provide a panorama of the whole society. In the novels "Vanity Fair" or "David Copperfield" the novelists did not concentrate only on the lives and fortunes of a few principal characters. There are hundreds of different types and classes of persons which are put together. In this regard David Cecil remarks "<sup>3</sup> A hundred different types and classes, persons and nationalities jostle each other across the shadow screen of our imagination".

Again, it seems true that the Victorian novelists are men of varied moods. Their range of mood is as vast as their range of subject. If we go through some novels such as "A Tale of two cities", The Vanity Fair", or "Jane Eyer", there we find the characters of various moods. The novelists don't give emphasis only one mood of the characters. Though they portray the various moods of human nature, all are packed together in a heterogeneous deliciousness.

Moreover, the Victorian novelists are masters in the art of characterization and they presented a great diversity of characters. They use their creative imagination in the art of characterization in a variety of ways. E.M. Forster in his "Aspects of the Novel" has divided characters into 'Flat' and 'Round'. He had also drawn a distinction between "flat" and life like characters of the Victorian novelists. "The Victorian novelists are all to make their characters live". Their characters may not always be real, but they are amazingly and indomitably alive. They are all individuals living their own existence, lingering in the memory of the readers. They act in their own characteristic way, they have their own methods of speech, their own way of saying and doing things. Some critics may say that Dickens, characters in most cases are puppets. But there are four types of characters in his novels such as the horrible inhuman characters like Uriah Heep, Sweet pleasant children like Oliver Twist, a humorous and eccentric character like Mr. Micawbar and a noble character like Sydney Carton.

The characters of George Eliot are also real living and breathing human beings. She wrote before the coming of Freud yet her novels are rich in psychological analysis of character and motive.

However Hardy is also excellent in the art of character portrayal through in his own particular limited range. Because he could draw only effectively the character of Wessex people. Most of his heroes and heroines are subtly drawn having some typically rural peasant like qualities. One of the peculiarities of Hardy's Characterization is that he presented good people with great admiration. His sympathy is always with the good noble and gentle characters like Tess, Gabriel Oak which belong to the country surroundings. Hardy's skill is best exhibited in the portrayal of female characters. His male character is vivid, passionate, emotional and impulsive and they suffer from indecision.

Another characteristic of the Victorian novel is that they are humorous. Each of the great Victorian novelists is a humorist. They have created a number of immortal figures of fun and there are hundreds

dreds of fine jokes and witty remarks spread all over the novel. As a humorist Dickens is the best among them and he is regarded next to Shakespeare in creating comic characters. There are many comic characters in "Pickwick Papers". Dickens' humour is satirical as well as sympathetic which is inseparable from his gift of pathos.

In conclusion we may quote David Cecil. He says "The Victorian Novels are an extra ordinary mixture of strength and weakness". It has technical weakness. Again the Victorian novelists portrayed only one sided view of life in their literary works. The free and frank treatment of animal side of life is avoided as sex was a taboo in the Victorian era. Again the deeper problems of human life are also ruled out from the Victorian novels. Moreover their plots are improbable and melodramatic and their construction is loose. They don't have any high artistic standard. For these reasons, the Victorian novelists can't be paced with the very great. But the Victorian novelists have the creative imagination, they have a special social purpose, they are unique story tellers. Moreover the eminent novelists of the Victorian era can capture the attention of the readers by the entertaining fiction and they have incomparable gift of humour. Further, they are master also in characterisation. For all these greatness the Victorian novelists have occupied a high place among the novelists of English literature. •

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# A Study on the development of higher education under Open and Distance Learning with special reference to Barpeta District, Assam

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### Abstract -

In the present study, an attempt has been made to give a picture on the development of higher education under open and Distance learning system in Barpeta District. During the study a descriptive method has been followed. As there is no standardized tool, the investigator herself developed the tool to collect and analysed the data. Records of the study centres which are recognized by IGNOU, IDOL and KKHSOU have been analysed here.

### Introduction

Open Distance learning system has emerged as any other inventions, innovations that arose out of people's needs. ODL has emerged a flexible and effective non-formal education system without much compulsion fulfilling the people's desire for attaining the degrees and knowledge. It is becoming popular day by day all over the world. In India there are one National Open University, 14 State Open Universities and about one hundred Distance Education Institutes in which numerous academic, vocational and professional programs such as B.A, B.Com, B.Sc, BCA, B.Ed, BMC, M.A, Mcom, M.Sc, MBA, MCA, PhD etc are being offered. Thousands of students are getting enrolled in these higher educational programmes. For Example, there are about 2.5 million students enrolled in Indira Gandhi National Open University as on date. Thus institution of open distance learning offered various programmes starting from certificate to research degree level.

There is quantitative and qualitative expansion in Open and Distance education. That is why there is an urgent need to study and research on it. It has been argued that research in Open Universities is weak in Comparison to formal system.

For the present study, I have selected a descriptive study on the development of higher education under the Open and Distance learning in the Barpeta District. However those ODL institution which have no study centers in this region have not been included in this study.

Aims and objectives :

- (a) Detailed account of Open and Distance learning (ODL) in the Barpeta District.
- (b) The role of study centre as a student support services for the smooth functioning of ODL system in this area.

Hypothesis:

- (a) The Institute of Distance and Open learning (IDOL) and Krishna Kanta Handique Slate Open University (KKHSOU) are making more contributions to the growth and development of higher education in this area (District) than Indra Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU)
- (b) Most of the study center has primer role in helping the students and providing them ample opportunities.

Discussion :

- (a) Distance Learning Practices in Barpeta District.

Barpeta District is one of the educationally backward districts of Assam. The literacy rate in the district is just 56.24 It is worth mentioning that there are a good number of affiliated Colleges and Private Colleges in this district offering various degrees/diploma through formal education mode. However, these traditional institutions have not been able to fulfill the demands of all sections of society. Therefore in order to provide them with the opportunity of higher education through ODL system, some study centres have been opened in this district. Besides the Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) Namely study centres, there are study centres of state Open University. Krishna Kanta Handique State Open University (KKHSOU) and Distance Edu-

cation Institution attached to Gauhati University (State University IDOL) which are providing access to higher education to large segments of population.

(a) Distance learning Practices in Barpeta District.

Krishna Kanta Handique state Open University, Guwahati, Assam is the first state Open University (KKHSOU) established by the Govt. of Assam in the year 2006 and the University started offering programmes since 2008. The University, in the last four years has offered BA, Bcom, BCA, BMC, BBA in regional language as well as in English. The University is also offering MA, M.Phil and Ph.D programmes are different subject. M.Phil and Ph.D Programme is offered by the University in regular mode.

There are at least thirteen study center (Under KKHSOU) in Barpeta District. These study centers has been offering easily accessible modes of quality higher education training with the use of latest educational inputs and technology. Therefore KKHSOU through its multipronged strategy of expansion of study centers across the district and increase in number of academic programmes and introduction of programmes in regional language has established itself as a leading Open provider of higher education in this area.

Gauhati University

The Institute of Distance and Open learning (IDOL) formerly known as Post Graduate Correspondence School (PGCS) was established in May 1998 with the objective to cover the vast number of students, who due to limited number of seats in Post Graduate Departments or for other reasons could not enroll themselves in the conventional system of education in Gauhati University.

In order to overcome some weaknesses the PGCS was revamped and a core group of faculty was recruited exclusively for PGCS. The

resulted in greater academic autonomy and markedly better functioning of the IDOL and performance of the distance learners.

Presently the Institute is operating through a network of 102 study centers throughout the state of Assam. Of course there is only one IDOL Study Centre in Barpeta District and that is in Bajali College, Pathsala. Although IDOL have opened some contact centres in different places of this area but counselling, tutoring and examination services are not being offered at all them. These contact study centres are mainly being utilized as information and admission schedule centres.

Indira Gandhi National Open University

The National Open University, namely Indira Gandhi National Open, University (IGNOU) first set up base in the NE with the establishment of a Regional Center at Shillong in 1987. Since 1997 another Regional centre became operational at Guwahati whereby the student enrolment doubled. Since 2002 there has been a phenomenal increase in the establishment of study centers.

Bajali college is not only the first but also the only study centre of IGNOU in Barpeta District keeping in mind the needs of the learner the study centre has offered various programmes starting from certificate to degree level. Under the Conversance scheme a number of contract centre has been introduced in the district. But these centres are unable to attract the people of this locality.

(b) Study centre as learner support service

A Study Centre is a part of an overall system of support for learners of IODL Institute. It is pivot around which the entire student support service revolve. The study centres are the ambassadors for the OUs/DEIs in dealing with learners. They are the life nerves of an Open University system. The study centre is headed by Principal/incharge, a coordinator and sufficient ministerial staff. Counseling is done mostly by senior teachers from academic institutions usually on Sundays to facilitate the students of the Open University who are mostly working persons.

For attracting students and to offer better support service, IGNOU, IDOL and KKHSOU have established Study Centres at different places of Barpeta Districts. Most of the Study Centres are located in the existing educational institutions. That is why they have effectively carry out all its operations of the ODL Institution. These centres are provided with Library, radio, television, audio and video players computer and internet facilities. The study centres services normally included-

- \* Providing information relating to programme available.
- \* Counselling
- \* Admission schedule.
- \* Self learning materials (SLM)
- \* Conduct of personal contact programme.
- \* Examination centres etc.

These centres have an indispensable place in the Distance Education system. No doubt, these Study Centres provides a strong support service to the learners as well as to the OUs/DEIs.

**Conclusion :**

The study has revealed that due to its openness, flexibility, technology based approach, cost effectiveness and learner-centric approach KKHSOU is gradually becoming popular as an alternative to the traditional institutes. Through this Institution system it is possible to transfer quality education to a large section people of this locality within short span of time.

Study Centres have taken up a noble profession of offering educational service to the millions considering the popularity of Distance education system in this District, the establishment of more study centre has become inevitable. Equally important is the need to provide better support services to learners. For achieving these, it becomes imperative to strengthen the study centres in terms of physical, administrative and academic resources.

The overview given above indicates that the variety of Open and distance education programmes offered by ODL providers has succeeded in attracting a large number of students in the Barpeta District

ODL method is the best method to achieve the desired goal of inclusive higher education and to make learners enriched by providing required knowledge and skill to serve the nation better. •

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## Private Higher Education and its Control

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### Introduction:

Rising demand for post secondary education, lack of government investment in the sector and the deteriorating quality of public universities has led to an increase in private players in higher education. But the regulation of private institutions has failed to keep up with their rapid growth, leading to concerns about quality and social equity.

Education has always been and continues to be one of the most important needs of mankind. It helps man indoctrinate values and apply the technical know-how in real life situations. Higher education must lead the march back to the fundamentals of human relationships, to the old discovery that is ever new, that man does not live by bread alone. In the late 20th century there has been an increasing trend towards privatization of higher education in India. The government of India cannot absolve itself of the responsibility of providing access to higher education to all its citizens but must also try and improve the quality of higher education in India. In order to cater to those needs, a large investment is required. But in India, the lack of adequate funds continues to be a major hurdle. In the given context, there is a pressing need for the private sector to pitch in and that at the risk of privatization and monopolization of higher education by the private sector.

Regulation of private education is an issue of critical importance for all stakeholders involved; government, providers, investors, parents and

students. How the government frames its regulatory policies will determine the ease, or difficulty, for private providers to enter the market. At their best, regulations can be welcome guidelines to enable quality providers to understand the requirements for working in a given jurisdiction. When regulations are transparent and appropriately applied, they can provide information for parents and students in enabling them to make rational decisions on education choice.

At the time of independence of India, there were only 20 Universities and 500 colleges in the country with 2.1 lakh students in higher education. The number now has increased to 25 times in the case of the universities, 62 times in the case of colleges and the students enrolment has gone up to 69 times in the formal system of higher education in comparison to the figures at the time of independence. Higher education in India has expanded rapidly over the past two decades. This growth has been mainly driven by private sector initiative. There are genuine concerns about many of them being substandard and exploitative. Due to government's ambivalence on the role of private sector in higher education, the growth has been chaotic and unplanned. The regulatory system has failed to maintain standard or check exploitation, instead it resulted in erecting formidable entry barriers that have generated undesirable results.

(2) With the public funding being no more in a position to take up the challenging task of expansion and diversification of the higher education system in the country to meet the continuously growing demands at present, there is little option other than bringing in private initiatives in a massive way to meet the various challenges. The deregulating mechanism of controls started with the granting of "Autonomous status" to identified colleges in the 1970's. Some of these colleges have graduated further to receive the "Deemed to be University" status in later years. Now the country is on the threshold of establishment of private universities in different states. These are related issues figured prominently.

India needs to do much more in higher education- expand over-

all numbers, enhance access and improve quality. But this consensus comes much more contentious when it comes to addressing the fundamental trilemma; how to reconcile scale (or size), cost and quality. Four factors driving the rapid expansion of Indian higher education. The first is demographic. With more than 30% of the population below the age of 15 and more than five million people entering the 15-24 age group annually, second, this demographic bulge will be more propound for higher education. The explosive growth of primary education, partly boosted by Sarva Shiksha Abhijan and partly by private education has been moving downstream to the secondary level. Third the sheer growth of the Indian economy is sharply raising the demand for people with knowledge and skills. And finally, demand for higher education is being driven by major changes in the aspirations of the Indian population.<sup>2</sup>

The Rastriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhijan, launched in March 2002 with a commitment of Rupees. 20,000 Crore during the 11th Plan, will create greater opportunities at the secondary education level, and together with private schools result in a substantial increase in India's secondary school cohort. The supply response is taking place at different levels with rapid expansion of private colleges largely affiliated with state level universities, especially in professional education. While there has been a huge influx of private higher education institutions, few impart skills and training of a quality. The supply of higher quality skills and training by private providers is occurring not within private colleges but rather within farms.<sup>3</sup>

(3) The University Grants Commission is the chief regulatory authority for co-ordinating and determining the standards in universities. Nevertheless it is not the sole regulatory authority as other professional councils supplement it such as, the Medical Council of India, the Bar Council of India (BCI) and the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), National Council for Teachers Education (NCTE). Besides, from time to time, the courts, and the Central and the state governments keep on interfering in the functioning of these regulatory of private Universities in Chattisgarh, the UGC has come out with a regulatory mechanism to check the mushroom growth of private universities in the country. Prof. V N Rajsekharan Pillai, the then Vice-Chancellor

authorities.<sup>4</sup> The multiplicity of the regulatory authorities gives rise to unnecessary confusion and overlapping decisions. The following table indicates the regulatory framework of Indian Higher Education.

Table 1  
Regulatory authorities and their role

Name	Main Role	Overlaps with the role of
University Grants Commission (UGC)	Funding, recognition of institutions and degree titles, maintaining overall standards	Other professional councils and the Distance Education Council (DEC)
Distance Education Council (DEC) under the IGNOU Act	Funding, maintaining standards of open education	Other professional councils and the UGC
All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE)	Approval for technical institutions and limited funding role for quality improvement	UGC, DEC, Pharmacy Council of India, Council of Architecture and the State Councils for Technical Education
Council of Architects (CoA)	Registration of architects and recognition of institutions for education in architecture and town planning	AICTE
Medical Council of India (MCI)	Registration of medical practitioners and recognition of medical institutions and qualifications	State Medical Councils and the State Governments; UGC and DEC to a limited extent

Pharmacy Council of India (PCI)	Registration of pharmacists and approval of pharmacy institutions	AICTE and State Pharmacy Councils
Indian Nursing Council (INC)	Accepts qualifications awarded by universities within and outside India	22 State Nursing Councils with different Acts have registering powers
Dental Council of India (DCI)	Recommend to the Central Government for approval of dental colleges etc.	Ministry of Health
Central Council of Homeopathy (CCH)	Maintain Central Register of Homoeopaths	State Councils
Central Council of Indian Medicine (CCIM)	Maintain central register	State Councils
Rehabilitation Council of India (RCI)	Recognition of institutions for physiotherapy and related fields	State governments
National Council for Teacher Education (NCTE)	Recognition of teacher education institutions	DEC
Indian Council for Agricultural Research (ICAR)*	Coordinate and fund agricultural education	UGC
Bar Council of India B C I	Listing of Members of Bar	State Bar Councils

"Not a statutory body

Source: HE In India The need for change, pp. 82-83

It has been observed that policy framework is carefully planned at the level of the planning commission, MHRD and UGC. However the policies are not fully implemented mostly because of faulty management of the institutions of higher education. The administrative structure of the universities, which was devised in the pre independence period, seems to be still continuing. The new challenges facing the system of higher education in the country cannot meet without a total overhaul of the structure of management of higher education institutions.

It is possibly only in India that the UGC has been vested with two powers simultaneously. One is the power to provide funds and the other is the power to determine and co-ordinate standards. Let us confess frankly that students vary from university to university but there is the constant attempt on the part of political bodies to lower the standards, to give grace marks and in fact influence the universities in such a way that the numbers of first classes are more than the second classes.<sup>5</sup> To day it is legitimate to ask to what extent the UGC has utilized the powers of co-ordination and determination of standards vested on it. The simplest answer would be that these powers been put to use even partially the situation in higher education would not have been what it is to-day.

Following the Ajit Jogi's Government's "reckless sanctioning" man of the UGC headed the Establishment of and Maintenance of Standards in Private Universities Regulation, 2003, The regulations apply to all the degrees/ diplomas/ certificates offered under "formal, non formal or distance education modes". They define a private university as one 'established through a state or central Act' by a legally registered sponsoring body or a company. A university set up under a State Act shall operate "ordinarily within the boundary of the state concerned". A major provision that is going to affect



most of the recent private universities is the restriction on opening off campus centers (outside the home state) off shore (abroad) centers and study centers. These universities can now open such centers only after five years of successful operation. "After the development of main campus, in exceptional circumstances the university may be permitted to open off campus centers, off shore and study centers after five years of its existence" 6 Such centers can only be set up with the prior permission of the UGC and government of the host state. The UGC will monitor the overall performance of such centers every year and if it is unsatisfactory the centers will be asked to close. 7 In spite of the UGC Regulation 2003 on private universities, where there is a clear instructions not to operate study or counseling centers outside the state, most of the private universities before they got permission from UGC, they started their business more effectively outside the state than their home state. As early as 2001, the then UGC Chairman Hari Gautam had sought to put an end to the practice of universities functioning beyond their territorial jurisdiction through franchise centers on the ground that the universities had "no provision to monitor and maintain the academic standards of teaching being imparted at these centers" 8

Almost eight years passed after the passing of UGC regulation 2003 on private universities. Moreover in 2009 UGC has passed new M.Phil. Ph.D regulation to be strictly followed by all the Indian Universities whether Central, state or Private. 9 The permission issued to private universities to start Ph.D programme repeatedly insists to follow the same strictly. 10 It has been observed while Central and State funded universities follow the regulation without any lapse, in case of Private universities there is no body to monitor whether it has been followed or not. Now a day more number of

candidates is running behind private universities through their counseling centers due to their short cut processes.

There are various types of private institutions in higher education in India, Some are affiliated or autonomous colleges, some are deemed universities, and some are private universities established by state legislature. There are many commercial institutions operating in higher education and training sector. Some are satellite institutions of foreign universities. In all private higher education sector in India is large and complex. There are some non-profit institutions that are financially independent and supported by income of the charitable and religious trusts. There are large numbers of private institutions that meet all their expenses from tuition revenue. A significant number of them are family owned and de facto run as business enterprises. There are also private training centers that are largely for profit entities.

(4) Private providers in higher education have grown in a policy vacuum. A Bill to regulate the establishment of private universities, introduced in the Indian parliament in 2005, was shelved after opposition from various political parties and private players. The lack of regulation of private institutions, both at national and state level, has raised questions about their quality problems include poor infrastructure, insufficient and unqualified faculty and exorbitant fees, especially in the state of Taminadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan.

There has been a major controversy over the approval of colleges that have no proper infrastructure or faculty by the AICTE, which is responsible for sanctioning new technical colleges and regulating the quality of education provided.

AICTE officials have been investigated and a former Chairman, Ram Avtar Yadav was suspended in 2009 for demanding and accepting bribes to approve new technical private colleges. 11

Belatedly, the central government has introduces a bill to parliament to ban unfair practices in higher education and make institutions more accountable to students. The prohibition of unfair practices

in Technical, Medical educational institutions and universities Bill 2010, that charging money to conform admission or failure of institutions to promise of quality education could result in imprisonment of three years or fine of Rs. 10 lakh or both. The Bill also provides for imprisonment of guilty administrators or a substantial fine for the institution. This may seem to be a step in the right direction, but the general quality of governance may still remain the same unless more is done to improve it. Deepak Pant, former Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University says "Regulation should be strong to ensure that private universities are sound, governed well and are providing quality education. It is a matter of fact that public private partnership model is not working in India because the majority of our private partner is looking for higher profit without any ethical or social obligation."

(5) Regulation of private education is an issue of critical importance. All stakeholders involved: government, providers, investors, parents and students. How the government frames its regulatory policies will determine the ease, or difficulty, for private providers to enter the market. At their best, regulations can be welcome guidelines to enable quality providers to understand the requirements for working in a given jurisdiction. When regulations are transparent and appropriately applied, they can provide information to parents and students in enabling them to make rational decisions on education choice.

Strong quality control measures to assure performance above an acceptable benchmark is essential for the institutions. We are weak in this regard. A regulatory system to ensure compliance to the set benchmarking is needed with sufficient powers to close down non-compliant institutions is a need of the hour. The higher education policy needs to incorporate such features in it in the interest of the nation. Private universities are a reality now and, as such, strong regulatory mechanisms are to be put in place immediately to monitor and control their activities with the objective of ensuring quality and social accountability. Higher education is a public good and cannot be left to the market forces to control. Those who venture investment in this area shall be properly scrutinized. Those with commercial interests dominating over the interests and ethics of higher education shall be eliminated. It is

primary responsibility of the state to provide the eligible with good quality higher education at reasonable cost. There shall be no withdrawal of the state from this responsibility.

Since the major stakeholders (Central government and the statutory organization) abstained from either enunciating a clear policy or stepping in with appropriate regulatory measures, it was left to the other stakeholders (student and their guardians) to take their grievances regarding rampant malpractices of the private institutions to the state governments and or the courts.<sup>13</sup> Although several states passed legislation to regulate specific aspects of the functioning of the private institutions, especially in the matter of capitation fee and admission, the Centre, the UGC and the other Apex bodies designed to play a 'coordinating role' did not take any concrete steps to do so. So in a manner now familiar to us in other major spheres, the court stepped in to define the parameters of regulation of private higher education.

