

26
Year of start : 2014
ISSN : 2347-8829

www.creatcrit.co.in
Index No.-5139
PIF(I2OR)-5.330

Creatcrit

*An Interdisciplinary (Arts & Humanities)
Multilingual (Assamese, Bengali, English), Peer-Reviewed
Research Journal published every January and July.
Vol.-13, No.2, July, 2026*

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Creatcrit : Vol.-13, No.-2, July, 2026

ISSN : 2347-8829

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*An Interdisciplinary (Arts & Humanities),
Multilingual (Assamese, Bengali, English), Peer-Reviewed
Research Journal published every January and July.*

Publisher : Creatcrit Forum, represented by Dr. Nityananda Pattanayak
(A Society Registered under Societies Act XXI of 1860)



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Price : Single -100/-

Cover Design : Prasanta Kr. Gogoi

Layout : Sadhan Das

Printing : Ajanta Press, M.G. Road, Nagaon -1

Office : Creatcrit Forum, House No.- 357, Gandhinagar, L.K. Road,
Haiborgaon, Nagaon, Assam, India. Pin- 782002
E-mail Address : creatcrit@gmail.com

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Pandemic Transformations: The Evolution of Literary Forms and Trends in Response to Crisis

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Abstract: *Pandemics have had a profound impact on societies, reshaping their cultural, social, literary and economic landscapes. These significant disruptions have influenced the themes, genres, and perspectives in literature, reflecting the collective experiences, fears, and hopes of individuals during times of crisis. By analyzing key examples from different historical periods, this paper aims to shed light on the evolution of literary trends in response to pandemics and their lasting influence on the literary canon.*

Keywords: *Pandemic, Literary trends, Digital transformation, Forms, Literature.*

Introduction: Art is a reflection of the culture and reality that produces it. Literature encapsulates the experiences, the fear, the societal breakdown, the cultural shift, and the aftermath that come along with a crisis. It offers insight into the collective human condition and also provides a window into the cultural and historical context of a society. Literature

acts as social commentary, critiquing or challenging prevailing social, political, and economic systems. Through literature, historical events and cultural traditions are documented, thus preserving the collective memory of a society. Literature also reflects the societal changes and shifts brought by pandemics. Pandemics have in turn repeatedly functioned as catalysts for literary innovations, a shift in trends, thematic development, and compelled writers to adapt to new forms of writing.

In Greek classics, the term crisis is referred to a crucial decision or judgment between radically opposed choices such as right or wrong, life or death, and was generally applied to legal, religious, and medical contexts (Dafermos 65). It gradually adopted a secular meaning in the late eighteenth century, after the French and American Revolutions, when crisis began to identify a transition period in fields such as politics and economics. It is a time of intense difficulty, danger, or uncertainty that requires immediate attention, response, and resolution (Tuora 4). A crisis can present an opportunity for transformation, innovation, or reevaluation of existing systems or practices.

Pandemics are human crises with severe health and socio-economic consequences. Pandemics have been a recurring event across civilizations, shaping the economic, political, and social aspects of human civilization, with their effects often lasting for centuries. It has also affected the way art has been created and the subject matter of the art. Pandemics have collateral consequences: demographically, socially, culturally, politically, financially, and biologically.

As societies and civilizations experience plagues, pandemic-related themes have emerged in both fiction and non-fiction works, reflecting the realities and emotions of the time. The pandemic has sparked creative responses from writers around the world. Many authors have used their craft to process and make sense of the upheaval and uncertainty caused by the pandemic. They have written personal accounts, journals, and reflections on their experiences, offering a glimpse into the unique challenges faced during this period. Pandemics have influenced literature by shaping its themes, prompting creative responses, transforming literary events, impacting the publishing industry, reflecting social change, and shifting narrative focus.

This study examines the evolution of literary forms and trends across three major historical crises: the Black Death, the Spanish Flu, and the

Covid-19 pandemic. It is a diachronic evaluation of the literary response to crises across distinct historical epochs.

Literary transformations post the Black Death (1347-1351)

The Black Death, also known as the Bubonic Plague, was one of the deadliest pandemics in human history. It occurred in the 14th century and had a profound impact on Europe, Asia, and Africa. It resulted in the deaths of an estimated 75-200 million people- approximately 30% of Europe's population. It also brought societal changes: contributed to the decline of feudalism and spurred advancements in medicine and public health practices, such as the establishment of quarantine measures (Benedictow 229-230). Besides societal changes, it had an impact on art and culture. The literature that emerged after the Black Death pandemic in the 14th century reflected the profound impact of the plague on society, culture, and individual experiences. Some key aspects of the literature during that time:

i. *Memento Mori*: The Black Death, with its devastating mortality rates, led to a preoccupation with death and mortality in literature. The concept of *memento mori* (Latin for "remember you must die") became prominent, emphasizing the fleeting nature of life and the inevitability of death. This theme became a recurring motif throughout history and often reflected in artwork, poetry, philosophy and religious writings.

One prominent example of a literary work that incorporates the theme of *memento mori* is the play *Hamlet* by William Shakespeare. Throughout the play, the character Hamlet contemplates the nature of mortality and the inevitability of death, embodying the essence of *memento mori*.

ii. *Danse Macabre*: The *Danse Macabre*, or the Dance of Death, became a popular motif in literature and art as a result of the plague. This concept gained momentum as a result of the bubonic plague. It depicted a procession of people from all walks of life, symbolizing the universality of death. The imagery often portrayed skeletons leading people to their graves, reminding readers of the transitory nature of life and the equalizing power of death (Walter 107). It serves as a lasting artistic representation of the profound impact the Black Death had on medieval society and the

collective reflection on mortality that emerged as a response to the plague.

iii. Plague Literature: Some writers directly addressed the Black Death and its consequences in their works. They described the horrors, sufferings, and psychological impact of the plague. These accounts served as a form of documentation and testimonies of the traumatic experiences people faced. Giovanni Boccaccio's *The Decameron* is an example of a collection of stories set during the plague, presenting a diverse range of narratives and perspectives. The Black Death and its impact on Florence serves as a central backdrop and context for *The Decameron*. The pandemic shapes the setting, frame narrative, themes, and social critique found within Boccaccio's collection of stories. *The Decameron* stands as a literary response to the calamitous events of the time and serves as a testament to the resilience of storytelling and human creativity even in the face of tragedy. The most popular medieval literary work, *Canterbury Tales* by Chaucer is also a byproduct of the pandemic, reflecting a shift towards realism in literature.

iv. Religious Writings: The Black Death intensified religious fervor, leading to an increase in religious writings. People during this period attributed plague as a divine will, punishment, or intervention. The Black Death prompted theological reflections on the problem of evil, the nature of suffering, and the role of God in the face of such devastation. It resulted in many clergy members and theologians delivering sermons and writing treatises addressing the theological implications of the plague. The aftermath of the Black Death saw an increased popularity of religious devotional literature, prayers and hymns.

v. Changes in Literary Language: The Black Death had linguistic and cultural impacts as well. It contributed to a growing emphasis on vernacular languages in religious texts. Previously, Latin had been the dominant language of religious writings. However, the pandemic highlighted the need to reach a wider audience, leading to the translation of religious texts, including the Bible, into local languages.

Overall, the literature after the Black Death in the 14th century was deeply influenced by the traumatic experiences of the pandemic. It explored themes of death, mortality, religious contemplation, and the

existential questions raised by the widespread devastation. The literature of this period serves as a testimony to the profound impact of the Black Death on the human psyche and cultural expressions of the time.

Literary transformations post the Spanish Flu: The Spanish flu, also known as the 1918 influenza pandemic, was a global outbreak of the H1N1 influenza virus that occurred from 1918 to 1919. It is estimated to have infected approximately one-third of the world's population at the time (Taubenberger and Morens 15). It spread rapidly due to the movement of soldiers and civilians during the World War I. The Spanish flu left a lasting impact on public health practices and scientific understanding. It led to advancements in virology, epidemiology, and healthcare infrastructure. The experience of the Spanish flu also influenced subsequent pandemic responses and shaped global health policies, emphasizing layered non-pharmaceutical interventions as bridges until medical counter measures became available (Markel et al. 653),

While the pandemic itself did not generate a distinct literary movement, it influenced the themes, styles, and cultural context of the literature that followed. The flu pandemic coincided with the World War I, and thus the literary trends overlap and not all works from this period fit neatly into a single category. Nevertheless, these trends offer a glimpse into the literary landscape that emerged after the Spanish Flu, reflecting the social, cultural, and psychological transformations of the time.

Listed below are some ways in which literature transformed itself after the Spanish Flu:

i. **Lost Generation Literature:** The generation that came of age during or shortly after World War I, including the Spanish Flu, became known as the “Lost Generation”. This term was coined by Gertrude Stein and popularized by Ernest Hemingway. Many writers from this generation, such as Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and T.S. Eliot, captured the disillusionment and sense of aimlessness prevalent in post-war post-pandemic society. Some examples of literary works include *A Moveable Feast* by Earnest Hemingway, *Tender is the Night* by F. Scott Fitzgerald, and *The Wasteland* by T.S Eliot.

ii. **Existentialism:** The Spanish Flu, with its random and devastating

impact created a sense of uncertainty and chaos among people. This existential crisis influenced literary works by leading authors to explore themes of human existence, isolation, and the search for meaning in a chaotic world. Existentialist ideas began to gain prominence in literature during this time. The 1918 pandemic amplified the post WWI 'lost generation' ethos of futility and spiritual emptiness (Kaur). Prominent existentialist thinkers who were active during and after the Spanish Flu include Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Albert Camus, and Martin Heidegger. Their works, such as Sartre's *Being and Nothingness* and Camus' *The Stranger* reflected the existentialist themes of individual freedom, meaning, and the human condition.

iii. Shift in writing styles: The Spanish Flu coincided with a broader shift in literary styles and movements, such as modernism and the post-war departure from traditional narrative structures. The devastation caused by the pandemic further contributed to the sense of disillusionment and fragmentation reflected in literature during this time. The post-Spanish Flu period witnessed the rise of modernist literature, characterized by experimentation with form, style, and narrative techniques. Writers like Virginia Woolf and James Joyce started using the Stream of Consciousness technique to convey an unfiltered, non-linear and fragmented nature of human consciousness. Virginia Woolf employed this technique in *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) to portray everyday life haunted by war trauma and illness, subtly implying the flu's lingering atmospheric dread and bodily vulnerability (Outka 120). The disillusionment and social upheaval caused by the Spanish Flu and World War I led to an increase in the use of irony and satire in literature as a means of social commentary.

iv. Socio-Political Commentary: Literature after the Spanish Flu reflected the broader social and political changes occurring in the aftermath of the pandemic. It highlighted issues such as public health, healthcare infrastructure, and the role of government in managing and responding to crises. Writers critiqued the societal responses to the pandemic and explored themes of inequality, social injustice, and the need for reform. Some examples of such books are *Brave New World* by Aldous Huxley (1932) and *The Grapes of Wrath* by John Steinbeck (1939)

v. Medical Narratives and Scientific Progress: The Spanish Flu spurred advancements in medical research and public health narratives, scientific discoveries, and discussions of healthcare into their works. Some examples of such works include *The Newer Knowledge of Bacteriology and Immunology* by Almroth Wright (1924), *Medical Discoveries of the Twentieth Century* by Joseph M. Gabriel (1929), *The Control of Disease in the Tropics* by Sir Leonard Rogers (1923).

Literary trends and themes in response to Covid-19 pandemic:

The COVID-19 pandemic is the global outbreak of infectious corona virus which began in late 2019 in Wuhan, China. The World Health Organization declared the outbreak as a pandemic on March 11, 2020. COVID-19 has caused over 7 million confirmed deaths and over 779 million reported cases (WHO). This pandemic impacted the global world, affecting economies and societies along with its devastating mortality rates. It is also simultaneously reshaping the literary world, acting as a mirror and accelerating pre-existing digital shifts.

Trends and potential changes have already emerged and continues to take shape. Following are the shifts that has been observed:

1. Increase in non-fiction pandemic related writings: The pandemic gave rise to a sub-genre called as covid-19 nonfiction. Covid-19 nonfiction encompasses nonfictional books, articles, science journalism, medical memoirs, policy critiques, and other written works that provide factual information about the COVID-19 pandemic. These works aim to educate readers about various aspects of the virus, including its origins, spread, impact on public health, and societal implications. They explored topics such as epidemiology, virology, public health measures, vaccine development, economic consequences, and social challenges. COVID-19 specific titles influenced enduring subgenres such as science writing on viruses and crisis response (Laurence O' Bryan)

Some popular examples of Covid -19 nonfiction books include:

- i. *The Rules of Contagion: Why Things Spread - and Why They Stop* by Adam Kucharski.
- ii. *Apollo's Arrow: The Profound and Enduring Impact of Coronavirus on the Way We Live* by Nicholas A. Christakis
- iii. *COVID-19: The Pandemic that Never Should Have Happened and How to Stop the Next One* by Debora MacKenzie
- iv. *COVID-19: Everything You Need to Know about the Corona*

Virus and the Race for the Vaccine by Michael Mosley

2. Rise of digital literature and virtual storytelling/webinars: One of the most significant aspect that separates Covid-19 pandemic from the previous pandemics is that it is the first digitally recorded pandemic. The pandemic accelerated the digital transformation of various aspects of life, including literature. As people around the world faced lockdowns, social distancing measures, and limited physical interactions, digital platforms became essential for communication, entertainment, and accessing literature.

With bookstores closed or limited in operation, many readers turned to e-books and online reading platforms to access literature. E-book sales soared during the pandemic, allowing readers to continue exploring fiction, nonfiction, and other genres without leaving their homes. Virtual author events, book launches, live streams, webinars, podcasts, and video conferences took over during this period. According to the Association of American Publishers (AAP), in the United States alone, the revenue from downloaded audiobooks increased by 27.3% in 2020 compared to the previous year, reaching \$1.3 billion. These figures demonstrate the growing demand for digital formats, driven by factors such as convenience, accessibility, and the proliferation of smartphones and e-readers. The COVID-19 pandemic further accelerated this trend, as more people sought digital alternatives to physical books during periods of lockdown and restricted access to bookstores.

This pandemic has made virtual interaction the new normal. In response to the difficulty in physical printing and distribution during the lockdown period, digital literary magazines and journals provided a platform for writers to share their creation with a wide audience. Digital literature played a vital role in keeping the literary community connected and engaged during the pandemic. It offered avenues for storytelling, reading, learning, and collaboration, ensuring that literature continued to thrive despite the limitations imposed by the global health crisis. It also changed the way we create, consume, and transmit literary works, thereby continuing to shape the literary landscape in a progressive manner.

Some examples of digital books, journals, and magazines are:

- i. *Preparing for the rebound after the COVID-19 crisis* (ebook) by Atos Scientific Community
- ii. *The Corona Care Handbook: Helping You Handle the*

COVID-19 Pandemic (Kindle Edition)

iii. *A kids Book about COVID-19* (ebook) by Malia Jones

iv. The Lockdown Review

3. Shift in publishing industry: The pandemic necessitated lockdown and restrictions disrupted supply chains and print sales, pushing the publishing industry to adopt digital formats. Traditional production and distribution models were brought to a halt, giving way to an accelerated adoption of e-commerce, e-books, audiobooks and digital platforms. Another shift is the self-publishing sector which experience exponential growth since COVID-19 pandemic. This has democratized publishing, allowing authors greater control and higher royalties. In the United States, self-published titles reached 2.6 million in 2023, and surging 38.7% the following year. Self-published titles accounted for 88% of new ISBN registrations in 2023 (Publishers Weekly 2026). India ranks among top global producers with 90,000 titles per year, with self-publishing adding substantial volume (BookData 2025). Globally, over 4 million new self-published titles were estimated in 2025, outpacing traditional model by a ratio of 5:1 (Dataintelo 202). Post pandemic publishing scene has moved toward a complementary hybrid model of publication, distribution and reader access.

4. Potential shift in narrative focus :

A shift in narrative focus is a dynamic process and often requires the collective efforts of writers, artists, and thinkers to explore and reshape narratives in response to new experiences, events, and perspectives. While it is still relatively early to fully assess the long-term impact the pandemic will have on literature and narrative focus, there are some important aspects which are emerging in response to COVID-19 pandemic. Such as:

- i. Reflection on Inequalities and Societal Issue
- ii. Emphasis on Mental Health
- iii. Climate Change and Environmental narratives
- iv. Rise in speculative fiction and disease narratives

Conclusion: A study of the literary response to the three major crises: The Black Death, Spanish Flu and COVID-19 pandemic shows the adaptive role of literature in processing crises. While literature produced during different pandemics can vary significantly due to

historical, cultural, and social contexts, there are some common comparisons and patterns that emerge in literature as a response to crisis. Themes of despair, isolation, survival, and resilience permeated the post pandemic literary response. Literary effort post crises responded with a critique of social structures and societal responses. Literary response was fueled with experimentation and shifts in not just content but form. Post Black Death, it shifted from religious poetry to secular frame narratives. The disillusionment of Spanish Flu and World War I gave way to writers responding with scarce direct fiction with nonlinear timelines and unreliable narrators. Along with the evolving society and advancements in technology, the literary space saw a real time digital response to COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic accelerated electronic literature in the form of e-books, social media poetry, self-publishing model, and digital formats. It has also democratized the way literature is produced, disseminated, and consumed. Pandemics and crises act as catalysts for literary evolution which brings lasting formal change in literature.♦

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An Island-Nation of Words: Third Space, Exilic Consciousness, and the Reimagining of Tibet in Anglophone Poetry

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Abstract: *English provides transnational reach, but it also carries colonial habits of representation and Western fantasies of a timeless spiritual Tibet. Through readings of Tenzin Tsundue, Tsering Wangmo Dhompa, and Bhuchung D. Sonam, the study argues that English functions as a contested medium through which Tibet is remembered, criticized, and politically reimagined. Benedict Anderson's imagined community explains poetry's construction of a portable nation without territorial sovereignty; Homi K. Bhabha's Third Space and Stuart Hall's diasporic identity illuminate the writers' hybrid positions; and the Tibetan Buddhist concept of bardo names exile as an unfinished historical interval. Comparative close readings identify three states of poetic consciousness: Tsundue's wounded defiance and demand for return, Dhompa's fragmentary and gender-conscious skepticism, and Sonam's melancholy transformed into editorial stewardship. The paper concludes that Tibetan Anglophone poetry sustains nationalism most persuasively when it resists cultural erasure without demanding internal sameness, preserving Tibet as a community capable of memory, translation, dissent, and renewal.*

Following critical analysis method this paper examines the rise of Tibetan Anglophone poetry and how its writers negotiate exile, language, nation and cultural belonging.

Keywords: *Tibetan Anglophone poetry, exile, nationalism, Third Space, diaspora, bardo*

Tibetan Anglophone poetry begins from a contradiction: it speaks for a homeland through a language that is not indigenous to that homeland. Yet the contradiction is productive rather than disabling. English gives Tibetan poets access to readers across India, Europe, North America, and the Tibetan diaspora, but it also carries older imperial and Orientalist images of Tibet as a timeless Buddhist sanctuary. The poet writing in English must therefore perform several tasks at once. The poem has to remember a country that may be inaccessible to the poet, register the material life of statelessness, answer Chinese state narratives, resist Western fantasies of Shangri-La, and negotiate the expectations of an exile community that often treats cultural unity as a condition of national survival. These pressures help explain why contemporary Tibetan poetry in English is intensely political even when it avoids slogans. Its politics lies not only in what it says about Tibet but also in who is permitted to speak as Tibetan, what language that person may use, and whether the imagined nation can contain internal difference.

This essay traces the rise of and central challenges faced by Tibetan Anglophone poetry, and reads Tenzin Tsundue, Tsering Wangmo Dhompa, and Bhuchung D. Sonam as three distinct but related formations of exilic consciousness. Benedict Anderson's account of the nation as an "imagined political community" clarifies how poems can produce national belonging without territorial control (6). Homi K. Bhabha's 'Third Space' and Stuart Hall's processual account of diasporic identity explain why English is not simply borrowed but remade. Neither theory, however, should turn statelessness into a glamorous metaphor. For these poets, hybridity is lived under unequal political conditions. Their poetry reconstructs Tibet as a portable community of memory, readership, and ethical obligation, but it also challenges nationalism whenever unity hardens into cultural purity. Tsundue's voice is declarative, impatient, and future-oriented; Dhompa's is fragmentary, skeptical, and attentive to gendered

silences; Sonam's is melancholic, testimonial, and institution-building. Together, they show that Tibetan nationhood in English is not a finished identity carried intact into exile. It is a contested practice of remembering, translating, dissenting, and continuing.

From Cross-Cultural Experiment to a Diasporic Field

Anglophone Tibetan poetry must be distinguished from Tibetan poetry translated into English. The latter has a much longer and broader history; the former refers to work composed in English by Tibetan writers. Its genealogy is therefore discontinuous. Tibetan literary culture contains ancient traditions of religious verse, songs of realization, court poetry, biography, and oral song, but original composition in English arose from modern encounters with British India, missionary education, travel, and exile. Enrique Galván-Álvarez identifies Gendun Choepel's four English poems, written during his travels and personal exile in India, as a likely starting point. Chögyam Trungpa later wrote extensively in English, treating the language as a field of experiment through which a Tibetan intellectual and Buddhist teacher could address Western modernity without merely reproducing a traditional Tibetan form (Galván-Álvarez, "Lessons" 41-43). These writers were important precursors, but they did not yet constitute a sustained literary field.

The decisive conditions emerged after 1959, when the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetans entered exile following the Lhasa uprising and the People's Republic of China's consolidation of control over Tibet. Refugee schools in India and Nepal educated younger Tibetans in multilingual environments where English often became the most developed language of literacy, even when Tibetan remained the language at home and of community. English-language periodicals also created an audience: *Voice of Tibet*, renamed *Tibetan Review*, began in 1967, and the poetry journal *Lotus Fields: Fresh Winds* appeared in 1979. Shelly Bhoil argues that English moved from a diplomatic or explanatory medium toward a language in which Tibetans educated in exile could narrate themselves ("Brief Survey"). This transition matters. Early English writing frequently addressed foreign governments or Western supporters; later poetry also addressed Tibetan readers who were themselves more fluent in English than in literary Tibetan.

The year 2002 marks a visible consolidation. Tsundue's *Kora*, Sonam's *Dandelions of Tibet*, and Dhompa's *Rules of the House*

appeared at roughly the same moment. The convergence did not create Tibetan Anglophone poetry from nothing, but it made a scattered practice legible as a generation. Sonam's edited collection *Muses in Exile* followed in 2004, bringing multiple generations and geographical locations into one volume. Tibet Writes began as an online platform and developed, with its Blackneck Books imprint, into an independent press for Tibetan writing. These institutions did more than distribute texts: they created the readership through which individual poems could become a national conversation. Dharamsala itself became a narrated exile capital in which "Dhasa" and the remembered Lhasa overlap without becoming identical (Siganporia 62-73). Sonam's essay "Blue Sky White Mountains" retrospectively situates English poetry within Tibetan literary continuity while emphasizing exile, dispossession, and the need for new forms (65-70). The field's rise, then, cannot be explained by literary talent alone. It depended on refugee education, diasporic mobility, small-press labor, digital circulation, and a community prepared to read English as one of its own languages.

Writing under Double and Triple Pressure

The first major challenge is linguistic legitimacy. English can connect dispersed Tibetans and make Tibetan experience internationally legible, yet it can also appear to confirm the displacement of Tibetan itself. Dhompa describes the first generation born in exile as entrusting another language with the absence of a country, a formulation that treats English simultaneously as necessity, loss, and creative possibility (qtd. in Galván-Álvarez, "Sliced Tongues" 113). Galván-Álvarez accordingly calls Tibetan English a contested space rather than a transparent tool. Tibetans learned English largely through colonial and postcolonial India, not through Tibet's direct colonization by Britain. Their use of the language does not fit the standard model in which a formerly colonized people "writes back" to one European empire. Instead, the Anglophone Tibetan writer inhabits an interstice among Tibetan memory, Indian social life, Chinese power, and a global English-speaking public ("Sliced Tongues" 102-05). The resulting idiom may contain Tibetan words, Indian rhythms, American experimental poetics, Buddhist concepts, and refugee bureaucracy without belonging wholly to any one of them.

English also contains a ready-made Tibet. Long before most Western readers encountered Tibetan authors, travel writing, colonial scholarship,

religious enthusiasm, and James Hilton's *Shangri-La* had produced Tibet as spiritual refuge: peaceful, timeless, monastic, and mysteriously outside history. Chinese state discourse supplies an opposing but equally reductive image of a backward society transformed by "liberation." Tibetan Anglophone poets therefore write between two powerful representations: romantic preservation and coercive modernization. Galván-Álvarez observes that Tibetan writers use English to contest Western stereotypes in the language in which many of those stereotypes were formed ("Sliced Tongues" 102). Tsundue's leaking roofs, identity papers, racialized encounters, cheap food, and prisons strip Tibetanness of touristic serenity. Sonam likewise insists on narrating ordinary people rather than an abstract country of monks, prayer flags, and flying lamas (Dickie). Dhompa's domestic scenes are even more disruptive because they refuse the expectation that a Tibetan text must continuously explain religion or announce a political position.

A third pressure comes from nationalist representation. A stateless writer is often expected to become a spokesperson. International readers may demand testimony about occupation, while Tibetan readers may evaluate the work according to its service to the cause. This demand can produce clarity and urgency, but it can also narrow the aesthetic and ethical field. Poems about desire, doubt, gender conflict, regional difference, or religious ambivalence risk being judged insufficiently Tibetan. Sonam recalls that when he writes in Tibetan, his subjects range across love, friendship, play, and work, whereas writing in English pulls him toward Tibet as the lost country (Dickie). That difference reveals an unequal economy of reception: the English poem arrives already labeled as national testimony. Dhompa resists this burden through indirection. Her poems do not reject the national struggle, but they refuse to let "Tibet" erase women, skeptical children, ordinary disagreement, or the instability of language.

These symbolic constraints are intensified by material ones. Tibetan Anglophone poetry occupies a marginal position within both English-language publishing and Tibetan literary studies. It may be considered too specifically political or ethnographic for mainstream poetry, yet insufficiently Tibetan by readers who equate Tibetan literature with the Tibetan language. Galván-Álvarez notes its exclusion from both English and Tibetan contemporary canons ("Sliced Tongues" 104). Independent

publishing partially corrects that exclusion but brings practical difficulties. TibetWrites has operated with limited staff and resources; distribution, logistics, and marketing have remained persistent obstacles (Mulmi). Connections with writers inside Tibet also face surveillance, censorship, and geopolitical restrictions. The rise of the field is thus inseparable from its precarity. Its books circulate because poets also work as editors, translators, event organizers, booksellers, and archivists.

The Portable Nation and the Ethics of Nationalism

Anderson's theory helps explain why poetry matters so much to a dispossessed community. A nation is imagined not because it is false, but because most of its members will never meet and must nevertheless picture a shared communion (6). The Tibetan nation in exile lacks control over its claimed territory and is dispersed across many states. Its communal image must therefore be reproduced through schools, commemorations, flags, religious practices, political institutions, stories, and print. Poetry participates in this production at an intimate scale. It makes the geopolitical nation felt through a roof, a registration certificate, a mother, a rented room, or an inherited word. The nation becomes portable without becoming immaterial.

Tsundue's *Kora* offers the most explicit poetic construction of such a nation. "My Tibetanness" compresses statelessness into the phrase "Citizen to no nation" and then states the central paradox: "I am Tibetan. / But I am not from Tibet" (13). The poem does not treat identity as a secure inheritance. Tibetanness is repeatedly challenged at checkpoints, in offices, and through racial misrecognition in India. Yet the speaker's insistence converts denial into a form of national assertion. "Refugee" performs a similar reversal. The letter *R*, apparently stamped onto the child's forehead as administrative stigma, is reread through Tibetan as *rangzen*, freedom (14). The poem appropriates the state's classificatory mark and turns it into an anticolonial sign. In "When It Rains in Dharamshala," the speaker watches papers and memories float from an "island-nation bed" (22-23). The room is physically tiny, but the hyphenated image expands it into a polity. Nationhood survives as a precarious archive on a wet bed.

This nationalism is affectively powerful because it joins humiliation to resolve, but Tsundue also exposes its costs. Exile has lasted so long that supposedly temporary houses acquire roots, children inherit refugee

status, and a homeland never seen becomes the place where one hopes to die. His nation is therefore organized by deferred arrival. The future return gives coherence to the present, while every additional year makes that return more psychologically and culturally complicated. "Exile House" registers this cruel duration: the shelter was not built as a permanent home, yet permanence has grown around it. Tsundue's nationalism is neither an uncomplicated nostalgia nor a completed political program. It is a discipline of refusing the normality of exile.

Dhompa reimagines the nation less declaratively. In *Rules of the House*, Tibet persists through household instruction, remembered speech, food, ritual, stories, and generational misunderstanding. This domestic scale is political because nationalist narratives often privilege public, masculine sacrifice while treating women's labor as cultural background. "Second Lesson" ends with "This is an example of a good woman:" followed by a large blank space (20-21). The absence visualizes the ideal of female silence and, at the same time, makes that silence accusatory. A nation that preserves itself by reproducing patriarchal discipline is not ethically complete. Dhompa's poems thus ask not only whether Tibet will survive but what version of Tibet deserves to survive.

Her challenge also extends to the demand for cultural transparency. In "To Understand How We Are," young Tibetans "pretended we were tourists in our own part of the city," mimicking the gaze that exoticizes them (69). The performance produces distance from both outsider stereotypes and inherited self-images. The speakers discover belonging not as pure origin but as a relation repeatedly staged and revised. Dhompa's reflections on homeland likewise resist the assumption that physical return can simply restore a pre-exilic self (D'Rozario). Her later historical study, *The Politics of Sorrow*, makes explicit a problem already present in her poetry: national unity was necessary to oppose colonization and build exile institutions, but it could also marginalize regional and religious differences. The ethical nation must therefore be capable of internal memory, including memories that complicate its preferred story.

Sonam represents a third mode of nationalism: connective and infrastructural. His poems grieve displacement, but his editorial practice turns private grief into a shared literary public. *Muses in Exile*, TibetWrites, Blackneck Books, and his translations of poets inside Tibet produce relations among writers separated by borders and languages. This work

resembles Anderson's print community, but it is built from below by a stateless readership. Sonam has described writing as something that "eases the pain of exile and dislocation" (Dickie). The statement is personal, yet publishing converts the pressure valve into a communal archive. His nationalism is not limited to declaring loyalty; it creates the channels through which heterogeneous Tibetans can read one another.