It need to be recognized that the regulatory framework failed to evolve and yield satisfactory results, not because of any binding structural constraints but Government failed to recognize the respective roles of the public and private sector in the evolving context. Although there is now some attempt to clarify the direction of expansion of this sector sadly it is still mired in substantial confusion. •

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## অসমৰ পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা ব্যৱস্থা আৰু ঔষধ Traditional Treatment and Medicine of Assam

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সহযোগী অধ্যাপক, অসমীয়া বিভাগ

নিৰ্মল হাটলৈ মহাবিদ্যালয়

পৰম্পৰা (Tradition) শব্দটোৰ পৰাই পৰম্পৰাগত (Traditional) শব্দটো নিস্পন্ন হৈছে। পৰম্পৰা (Tradition) ৰ আভিধানিক অৰ্থ হ'ল Unwritten opininos or practices transmitted from generation to generation. অৰ্থাৎ বোপা ককাৰ দিনৰ পৰা চলি অহা নিয়ম বা প্ৰথা।' সেয়ে পৰম্পৰাগত (Traditional) এই বিশেষণ পদটোৱেও পৌৰাণিক বা বহু দিনৰ পৰা চলি অহা প্ৰথাকে বুজায়। গতিকে পৰম্পৰাৰ লগত জৰিত হৈ থাকে হস্তান্তৰকৰণ প্ৰক্ৰিয়া আৰু হস্তান্তৰিত সমল (The process of handed and what is handed down), পৰম্পৰা বা ঐতিহ্য প্ৰবাহমান, ই সংস্কৃতিৰ উত্তৰজিৱীতা।

ইতিহাসে ঢুকি নোপোৱা কালৰে পৰা সাম্প্ৰতিক বিজ্ঞান সন্মত আধুনিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি (Modern Treatment) প্ৰচাৰ আৰু প্ৰসাৰতা লাভ কৰাৰ পিছতো অসমীয়া সমাজত পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি প্ৰচলিত হৈ থকা দেখা যায়। অকল অসমতেই নহয় ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ আন আন কিছুমান ৰাজ্যতো পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰে ৰোগীয়ে চিকিৎসা লাভ কৰি আৰোগ্য লাভ কৰি আছে। ভাৰতীয় লোক বৈদিক আদৰ্শৰ দ্বাৰা পৰিচালিত আৰু বৈদিক দৰ্শন আৰু ধ্যান ধাৰণাত বিশ্বাসী। প্ৰাচীন কালত ঋষি মুনি সকলৰ অভিজ্ঞতালব্ধ জ্ঞান আৰু অধ্যায়সায়ৰ ফলত অৰ্জিত বিভিন্ন জ্ঞানৰ স্বাক্ষৰ বেদ সমূহত ৰক্ষিত হৈছে। মানুহ, পশু পক্ষী, আদিৰ চিকিৎসাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰতো ৰোগ নিৰ্ণয়, বনদৰব প্ৰয়োগ, আৰু চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ কথা অথৰ্ব বেদত পোৱা যায়। আয়ুৰ্বেদ শাস্ত্ৰত কোৱা হৈছে 'যস্য দেশস্য যো মৰ্ত্যস্তস্য তজৌষধং হিতং' অৰ্থাৎ যি দেশৰ যি প্ৰাণী সেই দেশৰ বনজ দ্ৰব্যহে সেই প্ৰাণীৰ বাবে হিতকাৰক।' অথৰ্ব বেদৰ যুগৰ পৰাই ভাৰতত থলুৱা বনৌষধীৰ সহায়ত শৰীৰ নিৰাময়ৰ ব্যৱস্থা চলি আহিছে। বৌদ্ধ ধৰ্মৰ প্ৰাচীন গ্ৰন্থ সমূহতো দৰবৰ উল্লেখ পোৱা যায়। পতঞ্জলিয়ে বৈদ্যৰ উল্লেখ কৰিছে। কুশান বংশৰ ৰজা কণিষ্কৰ ৰজাঘৰীয়া চিকিৎসকে চৰক সংহিতা ৰচনা কৰিছিল। এই গ্ৰন্থত বেমাৰ, পথ্য, চিকিৎসা আৰু শৰীৰৰ গঠন সম্পৰ্কে আলোচনা আছে। সুশ্ৰুত সংহিতা আন এখন বিখ্যাত গ্ৰন্থ। নাগাৰ্জুনে সুশ্ৰুত সংহিতা অনুসাৰে জনসাধাৰণৰ চিকিৎসা কৰিছিল। নাগাৰ্জুন, খৃঃ পূঃ দ্বিতীয় শতিকাৰ লোক। পুৰাণ সমূহতো ধনুস্তৰিৰ উল্লেখ আছে। এইবোৰ কথাই ভাৰতীয় চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ প্ৰাচীনত্বৰ কথা আঙুলিয়াই দিয়ে।

অসমৰ প্ৰথম চিকিৎসক হিচাপে ডাক পুৰুষকেই ক'ব পাৰি। ডাক পুৰুষে মানৱ উপকাৰী বনজ দ্ৰব্য যেনে শাক, শোকোতা, টেঙা, খাৰ আদিৰ কথা মানুহক বুজাই দি সেই ভাৱে সুফল এনেদৰে বৰ্ণনা কৰিছিল—  
 (১) "শাকে শোকোতাই ভক্ষণ  
 সেয়ে পুৰুষৰ লক্ষণ।  
 আহোম ৰজাসকলে ৰাজত্ব কালত বিৰচিত কেবাখনো পশু চিকিৎসা বিষয়ক গ্ৰন্থই পৰম্পৰা

‘ফাগুনত মধু চৈত্ৰত ঠু, বহাগ বৰ,  
 ইয়াকে খালে পুৰুষৰ গুচে কৰ্ম জড়।’

উপাধি আৰু এওঁলোকৰে ৰাজত্ব কালত বিৰচিত কেবাখনো পশু চিকিৎসা বিষয়ক গ্ৰন্থই পৰম্পৰা আয়ুৰ্বেদ আৰু আসুৰিক চিকিৎসা যে সেই সময়ত ৰজাবাহৰ অঞ্চলত জন্ম গ্ৰহণ কৰা অসমীয়া সাহিত্যিক হে। শতিকাৰ উজনিৰ শিৱসাগৰৰ ৰজাবাহৰ অঞ্চলত জন্ম গ্ৰহণ কৰা অসমীয়া সাহিত্যিক হে। বৰুৱাৰ (১৮৩৫-১৯২৭খৃঃ) আত্মজীৱন চৰিতত সেই সময়ৰ সমাজত প্ৰচলিত বেজ বেজ আদি কথাৰ সুন্দৰ বৰ্ণনা দাঙি ধৰিছে। তেওঁৰ পিতাক মুক্তাৰাম বৰুৱা নিজে বৈদ্য শাস্ত্ৰৰ পাবদৰ্শ নিমিত্তে প্ৰখ্যাত আছিল। তেওঁ সমাজত নিজে বেজালিও কৰিছিল।

প্ৰাকৃতিক সম্পদেৰে ভৰপূৰ অসম দেশৰ হাবিয়ে-বনিয়ে, বাটে-ঘাটে অসংখ্য বন্য গছ লতা আছে। অতীজৰে পৰা অসমৰ মানুহে এই বনজ দ্ৰব্যবোৰ কেতিয়াবা খাদ্য হিচাপে কেতিয়াবা ঔষধ হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰি সুফল লাভ কৰি আহিছে।

পৰম্পৰাগতভাৱে প্ৰাচীন কালৰে পৰা অসমত ৰোগ নিৰাময়ৰ বাবে তিনিবিধ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি প্ৰচলিত হৈ আছে—(১) আসুৰিক (২) আয়ুৰ্বেদিক (৩) অবদৌতিক। অৰ্ধৰবৈদিক আসুৰ উপবেদ অনুযায়ী যি চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি তাক আসুৰিক আৰু আয়ুৰ্বেদ উপবেদ অনুযায়ী চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি তাক আয়ুৰ্বেদিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি বুলি অভিহিত কৰা হয়। ৰোগৰ লক্ষণ অনুযায়ী আসুৰিক চিকিৎসাৰ প্ৰয়োগ হয়। বৰ্তমানৰ হোমিওপ্যাথিক চিকিৎসাৰ দৰে ই লক্ষণ ভিত্তিক। আন আয়ুৰ্বেদীয় চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিত ৰোগৰ নিদান অৰ্থাৎ কাৰণ বিচাৰি উলিয়াই সেইমতে ঔষধ প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হয়। ৰোগৰ কাৰণ নিৰ্মূল কৰাহে এই চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ উদ্দেশ্য। সেয়েহে আয়ুৰ্বেদ শাস্ত্ৰ গ্ৰন্থবোৰক ‘নিদান’ বোলা হৈছিল, আৰু এই চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিটোক ‘নিদানিক’ চিকিৎসা আখ্যা হৈছিল। গাঁৱলীয়া ওজা, বৈদ্য বা বেজ সকলে আসুৰিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰে বেমাৰিক ৰোগ কৰিবলৈ যত্ন কৰা দেখাযায়। আসুৰিক চিকিৎসাৰ মূল আয়ুৰ্বেদ।

আসুৰিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ শিক্ষা সাধাৰণতে পুৰুষানুক্ৰমে একেটা পৰিয়ালতে সীমিত আছিল। থলুৱা বিভিন্ন গছৰ পাত একেলগ কৰি বতি বড়ি কৰি নাইবা তাৰ বস উলিয়াই ৰোগী খুৱাই ৰোগ নিৰাময়ৰ কাৰণে ব্যৱস্থা কৰে। এই পদ্ধতিত দৰৰ খুউওৱাৰ লগতে মস্ত্ৰও মতা আসুৰিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ বিভিন্ন আঞ্চলিক নাম আৰু বৈশিষ্ট্যও আছে। এই চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি বেজালি আৰু ওজালি বুলিও জনা যায়। আসুৰিক চিকিৎসাৰ ওপৰত জনজাতীয় প্ৰভাৱ লক্ষিত যায়। অসমৰ জন জাতীয় লোকসকলৰ মাজত এই পদ্ধতি এতিয়াও অধিক জনপ্ৰিয়। মানৱ কিছুমান ৰোগৰ ৰোগীৰ দেহ স্পৰ্শ নকৰাকৈ বেজ বা ওজাসকলে নিজৰ দেহত জৰা-ফুক

ৰোগৰ উপশম ঘটোৱাৰ ব্যৱস্থাও এই পদ্ধতিত কৰা দেখা যায়। সৰ্পই কোনো লোকক দংশন কৰিলে এতিয়াও ওজাই মস্ত্ৰ মাতি সাপৰ বিষ নমোৱা দেখা যায়। সৰ্পই দংশন কৰা লোকক এতিয়াও ভক্তৰী ঔষধ খুওৱা নহয়। এতিয়াও অসমীয়া সমাজত আই (বসন্ত) ওলালে পানী-জৰা, এৰাসুতাৰ জাপ, বড়ী ব্যৱহাৰ আৰু মস্ত্ৰেৰে জৰা ফুকা কৰি ৰোগ নিৰাময় কৰা হয়। এই পদ্ধতিৰ চিকিৎসা ব্যৱস্থাৰ এক অন্যতম চিকিৎসা হ'ল ‘নাৰেঙ্গা’ চিকিৎসা। এই বিধ ৰোগক অবিভক্ত মধ্য কামৰূপ অঞ্চলত ‘নাৰ্ণা’ বা ‘বিয়েবী’ বুলিও কোৱা হয়। এই বিধ ৰোগত ওজাই নিজে তৈয়াৰ কৰা দৰবৰ লেপ্‌ দি পৰিষ্কাৰ কৰে আৰু তাৰ পাছত অস্ত্ৰ প্ৰচাৰ কৰে। মন কৰিবলগীয়া কথা যে অস্ত্ৰ প্ৰচাৰৰ সময়ত নাৰেঙ্গা হোৱা অংশখিনি মস্ত্ৰৰ সহায়ত বিষমুক্ত কৰি লোৱা হয় বাবে ৰোগীয়ে কোনো ধৰণৰ কষ্ট অনুভৱ নকৰে। আনকি অস্ত্ৰ প্ৰচাৰৰ সময়ত ৰোগী দেহৰ পৰা তেজ ওলালে মস্ত্ৰৰ সহায়ত বন্ধ কৰা হয়। নলবাৰী জিলাৰ বনগ্ৰামৰ স্বৰ্গীয় সিদ্ধেশ্বৰ শৰ্মাৰ পৰিয়ালত পৰম্পৰাগত ভাৱে এতিয়াও এইবিধ ৰোগৰ চিকিৎসা কৰি অসমৰ বহুত লোকে আৰোগ্য লাভ কৰিছে।

সেইদৰে মানুহক বলিয়া বা ভাল শিয়াল, কুকুৰে কামুৰিলে আসুৰিক চিকিৎসা কৰা হয়। এইবিধ চিকিৎসাত ৰোগীক চেনী জৰা খুওৱা প্ৰাচীন পদ্ধতি। আন এটা চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি মতে এই ৰোগত কাঁহৰ কাহীত মস্ত্ৰপুত কৰি যদি ৰোগী দেহত লাগি ধৰে তেনেহ'লে বিষ থকা বুলি কোৱা হয়। তাৰ পিছত ওজাই মস্ত্ৰেৰে জৰাফুকা কৰি ভৰিৰ আঙুলিৰ মুৰত কাইটেৰে ফুটাই বিষ উলিয়ায়। তাৰ পিছত পকা কলৰ ভিতৰত বড়ি সুমুৱাই দি তিনিদিন খালে ৰোগীয়ে আৰোগ্য লাভ কৰে। বৰপেটা জিলাৰ নগাওঁ অঞ্চলত অসমীয়া মুছলমান সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ পৰিয়াল এটাত এতিয়াও এই পদ্ধতিৰ উন্নত আৰু বিশ্বাসযোগ্য চিকিৎসাৰে ৰোগীক আৰোগ্য কৰি আছে।

অতি প্ৰাচীন কালৰে পৰা অসমত আয়ুৰ্বেদিক চিকিৎসা পৰম্পৰাগত ভাৱে চলি আহিছে। আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ শিক্ষা সাধাৰণতে পুৰুষানুক্ৰমে পৰিয়াল বিশেষত আৱদ্ধ আছিল যদিও চিকিৎসক সকলে আন ছাত্ৰও গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল। ছাত্ৰ বা উমেদাৰ সকলক ঔষধ তৈয়াৰ আৰু তাৰ প্ৰয়োগ দুয়োটা বিষয়ক শিক্ষাদান কৰাৰ উপৰিও নাড়ীজ্ঞান আৰু বিভিন্ন ৰোগৰ লক্ষণবোৰ বুজাই দিছিল। নাড়ী টিপি ৰোগ নিৰ্ণয় কৰা পদ্ধতি আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসাৰ এটা ডাঙৰ বিশেষত্ব আছিল। তাৰোপৰি ছাত্ৰসকলক বনৌষধিৰ লগত পৰিচয় কৰাই দিছিল। এই চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ মতে বায়ু, পিত্ত আৰু কফ এই তিনিটা কাৰণতে মানুহৰ শৰীৰ ৰোগাক্ৰান্ত হয়। এই তিনিটা সাম্য হৈ থাকিলে শৰীৰ নিৰোগী হৈ থাকে। সেয়ে এইবিধ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিত নানাবিধ ভেষজ দ্ৰব্য ব্যৱহাৰৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰস্তুত কৰা আয়ুৰ্বেদীয় দৰবৰ সেৱনে উক্ত তিনিটা কাৰণ স্বাভাৱিক অৱস্থাত বখাত সহায় কৰে। আয়ুৰ্বেদৰ চিকিৎসক সকলক সাধাৰণতে ভিষক, বৈদ্য, কবিৰাজ, বেজবৰুৱা, বসন্ত বৰুৱা নামেৰে জনা যায়।

কবিৰাজসকলে চিকিৎসা শাস্ত্ৰত নিৰ্দেশ কৰা নিয়ম অনুযায়ী দ্ৰব্যবোৰ সংগ্ৰহ কৰি প্ৰাকৃতিক ভাবে নিজ ঘৰতে ঔষধবোৰ প্ৰস্তুত কৰিছিল। বড়ি, চূৰ্ণ আৰু জুলীয়া তিনিটা পদ্ধতিত ঔষধবোৰ প্ৰস্তুত কৰিছিল। ঔষধৰ লগত বিভিন্ন অনুপান মিহলি কৰি খোৱাও হয়। কিছুমান ৰোগত আকৌ

এই পদ্ধতিৰ চিকিৎসাত কবিৰাজ সকলে মানৱ দেহৰ মালিছ, ভৰণ, লেপ আদিও দিয়া হয়। এই পদ্ধতিৰ হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰাৰ উপৰিও বাঁহৰ নিহিঁ হাড় জোৰা লগাবলৈ ঔষধ আৰোগ্য কৰে। সংযম, নিৰ্দ্ধাৰিত নিয়ম পালন নকৰিলে ঔষধে গুণ কামি বান্ধি ৰাখি ৰোগীক আৰোগ্য কৰে। যথেষ্ট অভিজ্ঞ আৰু জ্ঞানী আছিল। খাদ্য বস্ত্ৰৰ ভাল নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ, শৰীৰ চৰ্চা, খোৱাৰ পদ্ধতি, পথ্য আদিৰ জ্ঞানও তেওঁলোকে সমাজৰ মানুহক দিছিল। ফলত মানুহে বহুত বেমাৰৰ পৰা আতৰত থাকিব পাৰিছিল।

অবধৌতিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিত তান্ত্ৰিকসকলে লাভ কৰা সিদ্ধিলতা অৰ্থাৎ জ্ঞানৰ বোৰা বোৰীৰ ৰোগ নিৰাময়ৰ বাবে চিকিৎসা কৰা হয়। এই পদ্ধতিৰ চিকিৎসা ব্যৱস্থাতো দৰবৰ লগে মন্ত্ৰৰ প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হয়। ইয়াৰোপৰি জীৱ জন্তুৰ চৰাই চিৰিকতিৰ ছাল, মণ্ডহ, হাড়, গছৰ ডাল, আদি দৰব হিচাপে ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হয়। বিভিন্ন অপদেৱতা আদিৰ অস্তিত্ব স্বীকাৰ কৰি সেইবোৰ প্ৰভাৱৰ পৰা ৰোগীক মুক্ত কৰিবলৈ তান্ত্ৰিকসকলে পূজা সেৱা কৰাও দেখা যায়।

মানৱ চিকিৎসাৰ দৰে প্ৰাচীন কালৰে পৰা অসমত পশু চিকিৎসাৰ প্ৰথাও আছিল। সেই শিকাবলৈ কোনো আনুষ্ঠানিক শিক্ষালয় নাছিল। অসমতেই ৰচনা হোৱা পালকপ্য মুণিৰ 'হস্ত্যায়ুৰ্হাতী চিকিৎসাৰ এখন প্ৰাচীন গ্ৰন্থ। সেইদৰে আহোম ৰাজত্ব কালত ১৭৬৪ খৃঃ সুকুমাৰ বৰকাক ৰচনা কৰা 'হস্তীবিদ্যাৰ্ণৱ' আৰু ১৭৪০ খৃঃ সাগৰ খৰিয়ে ৰচনা কৰা 'ঘোৰা নিদান' গ্ৰন্থত ক্ৰমেই আৰু ঘোঁৰাৰ শ্ৰেণীকৰণ, বেমাৰ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ বিষয় বিস্তৃত আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। উক্ত দুখনে আহোম ৰাজত্ব কালত জীৱ জন্তুৰ প্ৰতি মানুহৰ সমাদৰ আৰু পশু চিকিৎসাৰ প্ৰাচীন ইতিহাস দাঙি ধৰে। ঘৰচীয়া জীৱ জন্তুবোৰৰ চিকিৎসা অতীজৰে পৰা পৰম্পৰাগত পদ্ধতিতেই অহা হৈছে। সমাজৰ কৃষিজীৱি বয়োজ্যেষ্ঠ লোকবোৰ এই বিষয়ত যথেষ্ট অভিজ্ঞ আছিল। চিকিৎসাত বনৌষধি, বনৰীয়া লতা, মচলা আদি ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছিল। জীৱ জন্তুৰ পেলু, খৰ-কাঁহ (ভকলা), চৰকা, ভেকুলীয়া আদি ৰোগ কবিৰাজ বা বেজসকলে দৰব খুৱাই ভাল কৰিছিল। চৰকা (বসন্ত) ৰোগ নহ'বলৈ আগতীয়াকৈ ঔটেঙা বা কাছৰ মাংস ধোৱা পানী গৰু ছাগলীক প্ৰতিদেই হিচাপে খুওৱা হৈছিল। গো-যখে ধৰা, খেতৰে ধৰা আদি অপদেৱতাৰ কু-দৃষ্টিৰ পৰা জীৱ আৰু আৰোগ্য কৰিবলৈ জৰা ফুকা, তন্ত্ৰমন্ত্ৰৰো প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হৈছিল। উপযুক্ত শিষ্য পালে বেজসকল চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিবোৰ শিকাই থৈ গৈছিল।

ইয়াৰ উপৰি অসমৰ বিভিন্ন অঞ্চলত 'ইউনানি চিকিৎসা' বুলি আৰু এবিধ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি বিস্তৃতভাৱে প্ৰচলিত আছে। এই চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিক হেকিমি চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতি বুলিও জনা যায়। আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰ লগত ইয়াৰ মিল আছে।

সময়ৰ অগ্ৰতিৰ লগে লগে পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিত কিছু বেমেজালিয়ে দেখা দিয়ে। আয়ুৰ্বেদৰ মূল শাস্ত্ৰ বিলাক সংস্কৃত ভাষাত থকাত আৰু বৰ্তমানৰ কবিৰাজ সকলৰ ভাষাটোৰ জ্ঞানৰ অভাৱত ঔষধ প্ৰস্তুত, ৰোগ চিনাক্তকৰণত অসুবিধা আহি পৰে। তাৰোপৰি পৰিৱৰ্তিত সমাজৰ বেজ সকলে ভেজ বনৌষধি বিলাক চিনি নপোৱা হ'ল, কিছুমান বনৌষধি

নহোৱা হ'ল। ফলত কিছুমান দ্ৰব্য নহোৱাকৈ দৰববোৰ প্ৰস্তুত কৰাত যথাযথ কাম নকৰা হ'ল। পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰে শৰীৰৰ জটিল ৰোগ বিলাক চিকিৎসা কৰাত অসুবিধা আহি পৰাত মানুহ আধুনিক ডাক্তৰী চিকিৎসাৰ প্ৰতি আগ্ৰহী হ'ল। সমাজ ব্যৱস্থাত মানুহ কু সংস্কাৰ আৰু অন্ধবিশ্বাসৰ বলী হোৱাত তন্ত্ৰ মন্ত্ৰই বহুত অপকাৰ কৰিলে।

অসমত ইংৰাজ ৰাজত্ব স্থাপনৰ লগে লগে পাশ্চাত্য শিক্ষা সংস্কৃতিৰ ধৰণ কৰণ, নীতি-নীয়ে মানুহৰ মন আকৰ্ষণ কৰিলে। ইংৰাজসকলে চিকিৎসাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত আমূল পৰিবৰ্তন সাধন কৰে। বিদেশৰ পৰা অসমলৈ বাসায়নিক উপায়ে প্ৰস্তুত কৰা ঔষধৰ আমদানি হয়। অত্যাধুনিক বৈজ্ঞানিক যন্ত্ৰৰ সহায়ত পৰীক্ষা কৰি মানৱ শৰীৰৰ যিকোনো ৰোগ নিৰ্ণয় কৰাৰ ব্যৱস্থা হ'ল। এনেদৰে পাশ্চাত্য আদৰ্শৰ আধুনিক চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিৰে মানুহে চিকিৎসা কৰাৰ ফলত আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসাৰ প্ৰতি মানুহৰ আদৰ কমিল।

শেষত এটা কথা স্বীকাৰ কৰিব লাগিব যে আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিত ৰোগীৰ ৰোগ ভাল হোৱাত সময় লাগিলেও ৰোগীৰ গাত প্ৰতিক্ৰিয়া বা অইন ৰোগ হোৱাৰ সম্ভাৱনা নাথাকে। দেশ স্বাধীন হোৱাৰ পিছত জাতীয় চৰকাৰে অৱশ্যে পুনৰ আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসা আৰু সেই সম্পৰ্কীয় গৱেষণাৰ ওপৰত গুৰুত্ব আৰোপ কৰিছে। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত বাস্তৱ পদক্ষেপ গ্ৰহণৰ বাবে দেশত আয়ুৰ্বেদ কলেজ সমূহ স্থাপন কৰা হৈছে। আয়ুৰ্বেদ চিকিৎসাক আজিও অসমৰ বহু লোকে পৰম শ্ৰদ্ধাৰে বেমাৰৰ পৰা হাত সৰাৰ উপায় হিচাপে গ্ৰহণ কৰে। সেইদৰে উন্নত মানৰ বিশ্বাসযোগ্য আনুষ্ঠানিক চিকিৎসা আৰু তন্ত্ৰ-মন্ত্ৰৰ সহায়তো মানুহে আৰোগ্য লাভ কৰি আছে। গতিকে অসমত পৰম্পৰাগত চিকিৎসা পদ্ধতিয়ে আজিকোপতি যে মানৱ কল্যাণ সাধন কৰি আছে এই কথা আমি স্বীকাৰ কৰিবই লাগিব। তাৰ লগে লগে মানুহে সমাজৰ তথা মানৱ কল্যাণৰ অহিতকৰ কু সংস্কাৰ অন্ধবিশ্বাসবোৰৰ পৰা সদায় আতৰত থাকিব লাগিব।

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## Study of Urban informal sector in Assam With Special Reference in Barpeta District

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### Introduction :

The informal sector is characterized by large number of small scale production and service activities that are individually or family owned and uses labor intensive and simple technology. The usually employed workers in this sector have little formal education, are generally unskilled and lack access to financial capital. As a result, worker productivity and income tend to be lower in the informal sector.

The existence of an unorganized, unregulated and mostly less but unregistered informal sector was recognized in the early 1970s. The bulk of new entrants to the urban labor force seemed to create their own employment or work for small-scale family-owned enterprises. With the unprecedented rate of growth of the urban population in developing countries expected to continue and with the increasing failure of rural and urban formal sectors to absorb additions to the labour force, more attention is being devoted to the role of the informal sector, serving as a panacea for the growing unemployment problem (Today page 198) The labor intensive activities alone could be the major alternatives for a country like India which has abundant labor force and scarce capital resources.

The urban population is increasing steadily decade after decade. So far as the urban population of the country is concerned only 25.8 million lived in towns in 1901 and by 2001 it has increased by more than ten times to 285.4 million. Therefore the widespread urban spread

and its resultant urban problems such as providing adequate employment, housing and other basic amenities have caused much strain on municipal services and facilities (K. K. Jahan, page 95)

Most of the developing countries face among other things, the problems of employment creation and income distribution. Despite several efforts the scope for generating major increases in industrial employment in large scale manufacturing remain limited (Pack, 1978) Since the rate of employment creation in the modern informal sector has failed to keep pace with the high and rising rate of unemployment, the reliance is placed on the informal sector which has developed on its own and without the support and blessings of public authorities and quite often with their disapproval (Page, 1979, I.L.O., 1972, and cited in Meier, 1984) Moreover, high growth rate of urbanization urban unemployment along with the formal industrial based activities make plausible the emergence of informal sector.

The state of Assam is no exception to overall economic scene of the country. With the passage of time the size of urban areas has been growing steadily. The total no of town in Assam has been increasing from 23 in 1951 to 53 in 1961, 73 in 1971 and 78 in 1981 and 94 in 1991 and 125 in 2001. This shows that as the size of urban areas are expanding with the increase in the number of towns, the increase in the size urban population is obvious. Rapid urbanization create many problems like housing, traffic congestion, air and water pollution, solid waste disposal problem, drainage problem, population explosion and unscientific use of land etc.

### The Study area :

The present study area i.e. Barpeta district is located in the State of Assam. Assam, located in the tropical latitudes (24.3 and 28N) and eastern longitudes (89.5E and 96.1E), is the most populous state in the North East India.

The growth of population in the state after independence (1951-2001) is 231.78 per cent against the national growth rate of 184.42 during this period. The state has a geographical area of 78438 sq. km. and

a population of 3.11, 69, 272 (2011).

The study area is that of the Barpeta district is a typical district in Assam with growing rate of urbanization and high density of population. It has a geographical area of 3245 sq. km. With 7(seven) urban areas, 1046 villages, revenue circles and 12 development blocks. (cent 2001). The economy of the district with a population 16,47,201 (2001) is highly agrarian. Still the share urban population 7.62% lives in Barpeta district. Though Barpeta district occupied the first place with a share 15.82% of total employees engaged in agricultural activities in rural areas, in the Urban area of the district a large number of informal activities are carried out mostly by the 1. Manufacturing such as cloth-bases, food based, etc. and 2. services such as binding, and paper cutting, Call operators, gold polishing, electrical works, Radio and T.V. services, Tailoring, Two-wheeler repairs, Xerox machine, shoe making, Furnishing, house etc. in order to supplement their income. Again due to inability of the formal sector to absorb additional labour and non availability of infrastructural facilities and organized industrial sector, rural people are in search of alternative avenue of employment are migrated to the urban area of the district. Meanwhile, several modern informal activities are also coming up in the district. Therefore it would be rewarding to study different components of urban informal sector of Barpeta district and try to find out ways and means for the spread and growth of this sector along with problem prospects, nature, size, determinants and constraints. This will throw up suggestions for overcoming the depressing scenario of unemployment, underemployment and urban poverty in the district having vital relevance for the economy of Assam and India as a whole.

### Objectives :

The main objectives of the study are -

1. To portray the structure of urban informal enterprises.
2. To identify the factors influencing income and employment generation.

3. To investigate problems of women workers in urban informal sector.
4. To investigate professional relationship between employer and workers who equally participate in economic activities of urban informal sector.
5. To understand sources of labour force in urban informal sector of Barpeta district and their possible contribution towards human capital.
6. To understand the constraints faced by the urban informal units.
7. To suggest policies for the development of urban informal sector of Barpeta district.

### Hypothesis :

It is intended to test the following hypotheses:

1. There is no significant wage difference among workers of urban informal sector of Barpeta district.
2. There is no significant relationship between level of earnings and number of children born to women workers of urban informal sector.
3. There is no significant relationship between literacy and income that determines qualities of life of the workers in urban informal sector.
4. There exists welfare scheme for benefits of workers of urban informal sector.
5. There is no significant difference between employer and workers in economic empowerment among workers of urban informal sector in Barpeta district of Assam.

### Data Base and Methodology :

Data for the present study will be collected from secondary and primary sources. Primary data have been collected by using specially prepared schedules. Secondary sources have been collected mainly from census report of India, data from the directorate of Economics and Statistics department, data from different Town Committee, etc. The field

work will be done in two stages. In the first stage, a complete enumeration of all informal sector units which fall under the two categories of manufacturing and service activities is carried out seeking certain basic details like nature of work, number of workers employed etc. This will become the universe for drawing out samples for the proposed study. In the second stage, it is intended to subject a small number of scientifically selected sample units within a carefully demarcated compact area to an in-depth study of these features, needs and problems.

The statistical techniques will be used to analyse the significant variation in the explanatory variables are - 1. ANOVA technique 2. Ordinary Registration Methods 3. t-tests and partial and Multiple Registration techniques. Chi-Square tests and t-test will be also used to test the uniformity in the income and employment levels of the units under study. Thus data collected at different levels from various sources will be systemically arranged and in order to analyse them, suitable statistical and graphic measures will be used. •

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# Gender Justice and Women's Human Rights Violation

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The term "Gender" is used to determine a set of qualities and behavior expected from men and women by the society. Gender is determined by the society. In Indian society women were regarded as the second sex and less attention has been paid to them. Gender based justice in our society has been as away of life.

Human beings are rational beings. They by virtue of their being human possess certain basic and inalienable rights which are commonly known as human rights. Human rights, being the birth rights, are, therefore, inherent in all the individuals irrespective of their caste, creed, religion, sex and nationality. All people are born equally. From time immemorial people extend the basic principles of rights. To establish ones right people revolt from ancient period to enjoy these rights. In 1948 the establishment of U.N.O. recognized these rights as Human Rights which should be enjoyed by all people irrespective of caste, class, religion, sex place of birth ECT. Under this charter it declared that both man and woman enjoy these rights without the discrimination of sex. Every people irrespective of class, caste and sex should enjoy these rights.

In India gender discrimination and gender based injustice is one of the worst forms of injustice conferred on an individual female by any society.

Objective of the study-

- \* To identify the gender bias and violation

- \* To examine the various situations and its level of exploitation
  - \* To advocate awareness on rights of women
- Violation Of women Human Rights----

Gender violence is an issue for everyone. In Indian society women are being subjected to all kinds of discrimination and atrocities, physical and mental, right from the family to society at large but the types of violation of women human rights are different from time to time it is varied from place to place. It is one of the most horrifying problems in the world. The discrimination and violence that women are subjected to has its genesis in socio-cultural values that spring from the patriarchal ethos. The influence of socio-cultural factors such as social-class, primordial identities of caste and religion and regional specificities cannot be ignored. Discrimination against women at all levels and in all fields is a common occurrence.

The World Health Organization (WHO) reports that at least one in five women in the world has been physically and sexually abused by a man at some time in her life. In the U.S.A. a woman is physically assaulted by her husband every 15 minutes. In India, a crime is committed against women every seven minutes.

Equality and non-discrimination are two basic principles of Human Rights. But in many cases, women as a human being do not enjoy equal treatment and have to face discrimination. Women's basic rights right to live, freedom, justice, and equality are being violated. They are not treated as human beings but only as women, who are considered to be basically different from males and subordinate to male. Forms of violence against women....

Violence against women is a technical term used to collectively refer to violent acts that are primarily committed against women. The United Nations General Assembly defines "violence against women" as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, physical, sexual or mental harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life." Violence against women reveals the various forms of

violence like female feticide/infanticide, domestic violence, dowry, bride-burning, trafficking, rape, ECT.

**Female feticide/infanticide-** Killing of the female child in fetus itself i.e. before taking birth is called feticide. With the advancement of modern technology it is possible to detect the sex of the fetus when it is in the womb of the mother. After detecting the sex of the fetus in the mother's womb it can be aborted, if it happens to be a male. Feticide/Infanticide is a major socio-economic problem in our society. According to UNICEF, 40 to 50 million girls have gone "missing" in India since 1901- missing because they were not allowed to be born. Of born, murdered immediately thereafter.

Female infanticide is the intentional killing of baby girls due to the preference for male babies and from the low value associated with the birth of females.

**Domestic Violence-----**

Domestic violence means violence against children, older people, spouses and other members of the family, which can be physical, verbal, social and emotional. The term 'domestic violence' in the context of women includes various forms of violence the women face both in their natal and marital homes, at the hands of their father, brothers, sons, uncles, husband and in-laws. Domestic violence can be physical, sexual, economic, emotional, verbal and psychological abuse. Domestic violence cuts across class, caste and religious boundaries. It is one of the most powerful means of patriarchy to maintain the subordinate position of women. Violence is also used to pressurize women and their maternal family to fulfill dowry-related demands. In this way, domestic violence continues to keep millions of women in their subordinate positions within the family and in the society.

**Dowry and bride-burning-**

Dowry or Dahej is the payment in cash or / kind by the bride's family to the bridegroom's family along with the giving away of the

bride in Indian marriage. Dowry originated in upper caste families as the wedding gift to the bride from her family. The dowry was later given to help with marriage expenses and become a form of insurance in the case that her in-laws mistreated her. The practice of dowry abuse is rising in India. The most severe in "bride-burning", the burning of women whose dowries were not considered sufficient by their husband or in-laws. Most of these incidents are reported as accidental burns in the kitchen or are disguised as suicide. It is evident that there exist deep rooted prejudices against women in India. The dowry has adversely affected the status and position of women in the society. It has lowered and degraded the position of women.

**Trafficking of women and children-**

The Oxford English Dictionary defines traffic as "Trade, especially illegal (as in drugs). It has also been described as "the transportation of goods, the coming and going of people or goods by road, rail, air, sea, ect." In other words a trafficked person is one who as an object of trade or commerce, especially for illegal purpose or illegally, or sale and purchase of children for gain within the country (intra-country) and across borders (inter-country) by deceit, fraud, force, resulting in exploitation of the person trafficked".

Mostly women and children are targeted for trafficking because they are "by nature" more easily controlled and also accept low wage. This can be particularly true for women who are originally from marginalized social group.

The effects of violence against women can be devastating to a women's physical and mental well-being. In addition to causing injury, violence increases women's long-term risk of a number of other health problems.

Gender justice is a concept of recent origin. Justice to women mean equal distribution of resources and of access to influence over decision making, more balanced behavior and end to violence and equal distribution of social necessities.

Suggestion-  
 \* Complete eradication of female feticide through effective enforcement of both the Indian Penal-Code-1860 and the prenatal Diagnostic Technique (prohibition of sex- selection) Act 1994, with most stringent measures of punishment so that a very harsh path is set for the illegal practitioners.

- \* The laws of Human Rights and constitution should be in favor of social justice
- \* Women should be made aware of their constitutional and legal rights
- \* Women should change their attitude about themselves.
- \* To educate the women folk for improving their status in society
- \* Strengthening legal system aiming eliminating of all forms of discrimination against women.

Conclusion-  
 After sixty six years of Indian independence women are still one of the most powerless sections of Indian society. Women are treated as inferior members in their own family and society. Gender based victimization can lead to so many health problems. Health is considered a fundamental human right. But the half of the world population is denied by this right. It is the violation of gender justice. The gender violence deprives society of women's full participation.

In a statement, the United Nations General Secretary, Boutros Boutros Ghali said in the fourth world conference on women in Beijing in Sept' 1995 that violence against women is a universal problem that must be universally condemned. •

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## Changing Trends in Grammar Teaching

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**Introduction:** The place of grammar in the language classroom has had a checkered history. Thirty years ago, language teaching and grammar were synonymous in most language classrooms. The primary aim of teaching was to ensure that learners mastered the grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary of the language. The dominant methodology at the time was 'audiolingualism', which in fact, is still influential today. The principles underlying audiolingualism were derived from structural linguistics behaviorist. The behaviorists believed that learning was a matter of acquiring habits.

Nobody would dispute that the teaching of grammar is as important as the teaching of reading, writing or any other skill. It is important on the part of the teacher to know how to drive home all the necessary skills. Traditional approaches to language teaching had a strong influence on the teaching of grammar also. For example, in Grammar Translation Method, sentence formed the basis of language teaching. The learner was deliberately exposed to and taught the rules of English grammar one by one till he shaped his language accordingly. Reading and writing were the basic skills considered essential because it was only through them that language was preserved in its 'pure and standard form'. Such grammars were prescriptive in nature, i.e, they told us how to write and use the language and not how people used it in actual life. Teaching and learning of English had to follow prescriptivism for a century. It is worth mentioning here that the rules that were applied to

English were directly taken from Latin and imposed on the language. The whole focus was on correctness. Whether or not the language used was appropriate, no one seemed to take any note of it. The sections below will focus on the changing trends in the teaching of grammar during the last few decades.

### Different schools:

**Descriptive grammar** : With the emergence of Linguistics in the 1950s, there appeared what are known as descriptive grammars that did not focus on presenting the rules of English grammar to be faithfully followed in letter and spirit but presented language in what was believed to be a 'natural way', not through writing but speech. The 'Direct Method', 'Situational Language Teaching' and 'Audio-Visual Method' shifted the emphasis from reading and writing and writing to listening and speaking. In these, grammar meant presenting the linguistic items one by one as blocks which learners posited to their memory for a global understanding. The aim was to help learners imitate their teacher so that he listens to correct language. Such grammars are called 'Structural Grammars'

**Transformational Generative Grammar** : In 1957, Noam Chomsky, an American linguist, proposed another in which the focus was on the innate ability of the native speakers to produce/create correct and only correct, grammatical structures in his language. Two types of sentences are, therefore, analyzed: basic sentences and transformational sentences. The latter are derived from the former by applying different transformational rules. Such grammars are called 'Transformational Generative Grammars'. Here we concentrate on the phrases that constitute a sentence. Sentences are, therefore, analyzed not in terms of 'subject' and 'predicate' but by branching the various constituents.

**Notional-Functional Grammar** : Another kind of grammar was developed by Wilkins that concentrates not on the rules of forming cor-

rect sentences but on expressing the different 'notions' and 'functions' through 'appropriate' grammatical structures. This grammar, 'notional-functional grammar', does not teach rules of grammar or how language is formed but it teaches how, for instance, permission is sought, how it can be refused and so on. Here the focus is on appropriate utterances rather than on grammatical sentences. For instance, for learning 'how to seek permission' students will have to learn the various grammatical forms that can be used to do this. The following forms:

- \* Can I use your phone, please?
- \* May I use your phone, please?
- \* Could I use your phone?
- \* I wonder if I use your phone?
- \* I wondered if I could use your phone?
- \* Do you mind if I use your phone?
- \* Would you mind if I used your phone?

They are questions which begin with a modal/ auxiliary or use an if-clause to achieve one function: seeking permission. Similarly, a single grammatical form can be used to achieve different functions as in:

- \* Bake the pie in a slow oven. [INSTRUCTION]
- \* Come for dinner tomorrow. [INVITATION]
- \* Take up this offer [ADVANCE]
- \* Forgive us our trespassing. [PRAYER]

All the above sentences are imperative, but they are used to serve different functions. The notional-functional-grammar, thus, does not focus on the form as on what it is that the different grammatical forms are aimed to do.

In such a situation where we have different approaches to what exactly constitutes the grammar of English, it is the teacher's ingenuity that would play a vital role in deciding what to teach and how to teach. Eclecticism would be, perhaps, a better alternative in presenting language structures differently at different levels. But, thing is very one

essential: students must be taught grammar through properly contextualized sentences and not as isolated structures. Many teachers still prefer to get proper sentences, instead of natural responses, to questions like the following:

- i. Is Ahmed a man?
- ii. Is Ahmed a woman?
- iii. They would be happy if student answer as (iii) and (iv) below.
- iv. Yes, Ahmed is a man.
- v. No. Ahmed is not a woman.
- vi. Responses (vi) and (vii) will hardly be like: Yes. Yes, he is.
- vii. No, he isn't.

Here students are required to make sentences which are contextless and do not tell them when they are appropriate and when they are inappropriate. It is always better to teach grammar in situations and contexts, so that students learn to use it appropriately in real life situations.

**Communicative Language Teaching (CLT):** In the 1970s two developments were to have a far-reaching effect on language teaching. Firstly, researchers began to look at the order in which learners acquired the grammar of the language. Prior to this, it had been assumed that the learners' L<sub>1</sub> would have a strong influence on the order in which grammatical items were acquired. As a result of their investigations, researchers concluded that acquisition orders were determined by the nature of the language to be learnt, rather than through a contrast to be impervious to instruction, along with the fact that many learners appeared to be impervious to instruction, along with the fact that many learners could state rules, but then violated those very rules in communication, led to the notion that grammar instruction was of limited value.

Stephen Krashen argued that grammar teaching led to conscious learning, whereas what was wanted was subconscious acquisition. He went further in suggesting that grammar instruction was unnecessary for the acquisition of second language.

More recently, the consensus seems to be that some form of grammar instruction is useful. For example, two researchers recently wrote:

Our view is that some degree of carefully timed and delivered focus on form is likely to be appropriate in most cases of L2 learning difficulty... we believe that leaving learners to discover form-function relationships and the intricacies of a new linguistic system wholly on their own makes little sense. (Doughty & Williams, 1998,p.11)

The second development that had an important influence on the course of language teaching was a rethinking of the nature of language itself. Rather than being viewed as a set of linguistic systems, it was seen as tool for communication. This reconceptualization led directly to the development of communicative language teaching.

**Focus on Form and Consciousness-Raising :** Two recent related trends in language teaching are 'focus on form' and 'consciousness-raising'. The first refers to the practice the relationship between the grammatical form and the communicative function.

For example, when teaching the passive voice, the teacher should show why the passive voice is used—to place the emphasis on the action rather than the doer, to hide the identify of the doer etc.

**Focusing on the development of procedural rather than declarative knowledge :** In the field of language learning, 'declarative knowledge' is knowing language rules. 'Procedural knowledge' is being able to use the knowledge for communication. Most of us who have been teaching for any time at all know learners who can give a more or less standard textbook explanation of a grammatical principle, but who violate the rule when using language communicatively. For example, we have learners who can tell us that an 's' is put on the end of the verb

when making third person singular declarative statements. When making such statements themselves, however, more often than not, they leave off the 's'. These students have declarative knowledge, but not procedural knowledge.

There are also learners who have procedural but not declarative knowledge. In fact, the vast majority of native speakers fall into this category. Unless they have studied grammar formally, few native speakers can state the rule for third person 's'.

While declarative knowledge can facilitate the development of procedural knowledge, it is not a necessary and sufficient condition for the development of such knowledge. Students to develop mastery of target language items, not by memorizing rules, but by using the target items in communicative contexts. The learning through use or learning by doing principle is one that has come to us through the approach to education known as 'experientialism'.

**Classroom techniques and tasks :** In this section we shall discuss some popular grammar teaching techniques. Most of the techniques can be used either for introducing a new grammar point for the first time or for recycling a point that has already been introduced.

Doughty and Williams distinguish between techniques in which the grammar point is relatively 'implicit' and those in which the point is relatively 'explicit'. Penny Ur places techniques on a continuum from those that focus on accuracy to those that focus on fluency.

**Input enhancement-**Input refers to the language that is made available to the learner. **Input enhancement** is a technique for getting students to notice the grammar item that the teacher wants to introduce. With this technique, teachers draw students' attention to items that are meant to be noticed by 'flagging' them in some way such as through highlighting, underlining, or colouring. Such awareness-raising techniques are at the accuracy end of Penny Ur's accuracy-fluency continuum.

**Consciousness-raising-**Consciousness-raising activities are designed to get learners to notice particular grammatical feature or principle.

principle. However, learners are not required to use or practise the target item.

**Focus on Form and Consciousness-Raising :** Two recent related trends in language teaching are 'focus on form' and 'consciousness-raising'. The first refers to the practice of explicitly drawing students' attention to linguistic features within the context of meaning-focused activities. In other words, communication comes first, and a focus on form comes second. Learners are, therefore, more likely to see the relationship between language form and communicative function.

Consciousness-raising is a focus on form approach to grammar teaching. Here students are made aware of the target grammatical item through discovery oriented tasks.

The current interest in focus on form has grown out of research questioning the idea that as teachers all we need to do is to create opportunities for learners to be immersed in and to communicate in the Target Language (TL), and it is necessary to focus on form at all.

**Principles for teaching grammar:**

- i. **Integrating both inductive and deductive methods into grammar teaching:** In the deductive classroom, the teacher gives a grammatical explanation or rule followed by a set of exercises designed to clarify the grammatical point and help the learners master the point. Thus, in this method we work from principles to examples. In inductive teaching, we present learners with samples of language and, through a process of guided discovery, get them to work out the principle or rule for themselves. We can try and combine both approaches. There are times when we introduce a grammar point deductively and other times when we use an inductive approach. Most students prefer deduction because it requires less mental effort. I personally prefer induction as it demands greater mental effort and that this will result in more effective language learning in the longer term. The disadvantage of an inductive approach it takes more time for learners to come to an understanding of the grammatical point in question than with deductive approach.