Taken together, the poets present nationalism in three registers. Tsundue's is insurgent and declarative, Dhompa's interrogative and pluralizing, and Sonam's connective and archival. All oppose disappearance, but none simply reproduces a single ideology. Their most persuasive national imagination is neither ethnic purity nor sentimental unity. It is an ongoing obligation to preserve cultural and political claims while making room for disagreement, hybridity, and unequal experiences within the community.

Third Space: English, Bardo, and the Work of In-Betweenness

Bhabha's 'Third Space' names the enunciative site in which cultural signs lose "primordial unity or fixity" and can be translated and read anew (55). The concept is useful for Tibetan Anglophone poetry because these writers do not stand cleanly between two complete cultures called Tibet and the West. Their locations are multiple: refugee settlements in India or Nepal, schools conducted in English, Tibetan-speaking families, transnational activism, American universities, and a homeland known through memory, media, travel, or prohibition. Hall's claim that cultural identity concerns "becoming" as well as "being" similarly shifts attention from recovery of an unchanged essence to the positions produced by history (225). Tibetan English is one such position. It is not failed Tibetan or neutral global English; it is English marked by the social history of Tibetan exile.

Tsundue makes this Third Space visible through hyphenation and code-switching. The "Indian-Tibetan" of his documents is a bureaucratic compromise, but his poems turn the hyphen into a scene of argument. Losar may coincide with an Indian examination and an idli-sambar breakfast; a Tibetan in Mumbai may speak Hindi, turn to Tibetan during a vocabulary emergency, and still be treated as racially foreign. These mixtures do not resolve the question of belonging. They demonstrate that the speaker's identity is produced through incompatible recognitions:

culturally Indian in many habits, legally precarious in India, nationally Tibetan, and territorially separated from Tibet. Third Space here is not a cheerful multicultural zone. It is creative because it is pressured.

Dhompa's poetic form most fully realizes the theory. Her associative syntax, sudden pronoun shifts, gaps, micro-narratives, and deferred meanings make linguistic uncertainty an analogue for diasporic identity. The speakers are insiders who do not completely understand inherited rituals and outsiders who cannot detach themselves from them. In "Hibernation," sacred signs, political prediction, rainmaking, shopping lists, and family anxiety occupy the same field; no stable interpretive authority resolves them. In "To Understand How We Are," mimicry of tourists gives Tibetan girls a temporary position from which to observe their own social world. The Third Space is therefore both linguistic and gendered: it permits criticism of tradition without requiring cultural abandonment. The blank page after the "good woman" is not outside Tibetan culture; it is an internal interruption that opens culture to another future.

A Tibetan concept, *bardo*, sharpens this reading and prevents Bhabha from becoming the only theoretical authority. In Buddhist usage, bardo describes an interval or transitional state, most famously between death and rebirth. Galván-Álvarez proposes exile itself as a historical bardo: a period between the rupture of 1959 and an uncertain return, but also a space in which inherited narratives can be reassessed ("Lessons" 61-62). Unlike a waiting room, this bardo produces new institutions, languages, gender roles, and forms of self-understanding. Dhompa's poetry inhabits that incompleteness. Its lack of resolution is not apolitical indecision; it refuses premature closure around the meaning of Tibetanness.

Sonam's bilingual practice reveals a different Third Space. Tibetan connects him with inherited poetic forms and a range of ordinary subjects; English draws him toward the national wound and toward an international and diasporic audience. Translation and publishing then move texts in both directions. His position is not a synthesis in which the languages become interchangeable. Their asymmetry remains meaningful. English offers reach but carries representational pressure; Tibetan offers intimacy but may have a smaller or politically restricted readership. Sonam's work occupies the institutional space between them, building a literary home

that no single state supplies.

Third Space theory nevertheless has a limit. It can overvalue fluidity and understate coercion. Tibetan poets did not freely choose statelessness as a cosmopolitan lifestyle. Legal insecurity, loss of territory, racialization, uneven access to Tibetan literacy, censorship, and limited publishing capital structure their hybridity. Said's description of exile as a "discontinuous state of being" is a necessary counterweight to celebrations of cultural mixture (177). The achievement of Tibetan Anglophone poetry lies not in transcending the desire for homeland but in refusing the false choice between national attachment and hybrid identity.

Three States of Mind in Exile

To compare the poets' states of mind should not mean diagnosing the authors. The relevant object is the consciousness performed by their poems: characteristic relations among memory, time, place, voice, and political desire. All three write from exile, but exile does not produce a uniform psychology.

Tsundue's poetic consciousness is marked by wounded defiance. His short lines, repetitions, blunt declarations, and ordinary vocabulary convert complex geopolitics into bodily pressure. The speaker is inspected, named, laughed at, rained upon, and delayed. Anger repeatedly borders on exhaustion, yet the poem refuses collapse. In "When It Rains in Dharamshala," the speaker insists, "I cannot cry like my room" (23). The wet room externalizes grief so that the person can move from lament toward action. Even nostalgia is future-oriented: Lhasa is less a recovered childhood scene than a destination promised for the next Losar, the next generation, or death. This produces an unstable combination of impatience and endurance. Tsundue's mind lives at a checkpoint, always required to prove identity and always imagining passage.

Dhompa's poetic consciousness is more recursive and epistemically unsettled. Where Tsundue asserts "I am," Dhompa often disperses the self among initials, family voices, reported speech, objects, and blank space. Memory is not a secure record of Tibet but an inheritance transmitted through fallible narrators and translated habits. The dominant mood is ambivalence, though ambivalence here does not mean emotional weakness. It is the capacity to remain attached while questioning the forms of attachment. Dhompa's speakers love elders whose lessons they

resist; participate in rituals whose logic they cannot entirely accept; and recognize the need for national solidarity while noticing those whom solidarity silences. Her fragmentary state of mind is especially attentive to gender. The private self cannot be sacrificed without remainder to the public nation.

Sonam's poetic consciousness is melancholic but outward-building. Unlike Tsundue and Dhompa, who were born in exile, Sonam was born in Tibet and left as a child. His loss therefore includes remembered place and family separation, not only inherited national memory. "Banishment" places the speaker in a "thirty-sixth rented room" with a bee and spider, "Sharing our pool of loneliness" (71). The scale is deliberately small: exile appears as repetition of rental, dampness, noncommunication, and time that will not move. The poem ends with the fear that the absent addressee may become deaf before the speaker's silence reaches them. This is not Tsundue's public declaration or Dhompa's polyphonic indirection. It is an elegiac consciousness in which isolation threatens language itself.

Yet Sonam does not remain enclosed in melancholy. His work as editor and translator redirects loneliness toward solidarity. The rented room is answered by the press; the solitary notebook becomes an anthology; separation from Tibet produces efforts to connect writers inside and outside it. His self-criticism is severe—he has dismissed much of his early writing and described poetry as a pressure valve—but this doubt coexists with durable cultural labor (Dickie). Sonam's state of mind therefore moves between grief and stewardship. He is less confident than the nationalist slogan but more committed than despair.

The contrast can be summarized through temporality, space, and voice. Tsundue's governing time is the deferred future of return; his spaces are borders, offices, prisons, and fragile refugee houses; his voice is direct address and declaration. Dhompa's time is the recursive present in which inherited pasts are repeatedly reinterpreted; her spaces are kitchens, lanes, ritual gatherings, and pages; her voice is elliptical and multi-vocal. Sonam's time is the duration of separation and the patient construction of an archive; his spaces are rented rooms, memory, and the small press; his voice moves from elegy to curation. What they share is the perception of Tibet as a present absence. What separates them is the formal response to that absence: mobilization, interrogation, or

preservation.

These differences complicate any claim that Tibetan Anglophone poetry simply expresses nostalgia. Nostalgia is present, but it does different work. In Tsundue it fuels political refusal; in Dhompa it is tested against memory's unreliability and the exclusions of tradition; in Sonam it becomes a connective ethic. Nor can the poets be reduced to optimism and pessimism. Tsundue's hope contains fatigue, Dhompa's doubt contains loyalty, and Sonam's melancholy produces institutions. Their states of mind are contrapuntal: each holds loss together with a distinct practice of survival.

Conclusion

Tibetan Anglophone poetry rose when a generation educated in exile began to claim English not merely as a diplomatic instrument but as a Tibetan medium of self-representation. Its development from scattered early experiments to the publications of 2002, *Muses in Exile*, TibetWrites, and Blackneck Books demonstrates that a literature requires institutions and readers as much as individual authors. The field remains challenged by linguistic anxiety, Western exoticism, Chinese political power, nationalist expectations, canonical marginality, censorship, and small-press precarity. Those pressures are not external background. They shape the poetry's forms, audiences, and characteristic tensions.

The idea of nation that emerges is neither purely territorial nor safely metaphorical. Tsundue makes Tibet portable through resistant naming; Dhompa reconstructs it through domestic memory while exposing internal exclusions; Sonam creates it as a network of writers, translations, and readers. Their nationalism is strongest when it refuses erasure without demanding sameness. Bhabha's Third Space illuminates their appropriation of English and their hybrid identities, while the Tibetan bardo and Said's account of discontinuity preserve the pain and political asymmetry that theories of hybridity can obscure.

The "island-nation" is therefore an apt figure for the field itself. It is bounded yet flooded, intimate yet geopolitical, fragile yet capable of holding papers, memories, and future claims. Tibetan Anglophone poets do not replace the lost or occupied homeland with language. They do something more difficult: they keep the nation available for argument. In their poems, Tibet survives not as a motionless sacred image but as a community whose members can mourn, dissent, translate, and imagine

themselves otherwise without ceasing to belong.♦

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Ekam Sad Viprā Bahudhā Vadanti

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Abstract : *All gods are the limbs of one supreme soul. The number of the Vedic gods varies to a considerable extent. In one-hymn of Rgveda, the number of the Vedic gods is mentioned as three thousand three hundred and thirty nine (3339). But according to Sāyanāchārya, the famous commentator of the Vedas the number of Gods is actually thirty three only and the number 3339 signifies their divine grace or prowess of these thirty three Gods.*

According to Yāska there are only three prominent gods; for example, Agni is the principal God of the terrestrial region, Vāyu or Indra is of the atmospheric region while Surya is the main god of the celestial region. The other gods of these three regions are named after the different activities and epithets of these three principal gods. But in reality, these three gods are none but the limbs of one supreme Param Brahma. Thus it is recorded in the Nirukta of Yāska- "Devatāyā eka atmā bahudhā stuyate" (7/8) i.e. Gods have one soul but praised differently.

Keywords- *Vedic gods, Rgveda, Ātman, Yāska, Agni.*

EKAM SAD VIPRĀ BAHUDHĀ VADANTI

The number of the Vedic Gods varies to a considerable extent. In

the Rgveda the number of Gods mentioned is 33 (thirty three). At places this number has been equally divided into three, each division containing eleven. Each group has its seat in each of the three worlds, the earth, the air and the sky. In one- hymn, the number of the Vedic Gods is mentioned as three thousand three hundred and thirty nine (3339). The hymn of the ninth Sûkta of the third Mandala of the Rgveda runs thus :-

Trīni śatā trī sahasrānyagnim trimśacca devā nava cāsaparyan |
Auksan ghrtairstrnanvarhirmā ādidvotāram nāsādayasta ||¹

In the commentary of this stanza Sāyana writes that the number of Gods is actually thirty three only and the number 3339 signifies their divine grace or prowess of these thirty three Gods.

Yāska in his Nirukta while giving the etymological meaning of the term ‘Deva’ writes- ‘*Devo dānāt vā dipanāt vā dyotanād vā bhavati*’² i.e. one who bestows, is called Devatā or one who revealing oneself, reveals other is called Devatā. Reciting mantras for Gods or praising or worshipping him, performing sacrifices, man’s desired goal is achieved; that is why, he is the bestower of cherished object. It is the meaning of the bestowal. He shines himself, self-luminous and illumines others. The ruling spirit of the mantra is deity. The ruling spirit is self manifested and by the light of the spirit all inanimate substances are manifested. Therefore, in reality the supreme-self in the form of ever cheerful is the real nature of the deities. The deities manifested in different names and forms are the various revelations of the unmanifested invisible supreme self. This truth is expressed in an often-quoted mantra (verse) of the Rgveda-

“Ekam sat- viprā vahudhā vadanti agnim yamam mātarīśvānamāhuh”³

To what is one, the poets give many a name |

They call it Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan ||

Or in another mantra of the Rgveda it is said that seers imagine one entity in many forms- “*Ekam santam vahudhā kalpayanti*”⁴.

We find the names of different Gods in the Veda. Yāska says, in reality there are only three Gods- “*Tisra devatā iti nairuktā*”⁵. According to Yāska these three Gods are i) Agni ii) Vāyu or Indra and iii) Sūrya.

“*Agnih prthivīsthāno vāyurvandro vāntarīksasthānah sūryo dyusthānah*”⁶.

That is according to Yāska there are only three prominent gods; for example, Agni is the principal God of the terrestrial region, Vāyu or Indra is of the atmospheric region while Sūrya is the main God of the celestial region. The other Gods of these three regions are named after the different activities and epithets of these three principal Gods. Compare-

*“Tāsāmeva bhaktisāhacharchāt vahuni nāmadheyani bhavanti | karma prtakatvat..”*⁷

Vaiśvānara, Jātavedā, Naraśamsa, Susamiddha, Tanūnapāt etc. are originated from the various activities and epithets of Agni. Likewise, the name of the Gods like Mātariśvan, Rudra, Indra, Apām Napāt, Maruts etc are originated from Vāyu and from Sūrya the Gods originated are Āditya, Visnu, Mitra, Varuna, Pucan, Bhaga, Usā, Aśvins, Sāvitr etc. That the writer of Nirukta has reduced all the Gods in to these three Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya is not his fanciful view, since such discussion about Gods is corroborated in one stanza of the Rgveda itself. Compare-

*“Sūrya no divaspātu vāto ’ntarikcādagirnrah pārhivebhyah”*⁸

May the Sun protect us from the disturbance of heaven, Vāyu save us from the portent of atmospheric region and Agni save us from the calamity of terrestrial region, In this stanza of the Rgveda since only three Gods are mentioned without mentioning all the Gods of the three regions, their predominance is well ascertained. The three abodes of the Gods earth, air and heaven are stated as three utterances viz. Bhuh, Bhuvā and Svah. As stated earlier, in the Vedic texts the number of Vedic Gods is stated is 33 (thirty three). Among them eleven Gods are of earthly, eleven of air and eleven of celestial region. But more than 33 Gods are also recorded in the Vedic scriptures.

But in the later Pauranic age the number of Gods is increased up to thirty-three cores.

Among the three prominent Gods, Agni is nearest to us- “*Agnirvai devānām avamah*”⁹ and Surya is farthest- “*Suryo devānām paramah*”¹⁰ and the other Gods are included in to these two Gods. From careful analysis it appears that all the three prominent Gods are the manifestations of Supreme soul or Parama Brahman and all Gods are his different forms. Yāska also opines- “*Devatāyā eka atmā vahudhā stuyate*”¹¹. That is, Gods have one soul but praised differently.

However, terrestrial Gods are Agni, Brhaspati, Soma and

Goddess Prthivi. Atmospheric Gods are Indra, Trita Aptya, Apām Napāt, Matarisvan, Ahibudhnya, Aja ekapād, Rûdra, the Maruts, Vāyu-Vāta, Parjanya and Āpa while the celestial Gods are Dyaus, Varuna, Mitra, Sûrya, Savitr, Pucan, Vicnu, Vivasvat, Ādityas, Ucas and Aśvins.

The Gods as described in the Veda are nothing but the symbols of natural phenomena. The ruling spirit of each one of the earthly substance is God. The presiding deity of the earthly visible fire is Agni. The presiding deity of the visible Sun is Surya or Savitr or Āditya. Likewise, Vāyu is the deification of the mundane wind. The natural symbol of the Maruts is storm (typhoon). Rûdra is thunder; that is why, he is fierce and destructive. His frightful sound is thunder-clap. He is dreadful and horrid. The external symbol of Apām Napāt is lighting.

The natural phenomenon of Parjanya is cloud (megha). Mitra, Varuna, Savitr, Bhaga, Pucan, Aryama, Āditya, Visnu, Usas etc. are only the names of the different positions of the Sun in the firmament. In day time Āditya's name is Surya. He also exists at night, but we do not see. At that time Āditya is called Varuna. At the later part of the night when the darkness of the sky dispels, but remains in the earth, then the name of Āditya is Savitr and when the darkness of the earth also disappears, then the name of Āditya is Aśvins. Before the rising of the Sun when the horizon becomes reddish, then Āditya is called usas. Just after the rising the disc of the Sun is named as Bhaga. There after the name of the position of Āditya is Sûrya. At noon when Āditya shines at the zenith of the firmament, he is then called Visnu. That is, the position of Āditya at noon in the sky is Visnu. He is the farthest. At that time its size is very small like dwarf (Vāmana). Though small in size it is scorching in heat. Likewise, Visnu in his Vāmana incarnation though assuming dwarf form externally, he is second to none. We quote here a verse of Visnu-Sukta thus- "*Idam Visnu bichakrame tredhā nidhane padam*" ¹²

Yaska while commenting on this verse refers to the views of his earlier authorities like Śākapāni, Ūrnanābha and others. Ūrnanābha explains the three steps of the Sun in this manner- the first step at the rising at Udayācala, the second step at noon when he shines in the zenith of the sky while the third step at astācala-the imaginary mountain behind which the sun is supposed to set and thereafter again at udayācal in the morning. In this manner, the sun traverses the entire earth with three steps.

Yāska is of the opinion that Agni is the root of all gods and in support of his view he refers to the saying of the Brāhmanas as “*agnih sarvā devatāh*”¹³. Earthly fire (Agni) is manifested as Indra and lighting in the air, and as Sun in heaven. All Gods of the different celestial region are the revelations of Sun and all the Gods of the atmospheric region are the diverse manifestations of Indra. Therefore, since Indra and Surya are simply the different forms of Agni, all the Gods of the world are the various revelations of Agni. The lustre of fire is revealed as lightning in the air, and as Sun (Āditya) in heaven. To support his view Yāska quotes the stanza of the Rgveda- “*Tamu akrnvan tredhā bhuve*”¹⁴

In difference of three regions, terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial that fire (Agni) is divided in to three forms. The similar opinion is also expressed in the treatise called Brhaddevatā-

Ihāgnibhutasturcibhirloke stutibhiribhitah ।

Jātavedā stuto madhye , stuto vaisvānaro divi ॥¹⁵

That is one who is praised as Agni in the earth, is praised as Jātaveda in the air , and as Vaiśvānara in heaven by the seers and so on. Thus, we are concluding here our discussion quoting the entire stanza of the Rgveda-

Indram mitram varunam agnim āhur atho divyah sa suparno garutmāna ।

Ekam sat- viprā vahudhā vadanti agnim yamam mātariśvānamāhuh ॥♦

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3. Rgveda- 1/164/46
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5. Nirukta- 7/5/1
6. Ibid- 7/5/2
7. Ibid- 7/8
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9. Aitareya Brāhmana 1/1
10. Ibid- 1/1

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Fauna in the Purānas with Special Reference to Vāyu Purāna and Matsya Purāna

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Abstract: *The term 'Fauna' indicates the animals of a particular region, habitat, or geological period. The raising of animals is as old as civilization itself. Men first practiced agriculture, which included the raising of domestic animals. A lot of information is available on keeping of animals in the Vedic and Purānic age. The Purāṇic society was well-equipped with animal husbandry. The four-fold classification, viz. andaja (oviparous), udbhija (germinating ones), svedaja (those generated by warm vapours and sweat) and jarāyuja (viviparous) is frequently alluded to in the Purānas.¹ Another system of classification is probably implied in the grāmya and āranya paśus. The grāmya (i.e. the domesticated) animals are : go, aja, meca, aśva, aśvatarā and gardabha. The āranya (i.e. wild) beasts are: svāpadas, dvi-khuras (i.e. having two hoofs), hasti, vānara, pakṣi and sari-srpaś. The cow and the horse were the most important of the domesticated animals. The horse is said to have been born of the Creator's feet. Aja is born of the Creator's mouth. The elephant was purely a wild animal and was not domesticated. Irāvati's son Airāvata, the vehicle of Indra, was the first king of elephants.*

Fauna plays a key role in keeping the balance of the environment. The people in the ancient days realized the necessity and importance of the cattle. Therefore, the Vedic and the Purānic texts prayed that animals should be safe, protected and healthy.

Key Words: *Vedas, Purānas, Fauna, Vāyu Purāna, Matsya Purāna*

Introduction: The Purānas are an unfailing source of information which help us to reconstruct the history of Indian culture and civilization. The word “*Purāna*” means “*Purānam-ākhyānam*” i.e., “old story”. The etymology of the term *Purāna* is furnished by the *Vāyu Purāna* itself: ‘*Yasmāt purā hi anati idam purānam tena tat smrtam*’² i.e. that which lives from very remote times. The Purānas go back undoubtedly to a very distant past and have their roots in the Vedic literature; many a legend, from Rgvedic hymns and from the Brāhmanas, reappear in the Purānas.³ The knowledge of the Purānas helps us to understand the Vedic mantras. “*Purānam Vedasanmatam*” – The Purānas are composed in conformity with the Vedas. The *Matsya Purāna* states that the great sage Vyāsa has condensed the sense of the Vedas in the Purānas.⁴

Of the eighteen Mahapurānas, the *Vāyu* or *Vāyaviya Purāna* is primarily considered as a *Śaiva Purāna*. It has twenty-four thousand ślokas and one hundred and twelve chapters. The *Vāyu-Purāna* gets its name from the Wind-God who is said to be its promulgator. According to M. Winternitz, this appears in same lists, under the name of *Śaiva* or *Śiva Purāna*, a title which is given to the work because it is dedicated to the worship of God Śiva.⁵

The *Matsya Purāna* occupies an important place in the history of Indian literature. It earns its title from the fish incarnation of Visnu. It contains two hundred and ninety one chapters in total. This *Purāna* is not all based totally on the life of Matsya, but it deals with various other subjects. Matsya, himself is the speaker in some of the chapters.

The term ‘Fauna’ indicates the animals of a particular region, habitat, or geological period. The raising of animals is as old as civilization itself. Men first practiced agriculture, which included the raising of domestic animals. A lot of information is available on keeping of animals in the

Vedic and Purāṅic age.

Objectives of the Study: This paper aims to analyze the representation of animals in the *Vāyu Purāṅa* and *Matsya Purāṅa* and to study the symbolic and religious significance of different animals as depicted the in Purāṅas.

Methodology of the Study: This paper has been presented in the following manners:

1. All the names of the books, both original and modern, mentioned in the paper are printed in italic type.
2. Original Sanskrit Texts used as references have been shown in Endnote at the end of the paper.
3. References of the works in the Endnotes are shown in the abbreviated forms except in a few cases.
4. The original Sanskrit words and Sanskrit quotations are italicized and presented in the transliterated form in English in the main body of the paper.

Discussions:

The tending of cattle of the Gurus(teacher) formed somewhat a necessary part of ancient Indian education. The Aryans at the time of the *Rgveda* had domesticated the horse, sheep, cattle, goat, ass, dog and buffalo; of these , cattle represented a principal unit and the general expression for wealth ⁶. The Vedic Āryans took great care in nourishing the cattle. The people in the ancient days realized the necessity and importance of the cattle. Therefore, the Vedic text prays that animals should be safe and protected.⁷ In the *Rgveda*, Pūsan is said to be the controller of cattle who plays the role of a herdsman.⁸ In the same text, Pūsan is prayed for giving wide pastures.⁹ Indra, who nourishes and guards the cows, feeding them with grass, is also praised as a good herdsman.¹⁰

Like the Vedic society, the Purāṅic society was also well-equipped with animal husbandry. According to *Garua Purāṅa*, Agriculture and tending of cattle were the functions of Vaiśya.¹¹ Brahmā, the great parent of creation , gave to the Vaiśyas the occupation of commerce and agriculture and the feeding of flocks and herds , for their means of livelihood.¹² But in danger, a *Brāhmaṅa* may also pursue agriculture and cattle-rearing.¹³ The four-fold classification, viz. *andaja* (oviparous),

udbhijja(germinating ones), *svedaja*(those generated by warm vapours and sweat) and *jarāyuja*(viviparous) is frequently allude to in the *Purāna*.¹⁴ Another system of classification is probably implied in the *grāmya* and *āranya* paśus. The *grāmya* (i.e. the domesticated) animals are : *go*, *aja*, *meca*, *aśva*, *aśvatarā* and *gardabha*. The *āranya* (i.e. wild) beasts are: *svāpadas*, *dvi-khuras* (i.e. having two hoofs), *hasti*, *vānara*, *pakcis* and *sari-srpaś*.¹⁵

The cow and the horse were the most important of the domesticated animals. The Cow, which symbolizes the *gāyatri* mantra¹⁶, had its birth from the belly of the Creator.¹⁷ The importance of cow gifting was associated with various religious and social functions. The word *Ratnadhenū* in the *Purāna* indicates the gift of a cow with precious gems set in every part of its body, takes one to the world of Visnu and makes him attain the place of Śambhu with his sons, grandsons, etc .¹⁸ *Pañcadaśi* indicates the fifteenth day of the *Āśvina* month for making gift of a cow. One who gives away the *Nāradiya Purāna* in charity ,on the full-moon day of *Āśvina*, along with a cow, attains bliss , and is liberated from the cycles of birth. ¹⁹ In the *Māheśvaram vratam*(*Śiva Caturdaśi*), which begins on the 13th day of the bright half of *Margaśirsa* in honour of Śankara, a gold cow and calf is to be offered as present to a *śrotriya*; ladies who perform this with permission from husband go to the world of *Pinākini*.²⁰ The word *Paya* in the *Purāna* referred to cow's milk for *śrāddha*.²¹ Again it is said that the cow's milk mixed with honey and rice cooked in cow's milk, clarified butter made of cow's milk offered even in small quantity, satisfies Pitrs , the *Pūrvadevatās* , to the maximum possible extant.²² *Yaksi*, one of the ten pithas for images with three mekhalās; the *Vedi* of prosperity, gives one plenty of cows.²³ The bull figures in the *Purāna* mostly as a vehicle of Śiva²⁴ who is also mentioned as *vrśabha-dhvaja*(i.e. having the Bull standard).²⁵ The *Matsya Purāna* also points out that *Pināki* (*Pinākpāni*),one of the eleven Rudras , has the bull as the riding animal.²⁶

The horse is said to have born of the Creator's feet.²⁷ The *Āśvini-naksatra* is said to be favourable to the acquisition of horses.²⁸ Noted references to stables for horses and to horse-riding are found in the *Purānas*. The horses produced in the *Aratta* region of *Gāndhāra* country were known as the best of the horses.²⁹ References of Yavanas, a northern kingdom west of *Bhāratavarsa* noted for horses, are found

in the Purānas.³⁰ God Brhaspati had a golden chariot drawn by 8 white horses.³¹ Again *Darada* is a northern kingdom noted for horses.³² In the *Matsya Purāna*, the science of horses was known as *Aśvasiksā*³³ and the superintendent of horses was known as *Aśvādhyaksa*.³⁴ It is pointed out there that a king's Commander-in-chief should be expert in managing horses and elephants.

Aja is born of the Creator's mouth,³⁵ which is considered as a useful animal in yajñas (as a victim)³⁶ along with cows, mahicas, aśvas, hastins, and birds.

The *Vāyu Purāna* shows elephants as objects of gifts to Brāhmins in *Śrāddha*³⁷ and mentions it as a *Yajñiya* animal. The elephant was purely a wild animal and was not domesticated. *Irāvati*'s son *Airāvata*, the vehicle of Indra, was the first king of elephants.³⁸ Making of gifts under the shadow of an elephant was considered to be meritorious.³⁹ *Tanika*, a son of *Haryanga*, had the white elephant for his *Vāhana*.⁴⁰ We find the references of elephants named *Kumuda*, *Añjana*, *Vāmana* and *Airāvata* in the *Matsya Purāna*, who were snatched away from Indra by Tripurāsura.⁴¹ The science of elephants was known as *Hastisiksā*⁴² and the superintendent of elephants was known as *Gajādhyaksa*⁴³ in the *Matsya Purāna*. The mahout of the state elephant was known as *Gajārohi*.⁴⁴ It is suggested there in the *Matsya Purāna* that one who knows the art of training elephants and is aware of the races of wild beasts, and is accustomed to bear hardships should be made the superintendent of royal elephants.⁴⁵ Rājaputra or Buddha, who was son of Tārā, was the originator of science of elephant biology according to *Matsya Purāna*.⁴⁶ The treatments of the elephants has been exhaustively explained there in the *Rājaputriya*, a work on elephant biology by Rājaputra.⁴⁷

Again, we find in the Purānas, *Mahisa* i.e. buffalo as the riding animal of Yama, as also of *Varāhi*.⁴⁸ Camel was used for chariot. Mahica, an *Asura* residing in *Rasātalam* had a chariot drawn by camels.⁴⁹ Reference to *khara* i.e. donkey⁵⁰ is also found. The lion is often mentioned in the *Purānas* in the similies for expressing strength⁵¹ and well-developed shoulders.⁵² It is the consecrated lord of beasts.⁵³ The *Matsya Purāna* mentions that, when a monarch builds a beautiful house for himself, he should have his residence full of the various things obtained from elephants, cows, donkeys, camels, horses, buffaloes and deer etc.

A king should carefully conserve such things in his fort.⁵⁴ Among the seven highly esteemed gems (*saptaratnāni*) of all the paramount sovereigns, horses, elephants and chariots were also included.⁵⁵ Again, the horse and the elephant cubs or camel cubs were considered jewels among the seven jewels full of life.⁵⁶

Various references of serpents such as *Mahāśankha*, a chief *Nāga* of *Pātāla*, a thousand hooded snake,⁵⁷ *Mahānila*⁵⁸, *Mahākarna*⁵⁹, *Mahāpadma*⁶⁰, *Dadhimukha*,⁶¹ the *kādraveya* *Nāgas*, *Mahābhogapati*⁶², a great snake which is Lord's bed on the dark waters, *Bahula*⁶³, a thousand-hooded snake, *Puspadamstra*⁶⁴, a thousand-hooded snake, *Taksaka*⁶⁵, the serpent chief, are found in the *Purānas*.