However, inductive techniques appear to result in learners retaining more of the language in the long run.

**ii. Using tasks that make clear the relationship between grammatical form and communicative function :** Many grammar-based courses are relatively ineffective because they teach grammar as an abstract system, present the language as isolated sentences and fail to give learners a proper context for the grammatical item. Teaching was limited to the form of the new grammatical item. For example, when the passive voice along was introduced, typically students were given a list of sentences in the active voice with a model of how to form the passive. The task for the student was to turn the active voice sentence into the passive. Such a procedure does not give students any insight into the communicative contexts in which they should use the passive rather than the active voice.

Although some propose that teaching grammar should be done away with it is no solution. The solution is to present the grammar in context that makes clear the relationship between the grammatical form and the communicative function. For example, when teaching the passive voice, the teacher should show why the passive voice is used - to place the emphasis on the action rather than the doer, to hide the identity of the doer etc.

**iii. Focusing on the development of procedural rather than declarative knowledge:** In the field of language learning, 'declarative knowledge' is knowing language rules. 'Procedural knowledge' is being able to use the knowledge for communication. Most of us who have been teaching for any time at all know learners who can give a more or less standard textbook explanation of a grammatical principle, but who violate the rule when using language communicatively. For example, we have learners who can tell us that an 's' is put on the end of the verb when making third person singular declarative statements. When making such students have declarative knowledge, but not procedural knowledge.

There are also learners who have procedural but not declarative knowledge. In fact, the vast majority of native speakers can state the rule for third person's'.

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**Grammar dictation-** Grammar dictation involves learners collaborating in small groups, actively using their language, and reflecting on the way grammar works in context. It also encourages students to reflect on the way grammar works in context. It also encourages students to reflect on their own output. The technique is a relatively simple one. The teacher dictates a passage containing target language forms at normal speed. Students take notes and then work in small groups to reconstruct the original passage.

**Garden path -** This technique could be considered rather cruel. In order to encourage students to process the target structure somewhat more deeply than they might otherwise do, the task is set up to get students to overgeneralise. It thus leads them into error. This is a technique based on inductive learning. Students study examples of the language and come to a hypothesis or generalization. The generalization is too broad. They are given disconfirming evidence and then have to modify their hypothesis.

**Findings :** The foregoing helps the investigator to arrive at some findings which are shown below :

- i. The place of grammar in the teaching of foreign languages is controversial.
- ii. At one point, it was pushed off the stage completely.
- iii. Having provided some background and context, we articulated three

key principles to guide the selection, adaptation, or creation of grammar learning opportunities in the classroom.  
iv. The aim of grammar practice is to get students to learn the structures so thoroughly that they will be able to produce them correctly on their own.

v. One of our jobs as teachers is to help our students make the 'leap' from form focused accuracy work to fluent, but acceptable, production by providing a 'bridge': a variety of practice activities that familiarize them with the structures in context, giving practice both in form and communicative meaning.

vi. Our lessons should include a fairly representative selection of activities that provide both form focused and meaning-focused practice.

**Conclusion :** With the increasing need for English and changing patterns of society, new and effective methodologies have been invented to impart grammar to learners. And the result is, all can guess, bleak and static language teaching scenario. Grammar is a principal component in language teaching and its disciplining value can never be overlooked. Since language involves form, and grammar confers the form on it, teaching of grammar is essential, but within the definite framework of instilling in the learners the competence to produce language in real life situations. •

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# Humanism in the Philosophy of R.N. Tagore

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R.N. Tagore's famous writings show that humanists are such a personalities which cannot be confined within the narrow geographical boundaries where they first touch the terrestrial earth. By the help of their version, mission and action, they expose them selves as universal man holding high up the banner of human values-truth, love, beauty, forbearance, harmony and eternal search for the ultimate destination from here to eternity. In such a galaxy of the prophets of humanism, R.N. Tagore, the minstrel of mother India, occupies a frontal position. He was an Indian by birth but a world citizen by his perception. His ultimate goal is to channellise the stream of nationalism to the direction of super nationalism or universalism by freeing human soul from all bondage and pettiness and thereby transcending itself into a search for universal love and brotherhood. India's motto, Tagore reminds us, is unity in diversity. So, India in Tagore's vision is a pilgrimage of synthesizer and unifier in the midst of many fold differences through centuries. To him India is a place where the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the Dravid and Sikhs, Hunas pathans and Maghals, all are merged in one body. The west has now opened the door and bringing gifts. All are to deliver and accept and mingle, no one is to recede. This is how Tagore's passionate search to rediscover his country through her own heritage yet identifying her with the underlying unity with humanity as a whole besmeared, his philosophy of humanism with the tranquil touch of internationalism.



When the present world is under constant threat of fragmentalism in the face of narrow sectarianism, regionalism, communalism and linguistic snobbery, where peace is dwindled up under the power of greedy consumerism arising out of negative dimension of globalization, where harmony is under the constant threat of unplanned aggressive technology, Tagore's poetry with its beauty and luster consoles us and gives the mantra -

You domain yourself

If you dither

Let not imaginary troubles

Dishearten you

In the long uphill of journey in human life if no one shows the light even on a stormy night of thunder and lightning, Tagore is our pathfinder. His poetry with its message of world peace, harmony and humanism is an eternal light house to mankind.

Tagore maintains that the aim of mankind is to be united with God. He writes "It is God, the artist who finds the final fulfillment in mankind." Thus man is not equal to God. Rather God is an ideal for him. His emphasis on the concept of 'Jivan Devata' seems to support the view of religious humanism. The following points are sufficient to consider his religion as anthropomorphic and ultimately humanistic -

- 'Love' is a key concept of his religion and it is the quality shared by human beings.
- Man must realize the essential unity among themselves. The unity can only be thought of by dispelling the caste, creed and religious sectarianisms.
- God, to him is not the transcendental hand and his religion is not supra-human.
- His spiritualism does not claim that matter is either product of spirit or as totally unreal.
- In his writing the highest reality is attributed to 'universal man' which represents the Divinity in man.

Bijayandana Kar, claiming Tagore's view as spiritual humanism,

maintains that even though in the light of western tradition, humanism and spiritualism cannot go together and spiritual humanism would lead to contemporary expression but in case of Tagore's view, it is quite a sensible and meaningful expression. Humanism should be different from religion in the sense that it should not accept the reality as any transcendental entity. Tagore's religion is secular and does not claim any supernatural power as reality. Rather it emphasizes the spirituality of man or man's personality. Kar writes "The sense of God is introduced in man just to arouse in him the moral or ethical sense. That is why God is not conceived in a transcendental level to whom man is to surrender or seek for his grace. It is in this sense that the secret element which is so prominent in theology is found to be absent in Tagore's thought.

G.C. Nayak also argues - "Tagore lays utmost emphasis on the manifestation of the divine in man... From the above consideration, it would be more appropriate to characterize Tagore's humanism as spiritualistic." But it is true that according to Tagore, Man should be given prime importance in so far as it is regarded as the primary concept in the conceptual framework for the better understanding of the world structure. If godly qualities are present in man then the society we live in can never be so brutish or selfish. Tagore gives call to human race to think themselves as the manifestation of divinity but the disguised idealism has not yet reached the ears of the vast number of people of earth. His appeal for striving for human upliftment and welfare at the background of honesty and integrity does not lose its significance. It will be certainly a great source of inspiration for human beings. •

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## মামণি বয়ছম গোস্বামীৰ 'মামৰে ধৰা তৰোৱাল' উপন্যাসত নাৰীচেতনা

ড° নৱনীতা কলিতা  
সহকাৰী অধ্যাপিকা, অসমীয়া বিভাগ  
নিৰ্মল হালৈ মহাবিদ্যালয়

আধুনিক অসমীয়া চুটিগল্প আৰু উপন্যাস সাহিত্যৰ বিকাশত প্রভূতভাবে বৰঙণি যোগোৱা এগৰাকী অন্যতম লেখিকা হৈছে মামণি বয়ছম গোস্বামী। চুটিগল্প বচনাবে সাহিত্য জগতত প্ৰবেশ কৰা এইগৰাকী লেখিকাই সত্তৰৰ দশকত অসমীয়া উপন্যাস জগততো ভৰি দিয়ে। ১৯৭২ চনত এওঁৰ প্ৰথমখন উপন্যাস 'চেনাবৰ সোঁত' প্ৰকাশ পায়। ইয়াৰ পাছত ক্ৰমে নীলকণ্ঠী ব্ৰজ, অহিৰণ, মামৰে ধৰা তৰোৱাল, দঁতাল হাতীৰ উয়ে খোৱা হাওদা, আধালেখা দস্তাবেজ, সংস্কাৰ আৰু উদয়ভানুৰ চৰিত্ৰ ইত্যাদি, জখমী যাত্ৰী, তেজ আৰু ধূলিৰে ধূসৰিত পৃষ্ঠা, চিন্মস্তাৰ মানুহটো, থেংফাথ্ৰি তহচীলদাৰৰ তামৰ তৰোৱাল আদি উপন্যাস বচনা কৰি অসমীয়া উপন্যাস জগতক সমৃদ্ধ কৰাৰ লগতে আধুনিক ভাৰতীয় উপন্যাস সাহিত্যতো নিজস্ব এক সুকীয়া স্থান দখল কৰে।

'মামৰে ধৰা তৰোৱাল' এখেতৰ এখন অনবদ্য শ্ৰেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস। এইখন উপন্যাস বাবে এখেতে লাভ কৰিছে 'সাহিত্য একাডেমী বঁটা'। উপন্যাসখনৰ আৰম্ভণিতে লেখিকাই নিজস্ব অনুভূতি উপন্যাসখনৰ প্ৰসংগত এইদৰে ব্যক্ত কৰিছে—  
'ৰাইবেৰেলী জিলাৰ সাই নদীৰ ওপৰৰ একুৰেডাক্ট বন্ধাৰ সময়ত কিছুদিন 'বাৰ্কছাইট' থকাৰ সুযোগ পাইছিলোঁ। শ্ৰমিকসকলক ওচৰৰ পৰাই নিৰীক্ষণ কৰাৰ সৌভাগ্য ঘটিছিল। সেইসময়ত শ্ৰমিকসকলৰ মাজত এটি ধৰ্মঘট ঘটিছিল। এই ধৰ্মঘটটিক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰিয়েই এই উপন্যাসখন বচনা কৰা হৈছে। দুই এটি চৰিত্ৰতহে মাথোঁ কিছু বহণ সনা হৈছে। শ্ৰমিক নেতাসকলৰ মাজত একতা, দুৰদৃষ্টি আৰু ত্যাগৰ অভাৱে ধৰ্মঘটটোক কেনেধৰণে কপ দিলে তাক বহলাই আলোচনা কৰা হৈছে। নেতাসকলৰ দুৰ্বলতাৰ সুযোগ পূৰ্বা উদ্যমেৰে গ্ৰহণ কৰা লোকেল লীডাৰৰ হাতত ছাৰখাৰ হোৱা এই ধৰ্মঘট আৰু ইয়াৰ বলি হোৱা

শ্ৰমিকসকলৰ কাহিনী এই উপন্যাসখনত ৰূপায়িত কৰা হৈছে।"  
সাধাৰণ হৰিজন শ্ৰমিক জীৱনৰ সুখ-দুখ মিশ্ৰিত কাহিনী এটিক ইয়াত ওপন্যাসিকাই নিজস্ব বচনাইলৈৰে ইমান বাস্তৱধৰ্মী আৰু মৰ্মস্পৰ্শীকৈ দাঙি ধৰিছে যে ইয়াক পঢ়িলে যিকোনো পঢ়ুৱৈৰে গাৰ নোম শিয়ৰি উঠিব। উপন্যাসখনি আৰম্ভ হৈছে ১৯৭৮ চনৰ আহিন মাহৰ উত্তৰ প্ৰদেশৰ বায়বেৰেলী নামৰ ঠাইৰ উল্লেখৰে। বায়বেৰেলীৰ সাইনদীৰ একুৰেডাক্ট নিৰ্মাণ কাৰ্য্যত লিপ্ত শ্ৰমিকসকলৰ এটি ধৰ্মঘটৰ আয়োজন, এই ধৰ্মঘটৰ ফলত উদ্ভৱ হোৱা অৱস্থাৰ পৰিপ্ৰেক্ষিতত কোম্পানীত কাম কৰা সাধাৰণ হৰিজনসকলৰ কঠোৰ বাস্তৱ পৰিস্থিতি চিত্ৰণেই উপন্যাসখনৰ কেন্দ্ৰীয় বিষয়। লেখিকাই সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে মানৱতাবাদী দৃষ্টিভঙ্গী আগত ৰাখি অতি মৰ্মস্পৰ্শী ৰূপত এই হৰিজনসকলৰ জীৱনৰ দুখ-দুৰ্দশা আৰু অভাৱে তেওঁলোকক পিষ্ট কৰি কেনেধৰণে অমানৱীয় কাৰ্য্য পালন কৰিবলৈ বাধ্য কৰিছে তাৰ বাস্তৱ ছবি এখন যেন ইয়াত দাঙি ধৰিছে।

মানৱতাবাদী লেখিকা মামণি বয়ছম গোস্বামীয়ে তেওঁৰ উপন্যাসসমূহৰ মাজেৰে নাৰী চৰিত্ৰসমূহকো অতি উজ্জ্বল ৰূপত অংকন কৰি নাৰীসমাজক চেতনা প্ৰদান কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰা দেখা যায়। আমাৰ এই আলোচনাপত্ৰত তেখেতৰ অন্যতম শ্ৰেষ্ঠ উপন্যাস 'মামৰে ধৰা তৰোৱাল'ৰ মাজেদি নাৰীচেতনা কিদৰে প্ৰকাশিত হৈছে তাক বিচাৰ কৰাৰ প্ৰয়াস কৰা হ'ল।

এই উপন্যাসখনৰ কাহিনীভাগ বিশ্লেষণ কৰি চালে দেখা যায় যে যদিও শ্ৰমিকসকলৰ মাজত চলা ধৰ্মঘট এটিক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰি উপন্যাসখন গঢ় লৈ উঠিছে কিন্তু ইয়াত নাৰীৰ সমস্যা স্পষ্ট হৈ দেখা দিছে আৰুিয়েই লেখিকাৰ নাৰীচেতনাৰ পৰিচয় দাঙি ধৰিছে। উপন্যাসখনৰ এটি প্ৰধান নাৰী চৰিত্ৰ হৈছে হৰিজনৰ বনুৱা তিৰোতা নাৰায়ণী। ৰুগ্ন শিবু ধাছলাৰ পত্নী নাৰায়ণী এসময়ৰ অত্যন্ত ৰূপহী তিৰোতা। লেখিকাৰ ভাষাত :  
"এসময়ত তাই বৰ ৰূপহী তিৰোতা হাত ভৰিবোৰ দেখা নাইনে? অৰ্জুন গছৰ পৰা সৰি পৰা মৌৰ বাহৰ দৰে।"  
তাইৰ ৰুগ্ন অচল স্বামী এতিয়া তাইৰ ওপৰত নিৰ্ভৰশীল। শিবু ধাছলাৰ সৈতে হোৱা বিবাহৰ পূৰ্বে এজন ডেকা ইঞ্জিনিয়াৰৰ প্ৰেমৰ প্ৰতাৰণাৰ বলি হোৱা নাৰায়ণীয়ে মেটেৰিয়েল ডিপাৰ্টমেন্টৰ ছেক্সন ইনছাৰ্জৰ দায়িত্ব লোৱা ঠাকুৰ চাহাবৰ ঘৰত কাম কৰি

কোনোমতেই গিৰিয়েক আৰু কেচুৱাটিক পোহপাল দি আছিল। কিন্তু শ্ৰমিকসকলৰ ধৰ্মঘাটনা সম্ভাৱনা স্পষ্ট হৈ পৰাৰ লগে লগে অনাগত ভয়াবহ দিনবোৰে নাৰায়ণীৰ মনত সৃষ্টি কৰিছে এক ভয়ংকৰ ভাবৰ—

“দুবছৰ আগেয়ে মুখামুখি হোৱা সেই অভিশপ্ত দিনবোৰৰ লগত তাই তেতিয়াহে একো এৰাব মুখামুখি হ'ব লাগিব। নাই নাই নাৰায়ণীয়ে আৰু বেছি ভাবিব নোৱাৰিলে।

বিদ্রোহৰ ভাবে

তাইৰ বুকুখন দুফাল কৰি যেন বাহিৰলৈ ওলাই অহাৰ চেষ্টাহে কৰিলে।”

সাধাৰণ এগৰাকী বনুৱা তিৰোতাৰ মনৰ এনে বিদ্রোহৰ প্ৰকাশ নিঃসন্দেহে লেখিকাৰ নাৰীচেতনা প্ৰকাশৰেই প্ৰয়াস। ধৰ্মঘটক লৈ চৰিত্ৰটিৰ মনত সৃষ্টি হোৱা এনে বিদ্রোহৰ পূৰ্বতেই অন্য এক বিদ্রোহৰ ভাবে চৰিত্ৰটিৰ মনত নিজস্ব ঘৰ কৰি লৈছে। দৰাচলতে শিবু ধাছলাৰ সৈতে হোৱা বিবাহৰ পূৰ্বে ডেকা ইঞ্জিনিয়াৰৰ পৰা পোৱা প্ৰেমৰ প্ৰত্যাশাই যেন নাৰায়ণীৰ বুকুত বিদ্রোহৰ প্ৰথম সূচনা হৈছিল। সেই তিক্ত অভিজ্ঞতাৰ পাছত শিবুৰ সৈতে বিয়া হৈ ইতিমধ্যেই তাই দুটা ব্ৰাণ বাগৰি আহিছে। দুয়োবাবেই কামৰ পৰা চাটাই হৈ যোৱাৰ পাছত লাভ কৰা অবর্ণনীয় আৰু ভয়ংকৰ কষ্টৰ অভিজ্ঞতাই যেন নাৰায়ণীৰ বুকুত এক কৰ্কশ বিদ্রোহৰ ভাবে একপ্ৰকাৰ ঘৰেই বান্ধি ললে।

চৰিত্ৰটিৰ মনৰ এনে বিদ্রোহেই পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত চৰিত্ৰটিক অধিক গতিশীল কৰি তুলিছে। সেইবাবেই সাই নদীত গা ধুই থাকোতেও পুনৰ ধৰ্মঘটৰ চিন্তাই তাইৰ মনত হতাশাৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে

যদিও পিছ মুহূৰ্ততে তাইক এক নতুন সংকল্প প্ৰদান কৰিছে—

“পানী, এয়া বুকুৰ ওচৰলৈ পানী? আৰু আঙুৰাই যাব নেকি তাই? আৰু দাঁত য'ত তাইৰ

কোনো চিনচাব নেথাকিব... হঠাৎ ফেঁটা সাপৰ দৰে ফোচ ফোচ কৰি উঠিল

তাইৰ এই চুলিটাৰিয়ে।

বৰ আলফুলকৈ তাই চুলিটাৰি ডিঙিত মেৰুৱাই ললে। লাহে লাহে তাই নদীৰ পৰা উঠি আহিল।

... আজি সাই নদীৰ পৰা উঠি আহোতে তাই মনে মনে এটা সংকল্প লৈয়ে যেন উঠি আহিল।”

তাইৰ মনৰ সংকল্প যেন যিকোনো পৰিস্থিতিৰ মাজতেই জীয়াই থকাৰ সংকল্প। নাৰায়ণীৰ মনৰ এনে সংকল্পই আচলতে তাইৰ পৰৱৰ্তী কাৰ্যপন্থাৰ বাবে তাইক আগুৱাই নিছে। সেয়ে ধৰ্মঘটৰ সময়ছোৱাত অভাৱৰ তাড়নাত পৰি নাৰায়ণীয়ে নিজৰ সৰ্বস্বত্বিনি জলাঞ্জলি দিবলৈ মনে মনে ৰাতি টাকুৰ চাহাবৰ ঘৰলৈ গৈছে আৰু তাৰ পৰা উদ্ভূত আহোতে ধৰা পৰাত তাই স্পষ্টভাৱেই উল্লেখ কৰিছে ধৰ্মঘটে সৃষ্টি কৰা সংকট আৰু অসহায় অৱস্থাৰ কথা—

“ধাচলাৰ বেমাৰৰ সময়ত মই নিমখৰ বস্তাৰ দৰে পেটটো লৈ ঘূৰি ফুৰোঁতে

তহঁতে মোক

এটা পইচা দি সহায় কৰিছিলিনে? এতিয়া ধৰ্মঘট কৰি তহঁতে পেটৰ ভাতমুঠি

কাঢ়ি লোৱা

নাইনে ছালাহঁত।”

নাৰায়ণীৰ এনে স্পষ্ট বক্তব্যই তাইৰ নাৰী জীৱনৰ কাৰুণ্যতা প্ৰকাশৰ লগতে তাইক এক প্ৰতিবাদী চৰিত্ৰৰূপেও দাঙি ধৰিছে। ইয়াৰ পাছত তাইৰ বাবে মুকলিমূৰীয়াকৈ ওলাই ফুৰাটোও টান হৈ পৰিছে। গিৰিয়েকৰ দৰবৰ খৰচ, কেচুৱাটিৰ বাবে গাখীৰৰ খৰচ উলিওৱাটো তাইৰ বাবে অসম্ভৱ হৈ পৰিছে। খাদ্যৰ অভাৱত পৰি উন্মুক্ত চুলি আৰু মলিয়ন শাৰীৰে অস্থিপুঞ্জস্বৰূপ কেচুৱাটি লৈ তাই সাই নদীৰ পাৰত নিজে আগেয়ে আঁৰ কৰি থৈ অহা তৰমুজ খাবলৈকো চাপলি মেলিছে যদিও ইতিমধ্যেই বসুমতী বুঢ়ীয়ে তাক খাই পেলোৱা দেখি তাই চিৎকাৰ কৰি উঠিছে প্ৰচণ্ড খণ্ডত—

“ৰান্ধসী জেং জাবৰ দি লুকুৰাই থৈ গৈছিলো। তথাপি চকুত পৰিল।”

অভাৱে পিষ্ট কৰি পেলোৱা নাৰায়ণীৰ মনটোৱে এই সময়তে বসুমতী বুঢ়ীৰ চুলিত ধৰি জোকাৰি দিবলৈকো ইচ্ছা কৰিছে যদিও পিছ মুহূৰ্ততে তাই নিজৰ মনক সান্তনা দিছে এইদৰে—“এয়াতো তাইৰ বোপা ককাৰ মাটিত হোৱা তৰমুজ নহয়।”

ইয়াৰ পাছত উপায়বিহীন হৈ নাৰায়ণীয়ে ইউনিয়নৰ মেম্বাৰ কেইটামানক হাতে ভৰিয়ে ধৰি ‘এছেনচিয়েল, ছাৰ্ভিচ’ত কিছুদিনৰ বাবে কাম কৰে। সেই সময়তে তেজ-