*Bhrngarāja*⁶⁶ and *Bherun*

*a*⁶⁷, *Sārasa*⁶⁸, *Rajjupāla*⁶⁹, *Pārāvata*⁷⁰ i.e. pigeons born of *Grdhri*, are the names of birds found in the *Purānas*. References of *Mayura* are also found.⁷¹ It was a vehicle of Kārtikeya.

Conclusion:

Thus, ancient Indian literature in the form of the holy Vedas and *Purānas* is flooded with a lot of information on fauna. Animal husbandry was the occupation of most of the people since pre-Vedic time. That's why fauna has been considered as the backbone of Indian economy. Fauna plays a key role in keeping the balance of the environment. The people in the ancient days realized the necessity and importance of the cattle. Therefore, the Vedic texts pray that animals should be safe, protected and healthy.⁷² The cow was the symbol of wealth and prosperity in the life of Vedic people. According to *Atharvaveda* all deities reside in a cow. It is omnipresent.⁷³ *Rgveda* says that Cow is a great source of wealth and has positive impact on environment.⁷⁴

Notes

¹ tatah pravṛto dakcastu prajāḥ sraṇmum caturvidhāḥ/jarāyujāḥ ajāūcaiva udbhijjāḥ svedajāstathā// VāP., 65.122; 30.227,101

² Ibid., 1.203.

³ Winternitz, M., A History of Indian Literature, Vol-I, p. 495

⁴ laksenaikena yatproktam vedārthaparibṛṇhitam// MP., 53.70

⁵ Winternitz, M., A History of Indian Literature, Vol-I, p. 528-529

⁶ ZV., 1.33.1; 1.90.8; 1.191.4; 2.25.2; 5.20.4; 6.28.1; 7.103.10; 7.41.3; 7.18.1; 7.54.2; 8.4.18; 8.14.3; 8.47.12; 8.70.6; 9.64.3; 9.112.3; 10.116.1

⁷ bhûrbhuvah svah suprajâh prajâbhih syâm suvîro vîraih supocah pocaih/

narya prajâm me pâhi úam sya paúûnme pâhyatharya pituAm me pâhi// VS., 3.37

⁸ yâ te acmrâ goopaúâghrne paúusâdhanî/
tasyâste sumnamîmahe// RV., 6.53.9

⁹ abhi sûyavasam naya na navajvâro adhvane/
pûcanniha kratum vidah// RV., 1.42.8

¹⁰ gambhîrâ udadhîmriva kratum pucyasi gâ iva/
pra sugopâ yavasam dhenavo yathâ hradam kulyâ ivâúata// Ibid., 3.45.3

¹¹ kusîdak[civâGijyam pâúupâlyam viceah smrtam//GP., pûrvakhanda, 96.28;

vaicœcikam dhanam drcmam vaiúyasyâpi vilakcanam/

krsigoraksavâniijyam úûdrasyaibhyastvanugrahât// Ibid., pûrvakhana, 213.90

¹² pâúupâlyañúca vâniijyam krsiñsca manujeœvara!

vaiúyâya jîvikân brahmâ dadau lokapitâmahah//ViP. 3.8.30

¹³ kusîdakrsivâniijyam prakurvîta svayam param krtam/
âpatkâle svayam kurvannainasâ yujyate dvijah// GP., pûrvakhana, 213.91

¹⁴ tatah pravrtto dakcastu prajâh srasmum caturvidhâh/jarâyujân
ajâúcaiva udbhijjâh svedajâstathâ// VâP., 65.122; 30.227,101

¹⁵ Ibid., 9.44-8

¹⁶ Ibid., 23.69

¹⁷ Ibid., 9.42-4

¹⁸ MP., 274.10; 288.1-17

¹⁹ âsvine pancadasyâm to dadyâddhenusamanvitam/paramâm
siddhimâpnoti punarâvrtirdurlabhâm// Ibid., 53.24

²⁰ Ibid., 95.5-38

²¹ Ibid., 17.34

²² Ibid., 17.36

²³ gopradâ ca bhavedyaksi vedi sampatpradâ bhavet/ Ibid.,

262.6,8,17

²⁴ VâP., 30.261 , 55.54 , 54.107-8 etc.

²⁵ Ibid., 30.180;24.106;24.60 etc.

²⁶ MP., 60.11; 67.16

²⁷ VâP., 9.42-4

²⁸ Ibid., 82.14

²⁹ MP., 48.7

³⁰ MP., 114.11.41,121.43;144.57; VâP., 88.122;
45.82,116;47.42;58.82;98.107.

³¹ MP., 127.5 ; VâP., 52.77-9

³² MP., 121.46;144.57

³³ Ibid., 215.8

³⁴ Ibid., 215.37

³⁵ VâP., 9.43

³⁶ Ibid.,59.16

³⁷ Ibid.,80.15

³⁸ Ibid., 69.211

³⁹ Ibid., 80.45

⁴⁰ VâP., 99.108

⁴¹ MP., 133.10

⁴² Ibid., 215.8,36

⁴³ Ibid., 215.35

⁴⁴ Ibid., 215.36

⁴⁵ klesaksamastathâ râgyo gajâdhyaksah prasasyate/ etaireva
gunairiyuktah svâsanasca visesatah// Ibid., 215.35

⁴⁶ Ibid., 24.3

⁴⁷ Ibid., 24.3

⁴⁸ Ibid., 6.44; 261.13,30;17.33

⁴⁹ Ibid., 147.28;148.42,50

⁵⁰ MP., 6.33

⁵¹ VâP., 93.68; 88.165; 92.74

⁵² Ibid., 88.192

⁵³ Ibid., 70.10-3

⁵⁴ raksoghnâsca visaghnâsca krtyâvaitâlanâsanâh/
visesânnaranâgâsca gokharostrasamudbhavâh//
sarpattirigomâyuvastraman akajâsca ye/
simhavyâghrarksamârjjâradvîpivânarasambhavâh/

kapiñjalâ gajâ vâjimahisainabhavâsca ye//
ityevametaih sakalairûpetam/ dravyaisca sarvaih svapuram
suraksitam/

râjâ vaset tatra grham susubhram/ gunânvitam
laksanasamprayuktam// MP., 218.36-38

⁵⁵ cakram ratho manirbhâryâ nidhirasvâ gajâstathâ/
saptâtisayaratnâni sarvesâm cakravartinâm// VâP., 57.68

⁵⁶ bhâryâ purohitascaiva senânî rathakrecca yah/
mantryasvah kalabhascaiva prâninah sanprakîrtitâh// Ibid., 57.70

⁵⁷ MP., 6.40

⁵⁸ MP., 6.39; VâP., 69.71

⁵⁹ VâP., 69.71

⁶⁰ MP., 6.40; VâP., 69.70

⁶¹ VâP., 69.72

⁶² Ibid., 24.11

⁶³ MP., 6.41

⁶⁴ Ibid., 6.40

⁶⁵ Ibid., 6.39; 8.7 ; VâP., 39.54;50.23; 54.91;69.69

⁶⁶ VâP., 36.2

⁶⁷ MP., 6.36

⁶⁸ Ibid., 6.36

⁶⁹ Ibid., 6.36

⁷⁰ Ibid., 6.32

⁷¹ MP., 160.21; VâP., 36.2;54.19-21;72.46

⁷² YV., 19.20; 3.37; AV., 11.2.24

⁷³ etad vai visvarûpam sarvarupam gorûpam/ AV., 9-7-25

⁷⁴ RV., 6-28-5

Reviving Sanskrit in the Digital Era: The Role of Social Media in Language Preservation, Learning, and Cultural Rejuvenation

A Conceptual Research Article

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Abstract: *Sanskrit is among the world's oldest and most systematically structured languages, forming part of India's intellectual, philosophical, and cultural heritage. Despite its significance, Sanskrit gradually receded from everyday use owing to socio-political change and shifting educational priorities. Digital technology and social media have opened new possibilities for revitalizing such classical languages. This conceptual study examines social media's role in Sanskrit's resurgence, analyzing its contribution to learning, promotion, community building, and textual preservation, drawing on literature from digital humanities, language revitalization, computer-mediated communication, and computational linguistics. Platforms such as YouTube, Facebook, Instagram, X, Telegram, WhatsApp, podcasts, and mobile applications have reshaped Sanskrit education, promoted spoken Sanskrit, built translocal learning communities, and accelerated text digitization. Sanskrit's digital revival is compared with Hebrew and Latin, and the paper maps the scholarly infrastructure, including neural NLP toolkits and annotated corpora, underpinning digital Sanskrit. Persistent challenges include content authenticity, shallow engagement, the digital divide, and uneven infrastructure. An*

integrative framework combining scholarly validation, technological innovation, digital archiving, and participatory community-building is proposed for sustainable revitalization, with stakeholder-specific policy recommendations for universities, government agencies, technology platforms, and content creators. The study contributes to debates on digital language preservation and illustrates how modern communication technologies can connect ancient knowledge systems with the present.

Keywords: *Social Media, Digital Humanities, Computational Linguistics, Cultural Heritage.*

1. Introduction

“Sanskrit is not merely a language; it is a repository of civilization, philosophy, science, and cultural memory.”

The Sanskrit language occupies a special place in the classical languages of the world, due to its large corpus of literature and its early influence in the South Asian civilization, with which it is linked because of the Vedas, epics and treatises on philosophy, medicine and languages. Pāṇini’s grammar (fl. Organised in virtually 4000 rules, the Sanskrit phonology, morphology and syntax) are rigourously arranged like the modern generative linguistics and NLP (Joshi, 2009) as cited in (Sharma & Joshi, 2024; Reddy, 2010).

As important as it is, Sanskrit was increasingly sidelined from everyday usage under the colonial policy of the education system, vernacularization and modernisation and was cited by the UNESCO as a language in danger of extinction. New interest has come from organisations for revival of spoken Sanskrit, university departments around the world, and a recent online community of learners, and its grammar is formally describable, making Sanskrit attractive to computational linguistics. These two currents, popular revival and scholarly digitization, have grown up more or less separately, and the two will be explored together in this paper.

The current conceptual, integrative review explores the relevance of social media in the process of reviving Sanskrit and potential

applications for language preservation and digital heritage management. The objectives are presented in Section 2, the literature is summarized in Section 3, conceptual and empirical contributions are presented in Sections 4–9, policy, future research and conclusions are presented in Sections 10–12.

2. Objectives of the Study

The study is focused on social media's role in the promotion of Sanskrit, on opportunities and challenges of social media in education and Sanskrit revival, on influence of online communities, on digital/NLP infrastructure supporting content, on comparative revival situations and on a sustainable framework for promoting Sanskrit through social media.

2.1 Methodology

This study adopts a conceptual and integrative study method, not a survey approach with empirical research. In the process, source materials selected purposefully from the fields of peer-reviewed literature (in the domains of sociolinguistics, computer-mediated communication, computational linguistics, and digital humanities), as well as documented accounts of Sanskrit revival organizations and digital infrastructure projects, were used. The literature was chosen based on the relevance to language revitalization theory, social media and language learning, Sanskrit specific digital initiatives and comparative classical-language revival.

3. Literature Review

3.1 Language Revitalization and Digital Media.

Fishman's (1991) model focuses on intergenerational transmission and institutional support and Crystal (2000) provides an estimate of about half of the languages in the world as endangered. In the case of Welsh on Facebook, Cunliffe et al. (2013) demonstrate that platform affordances and offline practices interact in the maintenance of digital-language. Unlike most such situations, Sanskrit is not a first language for centuries, like Latin, but rather an endangered vernacular, and the community of learners is not geographically limited as in the other situations, but rather, world-wide, which requires adaptation of Fishman's model, which focussed on the transmission and acquisition of a first language, to a self-selected,

adult, online transmission adventure.

3.2 Social Media and Language Learning

While online enthusiasm does not ensure effective teaching of Sanskrit, Manca and Ranieri (2016) report on formal teaching integration of social media to be limited by institutional barriers. However, the typology of familiar, reconfigured and emergent communicative practice developed by Herring (2013) explains why these are sometimes compared, as traditional recitations, short form challenges and meme learning are all the same.

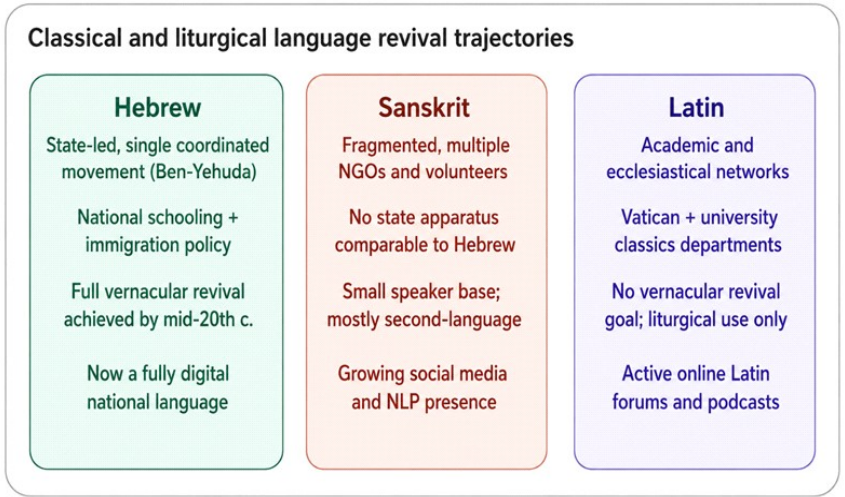
3.3 Sanskrit and Digital Transformation

The current revival is inspired by Pollock's (2006) account of Sanskrit's premodern circulation networks, as well as the use of Pāṇini's Acmādhyāyī as a source for NLP and machine translation (Reddy, 2010; Huet et al., 2009; Sharma & Joshi, 2024), which includes Digital Corpus of Sanskrit (Goyal & Huet, 2016) and segmentation benchmarks on sandhi (Krishna et al., 2017). Many applications come after this, such as public NLP toolkits like SanskritShala (Sandhan et al., 2023), which serve as a foundation for other applications in the Indian context, like dictionaries, quiz generators, and chatbot tutors, often without being noticed by the users. They are accompanied by organized non-academic work such as immersion programs (Hanneder, 2002), but scholars warn that immersion programs can be part of cultural-nationalist projects (Hanneder, 2002).

3.4 Comparative Perspectives on Classical Language Revival

Unlike Sanskrit, modern Hebrew is the only fully successful liturgical-to-vernacular revival, and is said to owe its success to centrally organized institutions and national ideology (Lemus 2012). Latin comes closer, supported by university and church institutions and by a group of non-state civil-society initiated online community (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Comparative revival trajectories for Hebrew, Sanskrit, and Latin, illustrating differences in institutional backing, current speaker status, and digital presence.



Source: Author’s illustration

Table 1 compares the three cases, indicating that Sanskrit’s revival is structurally closer to Latin’s fragmented, civil-society model than to Hebrew’s centralized one, favoring scholarly coordination over full vernacular revival as a goal (Section 9).

Table 1. Comparative Overview of Classical Language Revival Efforts

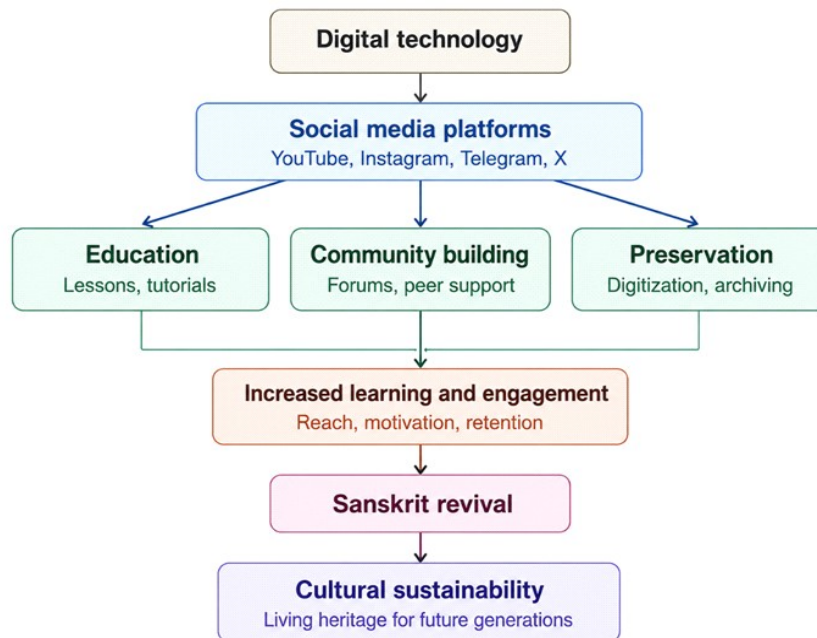
Dimension	Hebrew	Sanskrit	Latin
Institutional driver	Centralized; state and national education system	Fragmented; NGOs, volunteer organizations, individual scholars	Academic and ecclesiastical institutions
Primary motivation	National identity formation	Cultural, religious, and heritage preservation	Scholarly, liturgical, and recreational continuity
Current vernacular status	Full national vernacular	Very small first language base; mostly second-language learners	No vernacular revival goal
Digital/social media role	Fully integrated into a living national digital language	Expanding but uneven; awareness-building more than fluency building	Established niche of podcasts, forums, and conversational content
Comparable to Sanskrit?	Limited-conditions largely non transferable	N/A	Structurally closer: civil-society-driven, non-state revival

Note. Compiled by the author from Lemus (2012), Hanneder (2002), and documented accounts of Vatican and university Latin programs.

4. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual model (Figure 2) holds that digital technology enables social media platforms supporting three overlapping functions (education, community-building, and preservation) that converge into greater learning, Sanskrit revival, and cultural sustainability. The model is cyclical rather than linear, and the three functions are non-additive: content without community is consumed once, community without content has little to sustain it, and preservation without both risks producing unused digitized material (Sections 6–9).

Figure 2. Social Media–Driven Sanskrit Revival Framework. *Digital technology enables social media platforms, which support education, community-building, and preservation; these converge into increased learning and engagement, driving Sanskrit revival and cultural sustainability.*



Source: Author's illustration

5. Sanskrit in the Digital Age

Digital technology has removed many barriers to Sanskrit learning through video lectures, spoken-Sanskrit courses, structured grammar lessons, podcasts, forums, mobile applications, and digital dictionaries, though access remains uneven (Section 8). Three resource categories are worth distinguishing: academic infrastructure such as corpora and NLP tools (Section 6.6); formal pedagogical platforms; and social-media-native content optimized for reach rather than systematic instruction, which are Table 2 maps platform types to their typical pedagogical functions.

Table 2. Platform Types and Their Primary Pedagogical Functions in Digital Sanskrit Promotion

Platform Type	Primary Function Observed in the Literature
Long-form video (YouTube)	Structured lessons, grammar explanation, recitation, lecture-style content
Short-form video (Instagram Reels, YouTube Shorts)	Vocabulary snippets, awareness -building, youth engagement
Text-based forums and groups (Facebook, Telegram, WhatsApp)	Peer discussion, doubt -clearing, community reinforcement
Microblogging (X)	Daily phrases, quotations, public visibility campaigns
Podcasts	Conversational immersion, long -form discussion, commute-friendly learning
Dedicated learning apps and virtual classrooms	Structured curricula, graded exercises, teacher -led instruction
Scholarly NLP web tools (e.g., SanskritShala)	Morphological analysis, segmentation, annotation support for serious learners and researchers

Note. Compiled by the author from the literature reviewed in Sections 3 and 6; platform examples are illustrative rather than exhaustive.

6. Social Media's contribution to the revival of Sanskrit.

6.1 Educational Content Creation

Social media has made Sanskrit education accessible to everyone, even those who have no access to the internet – there are educational tips on YouTube, podcasts, even text-based posts (for those who can read) and the Educational Explainer posts, which explain culture, and therefore are not pedagogically uniform.

6.2 Building Online Learning Communities

The inter-territorial dialogue facilitates peer correction within and beyond a single course, in keeping with Fishman's (1991) call for community reinforcement. Telegram and WhatsApp groups normally provide formal courses, in line with the study of Cunliffe et al. (2013) that offline relationships influence online language communities.

6.3 Promotion of Spoken Sanskrit

Conversational videos, challenges, and real-time classes have broadened the scope of spoken-Sanskrit learning from samskrita-bharati-style in-person immersion to speaking Sanskrit, but this medium is a more likely vehicle for moving toward a structured approach to learning Sanskrit than it is a path to fluency for its own sake.

6.4 Digital Preservation of Literature

Yet, there is a lack of interactivity between social media platforms and such corpus projects as the Sanskrit Library (Goyal & Huet, 2016) and GRETEL, where corpora are searched for but not bidirectional, so that they are not cited but also do not cite back to the corpora (Sections 6.6, 9).

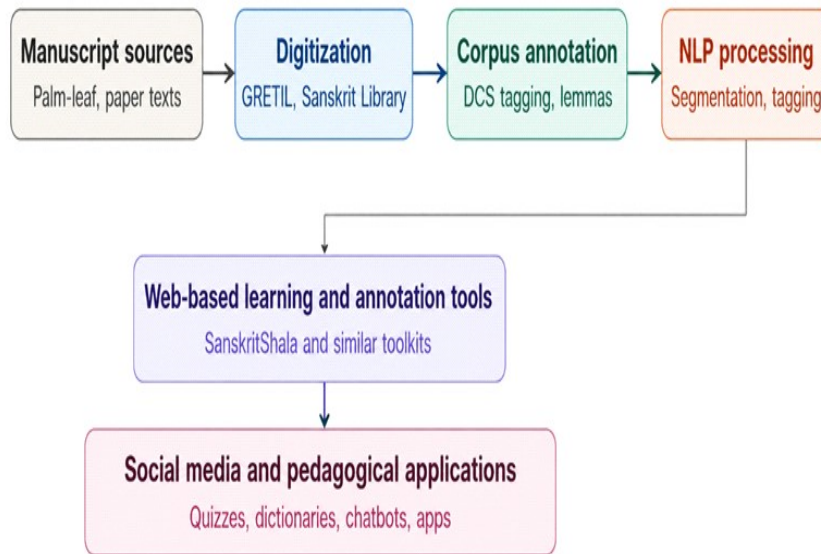
6.5 Youth Engagement Through Multimedia

Sanskrit is made more accessible to younger students via short videos, podcasts, and quizzes, which exemplify the "reconfiguration" of older practices described by Herring (2013); however, there is limited evidence of retention across the years.

6.6 Digital Infrastructure and Natural Language Processing Tools

The pipeline in Fig 3: manuscript source to consumer applications is supported by Sanskrit Heritage segmenter, segmentation benchmarks (Goyal & Huet, 2016; Krishna et al., 2017) and SanskritShala toolkits (Sandhan et al., 2023). Upstream corpus work limits downstream quality, and adding NLP tooling to consumer applications is a tangible tool to enhance results (Section 9).

Figure 3. Sanskrit digitization and natural language processing pipeline, from manuscript source to social media and pedagogical applications.



Source: Author's illustration

6.7 Platform-Specific Dynamics

Different platforms serve different stages of the learner journey; Table 3 summarizes platform-specific strengths and limitations, adapted from Herring (2013) and Manca and Ranieri (2016).

Table 3. Platform-Specific Strengths and Limitations for Sanskrit Learning

Platform	Strengths	Limitations
YouTube	Long-form depth; supports structured, sequential lesson series; searchable archive	Passive consumption; limited built-in peer interaction or correction
Instagram / Shorts	High reach among younger users; strong for vocabulary and awareness	Format constraints discourage grammatical depth; high content turnover
Telegram / WhatsApp	Low-friction peer support; sustains community after a course ends	Limited discoverability for new learners; quality varies by group moderation
X (Twitter)	Public visibility; useful for daily phrase and quotation campaigns	Character constraints limit explanation; high noise-to-signal ratio
Podcasts	Supports immersive listening practice during commuting or chores	Difficult to pair with visual script (Devanagari) reference material
Dedicated apps / web tools	Structured curricula; can integrate NLP-backed feedback (Section 6.6)	Smaller audiences than mainstream social platforms; discovery depends on cross-promotion

Note. Compiled by the author, synthesizing platform affordance research (Herring, 2013; Manca & Ranieri, 2016) with the Sanskrit-specific literature reviewed in Section 3.

7. Impact of Social Media on Sanskrit Revival

Table 4 synthesizes observed impacts of social media on Sanskrit revival across education, accessibility, awareness, community-building, research, infrastructure, pedagogy, and public perception, indicating growth in self-directed learning, translocal communities, and a gradual shift in Sanskrit's public perception toward a living language.

Table 4. Major Impacts of Social Media on Sanskrit Revival

Dimension	Observed Impact
Education	Growth in self-directed and informal Sanskrit learning
Accessibility	Wider geographical access to learning resources
Awareness	Increased public appreciation of Sanskrit heritage
Community Building	Formation of translocal and international learning networks
Research	Greater scholarly engagement with digital Sanskrit corpora
Infrastructure	Expansion of NLP tools and annotation platforms feeding into consumer applications
Pedagogy	Diversification of instructional formats beyond traditional classroom methods
Perception	Sanskrit increasingly framed as contemporary and relevant

Note. Compiled by the author from the literature reviewed in Sections 3 and 6.

8. Challenges in Promoting Sanskrit Through Social Media

Challenge	Implication
Content quality and verification	Risk of grammatical and doctrinal misinformation circulating unchecked
Limited audience reach	Reduced visibility relative to mainstream entertainment content
Digital divide	Unequal access to devices, connectivity, and digital literacy
Superficial engagement	Short-form content may build awareness without conceptual depth
Inconsistent engagement	High learner drop-off after initial exposure
Technical and platform constraints	Limited support for Devanagari script and IAST transliteration on some tools
Fragmented infrastructure	Scholarly NLP tools and consumer -facing apps remain loosely connected (Section 6.6)
Ideological framing	Some revival content is embedded in cultural -nationalist projects, complicating its reception (Hanneder, 2002)

Note. Compiled by the author from the literature reviewed in Sections 3 and 6.

8.1 The Digital Divide in Practice

Traditional knowledge-holders (rural pandits, temple teachers, older scholars) may lack smartphone literacy or platform familiarity, risking a revival that marginalizes those whose participation would lend it the greatest authenticity. Much digital Sanskrit content is also produced in English, leaving regional-language explanation underrepresented relative to demand (Table 6).

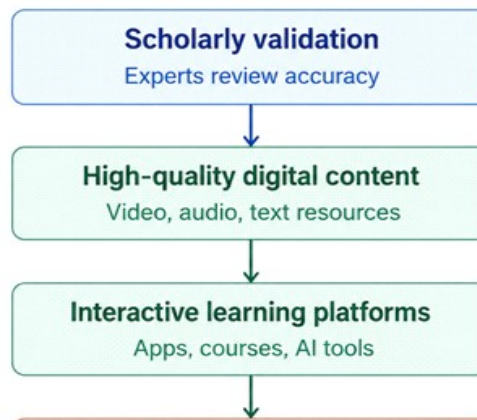
Discussion

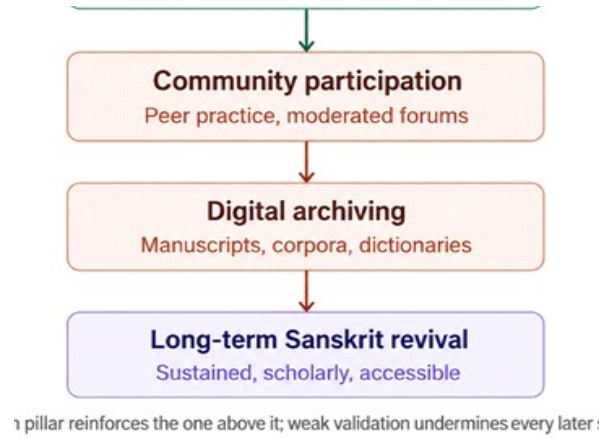
Short-form content builds awareness but rarely develops grammatical depth, and unvetted content raises rigor concerns (Manca & Ranieri, 2016); the political dimensions of some revival programs (Hanneder, 2002) further require scholars to distinguish linguistic, cultural, and ideological motives. The features that best raise awareness (brevity, algorithmic amplification, low production barriers) are least suited to building grammatical depth, arguing for progression toward scholar-backed instruction (Section 9).

9. Strategic Framework for Sustainable Sanskrit Promotion

Figure 4 presents a model moving from scholarly validation of content through high-quality digital production, interactive learning platforms, community involvement, and digital archiving toward sustainable revival.

Figure 4. Sustainable Sanskrit Promotion Model, from scholarly validation through digital archiving to long-term revival.





Source: Author's illustration

Strategic Pillars

- Scholar-verified educational content.
- Active scholar–creator collaboration.
- Multilingual resources for non-Sanskrit-speaking audiences.
- Structured, interactive online courses over isolated short-form content.
- AI- and NLP-enabled learning applications.
- Sustained digital archiving and manuscript digitization.
- Pedagogically informed youth-oriented multimedia.
- Moderated online communities with peer accountability.

AI/NLP-enabled applications are largely an interface-design challenge, since underlying models already exist (Sandhan et al., 2023; Reddy, 2010), and formal scholar–creator partnerships would supply accuracy checks currently lacking in volunteer-driven content.

10. Policy Implications

Policy implications include integrating digital Sanskrit modules into university curricula; government support for citable manuscript digitization; scholarly research-based social media campaigns; continued AI/NLP tool development; and public–private partnerships linking universities, technology companies, and heritage institutions. Table 6 disaggregates these by stakeholder group.

Table 6. Policy Recommendations by Stakeholder Group

Stakeholder	Recommended Action
Universities and Sanskrit departments	Integrate digital modules into formal curricula; offer faculty time for scholar–creator collaboration; treat public-facing digital content as a legitimate form of scholarly outreach
Government and cultural agencies	Fund open -access manuscript digitization with persistent citation standards; support SPPEL -style documentation efforts that extend to classical languages
NGOs and revival organizations	Pair immersion -camp curricula with scholar -reviewed digital follow-up content; be transparent about institutional and ideological affiliations
Technology platforms and developers	Improve Devanagari and IAST transliteration support; expose NLP tooling (e .g., segmentation, tagging) through simple consumer-facing APIs
Individual content creators	Cite sources and grammatical authorities; clearly distinguish beginner-friendly simplification from authoritative scholarly claims
Funding bodies and philanthropies	Support public–private partnerships that connect existing NLP research groups with app developers and educational platforms

Note. Compiled by the author from the analysis in Sections 6–9; SPPEL refers to India’s Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages.