পুজৰ ফটা বেণ্ডেজ সাইনদীৰ বালিত তাই পুতিবলৈ যাওঁতেই হবিজনৰ লীডাৰ যশোবন্তক তাইক সহায় কৰিবৰ বাবে আগবাঢ়ি আহে যদিও পুনৰ তাইৰ প্ৰতিবাদী সন্মানে ভাষাত তাৰ সহায়ক অস্বীকাৰ কৰিছে এইদৰে-

“শুন তই মোক সহায় কৰিব নালাগে- তহঁতে নিজৰ প্ৰাণ বচাই পলাই উচিত।”

নিষ্ফল ধৰ্মঘটৰ আগজাননী যেন নাৰায়ণীয়ে আগতেই বুজিব পাৰি এইদৰে যশোবন্তক সাবধান কৰি দিছিল আৰু ইয়াতেই চৰিত্ৰটিৰ অন্য এক উজ্বল দিশ প্ৰতিভাত উঠিছে। পুনৰ নাৰায়ণীৰ নাৰীচেতনা অত্যন্ত প্ৰবল বাবেই যশোবন্তই তাইৰ প্ৰতি দৰদতো সন্দেহ প্ৰকাশ কৰি এইদৰে স্পষ্টভাৱে কৈ উঠিছে।

“শুন মোলায়েম কথা বহুত শুনিছো। এবাৰ শুনিলে আকৌ শুনিবৰ মন যায়। এইবোৰ কথা পৰিষ্কাৰ কাপোৰ পিন্ধা মানহেই কয়। পৰিষ্কাৰ কাপোৰ পিন্ধিছে কি হ'ব ভিতৰত সিহঁত সব নাঙঠ।”

নাৰায়ণীৰ মনৰ এনে তীব্ৰ বিবেদগাৰ যেন সমগ্ৰ প্ৰত্যেক পুৰুষসকলৰ বাবেই আৰম্ভনিত তাইৰ মনত ধৰ্মঘটে যি বিদ্ৰোহৰ সূচনা কৰিছিল ইয়াত যেন পুনৰবাৰ তাই বহিঃপ্ৰকাশ ঘটাইছে।

অৱশেষত নিৰুপায়ত পৰি নাৰায়ণীয়ে মনে মনে লোডী কাৰ্পেট কোম্পানীত তনুত থকা বেমাৰী ঠাকুৰ চাহাবৰ আলপৈচান ধৰিবলৈ যাবৰ বাবে সাজু হৈছে যদিও সেইগৰাকী নাৰায়ণীয়েই কিন্তু তাইৰ পূৰ্বৰ প্ৰত্যেক প্ৰেমিকে তাইলৈ আগবঢ়োৱা টকা টোপোলা গ্ৰহণ নকৰিলে। বৰং নাৰায়ণীৰ চকুৰ তীক্ষ্ণ দৃষ্টিৰ মুখামুখি হৈ তেওঁ পিচুৰাই যাবলগীয়া হৈছে। এই সময়ত তাইৰ মনৰ অনুভৱ লেখিকাৰ পৈনত ভাষাত এইদৰে স্পষ্ট হৈ উঠিছে।-

“এবা এইটোৱেই সেই মানুহ যি এদিন তাইৰ গাত ‘বকুলৰ কাইট’ৰ আঁচোৰ পলাই গৈছিল।

ইয়াৰ বাবেই তাই আকাশৰ পৰা নৰকলৈ সৰি পৰা নাইনে? তাইৰ সন্মুখত কি থিয় হৈ আছে।

ৰাফসীৰ দৰে গৈ তাৰ ডিঙিত চেপি ধৰিব নেকি? আহ সেই বকুলৰ কাইট

আঁচোৰ... এতিয়াও যেন সেই আঁচোৰৰ যত্নগা।”

ইয়াতেই যেন নাৰায়ণীৰ আত্মঅভিমানী আৰু প্ৰতিবাদী মনৰ প্ৰকাশ ঘটিছে। অভাৱৰ তাড়নাত পিষ্ট হৈ থকাৰ পাছতো সেই মানুহজনৰ পৰা টকাৰ টোপোলাটো গ্ৰহণ নকৰাকৈ ৰাখি লেখিকাই চৰিত্ৰটিক সবল ৰূপত দাঙি ধৰিছে।

তদুপৰি চৰিত্ৰটিৰ আটাইতকৈ বলিষ্ঠ আৰু সাহসী পদক্ষেপ প্ৰকাশ পাইছে লোডী কাৰ্পেটৰ তনুতেই তাই শিবু ধাছলাৰ কুঠাৰেৰে ঠাকুৰ চাহাবক হত্যা কৰা কাৰ্যৰ দ্বাৰা।

নাৰায়ণীয়ে চাহাবৰ সৈতে নিশা তাত থাকোতেই লিচু লেঙেৰাই এখন কুঠাৰেৰে সৈতে শিবু ধাছলাক তালৈ লৈ আনিছে। সিহঁতক সন্মুখত দেখিয়েই যেন নাৰায়ণীয়ে মনত এক বেলেগ ধৰণৰ বল লাভ কৰিছে আৰু শিবু ধাছলাৰ হাতৰ পৰা কুঠাৰখন টানি আনি উন্মুদীৰ দৰেকৈ ঠাকুৰ চাহাবৰ মূৰত ঘাপ বহুৱাই দিছে। ইয়াতেই যেন চৰিত্ৰটিয়ে ইমান দিনে পাই অহা লাঞ্ছনা-বঞ্চনাৰ বিৰুদ্ধে ভয়ংকৰ প্ৰতিবাদ সাব্যস্ত কৰিছে।

জীৱনৰ নানান গ্লানিময় অভিজ্ঞতাৰ মুখামুখি হৈ উমি উমি জ্বলি থকা প্ৰতিবাদৰ অগনিৰ এয়া যেন এক বিধ্বংসী ৰূপ। নাৰীৰ এনে ভয়ংকৰ ৰূপ বয়চম গোস্বামীৰ কোনোখন উপন্যাসতেই দেখা নাযায়।

সেই ফালৰ পৰা তেওঁৰ উপন্যাস সাহিত্যৰ ভিতৰতে নাৰায়ণী এটি অন্যতম এক প্ৰতিবাদী সত্তা; যিয়ে নিজেই চৰম প্ৰবঞ্চনাৰ বিৰুদ্ধে চৰম প্ৰতিশোধ ল'বলৈ হাতত অস্ত্ৰ তুলি লৈছে।

এইদৰে চালে দেখা যায় যে এই চৰিত্ৰটি অন্য উপন্যাসৰ নাৰী চৰিত্ৰতকৈ বিৰল আৰু ব্যতিক্ৰমী। লেখিকাৰ অন্য উপন্যাসতো অৱশ্যে নাৰীয়ে প্ৰকাশ্যে বিদ্ৰোহ ঘোষণা কৰি নিজৰ স্থিতি স্পষ্ট কৰি তুলিছে।

উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে ‘নীলকণ্ঠী ব্ৰজ’ উপন্যাসত সৌদামিনী চৰিত্ৰই এইদৰে নিজস্ব স্থিতি স্পষ্ট কৰিছে- “মোৰ গোটেই জীৱনটো মই এনেদৰে আনৰ দয়া পৰবশ হৈ কটাব নোৱাৰো.... মই মহীয়সী নহওঁ যে তোমালোকৰ জনকল্যানমূলক কাম কৰি মই মোৰ গোটেই জীৱন অতিবাহিত কৰিব পাৰিম। মই স্বাধীন। মই কাকো ভয় নকৰো।”

কিন্তু লেখিকাৰ কোনোখন উপন্যাসতে নাৰায়ণীৰ দৰে নাৰীয়ে নিজেই প্ৰতিশোধ ল'বলৈ সাহস কৰা নাই। নাৰায়ণীৰ যি উগ্ৰ সাহস আৰু বিদ্ৰোহিনী স্বভাৱ সিয়েই এই চৰিত্ৰটিক তেওঁৰ সমগ্ৰ উপন্যাস-সাহিত্যৰ ভিতৰতে অনন্য কৰি তুলিছে।

অৱশ্যে লেখিকাৰ এটি অন্যতম শ্ৰেষ্ঠ গল্প ‘সংস্কাৰ’ৰ দময়ন্তীৰ সৈতে নাৰায়ণীৰ যেন কিছু মিল পৰিলক্ষিত

হয়। 'সংস্কার'ত দময়ন্তীয়ে নিম্নজাতৰ হোৱা বাবেই পীতাম্বৰ মহাজনৰ বীজ গৰ্ভত ধাৰণ নকৰিলে আৰু ইয়াত অভাৱৰ তাড়নাত পৰি নিজৰ সৰ্বস্ব বিসৰ্জন দি ঠাকুৰ চাহাবক অনাকাঙ্ক্ষিত বীজ গৰ্ভত ধাৰণ কৰিবলগা হোৱাৰ ক্ষোভতেই নাৰায়ণীয়ে ঠাকুৰ চাহাবক হত্যা কৰে। কিন্তু চৰিত্ৰটিৰ এনে কাৰ্য্যই কোনো প্ৰকাৰে পাঠকৰ মনত নাৰায়ণীৰ প্ৰতি খঙৰ উদ্ৰেক নকৰে; বৰং তাইৰ প্ৰতি এক গভীৰ সহানুভূতিৰেহে মন উপচি পৰে। এই সহানুভূতি সৃষ্টি হৈছে নাৰায়ণীয়ে এক অমানৱীয় পৰিস্থিতিত পৰাৰ পাছতো কোনো মানুহৰ পৰা সহানুভূতি লাভ নকৰাৰ বাবে।<sup>১১</sup>

এনেদৰে চৰিত্ৰটিৰ মাজেদি লেখিকাই অসীম দক্ষতাৰে চৰম প্ৰবঞ্চনাৰ বিপৰীতে নাৰীয়ে চৰম প্ৰতিশোধ ল'ব পৰা শক্তি দেখুৱাই নাৰী চেতনাৰ সাৰ্থক প্ৰতিফলন ঘটাইছে।<sup>১২</sup>

পাদটীকা :

- ১। মামণি ৰয়চম গোস্বামী, মামৰে ধৰা তৰোৱাল, চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী, ১৯৮০।
- ২। প্ৰান্তজ্ঞ গ্ৰন্থ, পৃ- ১৩
- ৩। " " , পৃ-৩৭
- ৪। " " , পৃ-৩৯
- ৫। " " , পৃ-৪৭
- ৬। " " , পৃ-৫৬
- ৭। " " , পৃ-৭৬
- ৮। " " , পৃ-৭৭
- ৯। " " , পৃ-৮৭

১০।

১১। ড° গোবিন্দ প্ৰসাদ শৰ্মা, নাৰীবাদ আৰু অসমীয়া উপন্যাস, গুৱাহাটী, ২০০৭।

১২। নিকুমণি হুছেইন (সম্পা) মামণি ৰয়ছমৰ আভা আৰু প্ৰতিভা, চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী, ২০০৮।

## Special Programmes of Rural and Agricultural Development

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Development of the rural areas has been one of the abiding concerns of the successive Five Years plans. Beginning with the community Development programme in the early 50's which helped to establish a net work of basic extension and development service in the villages, thereby creating awareness in the rural communities for the adoption of major technological advances made in mid 60's in agricultural. Besides, abolition of intermediary landlords and reforms of land tenure system, the investments in the successive five year plans have led to the creation of essential physical and institutional infra structure of socio economic development in many rural areas.

It was realized that the benefits of various development programs were in the main being taken by those who are better placed in terms of land resources<sup>1</sup>. By the middle of the Third Five Year plan, it became increasingly evident that agricultural Development was not making a satisfactory progress<sup>2</sup>

1. The sixth Five Year plan- Page 167.
2. Indian Council of Agricultural Research- A Hand Book of Agriculture page 677.

The Agricultural Production Team Sponsored by the Ford Foundation observed all drawbacks or factors responsible for the stagnation of the Indian agricultural production. Hence, the team suggested that "the entire nation must be made aware of the impending food situation and steps must be taken to meet it on a war footing. For this, allocation of the necessary resources and hard work, frugal, enthusiasm and sacrifice on the part of all those who are engaged in it are needed." 1

The team also recommended that, Instead of spreading the developmental efforts more or less on uniform basis throughout results, intensive efforts for production for production should be undertaken with a combination of all the technological improvements and concentration of manpower and resources in selected areas which had optimum conditions for stepping production, without at the same time affecting the normal efforts in other areas." 2

1. Report on Indian's Food crisis and steps to meet in 1959, page-11
2. Report on India's Food crisis and steps to meet in, 1959, page-11.

Beside, it was suggested that provision should be made of (i) adequate and readily accessible farm supplies; (ii) adequate farm credit; (iii) an intensive educational programme; (iv) simple individual farm plans; (v) stronger village institutions; (vi) assured prices for agricultural products; (vii) reliable marketing facilities; (viii) rural public works; (ix) evaluation and analysis; (x) a coordinated approach.

These recommendations of the Agricultural Production Team of the Ford Foundation were accepted by the govt. of India as the "Ten point pilot programme to Increase Food Production."

Constituents of new strategy (Agricultural and Rural Development: \*Intensive Agricultural District programme (IADP), started in 1960.

\*Drought prone Area programme (DPAP), started in 1964.

\*Desert Development programme (DDP) opened in March, 1974.

\*Demand area Development (CAD) opened in sixth plan.

\*Marginal Farmers and Agricultural labour Development Agency (MFALDA) opened in 1936.

\* Crash scheme for Rural Development implemented in April 1971.

\* Whole Village Development programme implemented in the Fifth Five Year plan period.

\* Antyodaya Yojana or Movement.

\* Tribal Area Development projects implemented in the Fifth plan.

\* Hill Area Development projects (HADP), are in operation since the inception of the Fifth plan.

\* Integrated Rural Development programme (IRDP) or District Rural Development Agency (DRDA), was introduced in 1978-79.

\* Minimum Needs programme (MNP) was introduced in the Fifth Five Year plan.

\* National Rural Employment programme (NREP), An outlay of Rs. 980 crores has been provided for the programme for the sixth plan period.

Thus, the state as well as the central government has taken several measures or new strategy for the development agriculture and rural India in the recent years. •

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## A Study on Gandhiji's Concept of Satyagraha : Its Ethical Aspect and Relevance to the Society

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The feature of Gandhiji's social philosophy is the unity of theory of practice. Gandhi was a man of genius who applied his mind to a large number of problems of human concern. Gandhiji's ethical and social philosophy exemplifies a deep and abiding interest in a fundamental reformation of our society. He believed that individuals could enrich their personalities through truth and non violence. The greatest discovery of the twentieth century political thought, I want to say, is the discovery of Satyagraha as the weapon of non-violence political nation aimed of bringing about socio-political change.

In my paper, I will attempt to highlight theory of reality, concept of truth and god in Gandhian philosophy. I will also attempt to highlight the end and the means, concept of truth and non-violence of Gandhiji. In this paper my effort will be made on the analysis what Satyagraha is? It will be devoted to the study of the technique of ahimsa Satyagraha and requirement of Satyagraha. Hence, in this paper I have made an attempt to exhibit the relevance of Gandhiji's view to the contemporary world. For believe in Gandhian ethic's (Satyagraha) will make the world a better place for human being living and it will give virtue a secured place in their lives.

The Gandhian concept of Satyagraha is a natural outcome from the supreme concept of truth. If truth is the ultimate reality then it is

imperative for a votary of it to safequerel the criteria and foundation of truth. A votary of the God who is the highest truth and the highest reality must be utterly selfless and gentle. Gandhiji should have an unconquerable determination to fight for the supremacy of spiritual and moral values. Thus alone can be vindicate his sense of ethical devotion.

Satyagraha can never be resorted to for personal gains. It is a 'love process' and the appeal is to the heart and not to the sense of bearing the wrong door. Thus Satyagraha is based on personal purification. Satyagraha is not a passive state, it is more active than violence. Passive resistance has an element of force, It does not for hid the use of violence. There is room for the use of force if a suitable opportunity comes. But Satyagraha the use of violence in any from if totally ruled out even against a weak adversary. In passive resistance there is always present an idea of parsing and defeating the other party while in Satyagraha there is not the idea of injuring he opponent, victory or defeat has no place. Passive resistance airier from hut red, anger or frustration but Satyagraha preemies love and sympathy even for the adversary. As active forms of Satyagraha Gandhiji seems to favour most are non-cooperation, disobedience, direct action and fasting etc.

Satyagraha is based on non-violence whose essentials are compassion, freedom from anger and from desire. In its negative form ahimira means physical and mental non-injury. In its positive form, it means the largest love, the greatest charity. The followers of non-violence should love his enemy non-violence consists of truth and fearlessness.

A Satyagrahi is one who gives up his everything for the sake of truth. Strict adherence to truth for many years changes the sytyaprahi in to a realist, perfect man. A satyagraha must have faith in truth and pursue only truth. On the other hand, a ratty a grahi is obliged to break away from family attachments. He alone can be a satyagraha who has true faith in religion, He leaves everything to God and lives in contentment and happiness Hence Satyagraga is a soul-force, the ethical and spiritual carom, the foundation of which consists of non-violence and

truth.

For Gandhi truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthiness in world, but also truth fullness in thought. It is not only the relative truth of our conception, but also the obsolete truth. This eternal principle is God. There are innumerable definitions of hole because his manifestations are innumerable. Gandhiji says, "God is the creator, Ruler and the Lured of the universe and not a blade of grass moves but by his will." (Gandhi, M.K., Harijan, 14-11-1936)

Gandhi speaks of truth in different level. Some times by truth Gandhi means the Absolute which is fundamental metaphysical quality. Sometimes, he speaks of truth as a God, Moksa or self realization. He identifies truth with God and holds that the pursuit of truth involves suffering, sometimes even till death, which ultimately leads to God. Gandhi maintains the devotion to truth is the sole justification of human exist rice. Sometimes he speaks of truth as truthfulness or the attempt to achieve truth and in this case it is like an ethical norm. To quote Gandhi, "That the world Satya or truth is mured in a much wider sense. There should he in thought truth in speech, truth in action." (Prabhu, R.K. and Rao, U.R. lead) The mind of Mahatma Gandhi, Navajivan publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1969,P.27)

Gandhi never misses an opportunity of trying to describe the characters of God. The characters mentioned by him are generally theistic, but they bear the mark of Gandhi's basis conviction, namely that truth is God."

Truth is the highest ideal in Gadhian philosophy. He was taken it in the most comprehensive sense. Truth should be practiced in all walks of life. Besides Gandhian thought was the cult of non-violence. Anyone who objected to non-violence as the creed of the coward was reproached by Gandhiji. Violence, according to him, is the law of brutes while non-violence is the rule of human beings. The another's vow Brahmacharya means conduct adopted to the search of Brahma. i.e.

Truth. It means primarily chastity and ultimately control of all the senses. It must be accepted that for a pure religious life, as Gandhiji cherished, Brahmacharya is must. Control of the place, according to Gandhiji, is very closely connected with the observance of Brahmacharya. Non-stealing and non-possession have been cherished in India since ancient times. It has been considered a virtue by every great religion. Gandhij has taken these in absolute sense. Bread-Labour, according to Gandhij has truly be related to agriculture alone. It is the principle that in order to live man must work and this work should be not mental but physical. On the otherhand, Fearlessness connotes freedom for all external fear. The ideal of Saddest was derived from the ideal of Swadharma. Gandhiji laid emphasis upon following one's own religion, worshipping one's own God and relishing one's own culture. However, Satyagraha is based on truth and non-violence. Besides, Gandhiji includes some techniques of Satyagraha Viz. aqitutation, demonstration, picketing, dharna, economy boycott, non-payment of taxes, emigration, non-cooperation, ostracism etc.

Satyagraha is a creative force as an instrument of social control. Its creativity is in horrent in its basis of Satya (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence). This ethical aspect leads to the moral improvement of the Satyagraha himself by the tapas. According to Gandhi, the basis assumptions underlying the doctrine of satyagraha are : (i) There must be common honesty among satyagrahis (2) They must render heart discipline to their commander (3) They must be prepared to loose all. (4) They must be violent in thought word or dead towards the enemy or among themselves. Gandhiji is aware that al thought it is possible for every body to use this technique, it cannot be followed in a loose or casual or insincere manner. It requires a very strict moral and religious discipline.

The motto for Satyagraha is "Truth alone triumphs". Gandhi said, "There is no dharma higher than truth. Truth always wins. We pray to God that in this sacred land we may bring about the region of dharma by following Satyagraha and that this our country may become an ex-



ample for all to follow" (Gandhi, M.K. Harijan 2-9-1917).

Gandhiji's Satyagraha aimed at influencing the power relationship between the British Raj and the Indian nation. It freedom is to be genius and Rasting, change must be made on a deeper level than simply the constitutional or the institutional forms at the top of the society. The change should come from within. For this point of view, ethical aspect is required in all spheres of individual and social action. Satyagraha is the only way to reach the ethical clearing for the welfare of all.

Satyagraha is the greatest contribution of M.K. Gandhi to the world's culture and civilization. The application of concept of Satyagraha to political and social problems it is rule of conduct not only in individual life, but also in political and social life. Violence breeds violence. It spreads the social chaos. It poisons the whole atmosphere of social life. Non-violence purifies an evil system of its evils. It changes a human system from within by working a change in its soul. So Gandhiji's views are very relevant implemented can help in solving many of our social problems in our entire nations.

Gandhi proved that it is possible to obtain freedom even without violence by applying his principle of Satyagraha both in South Africa and India. The principle of non-violence which challenged the prevailing concept of 'tit for fat' is popularly called Satyagraha. In the present society, we think of weapons or insurgency as the only means of resistance or protest but Satyagraha motivates us to have love and respect even for those who disburse with us. Moreover, Satyagraha is an embodiment of the popular saying wisdom is more important than sword.

The message of Satyagraha has been embraced by people of arch-rival countries like India and Pakistan which have engaged in many years of long enmities. But now want to anal the years of hostility with friendship and mutual co-operation. Many moral lessons that are important to the humanity are the lessons taught by the Gandhian pursuit of truth. Satyagraha is not only limited to ending violence but it also addresses lots of other problems existing in the modern world.

Mahatma Gandhi's message was net just for India. Not was it just for the times he lived in. Mahatma Gandhi's message of love and

peace, of non-violence and Satyagraha, of the equality of all peoples, of harmony between all religious, is a universal message. It was said by the Indian Prime Minister's address on the occasion of 138th birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi and celebration of International day of non-violence. It is fact that non-violence Satyagraha sometimes takes longer time but it cause less damage to persons and property and does not leave trace of hatred and ill-will. Ultimately imbibed with Ahinsa it is pursuit of truth and truth wins always.

Last, but not the least, I would like to sum up my paper with a speech from Dalai Lama.

"True compassion is not just an emotional response, but a firm commitment founded on reason. Therefore, a truly compassionate attitude towards others does not change, even if others behave negatively. Through universals a altruism, you develop a feeling of responsibility for others. The wish to help them activity overcome their problems."