11. Future Research Directions

Future research priorities include empirical surveys of the use of social media by Sanskrit learners, comparisons of engagement across platforms, comparison of learning outcomes between AI-managed and traditional learning, extending the comparison in Section 3.4 to Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew, and models related to engagement and measurable outcome, as well as field-based research on the digital divide (Section 8.1). A mixed methods design that incorporates platform analytics and qualitative interviews would be helpful to differentiate awareness building from actual learning.

11.1 Limitations of This Study

The limitations of this conceptual approach include the inference of

reach and engagement from broader literature on computer-mediated communication and the reduction of complex histories of centuries and more into the scope of Section 3.4's discussion, and the use of English-language, academic publications, which overlook Sanskrit revival literature in other Indian languages. The framework proposed here needs to be validated or modified in future empirical research.

12. Conclusion

Language preservation and revitalization has been affected by the digital revolution. With the use of social media and digital technology, Sanskrit is being reimagined as a living cultural and intellectual resource, not one primarily associated with traditional scholarship and religious practice, whose use has spread, communities of one another have been created, and literature preserved.

The revival of Sanskrit should be compared with that of Latin in Section 3.4, where the revival was distributed with a civil-society approach; it is more likely to succeed through the depth and reach of the scholarly infrastructure it builds than by the number of speakers, exactly where it is needed—namely the infrastructure (Section 6.6) and the strategic plan (Section 9).

While content quality, technological access, and learner engagement are still issues, the opportunities of digital platforms seem to be greater when content is scholarly grounded and pedagogically structured. With these investments of scholarship and pedagogical effort, and in using existing computational and archival resources more purposefully with today's widest audiences, social media can contribute to sustaining Sanskrit as a living global intellectual heritage, as UNESCO's work on endangered languages makes clear (Moseley, 2010). ♦

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School Environment as A Determinant of Study Habits Among High School Students

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Abstract: *Education is a vital force shaping individuals and society, where effective study habits serve as a gateway to academic success. These habits, defined as systematic learning routines involving discipline and time management, are essential for personality development and national progress. However, environmental influences and modern distractions can often weaken these practices. This research explores the relationship between study habits and the school environment among High School students in Tezpur Town, Assam. It highlights the importance of supportive learning conditions and teacher guidance in promoting academic growth and reducing dropout rates. The investigation is guided by objectives to analyse and compare the distribution of study habits and school environment scores between boys and girls. It further examines the correlation between these two critical variables. To facilitate this, the study tests null hypotheses suggesting no significant gender-based differences or correlations exist.*

Methodologically, the study employs a Descriptive Survey Research design to document existing educational conditions. The

research is delimited to 80 students (40 boys and 40 girls) in Classes IX and X studying under the SEBA Board. Using stratified random sampling, the sample was drawn from four institutions: Tezpur Academy HS School, Collegiate HS School, Bengali Boys HS School, and Sonitpur Vidyapith HS. Data collection was achieved through two standardized tools: the Study Habit Inventory (SHI) and the School Environment Inventory (SEI).

Descriptive statistics like mean, median, and standard deviation were calculated to study score distributions. For inferential analysis, 't' tests were used to determine the significance of differences between means, and Pearson's Coefficient of Correlation was applied to analyze the relationship between variables. This systematic framework provides a clear path for understanding how a student's environment shapes their academic journey.

Key Words: *Study Habits, High School Students, Relation of School Environment, Teachers' Guidance, Descriptive survey.*

INTRODUCTION: Education is a vital force that shapes individuals and society, extending beyond formal classrooms into everyday life. It plays a key role in developing knowledge, values, and identity, ultimately contributing to personal growth and national progress. Among the many factors influencing academic success, study habits are especially important. In today's world, students often face distractions such as the internet, media, social media and environmental influences, which can weaken effective study practices. Good study habits involve discipline, time management, concentration, and consistent effort, helping learners understand, retain, and apply knowledge efficiently. These habits are closely linked to academic achievement, confidence, and overall personality development. A supportive environment, including guidance from teachers and encouragement from family, further strengthens these habits. Conversely, poor study habits may lead to failure and emotional challenges. Therefore, cultivating positive study habits is essential for achieving educational success and becoming a responsible and productive member of society.

CONCEPT OF STUDY HABITS: Study habits can be understood as a planned and systematic way of learning that helps in mastering academic subjects. Every learner has a unique style of studying; some follow regularity, punctuality, and proper planning, while others study only before examinations. Good study habits involve consistent, organized, and concentrated efforts toward learning. Students who follow a timetable, maintain regularity, and work hard to overcome difficulties are more likely to perform better than others of equal intelligence. Thus, study habits serve as an effective vehicle for learning and play an important role in academic success. According to *Good's Dictionary of Education* (1959), study habits represent the tendency of a pupil to study when given the opportunity, as well as the learner's method of studying, whether systematic or unsystematic, efficient or inefficient.

Biswas and Aggarwal (1971) describe study habits as methods of study, emphasizing that no single method can be considered best for all learners, as it may vary depending on the subject. They further state that it is not enough for a student to know how to study; consistent practice is necessary to prevent falling back into ineffective habits.

According to Hussain (2000), study habits refer to the predispositions that students develop towards private study over a period of time. He further emphasizes that study habits serve as a gateway to successful academic achievement. Study habits can be defined as the sum total of all habits, purposeful efforts, and organized practices that an individual adopts for learning. It is essential for students to develop specific study habits and skills, as well-formed habits provide their own source of motivation.

Bashir and Mattoo (2012) define study habits as well-planned and deliberate patterns of study that develop consistency in students for understanding academic subjects and succeeding in examinations.

According to the *Encyclopaedia of Education* (1971), study habits are methods of study, and teachers play an important role in presenting effective techniques based on experience and experimentation, enabling students to select suitable methods. **Crede and Kuncel (2008)** define study habits as study routines, including frequency of study sessions, reviewing material, self-testing, rehearsal, and studying in a conducive environment.

In general, study habits denote the extent to which a student regularly

engages in organized and purposeful study activities, which significantly influence academic performance and learning outcomes.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY: The present study highlights the importance of study habits and the role of the school environment in shaping students' academic performance and overall development. Poor study habits and an unfavourable environment often lead to academic failure, low confidence, and increased dropout rates among students. Therefore, it is essential to understand and promote effective study habits through proper guidance, encouragement, and supportive learning conditions.

The study is significant for the following reasons:

- Helps in identifying how the school environment influences students' study habits
- Highlights the relationship between effective study habits and academic achievement
- Explains how poor study habits can lead to failure, low confidence, and emotional problems
- Emphasizes the importance of discipline, time management, and regular study routines
- Shows the role of teachers in providing guidance, motivation, and support
- Helps in reducing dropout rates by improving students' study practices
- Contributes to the overall personality development and academic growth of student

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

“SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT AS A DETERMINANT OF STUDY HABITS AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS”

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY: The present study is based on following objectives:

1. To study and compare the study habits of high school boys and girls.
2. To study and compare the school environment of high school boys and girls.
3. To examine the relationship between study habits and school

environment of high school students.

HYPOTHESES

The present study is based on the following hypotheses:

1. There is no significant difference in study habits between high school boys and girls.
2. There is no significant difference in school environment between high school boys and girls.
3. There is no significant relationship between study habits and school environment of high school students.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is delimited as follows:

1. The study is confined to high school students of Tezpur, Assam.
2. It is limited to high school students studying under the SEBA Board.
3. The sample size of the study is restricted to 80 students.
4. The sample consists of both boys and girls.

METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY: The study, titled “SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT AS A DETERMINANT OF STUDY HABITS AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS” utilizes a **Descriptive Survey Research** design. This method was chosen to describe existing educational conditions and “what exists at present” regarding the subject matter.

Population and Sampling

- **Target Population:** The research focuses on **Class XI - X students** in the Tezpur Town of Assam studying under the SEBA board.
- **Sampling Method:** A **stratified random sampling** technique was employed to ensure representation based on gender and academic stream.
- **Sample Size:** The study involved **80 students** (40 boys and 40 girls). These participants were drawn from four schools: Tezpur Academy HS School, Collegiate HS, Bengali Boys HS School and Sonitpur Vidyapith HS.

The following table: 1 shows the name of the school, type of the school and number of students:

Table 1
Distribution of the Sample

Name of the School	Institution Type	Number of Students		Total
		Boys	Girls	
Tezpur Academy HS School	Government	10	10	20
Collegiate HS School	Government	10	10	20
Bengali Boys HS School	Government	10	10	20
Sonitpur Vidyapith HS	Government	10	10	20
Total		40	40	80

Data Collection Tools: To gather the necessary data for testing hypotheses, the investigator used two specific standardized instruments:

1. Study Habit Inventory (SHI): Developed by Dr. M. Mukhopadhyay and Dr. D.N. Sansanwal.

2. School Environment Inventory (SEI): Developed by Dr. K.S. Mishra.

This structured methodology provides a systematic framework for analysing the relationship between a student's school environment and their study habits.

Analysis and Interpretation of Data: This chapter, titled "Analysis and Interpretation of Data," outlines the process of drawing meaningful inferences from collected facts.

Core Principles of Analysis

- **Transforming Raw Data:** Raw data is viewed as a "heap of facts" without inherent meaning until it is statistically processed.

- **Systematic Processing:** Analysis involves studying tabulated material to determine inherent factors, breaking down complex data into simpler parts, and rearranging them for interpretation.

- **The “Heart” of Research:** Interpretation is described as the most important step and the “heart” of the research report, providing direction and context to the bare facts.

- **Standardization:** Facts must be interpreted in light of accepted standards and assumptions, requiring a critical examination of the data’s limitations.

Statistical Techniques Used: To avoid “unnecessary labour” and ensure accuracy, the study employed specific statistical tools:

- **Mean and Standard Deviation (S.D.):** Used for fundamental data analysis.

- **Coefficient of Correlation:** Employed to identify and analyse relationships between different variables.

- **‘t’ test:** Used to determine the significance of differences between the means of various student groups.

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUE: In order to study the distribution of study habits scores of high school students, descriptive statistics like mean, median, mode, S.D., Q.D., skewness and kurtosis was calculated.

Keeping in view the objectives of the study, coefficient of correlation and ‘t’ test were used for the analysis of the data. Pearson’s Coefficient of correlation was computed to analyse the relationships. Mean, Standard Deviation and ‘t’ test were used to find the significance of difference between the means. Mean, Median, Mode, Standard deviation, t-test will be employed for inferential purpose to analyse the data. To have a pictorial view of scores of different variables, graphics statistics will be used.

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: The interpretations of the result based on the collected data per the given objectives are given below:

Objective No. 1: To compare the study habits of high school boys’ and girls’ in relation to environment. Comparison of study habits among high school boys’ and girls’ students:

To test the significance of comparison between the mean scores of study habits scores among boys and girls secondary school students, their mean, standard deviations and ‘t’ value were calculated.

Table 1.1
Comparison of study habits scores between boys and girls of high school students:

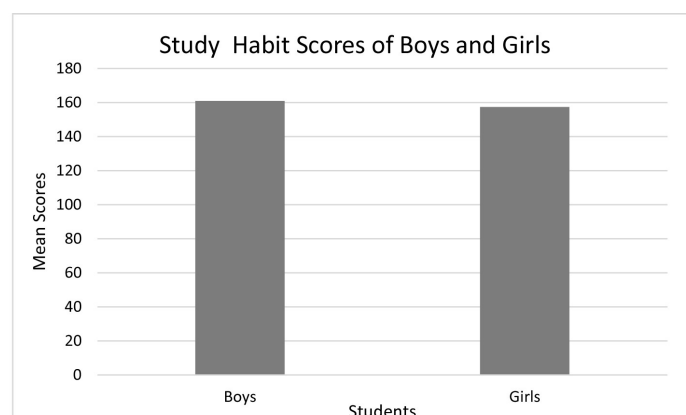
Variable	Gender	N	Mean	S.D.	df	t-value
Study Habits	Boys	40	161.02	18.24	78	0.85
Study Habits	Girls	40	157.35	20.04		

Interpretation: It is evident from the given table that the calculated 't' value for comparing the study habits scores of boys and girls is 0.85, which is not significant at the 0.05 level of significance for $df = 78$, as the calculated value is less than the table value of 1.99. The mean score of boys (161.02) is slightly higher than that of girls (157.35), indicating a small difference in study habits scores between the two groups. However, the difference is not statistically significant.

Hence, the null hypothesis stating that "There exists no significant difference in study habits between high school boys and girls" is accepted. Therefore, it may be concluded that boys and girls do not differ significantly in their study habits. The observed difference in mean scores may be due to chance or sampling fluctuation. Such data for its better understanding have been presented in the form of bar diagram as presented in the following figure:

Figure 1.1

Bar diagram showing comparison of study habits scores between boys and girls



The bar diagram clearly indicates that the mean score of boys in study habits is slightly higher than that of girls. However, the obtained 't' value (0.85) is less than the table value at 0.05 level of significance, showing that the difference is not statistically significant.

Objective 2: To study and compare the school environment of high school boys and girls. Comparison of school environment among high school boys and girls:

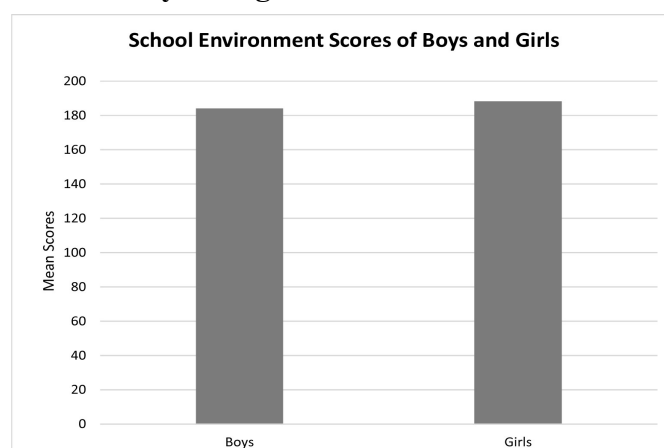
To examine the significance of difference between boys and girls with regard to school environment, the mean, standard deviation and 't' value were calculated.

Variable	Gender	N	Mean	S.D.	SE	df	t-value
School Environment	Boys	40	184.10	21.82	4.65	78	-0.47
School Environment	Girls	40	188.30	22.46			

Interpretation: It is evident from the table that the calculated value of 't' for comparing the school environment among boys' and girls' students is found to be -0.47, which is not significant at 0.05 level of significance for degree of freedom 78. The obtained 't' value is less than the table value (1.99). Therefore, the null hypothesis is accepted. This indicates that there is no significant difference between boys and girls in relation to school environment.

Figure 2.1

Bar diagram showing comparison of school environment scores between boys and girls



Objective No. 3: To examine the relationship between study habits and school environment of high school students.

3.1 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STUDY HABITS AND SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT

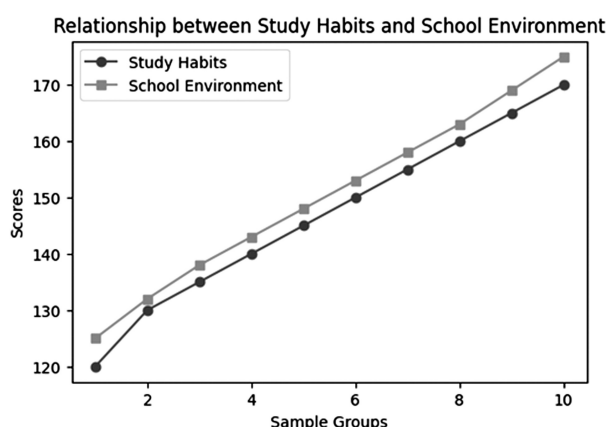
To examine the relationship between study habits and school environment of high school students, the coefficient of correlation was calculated.

Variables	N	Coefficient of Correlation (r)	Level of Significance	Interpretation
Study Habits & School Environment	80	0.62	0.05	Positive Significant Relationship

Interpretation: The table reveals that the coefficient of correlation between study habits and school environment of secondary school students is 0.62, which indicates a moderate positive relationship. The obtained value is significant at 0.05 level. Hence, the null hypothesis stating that there is no significant relationship between study habits and school environment is rejected. This suggests that a favourable school environment contributes positively towards the development of good study habits among students.

Figure 3.1

Line graph showing relationship between study habits and school environment of high school studen



FINDINGS OF THE STUDY: The following are the major findings of the present study entitled “**Study Habits among High School Students in Relation to School Environment.**” These findings were obtained through the analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

Major Findings of the Study

- ▶ Most of the high school students were found to possess average to good study habits.
- ▶ The majority of students perceived their school environment as favourable and supportive for learning.
- ▶ No significant difference was found between boys and girls regarding study habits.
- ▶ No significant difference was found between boys and girls regarding school environment.
- ▶ A positive and significant relationship was found between study habits and school environment among high school students.
- ▶ Students with a favourable school environment were found to possess better study habits.
- ▶ The study revealed that school environment plays an important role in improving students’ academic behaviour and learning outcomes.

CONCLUSION: The present study was conducted to examine the study habits of high school students in relation to their school environment. The findings of the study revealed that most of the students possessed average to good study habits and showed regular and organized learning behaviour. The study also found that the school environment of students was generally satisfactory and supportive for academic activities.

The comparison between boys and girls indicated that there was no significant difference in study habits as well as school environment. Although slight variations were observed in the mean scores, these differences were not statistically significant. This suggests that both boys and girls experience nearly similar academic and environmental conditions in school.

Further, the study revealed a positive and significant relationship between study habits and school environment. This indicates that a

favourable and supportive school environment plays an important role in developing better study habits among students. A positive school atmosphere, proper classroom environment, discipline, teacher support, and academic encouragement help students maintain regular and effective study behaviour.

Therefore, it may be concluded that school environment is an important factor influencing the study habits of high school students. Improving the educational environment in schools may contribute significantly towards enhancing students' academic behaviour and overall learning outcomes. ♦

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***Kâvyadosa: Vakya dosas and
Vakyamatragata dosas :***
A Critical Study
**(In the light of Visnvanatha Kaviraja's
'Sahitya Darpana')**

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Abstract: *Kâvyadosas* can be described as indispensable fragments in the valuation of poetic fineness which either distort the emotional impact or obscure the clarity of poetic expression. *Kâvyadosa* serves as a tool for guiding principle for poetic improvement. This research aims to analyse the *Vakya dosas* and *Vakyamatragata dosas* described in *Sahitya Darpana* and provides an analytical explanation about these *docas* categorized by Acharya *Visvanatha*. This study highlights the nature, classifications, causes and consequences of poetic blemishes. Acharya *Visvanatha* recognised five *Vakya dosas* and twenty- three types of *Vakyamatragata dosas* which marks a substantial evolution in the understanding of these poetic flaws. Each category explains the importance of grammatical accuracy, semantic coherence, and linguistic norms in poetic composition. The purpose of this study is to investigate the *Kâvyadosas* from its origin and offers a brief description of *Vakya dosas* and *Vakyamatragata dosas* in the light of *Visvanatha Kaviraja's*

Sahitya Darpana. The result of this study after following descriptive and analytical method indicates the importance of *kâvyadosas* on the field of Sanskrit poetics to identify the defects and to compose works of artistic excellence as these blemishes affect the value and beauty of a poetry.

Keywords: *Kâvyadosa, Vakya dosas, Vakyamatragata dosas, Sahitya Darpana, poetic.*

1.1 Introduction:

Kâvyadosa, a cardinal concept in Sanskrit poetics, which refers the poetic defects. *Dosas* are disagreeable elements that go against the *gunalamkaras*, which are the desirable attributes of poetry. The term *Kâvyadosa*, has been a topic of penetrating discussion and debate among ancient rhetoricians and literary theorists. The concept of *Kavyadosa* incorporates the diverse range of imperfections that can affect the overall excellence of a literary composition. Rhetoricians like *Mammata, Visvanatha Kaviraja, Vamana, Jayadeva, Panditaraja Jagannatha, Dandin, Bharata* have discussed *Kâvyadosa* in their treatises.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The Objectives of this study are as follows ———

1. To analyse the nature of *Kavyadosas* in Sanskrit poetics.
2. To identify and classify the various types of *Kavyadosas*.
3. To investigate the causes and consequences of *Kavyadosas*.
4. *Vakya dosas* and *Vakyamatragata dosas* described in *Sahitya Darpana*.

1.3 Significance of the study

Kâvyadosa has a significant value in the field of Sanskrit poetics. From this study, we will be familiar with the various types of *dosas* and their definitions given by the rhetoricians. Through this research, one can know the views of *Visvanatha Kaviraja* regarding various types of poetic defects.

1.4 Limitation of the study

This study focuses on and provides an analytical explanation

of the *Vakya dosas* and *Vakyamatragata dosas* categorized by *Visvanatha Kaviraja*. This study also mentions the definitions of *Kâvyadosas* given by other rhetoricians.

1.5 Research Methodology:

In this research, analytical and comparative methods are used to gain a deeper understanding of *Kâvyadosas* described in *Sahitya Darpana*, classify the various types and make informed decisions by examining similarities and differences between the works of other rhetoricians.

Sahitya Darpana of *Visvanatha Kaviraja* is used as primary source for this research and the secondary data is collected from research papers, books, e-sources etc.

1.6 Review of earlier studies

Numerous research paper and books have been written by many scholars on *Kâvyadosa*. This study reviews the various works done by the scholars in the field of poetic defects in Sanskrit poetics.

Savita khayaliya, in her research paper, “*Acarya Mammata va Kaviraja Visvanatha Ke Kavya dosa prakaran ka tulnatmak vivecan*” presents a comparative study of the definitions and types given by *Acarya Mammata* and *Visvanatha Kaviraja* along with the detailed description of poetic defects and also mentions the classifications given by other rhetoricians like *Vamana*, *Jayadeva*, *Dandin* and others.

Archana Maurya, in her research paper, “*Acarya Mammata va Visvanatha ke Kavya dosa evm guna samvandhi Siddhant: Ek tulnatmak Adhyayan*” examines a detailed account of the origin and development of Sanskrit poetics and compares the defects of poetry as well as the qualities of poetry discussed by both *Mammata* and *Visvanatha*.

Kuldeep Kaur, in research paper, “*Sanskrit kavya sAastra mein gunòa dosòa vivecan*” describes the history of Sanskrit poetics and the nature of *gunòas* and *dosòas* in poetry. The discussion contains a detailed description of the qualities and defects of poetry especially those given by *Mammata*, *Vamana* and *Visvanatha*.

Bechan Jha, in his book, “Concept of poetic blemishes in Sanskrit poetics” discussed the *Kâvyadosas* given by the rhetoricians like *Bhamaha*, *Dandin*, *Vamana*, *Rudrata*, *Anandavardhana*,

Mahimabhattacha, Mammatabhattacha in their treatises, starting with the *Bharata's Natyasastra*. The book also explains the nature of *Kavyadosa* according to the *Agni Purana*.

2.0 Kavyadosa: Origin and Development

In the history of *Alankarasastra*, the discussions of poetic defects and qualities have been a subject of discussion among the scholars since ancient times. Bharata is the first writer who deals with the literary defects in the *Natyasastra* as a side issue. The other ancient Indian treatises such as *Dandin's Kavyadarsa*, *Mammamabhamma's Kavyaprakasa*, *Visvanatha's Sahitya Darpana* offer detailed discussions on *kavyadosas* by categorizing and analysing various types of *dosas*.

The *Namyasastra* of *Bharata* is regarded to be the oldest extant work on the theory of Sanskrit poetics.¹ *Bharata* has pointed out ten poetic defects. They are—*Gudhartha*, *Arthantara*, *Arthahina*, *Bhinnartha*, *Ekartha*, *Abhiplutartha*, *Nyayadapeta*, *Visama*, *Visandhi* and *Sabdacyuta*.²

After that in the *kavyalamkara* of *Bhamaha* we find three lists of defects, the first and fourth chapter contains ten *dosas* each. In the second chapter *Bhamaha* discussed seven *Upama doas*. The first ten *docas* are as follows—*Neyartha*, *Klistata*, *Anyartha*, *Avacaka*, *Gudha-Sabdabhidhana*, *Ayuktimat*, *Sruti-dusta*, *Artha-dusta*, *Kalpana-dusta* and *Srutikasta*. The second list of ten *dosas*—*Apartha*, *Vyarthartha*, *Ekartha*, *Sasamsaya*, *Apakarma*, *Sabdahina*, *Yatibhrasta*, *Bhinnavrta*, *Visandhi* and *Desa-kala-kala-loka-nyayagama-virodhi*. The seven faults of *Upama* are- *Hinata*, *Asambhava*, *Lingabheda*, *Vacobheda*, *Viparyaya*, *Upamanadhikata* and *Asadrsya*.

Next after *Bhamaha*, from the point of view of both the chronology and the evolution of the conception of poetry, comes *Danòdòin*. Acharya *Danòdòin* has shown the despicability of defects from the very beginning in *Kavyadarsa*. The defects that are present in one path of poetry can be *Guna* in another path. The ten *docas* according to *Dandin* are—*Apartha*, *Vyarthartha*, *Ekartha*, *Sasamsaya*, *Apakarma*, *Sabdahina*, *Yatibhrasta*, *Bhinnavrta*, *Visandhi* and

Desakalakalalokanyaya 'gama-virodhi.³ *Bhamaha* has given the list of *dosas* and in the end has simply observed that *dosas* sometimes become *Gunas*. But *Dandin* illustrates every *dosa* and shows with

appropriate example how it turns to be *Guna* under special circumstances.⁴

According to acharya *Vamana*, those whose form is opposite to the qualities are called defects.⁵ He classified them into four types—*Padadosa*, *Padamsa dosa*, *Vakya dosa* and *Vakyartha dosa* and again classified them into many sub classes.

Rudrata divides poetic defects broadly into two groups—(i) Verbal and (ii) Material, and classified them into many sub classes. In the beginning of the second chapter of the *Kavyalakara* he enumerates six *docas* in general and maintains that the absence of these faults constitutes the excellence of poetry.⁶

According to Acharya *Mammata* the thing that cause the decline of the main meaning in poetry is called the defect form.⁷ Because the main thing in poetry is the *Rasa*, therefore the cause that causes the decline of *Rasa* is called a defect. *Sabdapi Sabda* (*Rasa* and *Vasyartha*) are beneficial for both of them, therefore both of them also have defect.

Acharya *Jayadeva* said that those whose form is opposite to the qualities are called defect.⁸

According to *Pandita Raja Jagannatha* the attractiveness of excessive miracle in poetry is the general form of error.⁹

Visvanatha Kaviraja defines *Kavyadosa* in *Sahitya Darpana* as follows — Those which are detriments of *Rasa* are called *dosa*.¹⁰ Detriments of *Rasa* are of three types—when there is an obstruction in the taste of *rasa*, when something that is not a measure of the excellence of *rasa* comes in between and when there are reasons that delay the taste of *rasa*. If any one of these three characteristics is found in poetry there is a defect.

In this way, all the scholars have accepted the defects of poetry in different ways according to their own views. Generally, it is clear that the poetry which degrades the enjoyment of the connoisseurs is flawed.

3.0 Discussion on *Vakya dosas* and *Vakyamatragata dosas*:

When a defect arises beyond *pada docas* due to an error in structure of a sentence, it becomes a *Vakya dosa*. Acharya *Visvanatha* has accepted some defects which are present in the *pada*, *Padamsa* and *Vakya*. Among them, he acknowledges the defects like *DuhòsAravatva*, *Aslilatva*, *Klistatva*, *Neyarthatva*, *vidheyavimarsa* as *Vakyagata dosa*.

Acharya Mammama admits 13 *Vakyagata docas*. They are- *Srutikatuta*, *Aprayuktata*, *Nihatarthata*, *Anucitarthata*, *Avacakata*, *Aslilata*, *Sandigdhatta*, *Apratitata*, *gramyata*, *Neyarthata*, *klistata*, *Avimrista vidheyamsa*, and *Virudhamatikarita*. He has explained three of *Aslilata* - *Vrida*, *Jugupsa* and *Amangala* and has given examples of all three while *Visvanatha* has explained only one type of *Aslilatva* called *jugupsa* and has given an example of this.

3.1 *Vakya dosas*: The following is the discussion of the *Vakyagata docas* by *Visvanatha*—

1) *Duhsravatva Vakyaagata dosa*: Acharya *Visvanatha*, while giving the example of the *Vakya* defect called *duhsravatva*, says that—
“*Smarartyandhah kada lapsye Karttarthyha Virahe tava*”¹¹

In this example, the words ‘*Smarartyandhah*’, ‘*Karttarthyha*’ and ‘*Lapsye*’ are harshly Composed and hurt the ears, so, there is *Duhsravatva Vakya dosa*.

2) *Aslilatva Vakyaagata dosa*: If the meaning of the word is appropriate but it gives any other *Aelila* meaning, then *Aslilatva Vakya dosa* occurs. Acharya *Visvanatha* has only talked about the defect of *jugupsa Aslilatva*.

“*Krtapravrttiranyarthe kavirvantam samasnune*”¹²

In this example, it has been told that a poet who composes his poetry imitating another poet’s poetry Consumes ‘Vomit’, who consumes another’s vomit is Criticized like a dog. Here, due to the word *Pravrti* being the expression of *puris* and *vanta* being the expression of *udvamana*. So, there is *jugupsa Aslilatva dosa*.

3) *Neyarthatva Vakyaagata dosà*: The meaning different which indicates a meaning different from itself but in that meaning due to absence of *rudhi* or *prayujana*, there is no *laksana*, So, there is *Neyarthatva dosa*.

“*Udyatkamalalauhityairvakrabhirbhusita tanuh*”¹³

In this example, there is no relation with the main meaning due to the inability of the light of the *padmaraga* gems to rise. So, there is *Neyarthatva dosa*.

4) *Klistatva Vakyaagata dosa*: Acharya *Visvanatha* while giving the example of *Klistatva Vakya dosa*, Says that—

“*Dhamillasya na kasya preksya nikamam kurangasavaksyah*

Rajyatyapurvabandhvyutpattemanisam sovam”¹⁴

This example is complicated by the distance of the consequences. So, there is *Klistatva Vakya dosa*.

5) Avrmrista vidheyamsa Vakyagata dosa: *Visvanatha* gave an example, without giving any characteristic of this defect also.