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## Historical Background of the Kamākhyā Temple

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There are five *Kamakhya* temples situated in different parts of Assam.<sup>1</sup> Among them; the *Kamakhya* temple situated on the Nilacala hill, in the present day Guwahati city of Kamrup (Metro) district is the most prominent. It is considered to be one of the leading *Sakta Pithas* in India. Goddess *Kamakhya* has been the most dominating deity of the region and was known as a land of magic and witchcraft since long.<sup>2</sup>

It is an accepted fact that legendary king *Bhauma Naraka* came to Assam from Mithila, situated near ancient Orissa, some time in between A.D. 200 and 500,<sup>3</sup> while a member of this family went to Orissa and established his authority over an extensive territory in 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>4</sup> It is also claimed that this ruler from the *Bhauma Naraka* dynasty contributed a lot in developing the Jagannatha temple as a site for all India pilgrimage. The seat of Lord *Jagannatha* is named after the name of the site of Nilacala of Kamarupa.<sup>5</sup>

The *KP (Kalikapurana)*<sup>6</sup> says that goddess *Kamakhya* is surrounded by several other gods and goddesses of whom eight chief goddesses are *Guptakama*, *Srikama*, *Vindhyavasini*, *Banasthi*, *Padadurga*, *Dirghesvari* and *Bhubanesvari*.<sup>7</sup> In addition Lord *Siva* himself resides in his five forms such as *Siddesavra*, *Gayanath*, *Amartakesvara*, *Kamesvara* and *Kedaresvara*. Besides *Visnu* in the name of *Pandunatha* too resides on the *Varahakshetra*.<sup>8</sup> Other nearby sacred places include *Saubhagyakunda* and *Sribhabaguha*. The *KP* however makes no mention

of any temple building built over the places of these gods and goddesses. But for the first time gives the story of the origin of *Kamakhya*. Other works viz. the *Yognitantra*, the *Rudra Yamala*, the *Tantra-Chudamani*, the *Devibhagavat*, the *Mahanila Tantra*, and *Kamakhya Tantra* etc. simply recount the same story in one form or other. According to *KP*<sup>9</sup> the goddess *Sati* breathed her last during the sacrificial fire at her father Daksha Prajapati's abode, because her father was scornful of her husband, the ascetic god *Siva*. According to one version of the story, the enraged *Siva* brought the corpse of *Sati* and began His dance of death (*tandava*). The other gods, afraid of their annihilation, implored *Visnu* to pacify *Siva*. So, during his wandering, *Visnu* by his *sudarshan* (discus) cut the corpse of *Sati*. Supposedly 51 pieces of the corpse scattered across the Indian subcontinent and the *yoni* (the genital part of the *Sati*) is said to have fallen on the spot of *Kamagiri*. The site is thenceforth known as *Kamakhya* or the goddess of sexual desire where the *Kamakhya* temple stands today.

The *YT* (16<sup>th</sup> century A.D) on the other hand puts stress on the creative symbolism of *Kamakhya*. In His conversation with wife *Parvati*, *Siva* tells that *Kamakhya* is the same as *Kali* and is regarded as eternal form of *Brahma*, the god of creation.<sup>10</sup>

About the origin of the temple building, we have two legends. One says<sup>11</sup> that *Kama*, the Indian cupid was sent by gods to put an end to *Siva's* mourning after the death of *Sati* and to awake in him again the passion of creation. *Siva* became furious at this and *Kama* was burnt to ashes by the angry glance of *Siva*. *Rati*, the wife of *Kama* having no other way began to cry, when other gods suggested her to preserve the ashes and to pray *Siva*. On being pacified; *Siva* brought back *Kama* to life without his original grace and charm. *Siva*, however, agreed to restore *Kama* to his former self on condition that a temple over the genital part of *Sati* was to be erected by him. Accordingly *Kama* built the temple with the help of *Visvakarma*, the carpenter and architect of Indian mythology.

The second tradition ascribes the construction of the temple to Naraka, the son of Varaha *Visnu* by the mother Earth.<sup>12</sup> At the time of his installation on the throne of *Kamarupa* he was advised by *Visnu*, not to worship any other god except *Kamakhya*. Accordingly Naraka brought a number of *Brahmanas* from his ancestral land *Mithila* and settled them at *Kamakhya* for Her worship. One day when goddess *Kamakhya* appeared before him, Naraka was captivated by her charm and made overtures of love to her. To fulfill the condition as laid down by the goddess to marry him, Naraka in his abortive attempt almost completed the construction of a temple, a pond and a road from the foot of the hill to the top within a single night. It is therefore said that the *Kamakhya* temple was built by Naraka. The four roads in four direction namely *Baghra Dvar* (tiger gate), *Hanumanta Dvar* (Hanuman gate), *Svarga Dvar* (heaven gate) and *Simha Dvar* (lion gate), from the foot of the hill to the temple are also credited to him.<sup>13</sup>

A critical study on the architectural remains found in the temple complex and the foundation of the temple building itself, the archaeologist opines that they belong to 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. if not earlier.<sup>14</sup> The mention of *Bhagavatah Balabhadra* in the Umacala cave temple inscription of the same locality and some other sculptural remains found there evidently speak the existence of a *Vaisnava* temple. A section of Archaeologists even identified it as '*Anandkhyā Mandir*' at its first instance instead of *Kamakhya* temple.<sup>15</sup> From 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. under the patronage of the *Pala* kings *tantric Buddhism* influenced the temples to great extent which pushed back the *Vaisnava* activities and *tantric Sakta* rites and rituals came into prominence. Hence in course of time with its *tantric-Sakta* dominance the *Anandakhyā* temple turned to be known by various names of *Devi*, viz, *Tara*, *Tripura*, *Sundari*, *Camunda*, *Varahi*, *Mahamaya*, *Chinnamasta* etc.<sup>16</sup> At the down fall of the *Pala* rule, the *Kamarupa* kingdom became disintegrated and a new *Kamarupa-Kamata* by name was carved out by the *Khens* with Kochbehar as its capital. During this period Guwahati region became a battleground

among the numerous local chieftains and it also experienced several *Turko-Afghan* invasions. Under this situation there developed all along a feelings of insecurity for life and practices. The temple site on the Nilacala was abandoned gradually and was hidden under the earth and thick forest. However the tradition of new *tantric-Sakti* worship was continued in the territory and under the patronage of the new dynasty "a grammatically correct but philosophically wrong goddess" *Kamakhya* by name was born.<sup>17</sup> The ruins of the temple of Nilacala was discovered after a long period of 400 years in 16<sup>th</sup> century A.D. by *Visvasimha*, the founder of the *Koch* dynasty. He found it in a dense forest and under a mound. It was then identified in consultation with the old scripts particularly the *KP* and the *Pandits* with *Kamakhya* deity of *Kamarupa-Kamata* Kingdom.<sup>18</sup> Hence the tradition of destructing the *Kamakhya* temple on Nilacala by the iconoclast *Kalapahar*, the general of the *Afghan* ruler *Suleiman Karrani* (A.D. 1563-1572) of *Gauda* (*Bengal*) is found to be baseless.<sup>19</sup> *Visvasimha's* son and successor King *Naranarayana* (A.D. 1540-1586) rebuilt the temple in the year A.D. 1565.<sup>20</sup> and made all arrangement for the regular and daily worship according to *Brahmanic* way. The king initially placed one *Mahatram Basihya*, in charge of the construction but was accused of misappropriation of money for which he was punished.<sup>21</sup> Thereafter *Meghamukdumak*, one of the generals of *Naranarayana*, completed the work within six months. Two stone inscriptions now seen at the entrance chamber of the main shrine declare that king *Malladeva* and his brother *Sukladhaj* had built the temple in *Saka* 1487 (A.D. 1565). *K.L. Barua* suggests that the credit of rebuilding the temple should go to *Sukladhaja*.<sup>22</sup> The two stone figures now seen in the temple are said to be the representations of *Naranarayana* and *Cilarai*. (*Malladeva* and *Sukladhaj*) However recent researchers suppose the two statues to be of 'some other ancient kings'.<sup>23</sup>

Some scholars are of opinion that the original temple was once more rebuilt before its reconstruction in the middle of the sixteenth century. Hence

the temple was twice destroyed and twice reconstructed. Whatever might be the causes of its destruction, the *adhithana* and the *vimana* portions of the existing temple are of original structure (7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) and the ?ikhara portion is the sixteenth century-construction.<sup>24</sup> Later on Ahom king Rajesvarsimha added the *Natamandapa* in A.D. 1764.<sup>25</sup> King Kamalesvarsimha (A.D. 1795-1810) also made a small part of the temple using copper and hence the portion is known as t?mar ghar (copper house).<sup>26</sup> While the vim?na portion of the temple bears resemblance to the Kh?jurho group of temple, the ?ikhara is typically Assamese and the 'tamar ghar' portion is a clear imitation of *Namghar* of the Neo- Vaisnavites.<sup>27</sup>

From the architectural point of view the temple was classified to be *Nagara* style temple with local variation.<sup>28</sup> The main temple is surrounded by 13 others temples dedicated to *Bhubanesvara*, *Tara*, *Bhairavi*, *Ghantakarna*, *Sidhesvara*, *Kali*, *Dhumayti*, *Chinvamasta*, *Kamesvara*, *Mahadeva*, *Bagala*, *Kamakesvara* etc. These minor and subsidiary temples, collectively known as *Nanan Devalaya* (other different temple) were built at their present sites by different Ahom kings during the 18<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>29</sup> The priests of these minor temples however do not enjoy the right of worshipping *Kamakhya*.

The French traveler Chavellior saw a gigantic statue of a woman, made of solid gold in the *Garbhagha* as the presiding deity in A.D. 1757<sup>30</sup> but at present the temple enshrines no image of the goddess *Kamakhya*, though she is still identified with *Mahamaya*, *Kali* etc. Within the temple there is a cave where in exists a black block of stone which is regarded yoni of the goddess, generally covered by a red cloth, flowers and red *sindur* powder. This block of stone always remains moister with water oozing out of a natural spring inside the cave. Though the temple is aligned facing east like most *Hindu* temples, the worship of the *yoni* is performed facing north.

The *Kamakhya* temple had been receiving patronization from the kings and their families, officials, and other pilgrims from the time of its in-

ception. All these grants turned the *Kamakhya* group of temples into a great zamindari.

The worship of *Kamakhya* is performed according to the prescription of *Karam Nayabagis* which is claimed to be based on several sacred texts, viz. *KP*, *Bharavitantra* etc.<sup>31</sup> According to *KP*, along with the worship of the *Kamakhya* other sixty four *Yoginis* are to be worshipped.<sup>32</sup> But it is said that *KP* was composed in the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and hence prior to 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the worship of different deity was done in accordance with the traditional verbal injunction of the original inhabitants.<sup>33</sup> Now a days, the *nitya Puja* of goddess *Kamakhya* starts with the ceremonial bathing (*snana*) along with worship of the movable idols of *Kamesvara* and *Kamesvari*, locally known as *calanta*. Here after the priests of the temple known as *Diksadhari* offer *Puja* with *naivedya* consisting of rice, black gram, mustard oil and vegetables. In accordance with *tantric* rituals, a he-goat is also sacrificed here every day. It is followed by devotees' sacrificial offerings; then give the whole day programmed.

On the two *Caturdasi*, two *Asrami* and one *Sakranti* of every month an additional *Puja* known as *manani Puja* is offered to the Goddess. The *Manani Puja* is also done on *Uttarayana*, *Mahavisuva*, *Daksinayana* and *Jalavisuva Sakranti* every year. The temple opens from 8.00 A.M. to sunset. However, the temple door is closed at noon for two hours for the offerings of Bhog. Besides the daily and regular worship, special *Puja* are organized on the occasions of the *Ambuvachi* in the month of *saha* (July-August), when the mother earth (goddess *Kamakhya*) becomes impure. According to *KP*, people of the out-side state particularly of *Ora desa* could worship the goddess according to the practices of their own.<sup>34</sup>

The *Ambuvaci* festival is observed here with great pomp and ceremony. Other festivals like *Manasa Puja*, *Durga Puja*, *Vasanti Puja*, *Daulastova* of *Srikrشنا* etc., are observed annually at the temple premises. The *Deodhani Nrtya* demonstrating rare physical fits is performed as a part

of the rituals during the *Manasa Puja* which is celebrated during July-August. *Durga Puja* is celebrated annually. It is a five day festival attracting several thousand visitors. •

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8. *Ibid*, 62.73, 63.150 and 64.52-54
9. *KP*, 62.54-77
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# সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তন আৰু আধুনিকীকৰণত শিক্ষাৰ ভূমিকা

প্ৰদীপ কুমাৰ শৰ্মা

অংশকালীন সহকাৰী অধ্যাপক, শিক্ষা বিভাগ

নিৰ্মল হালৈ মহাবিদ্যালয়

শিক্ষাই মানুহক জ্ঞানৰ পোহৰ দিয়ে আৰু ই প্ৰগতিৰ পথ প্ৰশস্ত কৰি তোলে। মানুহৰ পশুত্বক শিক্ষাই মানৱত্ব ৰূপ প্ৰদান কৰে। শিক্ষাই মানুহৰ জৈৱিক প্ৰকৃতি পৰিহাৰ কৰি সামাজিক আৰু ক্ৰম বিকাশশীল জীৱত পৰিণত কৰি তুলিলে। বিশেষ কথা এই যে মানুহৰ এই ক্ৰমবিকাশ হৈছে দীৰ্ঘদিন ধৰি শিক্ষাৰ যোগেদি কৰা সুদীৰ্ঘ প্ৰচেষ্টাৰ পৰিণতি স্বৰূপ। যুগ যুগ ধৰি বংশানুক্ৰমে মানুহ শিক্ষাৰ দ্বাৰা প্ৰভাৱিত, পৰিচালিত আৰু পৰিৱৰ্তিত হৈ আহিছে। শিক্ষাই মানুহৰ জীৱন নিয়ন্ত্ৰণ কৰে, পৰিচালনা আৰু ভৱিষ্যতৰ গতি নিৰ্ধাৰিত কৰে। ইয়াৰ পৰিসৰ ইমানেই বহল যে ই আমাৰ জীৱনৰ প্ৰতিটো কথাকেই স্পৰ্শ কৰে। শিক্ষাক এবিধ কলা বুলি কোৱা হয়। Nunn নামৰ মনীষীজনে কৈছিল যে সকলো কলাৰে এটা প্ৰকৃত লক্ষ্য থাকে। শিক্ষাও এটা কলা। সেয়েহে শিক্ষাৰ এটা সুনিশ্চিত লক্ষ্য থকা দৰকাৰ। ঠিক তেনেদৰে এৰিষ্টোটলে কৈছিল-‘প্ৰত্যেক কলাৰে এক মহৎ উদ্দেশ্য থাকে।’ শিক্ষাকো এবিধ কলা বুলি গণ্য কৰিব পাৰি। কাৰণ শিক্ষাৰ উদ্দেশ্য হ’ল মানৱ শিশুৰ দেহ-মনৰ পৰিপূৰ্ণ বিকাশৰ মাজেদি সমাজৰ এচাম উপযুক্ত উত্তৰাধিকাৰী গঢ়ি তুলি সমাজ আৰু সভ্যতাৰ গতি সক্রিয় কৰি ৰখা সুন্দৰ ভাবে মানৱ জীৱন বিকশিত কৰাটোৱে হ’ল শিক্ষাৰ প্ৰকৃত লক্ষ্য।

সভ্যতাৰ ক্ৰম বিৱৰ্তনৰ অতীত অৱস্থাৰ পৰা বৰ্তমান অৱস্থালৈকে মানুহৰ জীৱন সমাজ, সংস্কৃতি আৰু সভ্যতাৰ গতিশীল পৰিৱৰ্তন আৰু পৰিবৰ্ধনত শিক্ষাই গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ ভূমিকা পালন কৰি আহিছে। গ্ৰীক সভ্যতা আৰু সমাজ জীৱনৰ পৰিবৰ্তন, ইংৰাজ জাতিৰ সামাজিক জীৱনৰ পৰিবৰ্তন, ৰুছ সমাজ জীৱনৰ পৰিবৰ্তন আৰু ভাৰতীয় সমাজ জীৱনৰ পৰিবৰ্তনত শিক্ষাৰ অৱদান গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ। সেই বিষয়ৰ ইতিহাসৰ জ্ঞানেই আমাক ভালকৈ স্পষ্ট কৰি দিয়ে। এনে পৰিবৰ্তন সমূহত বিশিষ্ট

চিন্তাবিদ দাৰ্শনিক সকলৰ নতুন চিন্তা আদৰ্শই অগ্ৰণী ভূমিকা গ্ৰহণ কৰা কথাও আমি ভালদৰে উপলব্ধি কৰিব পাৰো। জাতিৰ পিতা মহাত্মা গান্ধীৰ জীৱন দৰ্শন আৰু শিক্ষাৰ দৰ্শনে ভাৰতীয় সমাজ জীৱনৰ পৰা পৰাধীনতাৰ প্ৰভাৱ আঁতৰ কৰাত কেনেকুৱা ধৰণে সহায় কৰিছিল সেইবোৰ আমি উপলব্ধি কৰিব পাৰো। সামাজিক পৰিবৰ্তন বুলি কোৱা কথাষাৰৰ দ্বাৰা সমাজৰ বাহ্যিক আৰু আভ্যন্তৰীণ গাথনিৰ ৰূপান্তৰ আৰু পৰিবৰ্তনৰ কথাকো প্ৰণালীবদ্ধ ভাবে বুজোৱা হয়। আন এক দিশৰ পৰা ক’বলৈ গ’লে সংগঠিত পৰিবৰ্তনৰ কথাকো প্ৰণালীবদ্ধ প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ সহায়ত সামাজিক অনুষ্ঠান সমূহৰ ভিন্ন দিশত সংগঠিত পৰিবৰ্তনৰ কথাকো প্ৰণালীবদ্ধ ভাবে বুজোৱা হয়। এনে প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ বৈষয়িক অৱস্থাত হোৱা পৰিবৰ্তন আৰু লগতে মানুহৰ ধ্যান-ধাৰণা, মূল্যবোধ আৰু মনোভাৱ আদিৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত সাধিত হোৱা পৰিবৰ্তনৰ কথাকো বুজোৱা হয়। সামাজিক পৰিবৰ্তনত বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ উপাদানে প্ৰত্যক্ষ আৰু পৰোক্ষ ভাবে ক্ৰিয়া কৰে।

কোনো এখন সমাজৰ পৰিবৰ্তনৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰাকৃতিক উপাদান সমূহৰ গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ অৱদান আছে। প্ৰকৃতিক দুৰ্যোগ, প্ৰাকৃতিক দুৰ্ঘটনা আদিয়ে মানুহৰ সমাজ জীৱনলৈ গভীৰ পৰিবৰ্তন কঢ়িয়াই আনে। শিলাবৃষ্টি, বানপানী আদিৰ দৰে দুৰ্যোগ সমূহে মানুহৰ সমাজ জীৱনলৈ বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ পৰিবৰ্তন কঢ়িয়াই আনে। জৈৱিক আশা-আকাংক্ষা আৰু চৰিত্ৰৰ পৰিবৰ্তন, মানুহৰ আচাৰ-ব্যৱহাৰ খাদ্য অভ্যাস, জীৱন পৰিচালনাৰ নীতি আদৰ্শ আদি লৈকে বিভিন্ন ধৰণৰ পৰিবৰ্তন কঢ়িয়াই আনে। কাৰিকৰী পৰিবৰ্তন সমূহেও মানুহৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ গতিশীল পৰিবৰ্তন সাধন কৰে। মানৱ সভ্যতাৰ সকলোবোৰ সুখদায়ক আৰু দুখদায়ক পৰিবৰ্তনত কাৰিকৰী পৰিবৰ্তন সাধন কৰে। মানৱ উল্লেখনীয়। কাৰিকৰী উত্থানে যেনেকৈ মানুহৰ জীৱন প্ৰণালী সহজ আৰু সুখদায়ক কৰি তোলে ঠিক তেনেকৈ এনে পৰিবৰ্তনে জীৱন দুখদায়কো কৰি তোলে। কাৰিকৰী উন্নতিৰ ফলত পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন সমাজৰ মাজত যোগসূত্ৰৰ দূৰত্ব তুলনামূলকভাৱে হ্রাস হৈ আহিছে। টেলিভিছন, কম্পিউটাৰ, ইন্টাৰনেট, ৰিফ্ৰিজৰিটৰ, টেলিফোন, ম’বাইল, আদিয়ে আমাৰ জীৱন আৰু মানৱীয় যোগসূত্ৰ সহজ আৰু সুখদায়ক কৰি তুলিছে। এনে প্ৰক্ৰিয়াত যুদ্ধৰ মাৰাত্মক সা-সঁজুলি সমূহে মানুহৰ সভ্যতাৰ স্থায়িত্বৰ সন্মুখত কেনে ভাবুকিৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে ইয়াক আমি ভালদৰে উপলব্ধি কৰিব পাৰো। ইয়াৰোপৰি সামাজিক পৰিবৰ্তনত সাংস্কৃতিক উপাদান সমূহে মানুহৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ পৰিবৰ্তনত গভীৰ ভাবে প্ৰভাৱ পেলায়। পৃথিৱীৰ নানা ধৰণৰ সুখদায়ক পৰিবৰ্তনত সাংস্কৃতিক পৰিবৰ্তনে গভীৰ ভাবে ৰেখাপাত কৰি আহিছে। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত আমি নৱ জাগৰণৰ কথা স্মৰণ কৰিব

পাৰে।

সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত গতিশীল ভাবে প্ৰভাৱ পেলোৱা প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ ভিতৰত শিক্ষাৰ ভূমিকা অতি শক্তিশালী আৰু উৰ্দ্ধ। কিন্তু সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ বাবে মানৱ সমাজে শিক্ষাক আকাংক্ষিত প্ৰক্ৰিয়া হিচাপে গঢ় দি তোলে। সামাজিক জীৱনৰ পৰিৱৰ্তনত আকাংক্ষিত সফলতা আহৰণৰ বাবে শিক্ষাই মূলত দুটা মুখ্য ভূমিকা পালন কৰিব লগা হয়। সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ বাবে শিক্ষাই নাগৰিক সকলৰ মাজত দৈহিক-মানসিক প্ৰস্তুতিৰ বিকাশ সাধন কৰিব লাগিব আৰু শিক্ষা প্ৰক্ৰিয়াত সমাজ জীৱনৰ সকলো মানুহৰে সামগ্ৰিক আশা আকাংক্ষা পূৰণ কৰিব পৰা ধৰণে পৰিকল্পিত ভাবে গঢ় দি তুলিব লাগিব।