*“Nyakkarom hyayameva mem yadarayah”*¹⁵

In the example *Ayameva nyakkarah* the *Vidheyata* of this *nyakar pada* is implied, *Ayameva* is the *uddesya*. The *Vidheya* should not be stated without stating the *Uddesya* because nothing can stand without a support. So, there is *Avrmrista vidheyamsa Vakya dosa*.

Acharya *Visvanatha*, has given other examples of being *Avrmrista vidheyamsa* defect even in the absence of the *vidheya*.

*“Anandayati te netre yausau suvru samagatah”*¹⁶

This example has flaw. *“Yattadornityasambandha”* - the words *Yat* and *Tat* have a permanent relationship. According to this, *“Idam Etat”* and *‘Adas’* which are used synonymously with the word *‘Tat’* to fulfil the aspiration of the word *‘Yat’* used as *Uddesya*, are only suitable of being *Vidheya*. In this example *‘Yausau’* in which the word *‘Yat’* is near position, the word *‘Adas’* perceives *Uddesya*, So, here is the defect.

3.2 Vakyamatragata dosas: According to *Visvanatha’s Sahitya Darpana*, the *Vakyamatragata dosas* are described below-

Defects that occur only in *Vakya* are Called *Vakyamatragata dosas*. According to *Visvanâtha* there are 23 types of *Vakyamatragata dosas* viz., *Pratikulavarnatva*, *Luptavirsargatva*, *Ahata Visargatva*, *Adhika Padatva*, *Nyunapadatva*, *Kathitapadatva*, *Hatavrattatva*, *Pratatprakarsata*, *Sandhivislesa*, *Sandhyaslilatva*, *Sandhiklistatva*, *Ardhantaraikapadatva*, *Samaptapunaraptata*, *Abhavan matasamvandha*, *Akramata*, *Amatapararthata*, *Vacyasyabhidhana*, *Bhagnaprakamata*, *Prasiddhityaga*, *Asthanapadatva*, *Asthansamasata*, *Samkîrnatva* and *Garbhitata*.

On the other hand, Acharya *Mammama* has recognized 21 defects such as *Pratikulavarna*, *Upahatavisarga*, *Luptavirsarga*, *Visandhi*, *Hatavrta*, *Nyunapada*, *Adhika Pada*, *Kathitapada*, *Pratatprakarsa*, *Samaptapunarapta*, *Arthantaraikavacaka*, *Abhavanmata samvandha*, *Anabhihitavacya*, *Asthanapada*, *Asthansamasa*, *Samkîrnata*, *Garbhita*, *Prasiddhivirodha*, *Bhagnaprakama*, *Akrama*

and *Amataparakartha* as *Vakya matragata dosas*.

The following is the discussion of the *Vakyamatragata dosas* recognized by *Visvanatha*-

1) *Pratikulavarnatva Vakyamatragata dosa*: Acharya *Visvanatha* has described its characteristics as- Where there is a composition contrary to the conformity of the taste, there is a defect called *Pratikulavarnatva*.¹⁷

“*Udharmayati ulluyami sayane kahimpi momtayi no
parihamtyai Hiayena fittai lajjai khutti dihi sa*”¹⁸

In this *prakrit* example, showing the defect of *Pratikulavarnatva* in *Sringar Rasa*, it has been told that by expressing the *Ojaguna* present in *Vira*, *Vibhatsa* and *Raudra Rasa*, which are opposite to *Sringar Rasa*, the perception of *Sringar Rasa* becomes obstructed ‘*Ta kara*’ letters have been kept by *Sahitya Darpankar* only for the display of poetic power, thus instead of pronouncing the soft letters in *Sringar Rasa*, pronouncing the opposite ‘*Ta kara*’ is a *Vakya dosa* called *Pratikulavarnatva*.

2) *Luptavirsargatva Vakyamatragata dosa*: This means that where the *visarga* is omitted from the sentence, there is a defect called *Luptavirsargatva*. Its characteristics are as follows-

This defect does not occur if one or two *visargas* are omitted. Many times, omission of *visargas* causes defect of *Luptavirsargatva*.¹⁹ This is also considered as *nityadosa*. Example-

“*Gata nisa ima vale*”²⁰

In this example, the *visargas* have been omitted in this sentence. So, for this reason there is a defect called *Luptavirsargatva*.

3) *Ahata Visargatva Vakyamatragata dosa*: Explaining the meaning of this defect, *Sahitya Darpanakar* says that when the ‘*otva*’ is occurred in the place of *visarga*, there is a defect called *Ahata Visargatva*.²¹ Example-

“*Dhîro varo naro yati dyati*”²²

In this example, many *visargas* have become ‘*o*’ *kara*, which makes the sentence monotonous. So, here a defect called *Ahata Visargatva* has occurred. This is a *nityadosa*.

4) *Adhika Padatva Vakyamatragata dosa*: Where more words are used even when they are not appropriate, this defect occurs there. For example -

“*Pallavakritiraktosthî*”²³

That is, whose red lips are like the *pallava*. In this way, the fault has been shown. Because in this example, even though the word *akrti* is not there, its meaning is conveyed. Like ‘*pallavaraktusthau*’, its meaning is conveyed by this *bahubrîhî samas*, so the word ‘*akriti*’ is inappropriate.

5) Nyunapadatva Vakyamatragata dosa: Wherever there is a shortage of words in a sentence, there is *nyunapadatva* defect.²⁴ The example of the defect called *nyunapadatva* is given by acharya VisAvanatha as follows-

“*Yadi maryarpita drstih kim mamendrataya tada*”²⁵

In this, the word ‘*tvaya*’ should have been used in the first *carana*. So, there is a sentence-related defect called *nyunapadatva*.

6) Kathitapadatva Vakyamatragata dossa: This means that where a word is repeated twice in a sentence, this defect occurs. Example-

“*Ratililasramam bhinte salilamanilo vahan*”²⁶

In this *Prakrit* example, it is said that the word ‘*lîla*’ has been used twice. Once it has been said as *Ratilila* and the second time as *Salilam*. So there is a defect in the word *Kathitapadatva*.

7) Hatavrttatvadosa Vakyamatragata dosa: There are three types of the *Hatavrttatva*-

(1) That which does not sound sweet despite being in accordance with the characteristic of meter.

(2) Is contrary to *prakrita rasa*.

(3) There is a *laghu* at the end of the *carana* which does not attain *gurutva*.

Therefore, this type of sentence has a defect called *Hatavrttatva*. This defect is also called *nityadosa*.

“*Hanta satatametasya hridayam vinte manobhavah kupitah*”²⁷

In this example the verse, though according to the characteristics of the *Arya chanda*, the first verse appears like the *Anusòmup chanda*. So, there is *Hatavrttatva dosa*.

8) Pratatprakarsata Vakyamatragata dosa: According to Acharya Visvanatha—

“*Projjvalajjavalanajvalavikaturusatacchatah
Svasakstakulaksmabhrt patu vo narakesari*”²⁸

In the *Prakrit* example it has been told that the beauty of *anuprasak* has decreased. For example, there is *anuprasa* of three combined syllables in the first part. So, it is excellent. There is *anuprasa* of three 'ta' kars in the second part. It is less excellent than the previous one. The third part is even less excellent due to the *anuprasa* of two 'ks' kara. Finally, the fourth part has a complete loss of excellence due to the use of two soft letters.

In this way, due to the beauty of *anuprasa* gradually decreasing, there is sentence-related *dosa* called *Pratatprakarsata*.

9) Sandhivislesa Vakyamatragata dosa:

"Dalite utpale ete aksinî amalangi te"²⁹

Like the *prakrit* example, if there is no *Sandhi* in several places there is *Sandhivislesa* defect.

10) Sandhya Aslîlatva Vakyamatragata dosa: *Aslîlatva* arising from the *Sandhi* is called *Sandhy Aslîlatva*.

"Vegaduddi gagane calandamaracestitah

Ayamuttapate patnî tatotraiva rucinkaru"³⁰

In the example, Acharya *Visvanath* has stated the term *calandamaracestitah* as *Jugupsavyanjaka Aslîlatva* so there is *Sandhy Aslîlatva dosa*.

11) Sandhiklistatva Vakyamatragata dosa: This means that wherever there is complexity because of *Sandhi* is *Sandhiklistatva dosa*. Acharya *Vivanâtha* has given an example of this by saying,

"Urvyasavatra tarvalî marvante carvavasthitih"³¹

The delay in perception of meaning due to *sandhi*, is a defect called *Sandhiklisòmatva*.

12) Ardhanaraikapadatva Vakyamatragata dosa: This defect occurs when a word from the first half of a stanza is attached to the latter half of the word, giving rise to a *prakrit* defect.

Acharya *VisAvanatha* has given an example of this,

"Indurvivati karpuragaurairdhavalayan karaih

Jaganma kuru tanvangimanam padanate priye"³²

In the example, the part of the first half of the sentence, *jagata*, the meaning of this only word is present in the sentence, so there is a *Ardhanaraikapadatva dosa*. It was appropriate to use this word *jagata* in the first half, because the meaning of *jagata* is coming in the first sentence itself. In this way, due to the delay in the realization of the

meaning of a word of the sentence present in the first half, when read in the second half, it is called the sentence defect called *Ardhantaraikapadatva*. This is a *nitya dosa*.

13) Samaptapunaraptata Vakyamatragata dosa: Without giving any description of this, Acharya *VisAvanatha* has given an example –

“*Nasayanto ghaadhvantam tapayantu viyuginah
Patanti sasinah pada bhasyantah ksamatalam*”³³

The phrase *bhasyantah* in the fourth stage of the verse of this example is also taken up at the end of sentence. So here is the fault called *Samaptapunaraptata*.

14) Abhavanmatasamvandha Vakyamatragata dosa: This defect occurs where the poet’s desired relation i.e. *anvaya* cannot be formed. Acharya *Visvanatha* has also given an example instead of giving its symptoms—

“*Ya jayasrirmanojasya yaya jagadalamkrtam
Yamenaksîm vina prana viphalam me kutodya sa*”³⁴

In this example, the sentences, that mentioned by the word *Yat* are mutually neutral, therefore, the word ‘*enaksi*’ associated with the word *Yat* has nothing to do with others. Although the poet wants to explain it. So, there is *Abhavanmatasamvandha dosa*.

15) Akramata Vakyamatragata dosa: The meaning of *Akramata* would be that the word after which a word is appropriate to come, its replacement is called *Akramata*.

“*Samaya eva karoti valavalam pranigadanta itîva sarîrinam
Saradi hamsaravah purusîkritisvaramyuramyu
ramanîyatam*”³⁵

Acharya *Visvanatha* has explained the above example that the meaning of “*Samaya evam karoti valavalam*” has been, consulted with the word ‘*iti*’. Therefore, it is appropriate, but using *iti* after *Pranigadanta* has caused the error called *Akramata*.

16) Amatapararthata Vakyamatragata dosa: Where there appears to be some untoward difference in meaning, there is a defect called

Amatapararthata. Example-

“*Rama manmathasarena tadita*”³⁶

In this example, *Sringar Rasa* appears but it is not desirable because the *Vîra Rasa* presented here is not opposed to it. Thus,

Amatapararthatadosa occurs.

17) Vacyasyabhidhana Vakyamatragata dosa:

Vacyasyabhidhana is a defect which is seen in such a sentence in which the *Vacya* or the *avayavakta pada* is not persent. Example according to Acharya *Visvanatha*-

“*Vyatikramalavam kam me vîksya vamaksi kupyasi?*”³⁷

In the example, the defect called *Vacyasyabhidhana* is considered.

18) Bhagnaprakamata Vakyamatragata dosa:

Whatever sequence is started in, it should be finished in the same sequence. If this sequence is broken, it leads to a defect called *Bhagnaprakamata*. Example—

“*Evamukto mantrimukhyai ravanah pratyabhasat*”³⁸

Here in, *Mukta* has started with *vac*, the root. Therefore, the root *vac* should be used at the end, not the root *bhas*. So, there is *Bhagnaprakamatadosa*.

19) Prasiddhityaga Vakyamatragata dosa:

When a word having a famous meaning in a particular context is not used in that related meaning, then there is a defect called *Prasiddhityaga*. For example, according to Acharya *Visvanatha*-

“*Ghoro varimucam ravah*”³⁹

In this example the word ‘*Garjita*’ is the only famous word about the word ‘cloud’, not, *Ravah*. Therefore, the use of the word *Ravah* here becomes an error called *Prasiddhityaga*.

20) Asthanapadatva Vakyamatragata dosa:

Asthanapadatva is a defect which occurs when a word is placed at an inappropriate place.

“*Tîrthe tadîpe gajasetuvandhatpratîpagamuttaratosya gangam*

Ayatnavalavyajanîvabhuvurhasa nabholanganalolapaksah”⁴⁰

The *dosa* has been shown in the example because it would have been appropriate to use the word ‘*gangam*’ before the word ‘*tadîya*’, not doing so has led to a *dosa* here.

21) Asthansamasata Vakyamatragata dosâ:

“*Adyapi stanasailadurgavisame sîmantinînam hridi*

Sthatum vacchati mana esa dhigiti krodhadivalohitah

Prodyaddurataraprasaritarakh karsatyasau tatksana-

Sphullatkairavakausanih saradalisrenikrpanam sasi”⁴¹

In the first half of this example, there is *Raudra Rasa*, here it was appropriate to use *Dirgha samasa* but it was not done. On the contrary, *Dirgha samasa* has been used in the second half. Therefore, here there is a fault called *Asthansamasata*.

22) Samkîrnatva Vakyamatragata dosa: Acharya *Visvanatha* has given its characteristic as— interpolation of words from other sentences into the second sentence is called the defect of *SaAkîrnatva*.⁴²

“*Candram muncam kurangaksi pasya manam nabhongane*”⁴³

This example shows the *Samkîrnatvadosa*.

23) Garbhitata Vakyamatragata dosa: Using a different sentence in other sentences causes the error called *Garbhitata*.⁴⁴

“*Ramane caranaprante pranatipravedhuna
Vadami sakhi te tatvam kadacinnocita krudhah*”⁴⁵

This example shows the *Garbhitatadosa*.

Conclusion:

The study found that *kāvya dosa*, or poetic blemishes, are essential in the assessment of poetic excellence. *Visvanâtha* integrates *dosa* into his holistic theory of *kāvya*, where beauty (*guna*) and blemish are viewed in relation to *rasa* (aesthetic experience). He holds that any factor diminishing the intended *rasa* can be classified as a *dosa*. These blemishes, when present, either distort the emotional impact or obscure the clarity of poetic expression. The causes of *kāvya dosa* were found to be varied, ranging from lack of poetic skill and disregard for grammatical norms to improper use of poetic embellishments (*alankâra*) or misalignment with the intended *rasa*. The consequences are significant; *dosas* can severely hinder the aesthetic experience and diminish the value of otherwise well-structured poetry. One of *Visvanâtha*'s key contributions is his emphasis on the *rasa*. He avows that a flaw is only such when it obstructs or weakens *rasa*. ♦

¹ Vide, Jha, B., *Concept of Poetic Blemishes in Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 14

² *Gudharthamarthantaramarthahînam bhinnarthamekarthamb
hiplutartham*

*Nyayadapetam visamam Visandhi sabdacyuta vai dasa
kavyadosah*

³ *Apartha vyarthamekartha sasamsayamprakamam
Sabdahînam yatibhrasmam bhinnavrtam visandhikam
Desakalakalaloka nyayagama Virodhi ca
Itidosa desaivaite varjyah kavyesu suravih*

⁴ Vide, Jha, B., *Concept of Poetic Blemishes in Sanskrit Poetics*,
p. 59

⁵ *Gunaviparyayatmano dosah*

⁶ Vide, Jha, B., p. 14

⁷ *Mukhyartha hatirrdoso rasasca mukhyastadasrayadvacyah
Ubhayopaginah syu sabdadyastena tesvapi sah*

⁸ *Syacceto visata yen saksata ramaniyata
Sabderthe ca krtonmesam dosamudghosayanti tam*

⁹ *Camatkarasyapakarsakam yavatsarvamapi dosah*

¹⁰ *Rasapakarsakah dosah*

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ *Varnanam rasanuganyaviparîttvam pratikulatvam*

¹⁸ S.D., Ch 7

¹⁹ *Luptavahuvigargatvam luptavisargatvam*

²⁰ S.D. Ch 7

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ *Upadeyavacakpadahînavakyatva nyunapadattvam*

²⁵ S.D., Ch 7

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² *Vakyantapadanam vakyantarenupravesah sankîrnatvam*

⁴³ S.D., Ch 7

⁴⁴ *Vakyantare vakyantaranupraveso garbhitata*

⁴⁵ S.D., Ch 7

A Study on Marriage System of The Bodo

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Abstract: *Marriage is one of the most significant social institutions in Bodo society, reflecting its cultural values, customs, kinship relations, and social organization. This study examines the traditional marriage system of the Bodo community with particular emphasis on its forms, customs, rituals, and the socio-cultural values associated with marriage. It also explores the role of the family and community in the marriage process and discusses the changes that have emerged in response to education, urbanization, religious influences, and other contemporary social developments. The study adopts a descriptive and analytical approach based on relevant primary and secondary sources. It aims to document the continuity and transformation of the Bodo marriage system and to highlight its importance in preserving the cultural identity and heritage of the Bodo community.*

Keywords: *Bodo, swngnai haba, kharsonnai haba, gwrjia lakhinai haba,*

Introduction:

The Bodo community is one of the prominent indigenous tribal groups of northern India primarily found in the state of Assam and known for their deep-rooted traditions and vibrant heritage. The Bodos possess a

distinct identity shaped by their unique language, culture and customs. The Bodo language which belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family plays a vital role in preserving their history and social values.

Historically, the Bodo people have maintained a close relationship with nature, reflected in their agricultural lifestyle, traditional festivals and community practices. Festivals such as *bwisagu* celebrate the arrival of spring and showcase the community's music, dance and colorful attire. Their traditional clothing, weaving skills and folk songs are important expressions of Bodo identity and creativity. In addition to their cultural richness, the Bodo community has contributed significantly to the social and political landscape of the region. The establishment of the Bodoland Territorial Region has helped promote the development, language and cultural preservation of the Bodo people. Educational institutions, literature and media in the Bodo language continue to strengthen their cultural presence.

The Bodo community is predominately concentrated in Northeast India, although many Bodo people have migrated and settled in different regions across India. Since ancient times, also some part of Nepal, Bangladesh and Bhutan. Bodo society has been guided by traditional customs and laws. These customary rules have played an important role in maintaining social order, culture and unity within the Bodo community. Even today, these traditions continue to influence the social life and values of the Bodo people.

The Bodo community has a rich cultural heritage filled with unique traditions and beliefs that have been passed down through generations. One of the most distinctive traditions among the Bodo is associated with the *bathou*, which holds symbolic importance in their cultural practices during certain rituals, the community performs puja by planting Sijou Plant (*Euphorbia Splendens*) and with this ritual the Bodos symbolically worship ancestors represented through the bathou. This practice reflects the deep spiritual beliefs and respect for ancestral wisdom within Bodo society.

Another significant aspect of Bodo culture is the strong emphasis on marriage. In Bodo society, the marriage between a man and a woman is considered the greatest and most important social event. It is not merely a union between two individuals, but also a sacred bond that connects families and strengthens the community. Marriage ceremonies are often

celebrated with great joy, traditional customs and community participation. Bodo traditions also involve many rules and customary practices that guide social life. Members of the community actively participate in these rituals and traditions ensuring that their cultural identity remains strong and continues to thrive across generations. Overall, the traditions of the Bodo community reflect a deep connection to spirituality, family and cultural heritage making their way of life both meaningful and unique. Here below are some of the marriage systems followed in Bodo society.

Swngnai Haba (Arranged Marriage)

Swngnai Haba (Arranged marriage) is the most important and regular form of marriage among Bodos. This type of marriage is regular marriage in Bodo society. When a son of the house attains a marriageable age, his parents set to work to find a suitable bride for him. When they find their choice they visit to the girl's house to meet her parents. In their visit they use to take some presents in the form of rice, liquor, betel nut etc. and formally ask the daughter's hand for their son. If the presents are accepted by girl's parents it is understood that the proposal is received positively. This marriage system is made by mutual agreement between both the parties. Then a suitable day and date is fixed and marriage ceremonies held with merry making. In earlier days this type of marriage was mainly solemnized at the house of the bridegroom and till today it exists. Though some marriages are solemnized at the bride's house but it is very rare.

Kharonnai Haba (girls run away to boy's house)

In this system of marriage, the bride enters the bridegroom's house before the formal settlement of marriage, based on mutual understanding between them, and sometimes with the consent of bridegroom's family. It is not a regular form of marriage, and the consent of the bride's parents is usually not given much importance.

Gwrjia lakhinai Haba (Marriage by probation)

In this type of marriage, the bridegroom stays at the house of the bride's house and works there as a labourer without wages for one or two years or sometimes even longer. If the bride's father is satisfied with the service, behaviour, and sincerity of the boy, he permits the marriage to take place. This form of marriage is usually found in families where there is only one daughter and no son to inherit the family property. In such situations, the bride's parents keep the boy in his house on the

condition that he will marry the daughter and continue to live there.

In many cases, the boy is also required to sign a document declaring that he no longer belongs to his natal family and will stay with the bride's family. This arrangement ensures that the property and family responsibilities remain within the household. Sometimes this form of marriage also occurs when the bridegroom and his parents are unable to pay the bride price demanded by the bride's parents. In such cases, the young man gives equivalent personal service in the house of the bride's parents instead of paying the bride price.

The period of service is usually decided by mutual agreement between the parents of both families and may vary from three or four years to even twelve or fifteen years. Cohabitation between the couple is generally allowed after twelve to eighteen months of service. After completing the agreed period, the young couple is free to live wherever they wish. However, a proper marriage ceremony is also performed in this case.

***Bwnai Haba* (Marriage by capture or kidnapping of the bride)**

If a man cannot obtain the consent of the parents of the girl he wishes to marry, and the girl is willing, he may seize her hand in the presence of witnesses, after which the marriage is considered solemnized (Hunter, 1998). In some cases, even if the girl is unwilling, she may be forcefully taken to the bridegroom's house, where the marriage is performed. This form of marriage is called *Bwnai Haba*. The community regards it as irregular and blameworthy, though not entirely invalid. The bride's parents usually demand an immediate payment of Rs. 5/- and may claim the bride-price at a higher rate than usual (Endle, 1995).

Although once practiced, marriage by capture has largely disappeared in modern times. The Bodo Mahasanmelani officially banned this custom in its 1929 session, discouraging the practice and promoting more acceptable and consensual forms of marriage within the community.

***Dongkha or Domkha Haba* (Marriage of widower)**

This type of marriage occurs between a widower and a widow. It is conducted on the condition that the widower severs all ties with the children of his first wife and renounces any claim to her property. Despite being allowed, this form of marriage is generally looked down upon in Bodo society. The term "Dongkha" is often used as a derogatory expression to describe such a union. Due to social stigma and traditional

disapproval, this form of marriage is very rare among the Bodos, and only a few cases are reported. It reflects both cultural norms and societal attitudes towards remarriage.

***Dwnkharnai Haba* (Marriage by elopement or self-arranged)**

Marriage by elopement is not uncommon in Bodo society. In rural areas, where young people enjoy some freedom, some take advantage of this to unite early through elopement. Such marriages usually occur when there is prior mutual understanding between the bride and groom. However, elopement is generally discouraged. This type of marriage, in which the bride is carried off, is known as *Dwnkharnai haba*. Despite being unconventional, the eloping couple is typically accepted by the boy's family after they formally seek pardon from society, represented by the village elders. The elders usually impose a fine as a form of social sanction before granting their approval. In this way, even elopement is regulated and reconciled within Bodo social traditions.

Conclusion

The Bodos have a well-established institution of marriage that includes various forms, rituals, and ceremonies. This reflects a society that is well-organized, culturally rich, and guided by social norms regulating life in all aspects. Marriage among the Bodos is not only a social arrangement but also holds religious and cultural significance. The practices associated with marriage, including both traditional unions and occasional elopements, show the community's balance between individual choice and social regulation. Overall, the institution of marriage highlights the cultural depth, social sophistication, and religious character of Bodo society, preserving harmony and identity across generations. ♦

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Portrayal of Woman in Assamese Proverbs and Idioms

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Abstract: *Proverbs or idioms are traditional, rhythmic expressions. These offer life lessons, rural wisdom, and social commentary. Assamese literature is rich in proverbs or idioms. Through it, a villager expresses his day to day experience, and perceived truth of his life. Proverbs provide variedness and uniqueness to village life. Through these short, traditional folk sayings rural people express their common knowledge received from ancestors. In many proverbs now current in Assamese society, women's psychology, different aspects of their mind and their duties and responsibilities are reflected. In some proverbs too, shortcomings, negative aspects of a woman's role in society are expressed. This paper is descriptive and analytical. Here some proverbs current in Assamese folk life and their suggestiveness toward women are discussed.*

Key-words: *proverb and idioms, folk, perspective, experiences, psychology.*

অসমীয়া ফকৰা-যোজনাত নাৰী জীৱন চিত্ৰণ: এটি বিশ্লেষণাত্মক আলোচনা

গৱেষণাৰ উদ্দেশ্য:

এই গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনিৰ মূল উদ্দেশ্য হৈছে অসমীয়া লোকসাহিত্যৰ অমূল্য

সম্পদ ফকৰা-যোজনা আৰু ইয়াৰ মাজত প্ৰতিফলিত হোৱা নাৰী জীৱনৰ বিভিন্ন দিশসমূহ সম্পৰ্কে অধ্যয়ন কৰা।

গৱেষণা পদ্ধতি:

গৱেষণা পত্ৰখনি প্ৰস্তুত কৰোঁতে ঠায়ে ঠায়ে বৰ্ণনাত্মক পদ্ধতি আৰু ঠায়ে ঠায়ে বিশ্লেষণাত্মক পদ্ধতি অৱলম্বন কৰা হৈছে।

গৱেষণাৰ সমল:

গৱেষণাৰ বিভিন্ন দিশত সাক্ষাৎকাৰক প্ৰাথমিক সমল হিচাপে লোৱাৰ উপৰিও বিভিন্ন গৌণ সমল যেনে- বিষয়বস্তুক সামৰি লোৱা গ্ৰন্থ, আলোচনী আদিৰ সহায় লোৱা হৈছে।

আলোচনা:

মানুহৰ জীৱনৰ সুখ-দুখ, বিশ্বাস-অবিশ্বাস, শ্ৰম-সংঘাত, ৰীতি-নীতি আদিক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰি সৃষ্টি সাহিত্যই হৈছে লোক সাহিত্য। লোকসাহিত্য হ'ল লোক সাধাৰণৰ যুগান্তকাৰী জ্ঞান আৰু অভিজ্ঞতাৰ বহিঃপ্ৰকাশ। লোক জীৱনৰ সম্পূৰ্ণ প্ৰতিচ্ছবি বহন কৰা লোকসাহিত্য হৈছে অখ্যাত লেখকৰ বিখ্যাত ৰচনা। এই সাহিত্য কোনো ব্যক্তি বিশেষৰ সৃষ্টি নহয়, ই হৈছে যুগ নিৰপেক্ষ অভিজ্ঞতাপুষ্ট এক সৃষ্টি। ড° সত্যেন্দ্ৰ নাথ শৰ্মাই লোক সাহিত্যক লোকগীত, ফকৰা যোজনা আৰু প্ৰবচন আৰু সাধুকথা এই তিনিটা ভাগত বিভক্ত কৰিছে।

ফকৰা যোজনা হ'ল অসমীয়া লোকসাহিত্যৰ এক অমূল্য সম্পদ। ফকৰা যোজনাৰ মাজেৰে বক্তাৰ বাক-চাতুৰ্যতা, প্ৰকাশিকা শক্তি আৰু সূক্ষ্ম পৰ্যবেক্ষণ প্ৰকাশিত হয়। অসমীয়া সমাজত এই ফকৰা যোজনাসমূহ কেৱল ভকতীয়া সমাজতেই নহয়, সাধাৰণ কথা বতৰাতো প্ৰাসংগিকভাৱে ব্যৱহৃত হোৱা দেখা যায়। ড° সত্যেন্দ্ৰ নাথ শৰ্মাৰ মতে— “ফকৰা যোজনা সাংসাৰিক অভিজ্ঞতালব্ধ জ্ঞানমূলক নীতি, বিভিন্ন সমাজত প্ৰচলিত জীৱনচৰ্য আৰু আদৰ্শবাদ, জাতিৰ মনস্তত্ত্ব, আচাৰ-ব্যৱহাৰ আৰু সমালোচনাৰে পৰিপূৰ্ণ।”

সেইদৰে অসমীয়া সাহিত্যত যুগে যুগে নাৰীয়ে বিভিন্ন ৰং ৰূপেৰে প্ৰকাশিত হৈ আহিছে। নাৰীৰ কোমল মনৰ আশা-নিৰাশা, সুখ-দুখৰ চিৰন্তন অনুভূতিবোৰ লোকসাহিত্যত প্ৰতিফলিত হয়। অসমীয়া সমাজত প্ৰচলিত আলোচ্য বিষয় ফকৰা যোজনাতো নাৰীৰ জীৱনৰ বাস্তৱিক ছবি স্পষ্টভাৱে ফুটি উঠা লক্ষণীয়। নাৰীৰ মাতৃ, জীয়ৰী, শাহু, আইতা, সতিনী, স্ত্ৰী আদি অলেখ ৰূপত অন্তৰ্নিহিত হৈ থকা বিশ্বাস-অবিশ্বাস, ৰীতি-নীতি, কৰণীয়-অকৰণীয় দিশসমূহ ফকৰা যোজনাত উপলব্ধি কৰিব

পাৰি। অসমীয়া লোকসমাজত প্ৰাচীনকালৰে পৰা চলি অহা ফকৰা যোজনাৰ বহু সংখ্যকেই নাৰী কেন্দ্ৰিক। নাৰীৰ স্বভাৱ-চৰিত্ৰ, মনঃস্তব্ধ, দায়িত্ব, কৰ্তব্যৰ দিশ বহন কৰা ফকৰা যোজনাই এক বিশ্লেষণৰ পথ মুকলি কৰি দিয়ে বুলি ক'ব পাৰি। এই পৃথিৱীত মাতৃৰ সমান কোনো হ'ব নোৱাৰে কাৰণ মাতৃ সদায় ধৈৰ্য্যশীল আৰু মৰমীয়া। সেইদৰে নদীও ধৈৰ্য্যশীল আৰু গতিশীল। সেয়ে নাৰীৰ লগত নদীৰ তুলনা কৰা বহু ফকৰা যোজনা অসমীয়া সমাজত লক্ষণীয়—

আইৰ সমান হ'ব কোন

লুইতৰ সমান বব কোন?*

মাতৃ অবিহনে সকলো নিষ্প্ৰাণ হৈ পৰে। কাৰণ তেওঁৰ সমতুল্য কোনো নহয়—

আই আছে যদি খাই যা

আই নাই যদি চাই যা।^১

লোকসমাজত মাতৃক মলয়া বতাহৰ দৰে গা-মন জুৰোৱা শীতল আৰু মাহী মাকক বিচনীৰ বতাহৰ দৰে কৃত্ৰিম বুলি ধৰা হয়—

আপোন মা মলয়াৰ বা

সতীয়া মা বিচনীৰ বা।^২

মাহী মাতৃৰ চৰিত্ৰ বা মানসিক দৃষ্টিভঙ্গীক লৈয়ো বহু ফকৰাত কোৱা হৈছে—

মোৰ নহয় সতিনীৰ পো

পাটি নহয় মাটিত শো।

আটাইতকৈ তিতা নেমুটেঙাৰ পাত

তাতোকৈ তিতা মাহীমাকৰ মাত।^৩

ককা-আইতাৰ বাবে নাতি আটাইতকৈ মৰমৰ আৰু অমূল্য সম্পদ। সেয়ে নাতি জন্ম হ'লে ককা-আইতাকেও অপাৰ আনন্দ লাভ কৰে—

দাঁতিনী বুঢ়ীয়ে নাতিনী পায়

পীৰাই টিকাই লাগি যায়

এনেয়ে বুঢ়ী নাচনী,

তাতে নাতিনীয়েকৰ বিয়া।^৪

নাৰীৰ আন এটি কঠোৰ ৰূপো ফকৰাবোৰত প্ৰকাশ পায়। সতিনীৰ ৰূপত এগৰাকী নাৰীৰ ঈৰ্ষাত্মক ৰূপ অতি ভয়ানক—

আহিছ সতিনী থ'ম চুকত

তুৰি মুৰি কৰিলে গোৰ দিম বুকুত।^৫

সমান সতিনীৰ পো।

ঘুমটি নাহে মোৰ।।

সতিনীৰ পোৱে নোবোলে আই

সেই অপমানে মৰিব যায়।^৮

সেইদৰে সতিনীৰ মাজত হোৱা কাজিয়াৰ বৰ্ণনাও বিভিন্ন ফকৰাত পোৱা যায়—

তয়ো মাকৰ জী, ময়ো মাকৰ জী।

তপত ভাতক চেচা কৰো

হেঁচা পোটোকা দি।^৯

সতিনীয়ে সতিনীক শান্তিৰে বাস কৰিবলৈ দিলে শান্তি নাপায়—

আসকা তিতা বাসকা তিতা

আৰু তিতা নিম পাত,

তাত থাকিয়া অধিক তিতা

দুই সতিনীৰে ভাত।^{১০}

গাভৰু ছোৱালীৰ জীৱন চিত্ৰণক লৈ সমাজত বিবিধ ফকৰা যোজনা প্ৰচলিত।
এখন ঘৰৰ সৌন্দৰ্য বৃদ্ধি গাভৰু ছোৱালীহে কৰে। নদন-বদন ঘৰখনৰ পৰা যেতিয়া
জীয়ৰী ছোৱালী চিৰদিনৰ বাবে আন এখন ঘৰলৈ বিয়া হৈ ওলাই যায় ঘৰখন যেন উৰুঙা
হৈ পৰে—

আগফালে শূৱনি কাকিনী তামোল, পিছফালে শূৱনি পাণ,

বৰঘৰ শূৱনি জীয়ৰী ছোৱালী, উলিয়াই দিবলৈ টান।^{১১}

নাৰী সদায় সৌন্দৰ্য সচেতন। প্ৰতিগৰাকী নাৰীৰে অলংকাৰৰ প্ৰতি থকা আকৰ্ষণ
লক্ষণীয়—

আলসুৱা তিৰী, গাত নাই চিৰি

জোটা জোটে পিন্ধি যায় পিতলৰ বিৰি।^{১২}

নাৰীয়ে যিদৰে নিজকে সজাই-পৰাই ভাল পায় সেইদৰে অপ্ৰয়োজনীয়
সামগ্ৰীকো সদ ব্যৱহাৰ কৰি উপযোগী কৰি তুলিব পাৰে—

কাজীয়ে পালে কৰে দহিকটাকো কাণি

অকাজীয়ে পালে কৰে মূলৰো হানি।^{১৩}

অৱশ্যে এনে নাৰীও সমাজত উপলব্ধ—

কাজ নহা তিৰী

বেৰায় বাৰী বাৰী।^{১৪}

গাভৰু কালেই অতি উত্তম। কাৰণ সাংসাৰিক জীৱনত ভৰি দিয়াৰ লগে
লগেই সমস্যা যন্ত্ৰণাই নাৰীগৰাকীক আৱৰি ধৰে। সেয়ে গাভৰু জীৱনটো ভালদৰে
উপভোগ কৰিব লাগে—

খা খা ছোৱালী আইৰ ঘৰত থাকোঁতেই

শো শো ছোৱালী নৌ পো জী হওঁতেই।^{১৫}

খোপা নাৰীৰ এক সৌন্দৰ্যৰ অঙ্গ। ধুনীয়াকৈ খোপা বান্ধিব জনাটোও এক গুণ। খোপাৰ সৌন্দৰ্য বঢ়াবৰ বাবে কেনেদৰে ধুনীয়া ফুল বা বস্তু গুজিব পাৰি, তাৰ প্ৰতি সৰুৰে পৰাই নাৰীৰ আগ্ৰহ দেখা যায়—

খোপা সৰু খোপা ডাঙৰ

খোপাতে মৰুৱা

খোপা দেখি মোহ গ'ল,

হাজাৰী বৰুৱা।

তিনিডাল চুলি, তাকে বান্ধে তুলি

পৈয়েকে ভাল দেখক বুলি।^{১৬}

নাৰীৰ চাৰিত্ৰিক দিশৰ ক্ষেত্ৰতো বহু ফকৰা সমাজত প্ৰচলিত। বিবাহৰ বাবে নাৰীৰ লক্ষণ সন্দৰ্ভত, ফকৰাবোৰ হ'ল—

ছোৱালী আনিবা মাক ভাল

মাটি কিনিবা মাজ খাল।

জুহাল নষ্ট কৰে জেওৰাৰ খৰি।

ঘৰ নষ্ট কৰে ডকৰীয়া বুঢ়ী।

টোপনি চিকুনি পুৱা, কটাৰী চিকুন গুৱা।

জকাই বাওঁতে ছোৱালী চাবা দেখি কেনেকুৱা।

চামনী তিৰোতা নানিবা ঘৰক।

ঘৰখন ভাঙি কৰে লৰক- ফৰক।^{১৭}

জীয়ৰীক জোঁৱায়েকৰ হাতত গতাই দিয়াৰ পিছত পিতৃ-মাতৃয়ে সদায় সুখেৰে থকাটোৱেই কামনা কৰে। সেয়ে জোঁৱাই সম্পৰ্কীয় বহু ফকৰা সমাজত জনপ্ৰিয়—

জীৰ সম্বন্ধে জোঁৱাই।

পোৰ সম্বন্ধে বোৱাৰী।।

জী তুলিলো, জোঁৱাইৰ বুকুত।

পো তুলিলো, বোৱাৰী বুকুত।

জীয়েক যাওঁক বা জোৱায়েও যাওঁক

পো বোৱাৰী মাথোন ঘৰখন হওঁক।^{১৮}

ছোৱালী এগৰাকীক বিয়া দিয়াৰ পিছত স্বাভাৱিকতে পিতৃ- মাতৃৰ ঘৰখনৰ
লগত ক্ৰমান্বয়ে সম্বন্ধবোৰ শিঠিল হৈ পৰে। সেয়ে কয়—

জোঁৱায়ে নিলেও নিয়া। যমে নিলেও নিয়া।
জীৰ সম্বন্ধ জোঁৱাই। পোৰ সম্বন্ধে বোৱাৰী।

জী ভালেই জোঁৱাই ভাল।^{১৯}

আপোন ভালেই জগত ভাল।

সমাজৰ দৃষ্টিত নাৰীক বেছি মৰম কৰিলে আঁসে পায়—
তিৰীক নামাতিবা মিতে।
বাঁহখৰি নিদিবা চিতে।।

তিৰীৰ আগত ক'বা
গুৰুৱে বাৰছে মানা
যেই পুৰুষে কয় বাথা
দুয়ো চকু কানা।^{২০}

পুৰুষ প্ৰধান সমাজত বহু সময়ত নাৰীক বিশ্বাসৰ যোগ্য বুলি ভবা।
তিৰী লতা তিৰী পাতা
তিৰীক নকৰি সাঁচা কথা।

তিৰোতা গৰাকী যদি সুলক্ষণযুক্ত হয়, পুৰুষৰ ভাগ্য উদয় কৰে বুলিও বিশ্বাস
কৰা হয়—

তিৰোতাৰ কপালে ধন,
পুৰুষৰ কপালে জন।

তিৰী হন্তে গিৰী
তিৰী হন্তে হতচিৰী

তিৰোতাৰ কপালে ধন
পুৰুষৰ কপালে জন।^{২১}

তিৰোতাক নিজৰ নিয়ন্ত্ৰণত ৰাখিবৰ বাবে মাজে সময়ে হেনো মাৰ-কিলৰ
প্ৰয়োজন হয়—

মাহেকে পষেকে দিবা তাও
তেহে দেখিবা তিৰীৰ ভাও।^{২২}

আকৌ এইখন সমাজতেই তিৰোতাৰ অবিহনে সংসাৰ নচলে বুলিও বিশ্বাস কৰে—

তিৰিয়ে পুৰুষে হৈবা এক মতি।
তেবেসে সিজিব হৰিত ভকতি।

ঘৰৰ ঘৈণী, ল'ৰাৰ মাক,
তোমাক নুসুখি সুখিম কাক।
তিৰী হন্তে গিৰী, তিৰী হন্তে হতচৰি।^{১০}

লোকসাহিত্যৰ ফকৰা যোজনা বেছি সংখ্যকেই নাৰীকেন্দ্ৰিক আৰু নাৰী সমাজতো এই ফকৰাসমূহ অধিক প্ৰচলিত। জীয়ৰী জীৱন, গাৰ্হস্থ্য জীৱন, মাতৃ জীৱন, সমাজ জীৱন, লোকবিশ্বাস আদিৰে অসমীয়া সমাজখনক প্ৰতিফলিত কৰা ফকৰা যোজনাত নাৰীৰ আধিপত্য লক্ষণীয়। মাতৃ, জীয়ৰী, আইতা, শাহু আদিৰ ৰূপত নাৰীৰ আশা-আকাংক্ষা, দায়িত্ব, অভিজ্ঞতা আদি ফকৰা যোজনাত প্ৰকাশ পায়। ফকৰাত এফালে যদি নাৰীক লখিমী বুলি কোৱা হয় আনফালে স্বাৰ্থপৰ বা ঈৰ্ষাপৰয়ণা বুলিও কটাক্ষ কৰা দেখা যায়।

সামৰণি:

ফকৰা যোজনাত সমাজত নাৰীৰ স্থিতি, বিভিন্ন স্বৰূপ, নাৰীৰ কঠোৰ আৰু কোমল ব্যক্তিত্ব, আদি দিশ প্ৰতিফলিত হয়। বিশেষকৈ ফকৰা যোজনাৰ যেন নাৰীক আত্মবিশ্লেষণৰ বাবে সুবিধা দিয়ে। লিখিত ৰূপত নথকা লোকসাহিত্যৰ এই ফকৰা যোজনাত নাৰীৰ শক্তি দুৰ্বলতাসমূহ প্ৰকাশ পায়।

তাৎপৰ্যপূৰ্ণ দিশ বৰ্তমান দ্ৰুতগতিত হোৱা সংস্কৃতিৰ পৰিৱৰ্তনৰ প্ৰভাৱ অসমীয়া সমাজৰ ফকৰা যোজনাতো পৰিছে। কাৰণ বিশ্বায়ণৰ ফলত পৰম্পৰাভাৱে প্ৰচলিত হৈ অহা অসমীয়া কৃষ্টি-সংস্কৃতি বৰ্তমান কিছু স্তান হ'বলৈ ধৰিছে। লোকসাহিত্যৰ অঙ্গ বিয়া নাম, আই নামৰ দৰে ফকৰা যোজনাৰো সাম্প্ৰতিক সমাজৰ পৰা হেৰাই যোৱাৰ দৰে উপদ্ৰৱ হৈছে। ইয়াৰ কাৰণ নৱ প্ৰজন্মৰ মাজত ইয়াৰ চৰ্চাৰ অভাৱ আৰু স্পৃহাহীনতা। সেয়ে প্ৰাচীন আৰু ভাৱগধুৰ ফকৰা যোজনাৰ অস্তিত্ব যাতে হেৰাই নাযায় তাৰ প্ৰতি সচেতন হোৱা উচিত কাৰণ পৰম্পৰাক পাহৰি নতুনত্বক আদৰি লোৱা ৰূপান্তৰ কেতিয়াও ইতিবাচক হ'ব নোৱাৰে। শেষত আশা কৰা হ'ল অসমীয়া সমাজৰ পৰম্পৰাগত ফকৰা যোজনাসমূহ অক্ষুণ্ণ ৰাখিবৰ বাবে প্ৰতিগৰাকী ব্যক্তিয়েই সচেতন হওঁক।♦

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২. ভট্টাচার্য, বসন্ত কুমাৰ: অসমীয়া লোকগীত সমীক্ষা, পৃ. ৬
৩. গোস্বামী, প্ৰফুল্ল দত্ত: অসমীয়া জন সাহিত্য, পৃ. ৪
৪. শৰ্মা, সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাথ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ২২
৫. শৰ্মা, শশী: অসমৰ লোকসাহিত্য, পৃ. ২৭২
৬. গোস্বামী, যতীন্দ্ৰ নাথ: অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ চমু বুৰঞ্জী, পৃ. ২৮
৭. শৰ্মা, শশী: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ১১৮
৮. তদেব: পৃ. ১১৯
৯. গোস্বামী, যতীন্দ্ৰ নাথ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ২৯
১০. শৰ্মা, নবীন চন্দ্ৰ: জনকৃষ্টিৰ ৰূপৰেখা, পৃ. ২৬
১১. তদেব : পৃ. ২৯
১২. গোস্বামী, যতীন্দ্ৰ নাথ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ৪৬
১৩. তালুকদাৰ, ৰামকৃষ্ণ: সহস্ৰাধিক ফকৰা যোজনা আৰু পটন্তৰ, পৃ. ২৩
১৪. নাথ, ভৰত চন্দ্ৰ: অসমীয়া ফকৰা যোজনা আৰু জতুৰা ঠাঁচৰ ওপৰত অৰ্থ কোষ, পৃ. ১২
১৫. তালুকদাৰ, ৰামকৃষ্ণ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ২০
১৬. তদেব: পৃ. ১৫
১৭. শৰ্মা, সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাথ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ২৩
১৮. বৰপূজাৰী বৰঠাকুৰ, জিতাঞ্জলি (সম্পা): প্ৰবন্ধ সঞ্চয়ন, পৃ. ২৫
১৯. বৰুৱা, বিৰিঞ্চি কুমাৰ: অসমৰ লোকসংস্কৃতি, পৃ. ২৬
২০. তালুকদাৰ, ৰামকৃষ্ণ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ২০
২১. বৰুৱা, বিৰিঞ্চি কুমাৰ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ১২
২২. গোস্বামী, যতীন্দ্ৰনাথ: প্ৰাঃ উঃ গ্ৰঃ, পৃ. ১৮
২৩. তদেব, পৃ. ২০

প্ৰসংগ পুথি:

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- ২। নেওগ, হৰিপ্ৰসাদ আৰু গগৈ, লীলা (সম্পা.): অসমীয়া সংস্কৃতি, বনলতা প্ৰকাশন, গুৱাহাটী-১, ২০০৩
- ৩। শৰ্মা, নবীন চন্দ্ৰ: ডাক প্ৰবচন আৰু ডাক পৰম্পৰা, জ্যোতি প্ৰকাশন, গুৱাহাটী-১, ২০০৫
- ৪। শৰ্মা, নবীন চন্দ্ৰ (মু.সম্পা.) আৰু হাকাচাম, উপেন ৰাভা: অসমীয়া লোকসাহিত্যৰ বুৰঞ্জী, যাদৱ চন্দ্ৰ শৰ্মা, অসম সাহিত্য সভা, যোৰহাট-১
- ৫। শৰ্মা, শশী: অসমৰ লোকসাহিত্য, ষ্টুডেণ্ট ষ্টৰচ, গুৱাহাটী-১, ১৯৯৩
- ৬। শৰ্মা, সত্যেন্দ্ৰনাথ: অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ সমীক্ষাত্মক ইতিবৃত্ত, সৌমাৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী-৪, ২০১৭

Indigenous Techniques used in Post-War Assamese Drama of 1980s : A Study

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Abstract: *In the parlance of modern Assamese Drama post-war period is the age of transformation. Theme, technique and language of drama changed a lot where contemporary life, events and incidents got reflected. Assamese play writers were much influenced by the western dramatists. Their realism and various experiments with language and technique found way into Assamese plays, which is seen in Jyoti Prasad's "Lovita" play. The play bears the signature of Second World War and freedom struggle of India. Then in 1980s indigenous art-forms, technique and style crept into Assamese plays. The sutradhar in Ankiyaa naat, oja in Ojapali, string-puller in puppet dance, naagara naam, kushangaan provided resources for composing drama. Many play-wrights composed their plays by applying these techniques of ancient and medieval dramas. Kurwbai pare rao by Phani Talukdar, Shram by Ramani Baman, More Maluak Kone Marile (Who killed my Maluwa) by Liyakat Ali, Kaham by Sitanath Lahakar, Pana gaonor tupat enisha by Baharul Islam are some of the plays that bear testimony of it.*

Keywords: *Dramatic Literature, Second World War, Indigenous art-form, sutradhar, post-war.*

যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগৰ নাটকত থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰ প্ৰয়োগ (আশীৰ দশকৰ বিশেষ উল্লিখনসহ)

অধ্যয়নৰ গুৰুত্ব:

অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যত যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগৰ নাটক বুলিলে সচৰাচৰ যুদ্ধই সৃষ্টি কৰা পৰিৱেশৰ ওপৰতেই নাটক যে ৰচিত হৈছিল সেই কথা নহয় বৰঞ্চ সেই সময়ৰ নাট্যকাৰসকলে থলুৱা লোক নাট্য অনুষ্ঠানবোৰৰো সহায় লৈছিল। লোক নাট্য অনুষ্ঠানৰ কলা-কৌশলবোৰ নাটকৰ পৰিৱেশৰ লগত খাপ খুৱাই নাটক ৰচনা কৰা দেখা গৈছিল বিশেষকৈ আশীৰ দশকত।

বিষয় প্ৰৱেশ:

অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগটো হৈছে পৰিবৰ্তনৰ যুগ। দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ পাছত অসমীয়া নাটকৰ বিষয়বস্তু, ভাৱচিন্তা, নাট্য প্ৰণালী আদি বিভিন্ন দিশত পৰিবৰ্তন হোৱা দেখা গৈছে। সমাজ জীৱনৰ অন্যান্য দিশৰ দৰে নাটক ৰচনা আৰু অভিনয়ৰ বেলিকাও দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ বিভীষিকাই প্ৰচুৰ পৰিবৰ্তন আনে। যুদ্ধৰ পাছত বিশেষকৈ নাট্য ৰচনা আৰু অভিনয় নতুনকৈ ঠন ধৰি উঠে।^১ সঁচা অৰ্থত ক'বলৈ গ'লে পৰিৱেশ যেতিয়া সলনি হয় তেতিয়া নাটকৰ ৰূপ আৰু বিষয়বস্তু নিৰ্ভৰ কৰে দৰ্শকৰ ওপৰত। সামাজিক, ৰাজনৈতিক, অৰ্থনৈতিক ঘটনাসমূহে পাঠক সমাজৰ ওপৰত যথেষ্ট প্ৰভাৱ পেলোৱা দেখা যায়। যুদ্ধৰ ধ্বংস লীলা, জাপানী বোমা বিস্ফোৰণ, সাম্প্ৰদায়িক অশান্তি, গান্ধীজীৰ হত্যা আদি ঘটনাবিলাকে লেখক আৰু পঢ়ুৱৈৰ মনত গভীৰ ৰেখাপাত কৰে।^২ দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ পৰিৱেশে অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যত খলকনি লগোৱাৰ পাছত পাশ্চাত্য সাহিত্যৰ বহুতো লেখকৰ প্ৰভাৱে অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ নাট্যকাৰসকলক স্পৰ্শ কৰিলেহি। ইয়াৰ ফলত পূৰ্বতকৈ বহুতো ব্যতিক্ৰমধৰ্মী নাটক ৰচনা হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। হেনৰিক ইবছেন, বাৰ্গাড শ্ব', গলছৱাৰ্থি আদি বাস্তৱধৰ্মী নাট্যকাৰসকলৰ লেখনিয়ে অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যক প্ৰভাৱান্বিত কৰিবলৈ ধৰিলে। নাটকৰ দীঘলীয়া অংক পৰিহাৰ কৰি চুটি অংকত নাটক ৰচিত হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। শ্বেইক্সপীয়েৰৰ পঞ্চমাংক নাটকৰ ঠাইত দুই-তিনি অংকলৈ নাটক সংকুচিত কৰা হ'ল। লোমহৰ্ষক ঘটনা, লম্ফ-জম্ফ, স্বগতোক্তি অলংকাৰ সমৃদ্ধ সংলাপৰ ঠাইত যুক্তিবাদী গতিশীল সংলাপ নাটকৰ অপৰিপূৰ্ণ অংগ হৈ পৰিল।^৩ এই সময়ছোৱাত নাট্যকাৰসকলে মুকলিমুৰীয়াকৈ নাটক লিখিবৰ বাবে নতুন পথো বিচাৰি পালে। লগতে এওঁলোকৰ দ্বাৰা ৰচিত নাটকবোৰে পাঠকৰ সমাদৰো লাভ কৰা দেখা গ'ল। এই নাট্যকাৰসকলে বাস্তৱবাদী দৃষ্টিভংগীৰে নাটক ৰচনা কৰিছিল। এই ক্ষেত্ৰৰ উল্লেখযোগ্য

নাট্যসমূহ হৈছে প্ৰবীন ফুকনৰ *শতিকাৰ বান*, *বিশ্বৰূপা*, সাৰদা বৰদলৈৰ পহিলা তাৰিখ, *সেই বাটেদি*, অভয় ডেকাৰ গৰাখহনীয়া, ফেহুঁজালি, *অমৰেন্দ্ৰ পাঠকৰ ইণ্টাৰভিউ*, *প্ৰতিকাৰ*, সৰ্বেশ্বৰ চক্ৰৱৰ্তীৰ অভিমান, কংকন, সত্যপ্ৰসাদ বৰুৱাৰ শিখা, জ্যোতিৰেখা, মৃণালমাহী, জৱালা, অনিল চৌধুৰীৰ প্ৰতিবাদ, গিৰিশ চৌধুৰীৰ মিনা বজাৰ, প্ৰফুল্ল বৰুৱাৰ আশাৰ বালিচৰ, দুৰ্গেশ্বৰ বৰঠাকুৰৰ চাকৈ-চকোৱা, পৰাগ চলিহাৰ সোণ ৰূপ নেওচি আদি। এই নাট্যসমূহত সমাজৰ বিভিন্ন সমস্যা, পাৰিবাৰিক জৰন সংকট, চলিত উৰলি যোৱা সামাজিক ব্যৱস্থাৰ বিৰুদ্ধে বিদ্ৰোহ, শ্ৰেণী সংগ্ৰাম, মধ্যবিত্ত শ্ৰেণীৰ আশা-আকাংক্ষা, সাম্প্ৰদায়িক আৰু পৰ্বত-ভৈয়ামৰ সম্প্ৰীতি আদি সমস্যা নাটকৰ মাজেদি ব্যক্ত কৰা হৈছে।^৪ ইয়াৰ পাছৰ নাট্যসমূহত ব্যক্তি স্বতন্ত্ৰতা, অস্পৃশ্যতাৰ দৃশ্যও কিছু দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়। জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাৰ *কাৰেঙৰ লিগিৰি*, অতুল চন্দ্ৰ হাজৰিকাৰ *কল্যাণী*, বীণা বৰুৱাৰ *এবেলাৰ নাট* আদি এই সময়ছোৱাৰ উল্লেখযোগ্য নাটক।

ভাৰতীয় স্বাধীনতা সংগ্ৰাম আৰু দ্বিতীয় মহাযুদ্ধৰ প্ৰভাৱে যে অসমীয়া সমাজক স্পৰ্শ কৰিছিল তাৰ প্ৰমাণ জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাৰ নাটক *লভিতা*। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত লভিতা নাটকখনে উৎকৃষ্টতাৰ প্ৰমাণ দাঙি ধৰিছে। ইয়াৰ উপৰি জ্যোতিপ্ৰসাদ আগৰৱালাৰ *খনিকৰ*, অনিল চৌধুৰীৰ *চিৰন্তন*, সাৰদা বৰদলৈৰ *পহিলা তাৰিখ*, *মগৰীবৰ আজান*, সত্যপ্ৰসাদ বৰুৱাৰ *নায়িকা নাট্যকাৰ* আদিও গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ নাটক।^৫

অসমীয়া নাট্যকাৰসকলেও ইয়াতে সন্তুষ্ট নাথাকি জাৰ্মানীৰ ব্ৰাটল্ট ব্ৰেখট, ফাশ্বৰ চেমুৱেল বেকেট, ইউজিন আয়নেক্স, ইটালীৰ পিৰানডেলু আদি নাট্যকাৰসকলৰ নাট্য ৰীতি আয়ত্বাধীন কৰিবলৈ যত্ন কৰিলে।^৬ চেমুৱেল বেকেট, জাঁ পল ছাৰ্ত্ৰে আদি নাট্যকাৰ সমূহৰ নাটকৰ প্ৰভাৱে অসমীয়া যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগৰ নাট্যকাৰৰ নাটকত পৰিবলৈ ধৰিলে। এনে নাট্যসমূহ হৈছে অৰুণ শৰ্মাৰ *আহাৰ*, *নিবাৰণ* ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য, বসন্ত শইকীয়াৰ *মুগতুষণ*, মানুহ আৰু অসুৰ, মুনীন শৰ্মাৰ সভ্যতাৰ সংকট, প্ৰফুল্ল বৰাৰ *শতিকাৰ বান* আদি। ইয়াৰ উপৰি অন্য কেইজনমান লেখকে অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগৰ নাটকলৈ বিশেষভাৱে অৱদান আগবঢ়াইছে। তেওঁলোকৰ নাট্যসমূহ হ'ল- হিমেন্দ্ৰ বৰঠাকুৰৰ জন্ম, প্ৰফুল্ল বৰাৰ সূৰ্যস্নান, অতুল বৰদলৈৰ বৃক্ষৰ খোজ, অৰূপ চক্ৰৱৰ্তীৰ আগমণি, ৰাম গোস্বামীৰ জন্মবৃত্ত, অৰুণ শৰ্মাৰ কুকুৰ নেচীয়া মানুহ, বুৰঞ্জীপাঠ, চিঞৰ, ৰত্ন ওজাৰ প্ৰলাপ, জোনাকীৰ জুই আদি এই নাট্যসমূহ কোনো বিশেষ ৰীতিৰ শ্ৰেণীভুক্ত নহ'লেও উল্লেখযোগ্য নাটক। ঐতিহাসিক ভাৱধাৰাৰ নাটকো যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগত ৰচিত হৈছে। প্ৰবীণ ফুকনৰ মণিৰাম দেৱান প্ৰফুল্ল বৰুৱাৰ পিয়লি ফুকন, আব্দুল মজিদৰ ৰাজদ্রোহী, সুৰেণ শইকীয়াৰ কুশল কোঁৱৰ, উত্তৰ বৰুৱাৰ জেৰেঙাৰ সতী, বৰ মানুহৰ দোলা, দ্বিজেন্দ্ৰ মোহন গোস্বামীৰ স্বৰ্গদেউ ৰুদ্ৰসিংহ আদি ঐতিহাসিক ঘটনাৰ লগত জড়িত নাটক।

যুদ্ধোত্তৰ যুগৰ আশীৰ দশকটো অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ বাবে এক উল্লেখনীয়

দশক। কাৰণ অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ বৰ্তমান যিটো গতি সেই গতিধাৰাই এই দশকত এটা নতুন ৰূপ লৈছে। এই সময়ত থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰে নাট্যকাৰসকলে নাটক ৰচনা কৰিবলৈ ল'লে। অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰ, ওজাপালিৰ ওজা, পালি, পুতলা নাচৰ সূত্ৰধাৰ, ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া, খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া, কুশান গান, নাগাৰা নাম, থিয়নাম, দিহনাম আদিৰ সমল আহৰণ কৰি আশীৰ দশকত নাট্যকাৰসকলে নাটক ৰচনা কৰিবলৈ ধৰিলে। আজিৰ পৰা ছশ বছৰৰ আগতেই থলুৱা কলাশৈলী শঙ্কৰদেৱে পোনতে অংকীয়া নাটত অৱতাৰণা কৰিছিল।^৭ এনে থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰে ৰচিত নাটক পুনৰ আধুনিক যুগৰ নাটকৰ ধাৰাত আশীৰ দশকত ৰচিত হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। থলুৱা কলাশৈলী অৰ্থাৎ লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠানৰ পৰা বহুতো সমল অসমীয়া নাটকে আহৰণ কৰিবলৈ ধৰিলে আৰু তাৰ ভিত্তিত নাটক ৰচিত হ'বলৈ ধৰিলে। থলুৱা কলাশৈলীযুক্ত নাটকবোৰত পঢ়ুৱৈ সমাজে অন্য এটি সোৱাদো বিচাৰি পালে। সেইবাবে থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰ ৰচিত নাটকবোৰে আশীৰ দশকত বিশেষ জনপ্ৰিয়তা অৰ্জন কৰিছিল।