কোনো এটা জাতিৰ জাতীয় জীৱনৰ আশা আকাংক্ষা ফলপ্ৰসূ ভাবে বাস্তৱত ৰূপায়িত কৰাৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত শিক্ষা হৈছে সকলোতকৈ গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ প্ৰক্ৰিয়া। সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ বাবে শিক্ষাই প্ৰণালীবদ্ধ ভাবে কাম কৰিবলৈ হ'লে শিক্ষা প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ নীতি নিৰ্ধাৰণৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত অধিক সচেতন হ'বলগীয়া হয়। শিক্ষা প্ৰক্ৰিয়া সমাজ জীৱনৰ পৰা বিচ্ছিন্ন প্ৰক্ৰিয়া নহয়। সমাজ পৰিচালনা কৰাৰ বাবে নীতি নিৰ্ধাৰণ কৰাৰ সময়ত শিক্ষাৰ ওপৰত বিশেষ গুৰুত্ব প্ৰদান কৰি জীৱন আৰু শিক্ষাৰ মাজত গভীৰ সম্পৰ্ক স্থাপন কৰিব পৰা ধৰণে শিক্ষা প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ পৰিকল্পনা কৰি লোৱা উচিত। সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ আহিলা হিচাপে শিক্ষাই বিভিন্ন ধৰণে কাৰ্য সম্পাদিত কৰে। শিক্ষাই মানৱ ব্যক্তিত্ব আকাংক্ষিত পৰিৱৰ্তন আৰু ৰূপান্তৰৰ আহিলা হিচাপে কাৰ্য কৰে। ব্যক্তিৰ দৈহিক মানসিক আৰু আধ্যাত্মিক গুণাৱলীৰ সুসামঞ্জস্য বিকাশ সাধন কৰি মানুহৰ ব্যক্তিত্ব সৰ্বাঙ্গসুন্দৰ কৰি তোলে। ইয়াৰ উপৰিও শিক্ষাই মানুহৰ মানৱীয় গুণৰাশিৰ বিকাশ সাধনৰ বাবে মানৱীয় চৰিত্ৰৰ ৰূপান্তৰ ঘটোৱাত সহায়ক উপাদান হিচাপে কাম কৰে। মানুহৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ অতীতৰ বিষয়ে প্ৰণালীবদ্ধ জ্ঞান আহৰণ কৰি বৰ্তমান জীৱন পৰিচালনাৰ বাবে প্ৰয়োজনীয় সকলো কলা কৌশল যোগ্যতাৰ বিকাশ সাধন কৰি ভৱিষ্যত সমাজ জীৱনত প্ৰগতিৰ বাবে কাম কৰিবলৈ মানুহক প্ৰেৰণা দিয়ে। শিক্ষাই সভ্যতাৰ প্ৰাচীনতম ইতিহাসৰ জ্ঞান লাভৰ সহায়েৰে বৰ্তমান সভ্যতাৰ প্ৰগতি আৰু ভৱিষ্যত সভ্যতাৰ বিকাশৰ পথ মুকলি কৰি তোলাৰ বাবে সমাজৰ ব্যক্তি সকলক উপযুক্ত ভাবে গঢ়ি তোলে। শিক্ষাই মানুহৰ অৰ্থনৈতিক যোগ্যতাৰ বিকাশ সাধনৰ আহিলা হিচাপে কাম কৰে। জাতীয় ভাবধাৰাৰ বিকাশ সাধনৰ মাজেৰে জাতীয় জীৱনত প্ৰগতিৰ বাবে কাম কৰিবলৈ শিক্ষাই মানুহক যোগ্য কৰি তোলে। শিক্ষাই মানুহৰ মনৰ পৰা জাতি, ধৰ্ম, ভাষা আৰু সংস্কৃতিগত সংকীৰ্ণ ভাবধাৰা

প্ৰাৰম্ভ কৰি বহল দৃষ্টিৰে মানৱীয় বাস্তৱৰ মূল্যায়ন আৰু এনে বাস্তৱ দৃঢ় কৰি তোলাৰ বাবে প্ৰেৰণা দিয়ে। আন্তঃৰাষ্ট্ৰীয় মনোভাৱৰ বিকাশ সাধনৰ বাবে বিশ্ব নাগৰিক হিচাপে গঢ়ি তোলাত শিক্ষাই প্ৰতিজন নাগৰিককে উপযুক্ত সহায় আগবঢ়ায়।

আধুনিকীকৰণৰ ধাৰণাটো এটা জটিল ধাৰণা। সাহিত্যৰ জগতত আধুনিকীকৰণৰ ধাৰণাই নতুন চিন্তা আৰু আদৰ্শৰ জন্ম দিয়াত সাৰ্থক ভাবে আগবাঢ়ি গৈছে। শিক্ষাৰ আধুনিকীকৰণৰ ধাৰণাই ঠাৰা বিকাশ প্ৰাপ্ত, গতিশীল জীৱন আৰু সামাজিক ক্ষেত্ৰৰ কথাৰে বুজোৱা হয়। মানৱ জীৱন, মানৱ সংস্কৃতি মানুহৰ সামাজিক ক্ষেত্ৰত পৰিৱৰ্তন প্ৰগতি, পৰিবৰ্তন আৰু গতিশীল অগ্ৰগতিত জীৱন প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ গতিশীল পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ লগে লগে শৈক্ষিক প্ৰগতিয়েও এনে পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ লগত সামঞ্জস্যতা ৰক্ষা কৰি আধুনিকীকৰণৰ প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰে আগবাঢ়ি যোৱা উচিত। বিশ্বৰ উন্নত ৰাষ্ট্ৰ সমূহৰ সামাজিক ক্ষেত্ৰত এনে প্ৰক্ৰিয়াই ইতিমধ্যে অতি গতিশীল ভাবে অগ্ৰসৰ হৈছে। কিন্তু উন্নয়নশীল ৰাষ্ট্ৰ সমূহত শৈক্ষিক বিকাশৰ গতি বৰ্তমান সময়লৈকে উন্নত হৈ উঠা বুলি ক'ব নোৱাৰি। দৰিদ্ৰতা, নিৰক্ষৰতা, সামাজিক কু-সংস্কাৰ আৰু অন্ধবিশ্বাসে বৰ্তমান অৱস্থাতো এনেবোৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰৰ সামাজিক জীৱন গভীৰ ভাবে পীড়িত কৰি আছে। গতিকে মানুহৰ জীৱন প্ৰক্ৰিয়া সামাজিক প্ৰক্ৰিয়া সাংস্কৃতিক প্ৰক্ৰিয়া আদিক আধুনিকীকৰণ প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰে আগবঢ়াই নিবলৈ হ'লে শৈক্ষিক প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ বিজ্ঞানসন্মত পৰিৱৰ্তন, পৰিবৰ্তন আৰু বহল প্ৰচাৰৰ প্ৰয়োজন। শিক্ষাৰ সহায়ত নাগৰিক সকলক মানৱীয় গুণ সম্পন্ন, বৌদ্ধিক যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন আৰু অৰ্থনৈতিক যোগ্যতা সম্পন্ন নাগৰিক হিচাপে বিভিন্ন গোস্ঠীৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰি আধুনিক জীৱন প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ বাবে উপযুক্ত প্ৰশিক্ষণ দিয়াৰ প্ৰয়োজনীয়তা আহি পৰিছে। বিশিষ্ট শিক্ষাবিদ আৰু সমাজ বিজ্ঞানী সকলৰ দৃষ্টিভংগীত বৰ্তমানৰ ভাৰতৰ সমাজ আৰু সভ্যতা। দুৰ্ভাগ্যবশত ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ জনসংখ্যাৰ নিৰ্দিষ্ট অনুপাত অনুসৰি বুজন সংখ্যক জনসাধাৰণ আজিও নিৰক্ষৰ হৈ থকা বাবে এনে মহৎ সংস্কৃতিৰ ধাৰণা প্ৰণালীবদ্ধ ভাবে উপলব্ধি কৰোৱাত ব্যৰ্থতাই দেখা দিছে। এটা মহান সাংস্কৃতিক গুণ সম্পন্ন ভাৰতীয় সমাজখনৰ সকলো জনসাধাৰণ শিক্ষিত হৈ নুঠিলে ইয়াৰ প্ৰগতিত বাধাই দেখা দিয়ে। তেনে কাৰণতে আমাৰ আৰ্থ সামাজিক আৰু সাংস্কৃতিক ক্ষেত্ৰত আধুনিকীকৰণ প্ৰক্ৰিয়াত কেতিয়াও বৃহৎ ৰূপ দিব পৰা নাযায়। বৰ্তমান অৱস্থাতো আমাৰ ভাৰতবৰ্ষত জনসংখ্যাৰ অনুপাতে দেশৰ উচ্চ শিক্ষা আৰু মাধ্যমিক শিক্ষা লাভ কৰা লোকৰ অনুপাত অতি কম আৰু দুখ লগা। ইয়াৰ সমগ্ৰ জনসংখ্যাৰ ৬/৭

শতাংশতকৈও কম পৰিমাণৰ এই সংখ্যা। দেশৰ বিকাশৰ স্বার্থত এনে অনুপাত শতকৰা ১৫/২০ বৃদ্ধি কৰিব লাগিব। ইয়াৰোপৰি প্ৰাথমিক শিক্ষাৰ সাৰ্বজনীন কৰণ প্ৰক্ৰিয়াও খৰতকীয়া গতিত বাস্তবায়িত কৰি তুলিব লাগিব। আধুনিকীকৰণে ব্যক্তিৰ স্বকীয় চিন্তা, চেতনা, মৌলিক শক্তি, মানসিক আৰু আধ্যাত্মিক যোগ্যতাৰ উপযুক্ত প্ৰভাৱ বিকাশৰ পথত তাৎপৰ্যপূৰ্ণ অৱদান আগবঢ়ায়। সামাজিক জীৱনত সুস্থ, সুনিয়ন্ত্ৰিত, বলিষ্ঠ, গভীৰ নৈতিক আৰু আধ্যাত্মিক প্ৰভাৱৰ ফলস্বৰূপে আধুনিকীকৰণৰ ধাৰণাৰ বিকাশ সাধন কৰাটো সম্ভৱ। এনে প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ সহায়তে মানুহৰ জীৱন, সমাজ, সংস্কৃতি আৰু সভ্যতাই বিকাশৰ গতিৰে আগবাঢ়ি যাব পাৰে। এনেবোৰ কাৰণতে শিক্ষা আৰু আধুনিকীকৰণ আৰু সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ মাজত এক গভীৰ সম্পৰ্ক আছে।

আমাৰ দেশৰ সামগ্ৰিক শিক্ষা প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ পাঠ্যক্রমত আধুনিকীকৰণৰ বাবে বিজ্ঞান ভিত্তিক শিক্ষা, কাৰিকৰী জ্ঞানৰ শিক্ষা আৰু প্ৰযুক্তিগত জ্ঞানৰ বিকাশ সাধনৰ বাবে ব্যৱহাৰিক বিষয় সমূহ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত কৰাৰ প্ৰয়াস বৃদ্ধি হ'বলৈ ধৰিছে। শিক্ষাৰ জৰিয়তে যেতিয়া ব্যক্তিৰ আন্তৰ্গত মানৱীয় সামৰ্থ্যৰ প্ৰকাশ আৰু বিকাশ, বিজ্ঞানসন্মত শিক্ষা পদ্ধতিয়ে সম্ভৱ কৰি তোলে, প্ৰযুক্তিগত জ্ঞানৰ জৰিয়তে যেতিয়া ব্যক্তিৰ মৌলিক প্ৰয়োজন সমূহৰ পূৰণৰ বাবে প্ৰচেষ্টা চলাই আৰু এনে প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ সহায়ত যেতিয়া ব্যক্তি আৰু দেশৰ অৰ্থনৈতিক সম্পদ গঢ়ি উঠে তেতিয়া দেশৰ নাগৰিক সকলৰ উন্নতি আৰু সামাজিক ক্ষেত্ৰত বিকাশ আৰু প্ৰগতি গতিশীল ভাবে আগবাঢ়ি যায়। শিক্ষাই আধুনিক সমাজৰ প্ৰতিজন ব্যক্তিকে উপযুক্ত মানৱীয়বোধ আৰু গুণসম্পন্ন, অৰ্থনৈতিক যোগ্যতাসম্পন্ন, প্ৰকৃত মানৱ সম্পদ হিচাপে যেতিয়াই গঢ়ি তোলাত সফল হ'ব পাৰিব তেতিয়াৰ পৰাই সমাজত আধুনিকীকৰণৰ উপযুক্ত পৰিৱেশৰ সৃষ্টি হ'ব। গতিকে শিক্ষা আবিহনে এখন সমাজক আধুনিক ধাৰণা-ধাৰণাৰ ফালে আগবঢ়াই নিয়াতো সম্ভৱ নহয় আৰু ই সামাজিক পৰিৱৰ্তনতো বাধাৰ সৃষ্টি কৰে। শিক্ষাই অতি গতিশীল ভাবে মানুহৰ জীৱন, সমাজ, সংস্কৃতি আৰু সভ্যতাৰ ৰূপান্তৰ সাধন কৰি এই সকলোবোৰকে আধুনিক প্ৰক্ৰিয়াৰ দিশলৈ আগবঢ়াই নিয়ে। •

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## The Elements of Moral Decadence in Vijay Tendulkar's Play The Vultures (Gidhade)

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Tendulkar's *The Vultures* (Gidhade) was published in 1971. With the publication of Gidhade, Tendulkar's name became associated with sensationalism, sex and violence. There ensued a long war with the censors who condemned the play as obscene and in bad taste. Conservative sections of Maharashtrian society were stunned by the open display of illicit sexual relations and scenes of violence. The decadence and degeneration of human individuals belonging to a middle-class milieu is exposed through the interactions among the members of a family. Ramakant and Umakant's greed and viciousness, their father's degenerate nature, their sister Manik's gross sensuality - all add up to a naturalistic depiction of those baser aspects of humans that one would like to shut one's eyes to. The beating up of the father by his own children, the two brothers' forcible abortion of their sister's child, the mutual hatred among the members of the family, underline the fundamental evil inherent in human character.

The title 'The Vultures' signifies the unpleasant atmosphere of the play. The vulture is a ferocious and ruthless bird that eats the flesh of animals that are already dead. A person who hopes to gain from the troubles or sufferings of other people can be termed as a vulture figuratively. The play tells the story of the Pitale family: Mr. Hari Pitale (Pappa), his two sons, Ramakant and Umakant, daughter Manik, and Rama, Ramakant's



wife. Another member of the family is Rajaninath, Pappa's illegitimate son. We find the cruelty, greed and cunningness of the vulture in all the members of Mr. Pitale's family except Rama and Rajaninath. The fact that the lives of Rama and Rajaninath are bound with these human vultures gives rise to a conflict of great dramatic significance. Pappa, Ramakant, Umakant and Manik display the savagery of vulture through their words as well as actions. The interrelationships among the family members are hopelessly degenerate. All their strength is spent in searching inhuman tricks to cheat others. The play is also a study of a tender human relationship between Rama and Rajaninath.

The high flying vulture is self-dependant. The human vultures in the play, with the exception of Pappa, are dependant upon their ancestral property. Pappa is living on his past glory. His habit of working his toothless mouth is suggestive of his helpless condition. He made the transition from working class to upper middle class by dint of his own hard work and cunning. Now he thinks that the working class people like the family gardener need a "kick as they rise, and a curse as they sit." (Act I, Scene II, 208.)

His motto is to get what he wants by hook or crook. He has no moral scruples in cheating his own brother, Sakharam, and capturing his share of business. Moreover, he is a man of loose character as he has a bastard son, Rajaninath. He accuses the family members of neglecting him and fears that his corpse will lie rotting up for days as no one will notice his departure. He feels that the business set up by him with so much difficulty has been ruined by Ramakant's crooked deals. He had handed over his business and property to his children probably to enjoy a peaceful old age. He often complains that his children don't treat him properly though he has shared all his wealth with them. His life has become hell due to their ill-treatment and indifference. He rants

and raves :

"If I die, I'll become a Ghost. I'll sit on your chest!. I won't let you, enjoy a rupee of it. I earned it all. Now, these wolves, these bullies!" (Act I, Scene II, 209.)

Umakant is a bachelor with loose morals. While Pappa was distributing the property, he had grabbed the landed property at Lonavala. It is standing him in good stead. There is no brotherly feeling in him for Ramakant. Here is his reaction when taunted about his unmarried status by Ramakant:

Shut up!, Don't bring my personal life into this, Ramya. If you open your trap again, I'll.....I'll smash it open for you! (Act I, Scene II, 213).

He habitually abuses his sister, Manik and mocks at her promiscuity. He accuses that Manik "goes and rolls all over town and then sits scrubbing herself (Act I, Scene II, 214). He even bits her on the buttocks. As for Pappa, he says "A mangy dog would have made a better father!" (Act I, Scene II, 213). He proves himself to be superior to Pappa and Ramakant in financial matters. Finally, he is driven out of the house by Ramakant.

Rama, in the words of Rajaninath, was just like an innocent doe who, after marriage, had come to a place where "vultures lived in the shapes of men." (Act I, Scene I, 204). She undergoes great suffering due to the cruel and greedy nature of her family members. She does all her work dutifully and still everybody is critical of her. She is always being scolded for one reason or another. She is the only person in Pitale family who sympathizes with Rajaninath. She often provides him with food and tea in spite of her husband's opposition. She is weak and does not utter even a word against her husband's tyranny. Her burning desire of becoming a mother remains unfulfilled. She holds her husband's exces-

sive drinking responsible for this. Driven to desperate measures, she fulfils her only desire through her brother-in-law, Rajaninath. It is not morally correct but pardonable on emotional grounds. This act of momentary courage, however, leads her nowhere. Ramakant and Manik abort her and leave her "empty of pain and empty of desires:" (Act I, Scene I, 206).

When Manik is having an affair with the Raja of Hondur, Ramakant and Umakant pounce on this opportunity of making some money. Ramakant suggests Umakant "Why shouldn't we blackmail that Hondur chap? Ourselves?" (Act II, Scene I, 236). Together they embark on an unscrupulous enterprise of detaining Manik in the house and extracting money from the prince by threatening to make his relationship with Manik public. Armed with a broken bottle and the tin-opener, the brothers fracture their sister's leg. Their violent plan, however, fizzles out as the prince dies of a heart attack before they have a chance of getting money from him. Their rage knows no bounds and they take it out on the foetus in Manik's womb. Ramakant says-"The Raja's alive : In little Manik's belly" Umakant replies: "Let's knock him out! The Raja in little Manik's belly. One kick-that's enough!" (Act II, Scene III, 247). And the fatal kick is delivered by Ramakant. One is left spellbound by such savage cruelty. Ramakant and Umakant do not care about the family prestige when they are trying to profit from their sister's illicit relationship. They worry about the blow to their family honour due to Manik's unwed pregnancy only when the opportunity to make money is no more present.

Manik takes her revenge by trying to abort her sister-in-law's child. She joyously declares :

I've done it ..... I've done it as I planned ..... I cut lemon ..... I rubbed the ash. Seven times on my loins and stomach! It's going to

abort-sister-in-law's baby's going to abort-Ramya's brat's going to abort-it won't live. It won't live! (Act II, Scene VI, 260). Rama had conceived the child from her illicit relationship with Rajaninath. Umakant, angry with Ramakant for not sharing mother's jewels with him, discloses this fact to him. Ramakant himself decides to perform the heinous deed contemplated by Manik. The behaviour and actions of Rama and Rajninath are in sharp contrast to those of the other members of Pitale family.

Pappa, Manik and Umakant, one by one, are turned out of the housed. Ramakant becomes a pauper in the end. Pappa wants to make one final effort to regain his wealth. He had never accepted the responsibility of Rajaninath all his life but now shamelessly approaches him for help so that he can prove in a court of law that Ramakant and Umakant had forced the will upon him. Rajaninath, however, refuses to have anything to do with this plan and so it fails. Thus all their wickedness and violence leads Ramakant, Umakant and Pappa nowhere.

Thus the play brings out the moral degradation of the Pitale family. There is a horrifying depiction of the evil consequences of man's avarice. The incidents like the cruel man-handling of the father by his own children and the ruthless abortion of their sister's child by the brothers show the extents to which men can go to satisfy their greed. Tendulkar probes deep into the recesses of human nature to portray the greed, wickedness and violence in human nature. •

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অংশকালীন সহকাৰী অধ্যাপিকা, অসমীয়া বিভাগ  
নিৰ্মল হালৈ মহাবিদ্যালয়

অধিতীয় সৃষ্টিশীল প্ৰতিভাৰে অসমৰ বৌদ্ধিক তথা সাহিত্য সমাজত গভীৰ সাঁচ পেলাই যোৱা সাহিত্যিকসকলৰ ভিতৰত দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্য এটি স্মৰণীয় নাম। মাত্ৰ চৌবাল্লিছ বছৰীয়া জীৱনকালত এই প্ৰতিশ্ৰুতিসম্পন্ন ক্ষণজন্মা সাহিত্যিকগৰাকীয়ে অসমীয়া সাহিত্যলৈ অনন্য উপহাৰ আগবঢ়াই থৈ গৈছে। সাহিত্যিকগৰাকীৰ সৃষ্টিকৰ্ম তাকৰীয়া যদিও মাত্ৰ তিনিখন উপন্যাসৰ মাজত নিহিত হৈ ৰোৱা তেওঁৰ সাহিত্যিক প্ৰতিভাই তেওঁক চিৰকাল অমৰ কৰি ৰাখিছে। অসমীয়া উপন্যাস সাহিত্যত এক সুকীয়া স্থান দখল কৰা এই উপন্যাস তিনিখন হৈছে- 'অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ' (১৯৭০), 'কালপুৰুষ' (১৯৭৬) আৰু 'জংগম' (১৯৮২)। এই তিনিওখন উপন্যাসতে অসমীয়া জাতি আৰু সমাজৰ প্ৰতি তেওঁৰ দায়বদ্ধতা সততে লক্ষণীয়। সেয়ে বিশিষ্ট সাহিত্যিক-সমালোচক ড° নগেন শইকীয়াই লিখিছে যে- "মাত্ৰ ৪৪ বছৰ বয়সৰে লোৱা নহয়- লোৱা হয় কামেৰে।... আচাৰ্য কিমান দিন জীয়াই আছিল সেইটো আমাৰ কাৰণে প্ৰাসংগিক হৈ এতিয়া আৰু থকা নাই, তেওঁ কিখিনি দান দি গ'ল, কিখিনি কাম কৰি গ'ল, সেইখিনি আমাৰ বাবে, আমাৰ জাতীয় জীৱনৰ সাংস্কৃতিক ইতিহাসৰ বাবে অত্যন্ত প্ৰাসংগিক হৈ থাকিব।"

উল্লেখযোগ্য যে দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্যৰ প্ৰথমখন উপন্যাস 'অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ'ৰ মূল্য অসমীয়া পাঠকৰ দৃষ্টিত অতি উচ্চ। যিজনই এই উপন্যাসখন পঢ়িছে, ইয়াৰ স্বাদ তেওঁ পাহৰিব পৰা নাই। বিশিষ্ট সমালোচক ড° গোবিন্দ প্ৰসাদ শৰ্মাৰ মন্তব্য এইক্ষেত্ৰত প্ৰণিধানযোগ্য- 'দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্যই যদি মাত্ৰ 'অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ' উপন্যাসখনহে ৰচনা কৰিলেহেঁতেন, তেতিয়াও তেওঁৰ অসমীয়া উপন্যাস সাহিত্য জগতত যশস্যৰ হেৰফেৰ নহ'লেহেঁতেন।" দৰাচলতে, এই উপন্যাসখনেই আচাৰ্যৰ বৌদ্ধিক প্ৰতিভা, উচ্চ চিন্তা আৰু আদৰ্শক বহন কৰি চিৰকাল অসমীয়া জনমানসত প্ৰতিস্থিত কৰি ৰাখিছে।

'অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ'- উপন্যাসখনত ঔপন্যাসিকজনে চিৰাচৰিত এক নিটোল পৰিপূৰ্ণ

কাহিনীৰ পৰিবৰ্তে অসমৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ অতীতৰ পৰা বৰ্তমানলৈ হোৱা পৰিবৰ্তনৰ এক সম্যক আভাস দিছে। বিষয়বস্তু উপস্থাপনৰ কলা-কৌশল, কুৰি শতিকাৰ অসমৰ সামাজিক, অৰ্থনৈতিক, ঔদ্যোগিক, ৰাজনৈতিক জীৱনৰ উত্থান-পতনৰ চিত্ৰ, ঐতিহাসিক ঘটনাৰ সংযোজন, ঔপন্যাসিকৰ স্বদেশ-প্ৰীতি, পৰিস্থিতি বৰ্ণনাৰ সাৱলীলতা, সুকীয়া গদ্যভংগী- আদি সকলো দিশৰ পৰাই উপন্যাসখন মনোৰম।