অংকীয়া নাটৰ সমলেৰে সমৃদ্ধ হোৱা বহুখিনি নাটক আশীৰ দশকটোত পোৱা যায়। এইবোৰ নাটকে সফলতাৰ মুখো দেখা পাইছে। এনে ক্ষেত্ৰত অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰ, গায়ন-বায়ন আদি চৰিত্ৰৰ বহিঃপ্ৰকাশ ঘটা দেখা যায় আশীৰ দশকৰ নাটকত। সূত্ৰধাৰ চৰিত্ৰটি হৈছে অংকীয়া নাটৰ যোগাযোগকাৰী চৰিত্ৰ। আধুনিক অসমীয়া বহুতো নাটকত সূত্ৰধাৰৰ চৰিত্ৰ অনুসৰণ কৰা দেখা যায় যোগাযোগকাৰী ৰূপে সূত্ৰধাৰে নাট্যক্ৰিয়াত পোনপটীয়াকৈ অংশ গ্ৰহণ নকৰে। নাটকখনৰ ব্যাখ্যা আৰু বিশ্লেষণহে আগবঢ়ায়। অথচ অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰক এটা চৰিত্ৰ বুলিয়ে ধৰা হয়।^৮ চৰিত্ৰ হিচাপে সূত্ৰধাৰক ধৰা হয় যদিও অংকীয়া নাটত সূত্ৰধাৰৰ ভূমিকা অন্য চৰিত্ৰতকৈ বেলেগ। অংকীয়া নাটত সূত্ৰধাৰৰ ভূমিকা হৈছে আদিৰ পৰা অন্তলৈ তেওঁ ভাওনা মঞ্চত থাকিব লাগে আৰু নাটৰ বিষয়ে বৰ্ণনা আগবঢ়াব লাগে। অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰজনক একাধাৰে গায়ক, নৰ্তক, অভিনেতা, নাটৰ সুপৰিচালক বুলিও ক'ব পাৰি। অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰে প্ৰকৃততে দৰ্শকক সম্বোধন কৰে আৰু নাটৰ কাহিনী, চৰিত্ৰ, নাট্যক্ৰিয়াৰ সময়, স্থান আদি কথাৰ ঘোষণা আগবঢ়ায়, লগতে নাটৰ আৰম্ভণিৰ পৰা শেষলৈ উপস্থিত থাকে আৰু কৰণীয় কৰ্মখিনি কৰে। সূত্ৰধাৰে নাটকখনত গধুৰ দায়িত্ব পালন কৰাৰ উপৰিও বিভিন্ন নৃত্যাভিনয়ৰে শ্লোক গায়। গায়ন-বায়নৰ লগত সংগতি ৰাখি হাত-ভৰি অংগী-ভংগীৰে দৰ্শকক নাটৰ বিষয়ে অৱগত কৰে। মুঠতে স্পষ্টকৈ ক'ব পাৰি যে সূত্ৰধাৰ অবিহনে অংকীয়া নাট শূন্য। সূত্ৰধাৰেই নাটৰ আৰম্ভণি কৰে আৰু যৱনিকাও পেলায়। মুক্তি মঙ্গল ভটিমাৰ যোগেদি নাটৰ পৰিসমাপ্তি ঘটায়।^৯ অসমৰ নাট্যজগতত সম্প্ৰতি ভালেকেইজন নাট্যকাৰে থলুৱা লোকনাট্যৰ লগতে অংকীয়া নাটৰ পৰাও সমল আহৰণ কৰি নাট ৰচনা কৰিছে আৰু মঞ্চস্থ কৰিছে। এনেকে সূত্ৰধাৰ বা সূত্ৰধাৰৰ দৰে চৰিত্ৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিও নাটক ৰচনা কৰিছে। এইদৰে অংকীয়া নাটৰ সৈতে আধুনিক নাটকৰ হেৰোৱা যোগসূত্ৰ স্থাপিত হৈছে।^{১০}

অংকীয়া নাটৰ সমলৰ ভিত্তিত ৰচিত উল্লেখযোগ্য নাটক হৈছে যুগল দাসৰ বায়নৰ খোল। এই নাটকখন আশীৰ দশকত ৰচিত নাটক। যুগল দাসৰ বায়নৰ খোলৰ জৰিয়তে এই নতুন ধাৰাৰ শুভাৰম্ভ হয়।^{১১} অসমৰ পৰম্পৰাগত কলা-সংস্কৃতিক বাদ দি বিজতৰীয়া কলা-সংস্কৃতি গ্ৰহণ আৰু এই বিজতৰীয়া কলা-সংস্কৃতিক নাশ কৰি দেশীয় সংস্কৃতিৰে বীজ ৰোপন কৰাৰ বাবে যি যত্ন তাৰেই ফলশ্ৰুতি বায়নৰ খোল। এইক্ষেত্ৰত গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ ভূমিকা লোৱা দেখা গৈছে নাটকৰ মূল চৰিত্ৰ 'বায়ন'ক। খোলটোৱেই যেন বায়নৰ জীৱন আৰু শঙ্কৰী কলা-সংস্কৃতি আপোন ভাবি জীয়াই আছে তাৰেই আত্মপ্ৰকাশ ঘটাইছে বায়নৰ খোলত। অখিল চক্ৰৱৰ্তীৰ এজন ৰজা আছিল নাটকত অংকীয়া ভাওনাৰ ৰীতি গ্ৰহণ কৰা হৈছে। নাটকখনত অত্যাচাৰী আৰু স্বেচ্ছাচাৰী শাসকৰ পতনৰ কথা দেখুওৱা হৈছে।^{১২} নাটকখনত পুত্ৰৰ দ্বাৰা পিতৃৰ পতন ঘটোৱা কথাত অৱতাৰণা কৰা দেখা গৈছে। সূত্ৰধাৰী নৃত্যৰে আৰম্ভ হৈছে নাটকখন আৰু সংগীৰ লগত কথোপকথনৰ দৃশ্যও তেনে ধৰণৰ আৰু মনকৰিবলগীয়া। বসন্ত শইকীয়াৰ ভঙুৱা ৰজাৰ কাহিনী অংকীয়া নাটৰ আৰ্হিত ৰচিত নাটক। নাটকখনত ভঙুৱা ৰজাৰ দ্বাৰা দেশৰ প্ৰজাৰ নগুৰ নাকতি হোৱা আৰু ৰাজকাৰ্য্য পৰিচালনা কৰিব নোৱাৰা পৰিৱেশৰ দৃশ্য দাঙি ধৰা হৈছে। নাটকখনত অংকীয়া নাটৰ কেইবাটাও বৈশিষ্ট্য যেনে- সূত্ৰধাৰ, গায়ন-বায়ন, গীত, ভটিমা আদি ৰক্ষা কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰা হৈছে।^{১৩} গুণাকৰ দেৱগোস্বামীক *বীৰাংগনা* আৰু *জেৰেঙা* নামৰ নাটক দুখন অংকীয়া নাটৰ শৈলীৰে ৰচিত। বীৰাংগনা নাটকখন মূলাগাভৰুৰ বীৰত্ব; সাহস দেশ প্ৰেম আদিৰ আধাৰত ৰচিত হ'লেও নাটকখনত গায়ন-বায়ন সূত্ৰধাৰ আদি চৰিত্ৰৰ সমাৱেশ ঘটা দেখা গৈছে। অংকীয়া নাটৰ থলুৱা শৈলী প্ৰয়োগ কৰা দেখা গৈছে জেৰেঙা নাটকখনত। ইয়াত জয়মতী কুঁৱৰীৰ মহান ত্যাগ, স্বামীভক্তি, মানসিক অশান্তিৰ কথা ব্যক্ত কৰিছে। ইয়াতো গায়ন-বায়নৰ দৰে চৰিত্ৰ প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হৈছে। আনন্দ মোহন ভাগৱতীৰ জতুগৃহ নাটকত অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰ চৰিত্ৰৰ প্ৰয়োগ দেখা গৈছে। অৰূপ চক্ৰৱৰ্তীৰ আগমণি নাটকত কালুৰ চৰিত্ৰৰ যোগেদি নাটকৰ বিষয়বস্তু পৰিবেশন কৰা হৈছে। কালু নাটকখনৰ কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰিত্ৰ। প্ৰাচীন নাট্যকাৰ সত্যপ্ৰসাদ বৰুৱাৰ *জবাল* আৰু *মৃণাল মাহী* নাটকত ৰূপলাল আৰু দীপকৰ চৰিত্ৰ দুটা নাটকৰ কাহিনীৰ কেৱল অন্তৰংগ চৰিত্ৰই নহয়, নাট্যকাৰে এই চৰিত্ৰ দুটাক কথক বা সূত্ৰধাৰ ৰূপেও ব্যৱহাৰ কৰিছে। ৰাম গোস্বামীৰ পলাশৰ ৰং নাটকত জয়ন্ত কাহিনীৰ তেনে ধৰণৰ কথক আৰু অবিচ্ছেদ্য চৰিত্ৰ। আলি হাইদৰৰ এখন নিলাজ মানুহৰ দেশ নাটকত সংগীতা আৰু অখিল চক্ৰৱৰ্তীৰ উত্তৰ পুৰুষ নাটকৰ যুৱক-যুৱতীহালে ঘোষক বা সূত্ৰধাৰৰ কাৰ্য্য সম্পাদন কৰিছে।^{১৪} ইয়াৰ উপৰি জগদীশ পাটগিৰীৰ অজগৰ, আলি হাইদৰৰ যুগ সন্ধিক্ষণৰ কাব্য, নৈশ যুদ্ধ, ধুমুহা পখীৰ নীড় আদি নাটকত অংকীয়া নাট্য ৰীতিৰ প্ৰয়োগ হৈছে। অৰূণ শৰ্মাৰ পুৰুষ নাটকত ফুটুকি চৰিত্ৰই নাটকৰ সূত্ৰধাৰৰ দৰে সমস্ত ঘটনা আগবঢ়াই নিছে।

অসমৰ জনপ্ৰিয় লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠান হৈছে ওজাপালি। অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্য ধাৰালৈ লক্ষ্য কৰিলে দেখা যায় যে আশীৰ দশকৰ আধুনিক নাটকত ওজাপালিৰ ওজা, পালি আদি চৰিত্ৰৰ সমাহাৰেৰে বহুতো নাটক ৰচিত হৈছে। ওজাপালি হৈছে প্ৰাচীন লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠান। ওজাপালিক জনসমাজত লোক কাহিনীৰ জ্ঞান দিয়াৰ মাধ্যম আছিল বুলি ক'ব পাৰি। ওজাপালিত ওজাই পালিৰ সহযোগত নৃত্য-গীতৰ যোগেদি একোটি আখ্যান ব্যক্ত কৰে। এটা দলত এজন ওজা আৰু পাঁচ-ছয়জন পালি থাকে। বিশেষকৈ ওজাৰ লগত পালিসকলে গীতৰ খুঁটিতাল বজাই গীত গায়। অংকীয়া নাটৰ সূত্ৰধাৰৰ দৰে ওজাপালিৰ ওজাজন গীত-নৃত্যৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত যথেষ্ট সচেতন হোৱা উচিত। বিষয়বস্তু বিৱৰণৰ ক্ষেত্ৰতো তেওঁ পাকৈত হ'ব লাগে। পালিসকলৰ ভিতৰত মুখ্য পালি থাকে। যাক ডাইনাপালি বুলি কোৱা হয়। পালিসকলক তেওঁ গুৰি ধৰি যায়। ডাইনাপালিজন সু-ৰসিক হ'ব লাগে। অনুষ্ঠানটিত তেওঁৰ অতিৰিক্ত দায়িত্ব থাকে। সঙ্গীসকলৰ সৈতে পদ দোহাৰি থকাৰ উপৰিও সময়ে সময়ে ওজাৰ সৈতে হোৱা কথোপকথনৰ ছলেৰে তেওঁ গীতৰ আখ্যানভাগ অতি সহজ-সৰলভাৱে ব্যাখ্যা কৰে।^{১৫} ওজাপালিত ওজাৰ লগত সংগতি ৰাখি দৰ্শকক আমোদ দিবলৈ পালিয়ে ৰসাল বক্তব্য আগবঢ়োৱা দেখা যায়। ওজাপালি অনুষ্ঠানক প্ৰধানকৈ তিনিটা ভাগত ভাগ কৰিব পাৰি (১) সুকনামী গোৱা ওজাপালি (২) ব্যাস গোৱা ওজাপালি (৩) ৰামায়ন গোৱা ওজাপালি।^{১৬} সুকবি নাৰায়ণদেৱে ৰচনা কৰা পদ্ম পুৰাণৰ যিবিলাক পদ সেইবিলাক আবৃত্তি কৰা ওজাপালিক সুকনাৰায়নী বা সুকনামী ওজাপালি বোলে। ব্যাসদেৱৰদ্বাৰা ৰচিত মহাভাৰতৰ পদ আবৃত্তি কৰি যি ওজাপালিত নৃত্য-গীত কৰা হয় তাকেই ব্যাস গোৱা ওজাপালি বোলে। আনহাতে ৰামায়ণৰ কথা আৰু সুৰক লৈ ওজাপালিয়ে যি গীত-নৃত্য কৰে তাকে ৰামায়ণী ওজাপালি বোলা হয়। ওজাপালি হৈছে লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠান। জনসাধাৰণৰ আমোদৰ কাৰণেই ই সুপ্ৰচলিত অনুষ্ঠান। গতিকে ওজাপালিৰ ভাৱবীয়াসকলে প্ৰচলিত পৰম্পৰা আদৰ্শ ৰক্ষা কৰি মানৱ আচৰণৰ প্ৰতীকি প্ৰকাশৰ সংযোগত দৰ্শকক পৰম্পৰাগত কাৰ্য্যৱলীৰ প্ৰতি অৱগত কৰাব পৰাতোতেই লোকনাট্যৰ সাৰ্থকতা নিৰ্ভৰ কৰে।^{১৭} থলুৱা লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠান ওজাপালিৰ প্ৰয়োগ হোৱা নাটসমূহৰ ভিতৰত সতীশ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্যৰ *মহাৰাজা* নাটকখন প্ৰধানকৈ উল্লেখ কৰিব পাৰি। প্ৰজা আৰু স্বেচ্ছাচাৰী ৰজাৰ কথা ইয়াত উল্লেখ কৰা হৈছে। নাটকখনত গণতন্ত্ৰৰ দিনতো কেনেকৈ প্ৰজাতন্ত্ৰ স্বেচ্ছাচাৰী শাসনৰ বলি হয় তাক সুন্দৰকৈ দেখুওৱাবলৈ যত্ন কৰা হৈছে। নাট্যকাৰ সতীশ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্যৰ *মহাৰাজা* নাটকত ওজাপালিৰ গীতৰ সুন্দৰ প্ৰয়োগ কৰি বিষয়বস্তু প্ৰকাশত নৈপুণ্য প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰিছে।^{১৮} *মহাৰাজা*ত ওজাপালিক কাহিনীৰ ভাষ্যকাৰ হিচাপে নাট্যকাৰে দেখুৱাইছে। অৰুণ শৰ্মাৰ বুৰঞ্জী পাঠ নাটকৰ মূল বিষয়বস্তু হৈছে স্বেচ্ছাচাৰী শাসন পদ্ধতি। ইয়াত বৈৰাগী চৰিত্ৰই নাটকখনৰ আঁত ধৰি ওজাপালিৰ ভূমিকা পালন পালন কৰা দেখা গৈছে। কৰুণা ডেকা আশীৰ দশকৰ নাট্যকাৰসকলৰ ভিতৰত অন্যতম। তেওঁৰ শূনা শূনা সভাসদ নাটকখনত

ৰাইজৰ প্ৰতিনিধিসকলৰ ব্যক্তিগত স্বার্থৰ সিদ্ধিৰ কথা অৱতাৰণা কৰা হৈছে। ইয়াতো ওজাপালিৰ কৌশল অবলম্বন কৰা হৈছে। গুণাকৰ দেৱগোস্বামীৰ সতী নাটকখন বেউলা লক্ষ্মীন্দৰ নাটকৰ আধাৰত ৰচিত হৈছে। বেউলা লক্ষ্মীন্দাৰক লৈ ৰচনা কৰা কৰুণা ডেকাৰ আন এখন নাটক হৈছে ‘লুইত কন্যা’। এইকেইখন নাটকত ওজাপালিৰ ৰীতি প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হৈছে। ওজাপালিৰ কাহিনীৰ গীতৰ আকাৰত নাটকৰ কাহিনীভাগ আগবঢ়াই নিয়া হৈছে। গুণাকৰ দেৱগোস্বামীৰ ৰত্নাকৰ এখন উল্লেখযোগ্য নাটক। ওজাপালিৰ শৈলীৰে কাহিনী পৰিবেশন কৰা ৰত্নাকৰত ওজাই দৰ্শকক বিষয়বস্তুৰ আভাস দি কাহিনী আগবঢ়াই নিয়াত বিশেষ ভূমিকা পালন কৰিছে।^{১৯} গুণাকৰ দেৱগোস্বামীৰ অভিজ্ঞানমত ওজাপালিৰ আংগিক নামমাত্ৰ পৰা দেখা গৈছে। ৰফিকুল হুছেইনৰ কৌৰৱ পাণ্ডৱ নাটকত ওজাপালিৰ গীতে নতুন তাৎপৰ্য লাভ কৰিছে।^{২০}

আশীৰ দশকৰ অনেক নাটক অসমৰ প্ৰাচীন লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠান ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াক লৈও ৰচনা কৰা দেখা গৈছে। জনসাধাৰণৰ মনোৰঞ্জনৰ কাৰণে ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া অনুষ্ঠান অনুষ্ঠিত কৰা হয়। ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া অনুষ্ঠানক ‘ঢুলীয়া ভাওনা’ বা ‘ঢুলীয়া চাৰ্কাছ’ বুলিও কোৱা হয়। ঢুলীয়া অনুষ্ঠানটোত এটি ঢুলীয়াৰ দল থাকে আৰু এজন ঘাই ঢুলীয়া থাকে। ঢুলীয়া বিলাকে সভা, মেলা, বিয়া-বাৰু আদিত নৃত্য গীতসহ ঢোল বজোৱাৰ উপৰিও চাৰ্কাছ, কুস্তি আদি প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰে।^{২১} ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া দলত ক্ৰমে য়াঠী-সন্তৰজনমান শিল্পী থাকে। তাল বজোৱা, ঢোল বজোৱা, নৃত্য কৰা, কুস্তি কৰা আদি বিভিন্ন সদস্য থাকে। ঘাই ঢুলীয়া, বায়ন ঢুলীয়া, গায়ক, তালুৱৈ, ভাৱৰীয়া, কুস্তি প্ৰদৰ্শনকাৰী আদি বিভিন্ন সদস্যৰে ঢুলীয়া দলটো গঢ়ি উঠে। ঢুলীয়া পাৰিবেশ্য কলা কেৱল ঢোল বাদন, গীত আৰু নৃত্য প্ৰদৰ্শনতেই সীমিত নহয়, নাট্যাভিনয় অৰ্থাৎ চং আৰু নাটক প্ৰদৰ্শন আদিও এই পাৰিবেশ্য কলাৰ পৰিধিয়ে সামৰে।^{২২} অভিনয়ৰ সময়ত কোনো কোনো দলে আৰু বিশেষকৈ বৰঢুলীয়াৰ দলে প্ৰয়োজন অনুসৰি মুখা ব্যৱহাৰ কৰে। ঢুলীয়া ভাওনাত কুস্তি প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰাটোক চাৰ্কাছ বুলি কোৱা হয়। ৰামায়ণ, মহাভাৰতৰ একো একোটা কাহিনীৰ ইয়াত বিৱৰণ দাঙি ধৰা হয়। গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ বিষয় এই যে ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াত ব্যৱহৃত চংবোৰ লিখিত নহয় ই আকস্মিকভাৱে বৰ্ণনা কৰা একোটা বিষয়হে।

খলুৱা কলাশৈলীযুক্ত ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াৰ ৰীতিত ৰচিত নাটক হৈছে কৰুণা ডেকাৰ চং নামৰ নাটকখন। নাটকখন মূলত ৰচিত হৈছে মোহন ভাৱৰীয়া (মোহন চন্দ্ৰ বৰ্মণ) নামৰ ঢোলবাদক জনৰ জীৱনৰ আধাৰত। শিল্পীজনৰ কষ্টজোৰা সাধনৰ প্ৰতিফলন ঘটিছে নাটকখনত।

অসমৰ খলুৱা কলাশৈলী তথা লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠানৰ ভিতৰত অন্যতম এটি অনুষ্ঠান খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া। এই অনুষ্ঠান প্ৰধানতঃ দৰং জিলাত প্ৰচলিত বুলিব পাৰি যদিও কামৰূপ অঞ্চলতো ই বিৰাজমান। খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়া দলটোত কেইবাজনো সদস্য থকা দেখা যায়। তেওঁলোকৰ মূলজনক ওজা অথবা সূত্ৰধাৰ বোলা হয়। তেওঁ হাতত চোঁৱৰ

লৈ অনুষ্ঠান পৰিচালনা কৰে। দলটোৰ আন লোকসকলৰ ভিতৰত থাকে এজন বায়ন, কেইজনমান খুলীয়া, দুজনমান তালী আৰু কেইজনমান ভাৱৰীয়া।^{১৪} খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াত ৰামায়ণ, মহাভাৰত আশ্ৰিত কাহিনী গোৱা হয় আৰু নৃত্য কৰি তাৰ অভিনয় প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰা হয়। ঢুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াৰ দৰে খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াতো চং পৰিবেশন কৰা হয়। চঙৰ অন্যতম উদ্দেশ্য হাস্য কৌতুকৰ সৃষ্টি সাধাৰণতে বহুৱা চৰিত্ৰৰ সংযোগত চং প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰা দেখা যায়।^{১৫} খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াত খোলৰ ব্যৱহাৰ হয়। খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াৰ এনে পৰিবেশন ৰীতিকেই অৱলম্বন কৰি আধুনিক নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ আশীৰ দশকৰ ভালেমান নাট্যকাৰে নাটক ৰচনা কৰা দেখা গৈছে। এনে নাট্যকাৰসকলৰ ভিতৰত উল্লেখযোগ্য পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশীৰ নাঙল মাটি আৰু মানুহ নামৰ নাটকখনত খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াৰ শৈলী প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হৈছে। দৰঙৰ পথৰুঘাটৰ কৃষক বিদ্ৰোহৰ আধাৰত এই নাটকখন ৰচিত হৈছে। নাটকখনত খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াৰ ওজা, গায়ন-বায়ন, সুৰতাল, পদচালন আদিৰ কৌশল দাঙি ধৰা হৈছে। প্ৰতিটো দৃশ্য শেষ হোৱাৰ পাছত খোল ঘাতনেৰে দৃশ্যৰ পাৰ্থক্য সূচিত কৰা, নাটকত বহুৱা ওলাই কৌতুকৰ সৃষ্টি কৰা, নাটকৰ শেষত ওজাৰ বিলাপ গীতে নাটকখনক নিঃসন্দেহে এখন সাৰ্থক লোকনাট্য আধাৰিত নাটকৰ শাৰীত থবলৈ সক্ষম হৈছে। পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশীৰ খুলীয়া ভাৱৰীয়াৰ আধাৰত ৰচিত আন এখন নাটক হৈছে চক্ৰবেহু। মহাভাৰতৰ বিখ্যাত চৰিত্ৰ আৰু কুৰুক্ষেত্ৰ যুদ্ধৰ পাণ্ডৱ সেনাপতি অভিমন্যুক কেন্দ্ৰ কৰি নাটকখন ৰচনা কৰা হৈছে।^{১৬} খুলীয়া ভাউৰীয়া ৰীতি পালন কৰি নাটকখনত খোল ঘাতন মৰা দৃশ্য অৱতাৰণা কৰিছে নাট্যকাৰে। ওজাৰ গীত পদ গোৱা দেখুওৱা হৈছে।

অসমৰ থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰে পৰিপুষ্ট আশীৰ দশকত অনেক নাটক ৰচিত হৈছে। কুশান গান, থিয় নাম, দিহা নাম, নাগাৰা নাম, মহোহো গীত, দেওধনী নৃত্য, বিহুগীত নৃত্য আদিৰ আধাৰত ৰচিত হৈছে আশীৰ দশকৰ অনেক নাটক। পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশীৰ তেজীমলাত পশ্চিম অসমৰ জনপ্ৰিয় লোকনাট্য 'কুশান গান'ৰ শৈলী ব্যৱহাৰ কৰা হৈছে।^{১৭} তেওঁৰেই কমলা কুঁৱৰী নাটকত নাগাৰা নাম, বিয়া নাম, দিহা নাম আৰু নৃত্য-গীতৰ পয়োভৰ দেখিবলৈ পোৱা যায়। ৰাজবংশীৰ অন্য এখন নাটক তিনিটা বান্দৰৰ সাধুত নাগাৰা নামৰ ৰীতি প্ৰয়োগ কৰা হৈছে। সেই অসমৰ বিহুগীতৰ পয়োভৰ থকা অন্য এখন নাটক হৈছে পংকজ জ্যোতি ভূঞাৰ গুটিফুলৰ গামোচা। প্ৰমোদ দাসৰ হনুমান সাগৰ বন্ধা চাউ নাটকখনত বৰপেটা অঞ্চলৰ থিয় নাম আৰু বিয়া নামৰ ৰীতি গ্ৰহণ কৰা দেখা গৈছে।

আশীৰ দশকৰ অনেক নাট্যকাৰে তেওঁলোকৰ নাটকত থলুৱা কলাশৈলী প্ৰয়োগ কৰি জনপ্ৰিয় হোৱা দেখা গৈছে। তেওঁলোকৰ ভিতৰত ফণী তালুকদাৰৰ কুৰুৱাই পাৰে ৰাও, ৰমণী বৰ্মণৰ শ্ৰম, লিয়াকৎ আলিৰ মোৰে মলুৱাক কোনে মাৰিলে, জোনাকে ধোৱা অৰণ্য, বাহাৰুল ইছলামৰ পানা গাঁৱৰ টুপত এনিশা আৰু সীতানাথ লহকৰৰ কহয়

চণ্ডীদাস।^{২৯}

আধুনিক অসমীয়া নাটকে বৰ্তমান কাললৈ কেইবা কুৰি বছৰ গৰকিলে। সময়ে সময়ে বিভিন্ন নাট্য ধাৰা প্ৰবৰ্তন হ'ল। আধুনিক নাট্যধাৰা প্ৰবৰ্তন হ'ল। কিন্তু আধুনিক নাট্য সাহিত্যৰ আশীৰ দশকৰ ধাৰাই যি থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰ পৰিবেশনৰ ৰূপ ল'লে সেইটো বিশেষ উল্লেখনীয়। অসমৰ থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰে পৰিপুষ্ট লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠানসমূহৰ পৰা সমল আহৰণ কৰি বহুখিনি নাটক আৰু নাট্যকাৰে জনপ্ৰিয়তা অৰ্জন কৰিলে। লগতে মঞ্চস্থ কৰা নাটকসমূহো সফলতাৰ শীৰ্ষত অৱতীৰ্ণ হ'ল। পাঠক, দৰ্শক সমাজো এইবোৰ নাটকক আদৰি থলুৱা কলাশৈলীৰ তথা লোকনাট্যৰ প্ৰতি সন্মান প্ৰদৰ্শন কৰা দেখা গ'ল।

সামৰণি:

অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্যত দ্বিতীয় বিশ্ব যুদ্ধৰ পিছত ৰচিত নাটসমূহ যুদ্ধৰ ভয়ানক পৰিৱেশৰ ওপৰত নিৰ্ভৰ কৰি ৰচিত হৈছিল যদিও অসমীয়া নাট্যকাৰসকলে অসমত প্ৰচলিত লোকনাট্য অনুষ্ঠানৰ থলুৱা কলা-শৈলীৰ বিষয়টোৰ ওপৰতো গুৰুত্ব দিয়া দেখা গৈছিল। তেনেধৰণে থলুৱা কলা-শৈলীৰ উপাদান সমূহে আশীৰ দশকৰ নাটসমূহত গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ স্থান পাইছিল বুলিব পাৰি।♦

পাদটীকা:

১. পোনা মহন্ত, নাটক আৰু নাট্যকাৰ, পৃ. ১৪৩, বনলতা, গুৱাহাটী-১৯৮৬
২. পোনা মহন্ত, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ১৪৩
৩. লীলা গগৈ, সম্পা. আধুনিক অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ পৰিচয়, পৃ. ৩৬৮, বনলতা, পাণবজাৰ, গুৱাহাটী, নবেম্বৰ, ২০০২
৪. লীলা গগৈ, সম্পা. উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ৩৬৯
৫. অজিত শইকীয়া, সম্পা. ছশ বছৰৰ অসমীয়া নাটক পৰম্পৰা আৰু পৰিবৰ্তন, পৃ. ৭৯, পথাৰ প্ৰকাশন দুলীয়াজান, ২০০৮
৬. লীলা গগৈ, সম্পা. আধুনিক অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ পৰিচয়, পৃ. ৩৬৯, বনলতা, পাণবজাৰ, গুৱাহাটী, নবেম্বৰ, ২০০২
৭. অজিত শইকীয়া, সম্পা. ছশ বছৰৰ অসমীয়া নাটক পৰম্পৰা আৰু পৰিবৰ্তন, পৃ. ২৩১, পথাৰ প্ৰকাশন দুলীয়াজান, ২০০৮
৮. ভৰ গোস্বামী, সম্পা. স্মৃতিগ্ৰন্থ, বাৰেচহৰীয়া ভাণ্ডা মহোৎসৱ, ২০০৭, পৃ. ৩০
৯. সত্যেন্দ্ৰ নাথ শৰ্মা, অসমীয়া নাট্য সাহিত্য, পৃ. ১২, সৌমাৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী-১৯৬২
১০. ভৰ গোস্বামী, সম্পা. স্মৃতিগ্ৰন্থ, বাৰেচহৰীয়া ভাণ্ডা মহোৎসৱ, ২০০৭, পৃ. ৩৩
১১. শৈলেন ভৰালী, অসমীয়া নাটক স্বৰাজোত্তৰ কাল, পৃ. ৭৫, চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী-২০০৮