উপন্যাসখনত 'বেং-বেলেষ্টৰ' নামৰ এটি কথক চৰিত্ৰই অংকীয়া ভাণ্ডাৰৰ সূত্ৰধাৰৰ দৰে উপন্যাসখনৰ আঁত ধৰিছে। এই চৰিত্ৰটিৰ মুখেৰে এক বিশিষ্ট গদ্যভংগীৰে ঔপন্যাসিকে অসমৰ সমাজ জীৱনৰ এক নিৰ্দিষ্ট যুগৰ বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে। 'বেং-বেলেষ্টৰ'-গৰখীয়া দ'ল গাঁওৰ গাওঁবুঢ়া দণ্ডিৰামৰ সৰু পুতেক আছিল আৰু তেওঁৰ প্ৰকৃত নাম নন্দীৰাম। কিন্তু, সাংসাৰিক কাম-কাজ, কৰ্তব্য-দায়িত্বৰ প্ৰতি উদাসীন নন্দীৰামে মায়ামোহ পৰিত্যাগ কৰি গোটেই উজনি অসমত ভ্ৰমি ফুৰে। মাথোঁ বৰশী দুটিহে তেওঁৰ লগৰীয়া। বৰশী বাবলৈ অনবৰতে পাতি-বেঙৰ পোৱালী ধৰি ফুৰে বাবে তেওঁক 'বেং-বেলেষ্টৰ' অৰ্থাৎ 'বেঙৰ যম'- বুলি জোকোৱা হৈছিল; কিয় সেয়াই তেওঁৰ সৰ্বপৰিচিত নাম হৈ পৰিল। উপন্যাসখনত এই চৰিত্ৰটোৱে কথকৰ ভূমিকা লৈছে। অসমৰ এটি বিগত যুগৰ দ্ৰষ্টা আৰু সাক্ষী বেলেষ্টৰ সেই যুগৰ ব্যাপক জ্ঞান-অভিজ্ঞতাৰে অধিকাৰী। তেওঁ ল'ৰা-ছোৱালীক সাধু কোৱাৰ ছলেৰে উপন্যাসখনত বিভিন্ন ঘটনা পৰিঘটনা, কিস্মদন্তী জনশ্ৰুতিৰ সমাবেশ ঘটাইছে। প্ৰকৃতৰ্থত কথকৰূপী 'বেং-বেলেষ্টৰ'-ঔপন্যাসিক আচাৰ্যৰ সূক্ষ্ম কলাত্মক দৃষ্টিভংগী, সামাজিক দায়বদ্ধতা, কালচেতনা, মূলতঃ সমাজ-চেতনাৰ-মুকলি প্ৰকাশ।

বেলেষ্টৰে গোটেই উজনি অসম ভ্ৰমি ফুৰোতে বিভিন্ন মানুহৰ সংস্পৰ্শলৈ আহে। দিনটো বৰশী বাই কোনোবা এঘৰৰ পদূলিত সন্ধিয়া উপস্থিত হয়। ঔপন্যাসিকে উপন্যাসৰ আৰম্ভণিতে অসমীয়া সমাজৰ অতিথিপৰায়ণতাক দাঙি ধৰিছে। 'গধূলিৰ অতিথি সাক্ষাৎ দামোদৰ'-জ্ঞান কৰি সকলোৱে বেলেষ্টৰক আদৰ কৰে, বিশেষকৈ সাধু শূনাৰ লোভত সৰু ল'ৰা-ছোৱালীবোৰে তেওঁ অহালৈ আঙুলিমূৰত দিন লেখি থাকে।

ঔপন্যাসিকে পোন প্ৰথমে বেলেষ্টৰৰ জৰিয়তে ইষ্ট ইণ্ডিয়া কোম্পানীৰ আশ্ৰয়ৰ বিষয়ে পাঠকক অৱগত কৰিছে। বাণী ভিক্টোৰিয়াই সাত সাগৰ তেৰ নদীৰ সিপাৰত থাকি গোটেই পৃথিৱীক শাসন কৰে আৰু আমাৰ দেশৰ সোণ-ৰূপ, হীৰা-মুকুতা, মূল্যবান সামগ্ৰীসমূহ লগতে বিভিন্ন কেঁচা মাল চলে-বলে বিলাতলৈ নি দেশৰ ভঁৰাল তহিলৎ কৰাৰ বৰ্ণনা উপন্যাসখনৰ আৰম্ভণিতে স্পষ্ট হৈ আছে। তদুপৰি, কেঁচা সামগ্ৰীবোৰৰ পৰা বিভিন্ন বস্তু বনাই আমাৰ দেশৰ বজাৰত মুকলি কৰি দিয়াৰ সুন্দৰ নিদৰ্শন বেলেষ্টৰৰ মুখত শূনা যায়—

"ফলত সোণৰ বুটা দিয়া কাণত পিন্ধা কঁৰীয়া এযোৰো দেশখনত দেখিবলৈ নাইকিয়া হ'ল। আজি কালি যিহে চক চকীয়া কাঁচৰ কাণফুলী ওলাল! ৰচকীহঁতৰ আকৌ সেই বোৰেহে গা

জুৰায়। নিধকখন কটা! বোলে সোণচপৰা দি মাটিচপৰা পাই ইমান বং বহইচখন কিহৰ? তোমাৰ বাৰীৰ বাঁহৰ গাজ তাৰে কৰিলো খৰিচা, তোমাকে বেচি সিকিটো ল'লো কথাটো মন কৰিছা।” একেদৰে, চাহ কোম্পানীৰ বিশদ বুৰঞ্জীও ঔপন্যাসিকে আগবঢ়াই থৈ গৈছে। চিং ফৌসকলে আৱিষ্কাৰ কৰা চাহপাতক কিদৰে ব্ৰিটিছে চাহ কোম্পানীলৈ পৰিবৰ্তন কৰিলে তাৰ বৰ্ণনা উপন্যাসখনত স্পষ্ট। এইখিনিতে উল্লেখযোগ্য যে, বেং বেলেষ্টৰৰ চাহখেতিৰ বৰ্ণনাৰ অনুৰূপ সুৰ শুনা যায় সাম্প্ৰতিক অসমৰ বিশিষ্ট লেখিকা বীতা চৌধুৰীৰ ‘মাকাম’- উপন্যাসত। আকৌ, ডিগবৈত তেল আৱিষ্কাৰ আৰু তেল কোম্পানীৰ ইতিবৃত্তও বেলেষ্টৰৰ মুখেৰে ঔপন্যাসিকে দাঙি ধৰিছে। তদুপৰি, দ্বিতীয় মহাসমৰৰ ভয়াবহতাৰ ছিটিকনি অসমত কিভাবে পৰিছিল, সেয়াও ঔপন্যাসিকে ব্যক্ত কৰিছে। সহজ পদ্ধতিৰে ধন-সম্পত্তিৰ পাহাৰ গঢ়িবলৈ কিদৰে এচাম অসমীয়া মানুহে স্ব-বৃত্তি পৰিহাৰ কৰি মহাসমৰৰ প্ৰবাহত জপিয়াই পৰিছিল তাৰ উমান বেলেষ্টৰৰ মুখত পোৱা যায়।

তাৎপৰ্যপূৰ্ণ যে, উপন্যাসখনৰ যোগেদি ঔপন্যাসিকে আমাৰ সমাজৰে এচামৰ স্বার্থপৰতা, ভোগবাদীতা, শঠতা, আত্মকেন্দ্ৰিকতাৰ চৰিত্ৰ উদঙাই দিছে। গাখীৰত পানী ঢালি ‘পনীয়া পুনাই’ নাম পোৱা ‘পুনাই গোৱাল’, চৰাইমৰীয়া সত্ৰৰ ‘সত্ৰাধিকাৰ মহাপ্ৰভু’, তেওঁৰ পুত্ৰ ‘ডেকা অধিকাৰ’, ‘গেমটাই’ৰ হত্যাকাৰী ‘মাম’, ‘নদেচৰ’ৰ হত্যাকাৰী দেহীৰ পুতেক ‘ভোকোৰা’- আদি চৰিত্ৰৰ আঁৰত লুকাই থকা কাহিনীসমূহে অসমীয়া সমাজৰ এচাম মানুহৰ ব্যক্তিকেন্দ্ৰিক-স্বার্থপৰ মনোবৃত্তি, মানৱতাহীন, শঠ, প্ৰবঞ্চনাৰ চৰিত্ৰ প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে। একেদৰে, কানি বৰবিহে সমাজক পংগু কৰাৰ চিত্ৰও উপন্যাসখনত অংকিত হৈছে। ব্যক্তিস্বার্থক প্ৰাধান্য দি এচাম ধূৰন্ধৰ ব্যক্তিয়ে সমাজত কানিৰ পোহাৰ মেলিছে-তাৰ লগে লগে অসমীয়া সমাজখনক ঠেলি দিছে ধ্বংসৰ গৰাহলৈ।

মন কৰিবলগীয়া যে, ‘অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ’- উপন্যাসখন অসমীয়া লোকসংস্কৃতিৰ প্ৰাণবন্ত ভঁৰাল। উপন্যাসখনৰ আৰম্ভণিৰ পৰা শেষলৈকে লোকসংস্কৃতিক সমল পৰিপূৰ্ণ হৈ আছে। অসমীয়া সমাজৰ খাৱন-শোৱন, পিন্ধন-উৰণ, আচাৰ-বিধি, বিয়া, বিছা আদি উৎসৱ অনুষ্ঠান, ভাওনা, ঢুলীয়া আদি লোক পৰিবেশ্য কলাসমূহ, ঘৰ বাৰীকে আদি কৰি ভৌতিক সংস্কৃতি, সামাজিক লোকাচাৰ আদি বেং বেলেষ্টৰে যথাৰীতি বৰ্ণনা কৰিছে। পুৰণা দিনৰ ভাওনাৰ কথা বেলেষ্টৰৰ মুখত এইদৰে শুনা যায়—

“বৰসৱাহৰ পিছদিনা দিনটো বৰধেমালি, সৰু ধেমালি আৰু গায়ন ধেমালি গাই সাতঘোৰা খুলীয়াই দ'ল নামঘৰ কঁপাই থাকে। খুলীয়াও বুলি বৰগায়নৰ ভেকো হ'লে এটা আছিল দেই! আখৰাৰ দিনা বৰনামঘৰত সি যুদ্ধৰ চেও বজায় আৰু চৰাঘৰে বৰঘৰে গোটেই গাঁৱৰ মানুহবিলাকে তালে তালে নাচে।...”

একেদৰে, ঢুলীয়াই ঢোলেৰে যুঁজ কৰাৰ বৰ্ণনাও উপন্যাসখনত পোৱা যায়।

তদুপৰি, অন্য কেতবোৰ মুখবোচক বৰ্ণনাই উপন্যাসখনত বহু চৰাইছে। আৰিমও বজাৰ কিস্কদন্তী, বিভিন্ন ভূত-পিশাচ, বাক, দ'ত, কন্ধ, বুঢ়া ডাঙৰীয়াৰ বৰ্ণনা, সৰু-বৰ বিভিন্ন সাপৰ বৰ্ণনাৰ লগতে কালডাঁহী, শঙ্খাচুড়, ‘তইখক’ (তক্ষক) সাপৰ ভয়ংকৰ বৰ্ণনাই পাঠকৰ সাপৰ ডাল-ডাল কৰে। আকৌ, কন্টিলৌ চোৰৰ মইমতালি, উপস্থিত বুদ্ধিয়ে পাঠকক আমোদ দিয়াত যথেষ্ট সাৰ্থক হৈছে। এইবোৰৰ মাজেদি ঔপন্যাসিকৰ সূক্ষ্ম পৰ্যবেক্ষণ শক্তিৰ প্ৰকাশ ঘটাইছে। উল্লেখযোগ্য যে, উপন্যাসখনত ঠায়ে-ঠায়ে মহাত্মা গান্ধীৰ ভাব-আদৰ্শক অংকিত কৰা হৈছে, যাৰ মাজেদি আচাৰ্যৰ স্বদেশানুৰাগৰ পৰিচয় পোৱা যায়। তদুপৰি সাম্প্ৰদায়িক ভেদ-ভাব বিলুপ্ত কৰি সম্প্ৰীতিৰ এনাজৰীৰে বান্ধ খোৱাৰ আহ্বানো উপন্যাসখনত স্পষ্টঃ

“... এতিয়া এই গোৱালা, তাঁতী, মৰা, কোন্ধ আদি নানা জাতিৰ মানুহবোৰ অসমৰ বুকুতে জীণ গ'ল। সিহঁতে অসমীয়া মাত কথা শিকিলে, নীতি-নিয়ম ল'লে; বহুতে শঙ্কৰ গুৰুত শৰণ-ভজনা ল'লে। সিহঁতক আমাৰ মাজত নিজৰ বুলি সাৰাটো ধৰাটো আমাৰহে গৌৰৱৰ কথা।” তাৎপৰ্যপূৰ্ণ যে, উপন্যাসখনক নিভাঁজ ৰূপত প্ৰতিভাত কৰিছে ইয়াৰ গদ্যভংগীয়ে। যিহেতু গোটেই উপন্যাসখন বেলেষ্টৰৰ কথাৰেই সমাপ্ত হৈছে, সেয়ে তেওঁৰ কথন ভংগীয়েই উপন্যাসখনৰ গদ্য-ৰীতি। এই কথন ভংগী সমসাময়িক সাহিত্য পৰম্পৰাৰ পৰা সুকীয়া, গ্ৰাম্য সৰলতাৰ ওচৰ চপা। সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে গাঁৱলীয়া, লোক পৰম্পৰা আশ্ৰয়ী, অশিক্ষিত বেং বেলেষ্টৰৰ কথনভংগীত অসমীয়া গাঁৱলীয়া সৰল কথনভংগীয়েই মূৰ্ত হৈ উঠিছে। জঁতুৰা ঠাচ, খণ্ডবাক্য, শব্দৰ গ্ৰাম্য উচ্চাৰণ, ভুলকৈ ইংৰাজী আৰু হিন্দী ভাষাৰ শব্দৰ প্ৰয়োগে তথা লোকভাষাৰ প্ৰয়োগ উপন্যাসিক আচাৰ্যৰ সমাজ চেতনাক অতি উজ্জ্বলৰূপত পোহৰলৈ আনিছে। স্বীকাৰ্য যে, উপন্যাসখনত বৰ্ণিত বিষয়বস্তুই পাঠকক উলিখিত সময়, সেই সময়ৰ পৰিবৰ্তন, ভাল-বেয়া আদি দিশৰ বিষয়ে ভাবিবলৈ বাধ্য কৰে। তদুপৰি, বেং- বেলেষ্টৰে কাহিনী বৰ্ণনা কৰি যাওঁতে মাজে মাজে এনে লাগে যেন ককাক বা আইতাকে নাতি-পুতিৰ আগত সাধুহে কৈ আছে। উপন্যাসখনৰ বসাল বৰ্ণনাই পাঠকৰ মনক চমৎকাৰিত্ব প্ৰদান কৰাৰ লগতে ঠায়ে ঠায়ে বম্য-ৰচনা তথা চুটিগল্পৰ অনুভবো পাঠকক উপলব্ধি কৰায়।

গতিকে দেখা যায় যে, অসমীয়া সমাজ জীৱনৰ এক গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ সময়ৰ দলিলস্বৰূপ ‘অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ’-দেবেদ্র নাথ আচাৰ্যৰ সমাজ চেতনাৰ অনুপম কীৰ্তিস্তম্ভ। এক সম্পূৰ্ণ নতুন কৌশলেৰে আচাৰ্যই সাহিত্যৰ বস পিপাসুসকলক এই উপন্যাসখনৰ জৰিয়তে মধুৰ আত্মদৰ্শন দিবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। বিশিষ্ট ঔপন্যাসিক, সাহিত্যিক, সমালোচক ফণীশ্ৰু কুমাৰ দেৱ চৌধুৰীয়ে লিখিছে যে-“অসমৰ সকলো লেখকৰ লেখনি পঢ়ি অটোৱাৰ পিছতো অসমীয়া ভাষাৰ মাজত নিহিত হৈ ৰোৱা শক্তি, সৌন্দৰ্য আৰু নিভাঁজ গোন্ধ আৱিষ্কাৰৰ বাবে যিজন লেখকৰ লেখনি পঢ়িবই লাগিব, তেওঁ হ'ল দেবেদ্র নাথ আচাৰ্য। ‘অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ’- এনে এখন উপন্যাস যিয়ে আমাৰ দৃষ্টি

সীমানাৰ পৰা চিৰকালৰ বাবে হেৰাই যোৱা এটা প্ৰাচীন যুগৰ সৈতেই আমাক অকল মুখামুখি নকৰায়, ই আমাক বিস্ময়াভিভূত কৰি তোলে এক সম্পূৰ্ণ ভিন্নস্বাদৰ অননুকৰণীয় অপূৰণীয় গদ্যৰীতিৰে।”

মুঠতে, আলোচ্য উপন্যাসখনে দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্যৰ সমাজ-চেতনাক সম্পূৰ্ণৰূপে প্ৰকাশিত তোলাত সহায়ক হৈছে; যিয়ে পৰৱৰ্তী সময়ত কৃতী ঔপন্যাসিকজনক নিজৰ যোগ্যস্থানত উপবিষ্ট কৰি ৰাখিছে।•

#### পাদটীকা :

- ১। ‘দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্য স্মৃতি বক্ষা ন্যাস’ৰ দ্বাৰা আয়োজিত ‘স্মাৰক বক্তৃতা প্ৰদান অনুষ্ঠান-২০০৬’-ত নগেন শইকীয়াই প্ৰদান কৰা ভাষণৰ পৰা উদ্ধৃত।
- ২। ‘অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ বুৰঞ্জী’ (৬ষ্ঠ খণ্ড) সম্পাদক : হোমেন বৰগোহাঞি পৃঃ ১৫০ (১৯৯৩)
- ৩। ‘দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্য ৰচনা সমগ্ৰ’, সম্পাদক : মহাশ্বেতা আচাৰ্য ; ‘অন্য যুগ অন্য পুৰুষ’, পৃঃ ৭
- ৪। প্ৰাগুক্ত গ্ৰন্থ; পৃঃ ৮
- ৫। প্ৰাগুক্ত গ্ৰন্থ; পৃঃ ১৫
- ৬। প্ৰাগুক্ত গ্ৰন্থ; পৃঃ ৬৭
- ৭। ‘সম্পাদকৰ টোতা’, ‘একা বছৰৰ অসমীয়া গদ্য’, (সম্পা) ফণীন্দ্ৰ কুমাৰ দেৱচৌধুৰী; পৃঃ ৪২৫।

#### সহায়ক গ্ৰন্থপঞ্জী :

- ১। ‘দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্য ৰচনা সমগ্ৰ’ : (সম্পা) মহাশ্বেতা আচাৰ্য, ১ম প্ৰকাশ, জানুৱাৰী ২০১১
- ২। ‘অসমীয়া উপন্যাসৰ গতিধাৰা’ : ড° সত্যেন্দ্ৰ নাথ শৰ্মা, ২০০৪ চন।
- ৩। ‘অসমীয়া উপন্যাসৰ ভূমিকা’ : ড° সত্যেন্দ্ৰ নাথ শৰ্মা, ২০০৪ ইং চন।
- ৪। ‘অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ বুৰঞ্জী’ (৬ষ্ঠ খণ্ড), সম্পাদক : হোমেন বৰগোহাঞি।
- ৫। ‘এশ বছৰৰ অসমীয়া উপন্যাস’ (সম্পা) নগেন ঠাকুৰ; প্ৰদীপ কুমাৰ বৰুৱাৰ প্ৰবন্ধ ‘দেবেন্দ্ৰ নাথ আচাৰ্যৰ উপন্যাস; প্ৰথম প্ৰকাশ, ২০০০ ইং চন।

## The Indian National Bibliography

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The Indian National Bibliography is being compiled since 1957. It has been serving scholars, librarians, publishers, booksellers and those interested in the book world as a valuable tool of reference.

The I.N.B. has been conceived as an authoritative bibliographical record of current Indian publications in 14 major languages of India (Assamese, Bengali, English, Gujrati, Hindi, Kannada, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu) (received at the National Library, Calcutta under the provisions of the Delivery of Books Act (Public Libraries), 1954. Entries for books in all these languages are arranged according to classified sequence with an alphabetical index.

**Entries :** The entries in this bibliography give full bibliographical details in respect of the publications included in the I.N.B. The details are as follows : Classification number, feature headings, author, title, place of publication, publisher, year of publication, collation, size of the book, series, annotations wherever necessary, ISBN/ISSN, nature of binding, price, language symbol and colon classification number.

To facilitate bringing books in different languages under one sequence, all entries are transliterated into Roman script with diacritical marks wherever

necessary. The compilation and publication of I.N.B. is a major cultural event in the history of bibliographical services since independence. Before the appearance of the I.N.B. there was no systematic record of current India publications for the use of scholars, librarians, publishers, booksellers et-al.

**Periodicity :** The I.N.B. was first published as a quarterly with annual cumulations from 1958 to 1963 and its periodicity was changed to monthly in 1964 and continued upto 1977. 1978, 1979 volumes have been published as annuals due to unavoidable circumstances. It has been decided to publish 1980-81 & 1982-83 in two volumes of four parts. Since 1984 January the periodicity of this publication has been revived to monthly.

**Language Bibliographies :** The year 1959 was a very significant one for it was in that year the publications of the language bibliographies of I.N.B. were initiated. The scope and price of the Roman script bibliographies made it difficult for private, individuals and smaller organisations like district and town libraries, colleges and school libraries in India to subscribe to I.N.B. view was also expressed that the needs of such smaller institutions and individuals might be better served if separate annual bibliographies of books in Indian languages were brought out in the script of the respective languages. It was also considered that the publication of the language bibliographies would contribute indirectly to the development of the regional languages and also fulfil the long felt need to reference books like bibliographies in regional languages.

**Utility :** The volumes of I.N.B. are not only for the current use but also for the future generations, These are permanent records of the country's intellectual output to be preserved for the future generations of users like scholars, librarians, publishers and book sellers. The volumes of bibliogra-

phy will be utilised as a source material for compilation of subject bibliographies, book statistics, publicity for publishers and book selection tool for librarians and book sellers and above all it will serve as a guide to all the technical problems like classification, cataloguing etc.

**Appeal to Publishers :** The comprehensiveness and the success of the National Bibliography depends mainly on the active co-operation of the publishers to the provisions of the Delivery of Books Act (Public Libraries), 1954.

The publishers should realise that the inclusion of their titles in the Indian National Bibliography offers opportunity for publicity throughout the world free of cost and record their publishing activities for the future generations. Publishers, therefore, should send all their publications overlooking the cost involved, as soon as they are publishing. The benefits outweigh the cost involved in sending their books to the National Library in accordance with D.B Act. This will make the I.N.B. as comprehensive as possible so as to serve the scholarly world better. Here is an opportunity for all publishers of the country to serve India through their active co-operation to the provisions of the D.B. Act. •

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