১২. শৈলেন ভৰালী, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ৭৬
১৩. শৈলেন ভৰালী, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ৭৮
১৪. লীলা গগৈ, সম্পা. আধুনিক অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ পৰিচয়, পৃ. ৩৭২, বনলতা, পাণবজাৰ, গুৱাহাটী, নবেম্বৰ, ২০০২
১৫. শৈলেন ভৰালী, অসমীয়া নাটক স্বৰাজোত্তৰ কাল, পৃ. ১৭, চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী-২০০৮
১৬. শৈলেন ভৰালী, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ১৮
১৭. পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশী, সম্পা, অসমীয়া নাটক পৰম্পৰা আৰু পৰিবৰ্তন, পৃ. ১৭, অসম কলাতীৰ্থ, ১৯৯৫
১৮. লীলা গগৈ, সম্পা. আধুনিক অসমীয়া সাহিত্যৰ পৰিচয়, পৃ. ৩৭১, বনলতা, পাণবজাৰ, গুৱাহাটী, নবেম্বৰ, ২০০২
১৯. শৈলেন ভৰালী, অসমীয়া নাটক স্বৰাজোত্তৰ কাল, পৃ. ৮৮, চন্দ্ৰ প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী-২০০৮
২০. লীলা গগৈ, সম্পা, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ৩৭১
২১. পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশী, সম্পা, অসমীয়া নাটক পৰম্পৰা আৰু পৰিবৰ্তন, পৃ. ১০ অসম কলাতীৰ্থ, ১৯৯৫
২২. পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশী, সম্পা, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ১১
২৩. শৈলেন ভৰালী, অসমীয়া লোকনাট্য পৰম্পৰা, পৃ. ২৬, বাণী প্ৰকাশ, গুৱাহাটী-১৯৮৪
২৪. শৈলেন ভৰালী, উল্লিখিত, পৃ. ২৬
২৫. পৰমানন্দ ৰাজবংশী, সম্পা, অসমীয়া নাটক পৰম্পৰা আৰু পৰিবৰ্তন, পৃ. ২০, অসম কলাতীৰ্থ, ১৯৯৫
২৬. অজিত শইকীয়া, সম্পা. ছশ বছৰৰ অসমীয়া নাটক পৰম্পৰা আৰু পৰিবৰ্তন, পৃ. ২৩৩, পথাৰ প্ৰকাশন দুৰ্গীয়াজান, ২০০৮
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Portrayal of Modern Life and Realism in Select Short Stories of Premendra Mitra: A Study

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Abstract: *Premendra Mitra is one of the architects who set in motion modern life consciousness and realism in Bengali literature. He experimented with it in his short-stories written in 1930s. His short-stories portray life struggle, financial hardships, psychological conflict, crisis in human relations and also existential crisis of lower middle class and lower class people. "Shudhu Kerani", "Mahanagar", "Punam" and "Shrunkhal" are some such stories where Mitra depicts loneliness of modern man, crisis in human values, and internal conflict of modern urban populace. Mitra kept himself away from writing romantic short-stories or romanticizing human life, he wrote rather naked truths of life. Hence his short-stories are taken as vivid record of livid life of Bengal. Following critical and analytical method this paper discusses how Mitra in his short-stories introduced realism.*

Keywords: *life consciousness, romanticism, realism, short-story, human crisis.*

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের নির্বাচিত ছোটগল্পে আধুনিক জীবনচেতনা ও বাস্তবতার রূপায়ণ: একটি পর্যালোচনা

বিশ শতকের ত্রিশের দশক বাংলা ছোটগল্পের ক্ষেত্রে এক যুগান্তকারী পর্ব হিসেবে বিবেচিত। ওই সময়কালে বাংলা সাহিত্য কেবল কল্পনানির্ভর রোমান্টিক আবেগের পরিসরেই সীমাবদ্ধ থাকেনি; বরং তা ক্রমশ সমাজবাস্তবতার গভীরে প্রবেশ করে মানুষের দৈনন্দিন জীবনসংগ্রাম, অর্থনৈতিক অনিশ্চয়তা এবং মানসিক জটিলতাকে শিল্পের উপাদান হিসেবে গ্রহণ করতে শুরু করে। এই পরিবর্তনশীল সাহিত্যধারার অন্যতম প্রধান নির্মাতা হলেন প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র, যিনি বাংলা ছোটগল্পকে আধুনিক চেতনা ও বাস্তবতার এক নতুন দিগন্তে উন্নীত করেন।

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের গল্পবিশ্বে কাহিনির বাহ্যিক বিন্যাসের চেয়েও অধিক গুরুত্ব পায় মানুষের অন্তর্জীবন, অস্তিত্বসংকট এবং সমাজের বহুমাত্রিক বাস্তবতা। তাঁর রচনায় নিম্নবিত্ত ও মধ্যবিত্ত মানুষের জীবনসংগ্রাম, দারিদ্র্যজনিত বঞ্চনা, সম্পর্কের টানাপোড়েন এবং মানসিক দ্বন্দ্ব এক গভীর শিল্পরূপ লাভ করেছে। এ ছাড়া, তাঁর লেখায় আধুনিকতার একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ বৈশিষ্ট্য— ব্যক্তিমানুষের একাকীত্ব, আত্মসচেতনতা এবং মূল্যবোধের সংকট বারবার ফিরে আসে। ফলে তাঁর গল্পসমূহ কেবল সাহিত্যিক সৃষ্টিই নয়; বরং সমকালীন সমাজের মনস্তাত্ত্বিক ও সাংস্কৃতিক বাস্তবতার একটি প্রামাণ্য দলিল হিসেবেও বিবেচিত হতে পারে। এই প্রবন্ধে প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের নির্বাচিত কয়েকটি ছোটগল্প বিশ্লেষণের মাধ্যমে আধুনিক জীবনচেতনা ও বাস্তবতাবোধের বিভিন্ন দিক অনুসন্ধান করা হবে।

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের ছোটগল্পে আধুনিক জীবনচেতনার যে গভীর ও বহুমাত্রিক প্রকাশ দেখা যায়, তার অন্যতম উজ্জ্বল উদাহরণ হলো ‘তেলেনাপোতা আবিষ্কার’ গল্পটি। ‘তেলেনাপোতা আবিষ্কার’ গল্পে প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র আধুনিক মানুষের মানসিক শূন্যতা, ক্লান্তি, নিঃসঙ্গতা এবং বাস্তব জীবনের নির্মমতাকে অত্যন্ত শিল্পিতভাবে তুলে ধরেছেন। শহরের যান্ত্রিক ও একঘেয়ে জীবন থেকে সাময়িক মুক্তির আশায়ক এই গল্পের কথক ও তাঁর সঙ্গীরা তেলেনাপোতায় পৌঁছায়। কিন্তু সেখানে গিয়ে তারা এমন এক পরিবেশের মুখোমুখি হয়, যা আধুনিক মানুষের অস্তিত্বসংকট ও বিচ্ছিন্নতার অনুভূতিকে আরও গভীর করে তোলে। তেলেনাপোতার রহস্যময় ও স্তব্ধ পরিবেশ সম্পর্কে লেখক লিখেছেন— ‘মনে হবে পরিচিত পৃথিবীকে দূরে কোথায় ফেলে এসেছেন। অনুভূতিহীন কুয়াশাময় এক জগৎ শুধু আপনার চারিদিকে। সময় সেখানে স্তব্ধ, শ্রোতহীন।’^১ এই উদ্ধৃতির মাধ্যমে তেলেনাপোতার নিস্তব্ধতা, বিচ্ছিন্নতা এবং জীবনের স্থবিরতা প্রকাশ পেয়েছে। এখানে যেন জীবনের স্বাভাবিক গতি থেমে গেছে। আধুনিক মানুষের অন্তর্গত শূন্যতা ও হতাশার প্রতীক হিসেবেই এই পরিবেশ চিত্রিত হয়েছে। গল্পে বাস্তবতাবোধের পরিচয়ও অত্যন্ত তীব্র। তেলেনাপোতার ধ্বংসপ্রায় বাড়ির বর্ণনায় লেখক সমাজের অবক্ষয়

ও জীবনের নির্মম বাস্তবতাকে তুলে ধরেছেন— ‘তারই পাশে বেশ বিশালায়তন একটি জীর্ণ অট্টালিকা, ভাঙ্গা ছাদ, ধসে-পড়া দেয়াল ও চক্ষুহীন কোটরের মতো পাশ্চাত্যী জানলা নিয়ে চাঁদের বিরুদ্ধে দুর্গ-প্রকারের মতো দাঁড়িয়ে আছে। এই ধ্বংসাবশেষেরই একটি অপেক্ষাকৃত বাসযোগ্য ঘরে আপনাদের থাকার ব্যবস্থা করে নিতে হবে।’^২ এই বর্ণনা শুধু একটি ভাঙা বাড়ির চিত্র নয়; বরং অবক্ষয়িত সমাজব্যবস্থা ও মানুষের বিপর্যস্ত জীবনের প্রতীক। যামিনী চরিত্রের মধ্য দিয়ে লেখক সমাজের অবহেলিত নারীর অসহায় জীবনচিত্র তুলে ধরেছেন। তার জীবনে নেই কোনো উজ্জ্বল ভবিষ্যৎ, নেই মুক্তির সম্ভাবনা; আছে শুধু নীরব প্রতীক্ষা। কথকের মনে তার প্রতি সাময়িক আবেগ জাগলেও শেষ পর্যন্ত সে নিজের নাগরিক জীবনে ফিরে যায় এবং এর মধ্য দিয়ে আধুনিক মানুষের অস্থিরতা, দায়িত্বহীনতা এবং সম্পর্কের টানাপোড়েন প্রকাশ পেয়েছে। গল্পে প্রকৃতির বর্ণনাও আধুনিক মানসিকতার প্রতীক হয়ে উঠেছে— ‘আকাশে তখন কৃষ্ণপক্ষের বিলম্বিত ক্ষয়িত চাঁদ বোধ হয় উঠে এসেছে। তারই স্থিমিত আলোয় আবছা বিশাল মৌন সব প্রহরী যেন গাড়ির দুপাশ দিয়ে ধীরে ধীরে সরে যাবে।’^৩ এই উদ্ধৃতিতে রহস্যময় ও বিষম পরিবেশের সৃষ্টি হয়েছে, যা মানুষের নিঃসঙ্গতা ও অস্তিত্বসংকটকে আরও গভীরভাবে অনুভব করায়।

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের আরেকটি উল্লেখযোগ্য গল্প হল ‘শুধু কেরানী’। এই গল্পে আধুনিক নাগরিক মধ্যবিত্ত জীবনের একঘেয়েমি, যান্ত্রিকতা, অর্থনৈতিক সংকট এবং মানুষের অপূর্ণ আকাঙ্ক্ষার কারণে বাস্তবতা অত্যন্ত সূক্ষ্মভাবে চিত্রিত হয়েছে। গল্পের নায়ক একজন সাধারণ মার্চেন্ট অফিসের কেরানী; তার জীবন নিয়ম, দায়িত্ব ও হিসাবের খাতায় বন্দি। এই কেরানির জীবনের মধ্য দিয়ে লেখক আধুনিক মানুষের অস্তিত্বসংকট ও বাস্তব জীবনের নির্মমতা তুলে ধরেছেন। গল্পের শুরুতেই লেখক কেরানির পরিচয় দিতে গিয়ে লিখেছেন— ‘ছেলেটি মার্চেন্ট অফিসের কেরানী— বছরের পর বছর ধরে বড় বড় বাঁধানো খাতায় গোটা গোটা স্পষ্ট অক্ষরে আমদানি রপ্তানির হিসাব লেখে।’^৪ এই উদ্ধৃতির মাধ্যমে কেরানির যান্ত্রিক, একঘেয়ে জীবনের ছবি স্পষ্ট হয়ে ওঠে। এখানে মানুষটি যেন শুধুই একটি কর্মযন্ত্র; তার ব্যক্তিসত্তা বা স্বপ্নের কোনো মূল্য নেই। আধুনিক জীবনচেতনার অন্যতম বৈশিষ্ট্য এই আত্মপরিচয়ের সংকট। কেরানির সংসারজীবনেও আধুনিক মধ্যবিত্ত জীবনের বাস্তবতা ফুটে উঠেছে। এই গল্পে কেরানির স্ত্রীর অপূর্ণ ইচ্ছা ও ক্ষীণ প্রত্যাশা মধ্যবিত্ত নারীর বাস্তব জীবনকেও তুলে ধরে— ‘আমি মরতে চাইনি— ভগবানের কাছে রাতদিন কেঁদে জীবন ভিক্ষা চেয়েছি।’^৫ এই সংলাপ শুধু তার বেঁচে থাকার আকুতি নয়, বরং জীবনের প্রতি মানুষের সহজাত আকর্ষণ ও অসহায়তার এক মর্মস্পর্শী প্রকাশ। কিন্তু বাস্তবতা এত কঠোর যে সেই আকাঙ্ক্ষাও পূর্ণ হয় না। আধুনিক জীবনের সবচেয়ে নির্মম সত্য হলো অপূর্ণ স্বপ্ন। কেরানি স্ত্রীর জন্য কিছু করতে চাইলেও পারে না। লেখক লিখেছেন— ‘কোনো সময় হয়তো একবারটি মনে হয় যদি

সে এমন গরীব না হত, আরো ভালো করে ডাক্তার দেখিয়ে আর একটু চেষ্টা করে দেখত।^{১০} এখানে মধ্যবিত্ত জীবনের অসহায়তা ও অর্থনৈতিক সীমাবদ্ধতার কারণ সত্য প্রকাশ পেয়েছে।

নগরজীবনের অবক্ষয়, মানবিক মূল্যবোধের সংকট এবং সমাজবাস্তবতার এক অনন্য শিল্পরূপ হলো প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের ‘মহানগর’ গল্পটি। এই গল্পে আধুনিক শহুরে জীবনের এক নির্মম ও অন্ধকার দিক উন্মোচিত হয়েছে। এখানে নগরসভ্যতা কেবল উন্নতি, প্রগতি ও সম্ভাবনার প্রতীক নয়; বরং তা মানুষের নৈতিক অবক্ষয়, মানসিক বিচ্ছিন্নতা এবং মানবিক সম্পর্কের ভাঙনের প্রতীক হিসেবে প্রতিভাত হয়েছে। গল্পটির কেন্দ্রে থাকা চপলা চরিত্রটি মূলত সেইসব নারীর প্রতিনিধি, যাদের সামাজিক ও অর্থনৈতিক চাপে জীবনের অন্ধকার পথে ঠেলে দেওয়া হয় এবং পরে সমাজের কাছ থেকে সম্পূর্ণভাবে প্রত্যাখ্যাত হয়। একসময় পরিবার ও সামাজিক সম্পর্কের অংশ হয়েও জীবনের বিপর্যয়ের পর সে আর সমাজে গ্রহণযোগ্য থাকে না। এই নির্মম সামাজিক বাস্তবতাকে লেখক অত্যন্ত তীক্ষ্ণভাবে প্রকাশ করেছেন। গল্পে বলা হয়েছে— ‘মহানগরের পথে ধুলো, আকাশে ধোঁয়া, বাতাসে বুঝি বিষ। আমাদের আশা এখানে কখনো কখনো পূর্ণ হয়। যা খুঁজি তা মেলে। তবু বহুদিনের কামনার ফলও কেমন একটু বিস্বাদ লাগে। মহানগর সব কিছুকে দাগী করে দেয়, সার্থকতাকেও দেয় একটু বিষিয়ে।^{১১} এই উদ্ধৃতির মধ্য দিয়ে মহানগরের বহিরঙ্গ ও অন্তরঙ্গ বাস্তবতা একসঙ্গে ফুটে উঠেছে। ধুলো, ধোঁয়া ও বিষাক্ত বাতাস যেমন নগরজীবনের পরিবেশগত সংকটকে বোঝায়, তেমনি ‘সব কিছুকে দাগী করে দেয়’ কথাটি মানুষের নৈতিক ও মানসিক অবক্ষয়ের প্রতীক। আধুনিক জীবনচেতনার অন্যতম লক্ষণ হলো— সাফল্য ও প্রাপ্তির মধ্যেও এক ধরনের শূন্যতা ও অসন্তোষের অনুভূতি। এই উদ্ধৃতিতে সেই অস্তিত্বসংকট অত্যন্ত গভীরভাবে প্রকাশিত হয়েছে।

অন্যদিকে, রতনের চরিত্রটি এই অন্ধকার বাস্তবতার মধ্যেও মানবিকতার এক উজ্জ্বল প্রতীক। সমাজ যেখানে চপলাকে প্রত্যাখ্যান করেছে, সেখানে ছোট রতন তার দিদির প্রতি ভালোবাসা ও সহানুভূতি হারায় না। সে সরল বিশ্বাসে বলে— ‘বড়ো হয়ে আমি তোমায় নিয়ে যাবো দিদি। কারোর কথা শুনবো না।^{১২} এই সংলাপের মধ্যে শিশুমনের নির্মলতা, মানবিকতা এবং সম্পর্কের প্রতি আন্তরিকতা প্রকাশ পেয়েছে। নগরজীবনের কঠোর ও নির্মম বাস্তবতার বিপরীতে রতনের এই অনুভূতি যেন আশার এক ক্ষীণ আলো হয়ে ওঠে। গল্পে বাস্তবতাবোধের আরেকটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দিক হলো— লেখক কোথাও কোনো কৃত্রিম সমাধান বা আদর্শবাদী পরিণতি দেখাননি। বরং তিনি দেখিয়েছেন, কীভাবে নগরসভ্যতা মানুষকে বিচ্ছিন্ন করে, সম্পর্ককে ভেঙে দেয় এবং জীবনকে এক গভীর অন্ধকারের দিকে ঠেলে দেয়। এই বিষয় বাস্তবতার প্রতীক হয়ে উঠেছে গল্পের শেষের বর্ণনা— ‘মহানগরীর ওপর সন্ধ্যা নামে বিস্মৃতির মত গাঢ়।^{১৩} এই

উদ্ধৃতিতে ‘বিস্মৃতির মত গাঢ়’ শব্দবন্ধ নগরজীবনের অন্ধকার, হতাশা এবং মানবিক সম্পর্কের ধারা ক্রমশ মুছে যাওয়ার ইঙ্গিত বহন করে।

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের ‘পুন্যাম’ গল্পে আধুনিক জীবনবোধ ও বাস্তবতাবোধ অত্যন্ত তীক্ষ্ণভাবে প্রকাশিত হয়েছে। আধুনিক নগরজীবনের কঠোর বাস্তবতা মানুষের পারিবারিক সম্পর্ক ও মানবিক মূল্যবোধকে কীভাবে প্রভাবিত করে, গল্পটি তারই এক মর্মস্পর্শী দলিল। গল্পের শুরুতেই অসুস্থ শিশুকে কেন্দ্র করে পরিবারের অসহায় অবস্থার যে চিত্র লেখক তুলে ধরেছেন, তা নিম্নবিভক্ত জীবনের নির্মম বাস্তবতাকে স্পষ্ট করে তোলে— ‘কাশি সর্দি সারে তো খোসে সর্বান্ন ছেয়ে যায়, খোস গিয়ে লিভার ওঠে ঠেলে— তারপর ন্যাওয়া ধরে। চার বছরের ছেলেটাকে নিয়ে যমে-মানুষে টানাটানি চলেছে তো চলেইছে।’^{১০} এই উদ্ধৃতির মাধ্যমে শিশুটির দীর্ঘস্থায়ী অসুস্থতা এবং পরিবারটির অবিরাম মানসিক যন্ত্রণার চিত্র ফুটে উঠেছে। এখানে লেখক কোনো অতিরঞ্জন করেননি; বরং সাধারণ কথোপকথনের মধ্য দিয়েই বাস্তব জীবনের দুঃসহ পরিস্থিতিকে তুলে ধরেছেন। এরপর লেখক অর্থনৈতিক সংকটের বাস্তব চিত্র তুলে ধরেছেন— ‘ডকের মাল-তোলা ও নামানোর সামান্য সরকার। জাহাজ ডকে ভিড়লে তবে দু-পয়সা আসে। নইলে নিছক বসে থাকা ছাড়া উপায় নেই। মাসের যা আয় হয় তাতে মুদির ঋণ শোধাই চলে না, তা ডাক্তার।’^{১১} এই অংশে নিম্নবিভক্ত শ্রমজীবী মানুষের অনিশ্চিত জীবিকার দিকটি স্পষ্ট হয়েছে। কাজ থাকলে আয়, না থাকলে অনাহার— এই অনিরাপদ জীবনব্যবস্থা আধুনিক সমাজের এক নির্মম বাস্তবতা। অর্থাভাবের কারণে সন্তানের চিকিৎসাও যথাযথভাবে করানো সম্ভব হয় না। ফলে পরিবারে হতাশা ও মানসিক অবসাদ সৃষ্টি হয়। লেখক এখানে দেখিয়েছেন, দারিদ্র্য কেবল অর্থের অভাব নয়; এটি মানুষের আত্মমর্যাদা, স্বাভাবিক জীবনযাপন এবং মানসিক ভারসাম্যকেও ধ্বংস করে দেয়। গল্পটির সবচেয়ে তাৎপর্যপূর্ণ দিক হলো শিশুমনের উপর পরিবেশগত প্রভাবের সূক্ষ্ম বিশ্লেষণ। লেখক দেখিয়েছেন, দারিদ্র্য ও সংকীর্ণতার আবহে বেড়ে ওঠা শিশুর মধ্যেও মানবিকতার পরিবর্তে ঈর্ষা ও হিংসা জন্ম নিতে পারে। উদ্ধৃত অংশে দেখা যায়— “দরজার কাছ থেকেই খোকার উচ্চ ত্রুদ্র কণ্ঠ শুনতে পাওয়া গেল। ‘না, ওকে দুটো দিতে পারবে না মা! কেন, ও নিজের বাড়িতে গিয়ে খেতে পারে না? হ্যাংলা কোথাকার!’ লজ্জায়, বেদনায়, রাগে ললিতের কান পর্যন্ত রাঙা হয়ে উঠল। হিংসার এ জঘন্য রূপ ওইটুকু শিশুর মাঝে প্রকাশ পেল কোথা থেকে, ভাবতে-ভাবতে সে নিঃশব্দে আপনার ঘরে গিয়ে ঢুকল।’^{১২} এই উদ্ধৃতির মাধ্যমে প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র মানুষের মনস্তত্ত্বের গভীরে প্রবেশ করেছেন।

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র রচিত ‘শৃঙ্খল’ গল্পটি আধুনিক বাংলা ছোটগল্পের এক গুরুত্বপূর্ণ নিদর্শন, যেখানে আধুনিক জীবনবোধ, দাম্পত্য সম্পর্কের সংকট, মানসিক জটিলতা এবং বাস্তবতার নির্মম রূপ অত্যন্ত সূক্ষ্মভাবে চিত্রিত হয়েছে। গল্পটির মধ্য দিয়ে লেখক কেবল একটি দাম্পত্য জীবনের কাহিনি বলেননি; বরং আধুনিক নাগরিক জীবনের

অন্তলীন শূন্যতা, মানসিক বিচ্ছিন্নতা এবং মানবিক সম্পর্কের ভাঙনের বাস্তব চিত্র তুলে ধরেছেন। গল্পে ভূপতি ও বিনতির দাম্পত্য সম্পর্কের মাধ্যমে আধুনিক মানুষের মানসিক অবস্থার প্রকাশ ঘটেছে। বিবাহিত জীবন সাধারণত ভালোবাসা, বিশ্বাস ও পারস্পরিক নির্ভরতার ওপর প্রতিষ্ঠিত হওয়ার কথা; কিন্তু এখানে সেই সম্পর্ক ধীরে ধীরে পরিণত হয়েছে এক অদৃশ্য শৃঙ্খলে। বাহ্যিকভাবে তারা স্বামী-স্ত্রী হলেও অন্তরে তাদের মধ্যে গভীর দূরত্ব বিরাজমান। এই মানসিক দূরত্বই আধুনিক জীবনের অন্যতম সত্য, যা প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র অত্যন্ত বাস্তবধর্মী দৃষ্টিতে উপস্থাপন করেছেন। ভূপতি চরিত্রটির মধ্যে বিকৃত মানসিকতা, নিষ্ঠুরতা এবং অস্বাভাবিক আচরণের পরিচয় পাওয়া যায়। ফুলশয্যার রাত থেকেই তার আচরণ বিনতির মনে আতঙ্ক সৃষ্টি করে। গল্পে দেখা যায়— ‘রাত তখন অনেক। নিমন্ত্রিতদের ভোজনের হাঙ্গামা চুকিবার পর ভূপতি আসিয়া আগেই শয্যার উপর মাথার নীচে হাত রাখিয়া চিৎ হইয়া শুইয়া পড়িয়াছে।’^{১৩} ধীরে ধীরে বিনতি উপলব্ধি করে যে সে এমন এক সম্পর্কে আবদ্ধ হয়েছে, যেখানে ভালোবাসার চেয়ে ভয় এবং মানসিক যন্ত্রণা বেশি প্রবল। আধুনিক জীবনে মানুষের ভেতরের একাকিত্ব ও মানসিক অসুস্থতা যে পারিবারিক সম্পর্কেও বিঘ্নিত করে তুলতে পারে, গল্পে তার বাস্তব প্রতিফলন দেখা যায়। গল্পটির আরেকটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দিক হলো নারীজীবনের অসহায়তা ও দাম্পত্য জীবনের যন্ত্রণা। বিনতি একজন নিম্নবিত্ত পরিবারের মেয়ে; সমাজ ও পারিবারিক চাপে তাকে এই সংসার মেনে নিতে হয়। স্বামীর অমানবিক আচরণ সত্ত্বেও সে সংসার ছেড়ে বেরিয়ে আসতে পারে না। এখানে লেখক আধুনিক সমাজের সেই বাস্তবতাকে তুলে ধরেছেন, যেখানে বহু নারী সামাজিক নিয়ম ও আর্থিক নির্ভরতার কারণে অসুখী দাম্পত্য জীবন বহন করতে বাধ্য হয়। বিনতির মৃত সন্তান প্রসবের ঘটনাও তার জীবনের করুণ বাস্তবতাকে আরও তীব্র করে তোলে। প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের আধুনিক জীবনবোধের অন্যতম বৈশিষ্ট্য হলো মানুষের অন্তর্জগতের বিশ্লেষণ। ‘শৃঙ্খল’ গল্পে তিনি মানুষের মনের গভীরে লুকিয়ে থাকা হতাশা, ভয়, অবসাদ ও নিঃসঙ্গতাকে অত্যন্ত সূক্ষ্মভাবে তুলে ধরেছেন। গল্পে বাহ্যিক নাটকীয়তার চেয়ে মানসিক টানাপোড়েন বেশি গুরুত্ব পেয়েছে। এই মনস্তাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণই গল্পটিকে আধুনিকতার পর্যায়ে উন্নীত করেছে। এ ছাড়া গল্পটিতে বাস্তবতার প্রকাশ অত্যন্ত নির্মোহ। লেখক কোথাও কৃত্রিম আবেগ বা রোমান্টিকতার আশ্রয় নেননি। সংসারজীবনের ক্লান্তি, স্বামী-স্ত্রীর সম্পর্কের অবক্ষয়, মানসিক অসামঞ্জস্য এবং ভালোবাসাহীন সহাবস্থানের মতো বিষয়গুলি তিনি জীবনের স্বাভাবিক সত্য হিসেবেই উপস্থাপন করেছেন। আধুনিক নগরসভ্যতায় মানুষ যে ধীরে ধীরে আবেগহীন ও বিচ্ছিন্ন হয়ে পড়ছে, তারই প্রতিচ্ছবি এই গল্পে ফুটে উঠেছে।

প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্রের নির্বাচিত ছোটগল্পসমূহ বিশ্লেষণ করলে স্পষ্টভাবে প্রতীয়মান হয় যে, তাঁর সাহিত্যকর্মে আধুনিক জীবনচেতনা ও বাস্তবতাবোধ এক গভীর ও জটিল

আন্তঃসম্পর্কের মধ্য দিয়ে বিকশিত হয়েছে। তিনি মানবজীবনের বহুমাত্রিক অভিজ্ঞতাকে এমনভাবে রূপায়িত করেছেন, যেখানে দারিদ্র্য, সামাজিক বৈষম্য, মানসিক সংকট, সম্পর্কের টানাপোড়েন এবং অস্তিত্বের অনিশ্চয়তা একত্রে মিশে একটি পূর্ণাঙ্গ জীবনচিত্র নির্মাণ করে। তাঁর গল্পে আধুনিকতা কেবল সময়গত পরিবর্তনের প্রতিফলন নয়; বরং তা মানুষের আত্মসচেতনতা, প্রশ্নমুখরতা এবং অন্তর্দ্বন্দ্বের প্রকাশ। একই সঙ্গে তাঁর বাস্তবতাবোধ জীবনের কঠোর সত্যকে নিরাভরণভাবে তুলে ধরার মধ্যে সীমাবদ্ধ না-থেকে সেই বাস্তবতার অন্তর্নিহিত মানবিক বেদনা ও অনুভূতিকেও স্পর্শ করে। ফলে তাঁর রচনায় বাস্তবতা কেবল বাহ্যিক নয়, বরং গভীরভাবে মানসিক ও অস্তিত্বগত। অতএব বলা যায়, প্রেমেন্দ্র মিত্র বাংলা ছোটগল্পকে আধুনিকতার এক নতুন উচ্চতায় উন্নীত করেছেন, যেখানে জীবনচেতনা ও বাস্তবতাবোধ একত্রে মানবজীবনের একটি সত্যনিষ্ঠ ও নান্দনিক রূপ নির্মাণ করেছে।◆

সূত্র নির্দেশ:

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- ২। তদেব, পৃ. ১৭৮
- ৩। তদেব, পৃ. ১৭৭
- ৪। তদেব, পৃ. ১১
- ৫। তদেব, পৃ. ১৪
- ৬। তদেব, পৃ. ১৪
- ৭। তদেব, পৃ. ৯৮
- ৮। তদেব, পৃ. ৯৯
- ৯। তদেব, পৃ. ৯৯
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Author (s) full name, affiliation, full address should appear below the title at top right corner.

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