

বাংলাদেশে প্রত্নতাত্ত্বিক চর্চা ও লিঙ্গীয় আধিপত্য

GKwU c0_wgK cvV

m̄ivqvi evkvi

Abb̄v Rj wdkvi kvl j x

c̄Z̄Z̄Ej bvgK kv̄yUj Rb̄y AvaybK BD̄iv̄tci R̄t̄b̄i Bw̄Znv̄tmi m̄v̄t_ N̄ub̄ôfv̄te R̄wôZ| Av̄tiv t̄Lvj v̄mv K̄ti ej̄tZ t̄M̄tj ej̄v ãiK̄vi Gi Rb̄y Dc̄ub̄t̄et̄ki Bw̄Znv̄tmi m̄v̄t_ m̄=úmk̄Z| Dc̄ub̄t̄enk̄Z ÕAc̄iõ-Gi Bw̄Znv̄m w̄bḡY Õc̄iP̄xb w̄b̄ k̄b̄õ BD̄iv̄tci t̄k̄õZ̄t̄j ē-MZ c̄õv̄Y w̄nt̄m̄te ēeüZ nq| ZvB̄ ÿi" t̄t̄KB Gw̄U Õc̄iõḡõ-ÕAc̄iõḡõ, ÕDc̄ub̄t̄ek ÿvcb̄K̄vix̄õ-ÕDc̄ub̄t̄enk̄ZÕ ¶lḡZv m̄=útk̄P̄ ÿiK̄| ÕAc̄iõḡõ-Gi ÕAm̄f̄Zv̄i w̄ecīx̄Z c̄w̄õt̄gi Õm̄f̄Zv̄õ w̄bḡY GK̄Bm̄v̄t_ BD̄iv̄tci t̄t̄k t̄t̄k Ges Dc̄ub̄t̄enk̄Z AĀj t̄jv̄tZ ḡw̄U L̄jõ L̄jõ t̄ei Kiv n̄t̄q̄õ c̄w̄õv̄ Õb̄R̄õ Ges Ac̄iõḡv ÕAb̄õt̄K̄| t̄L̄vov̄L̄jõi GB Āv̄t̄bi w̄eK̄v̄t̄K̄ ZvB̄ t̄K̄v̄t̄v̄f̄v̄teB̄ K̄v̄iv ē=³MZ t̄ivḡv̄w̄UK w̄elq w̄nt̄m̄te ēv̄L̄v̄ Kiv P̄t̄j b̄v| h̄w̄ l̄ Av̄ḡv̄t̄ i t̄t̄k c̄Z̄Z̄Ej m̄=útk̄Āw̄ac̄Z̄k̄x̄j ē³ē n̄t̄j— Gw̄U ḡv̄b̄t̄i c̄iP̄xb w̄R̄ub̄t̄mi c̄õZ̄ t̄ḡv̄n̄ l̄ Av̄K̄l̄P̄ Ges Ḡt̄K̄ m̄si ¶t̄Yi c̄õȲZv̄ t̄t̄k w̄eK̄w̄K̄Z n̄t̄q̄õ| Gw̄U t̄Kej ÕR̄b̄m̄v̄aviYõ-Gi aviYv̄ b̄q, ev̄sjv̄t̄t̄k c̄õZ̄õw̄b̄K̄f̄v̄te c̄Z̄Z̄Ej P̄P̄K̄v̄ix̄t̄ i ḡt̄ā l̄ Gw̄U c̄õv̄b̄ aviYv̄| R̄v̄v̄x̄i b̄M̄i w̄ekt̄ē v̄j t̄qi c̄Z̄Z̄Ej w̄ef̄v̄t̄Mi w̄K̄¶v̄, i c̄Z̄Z̄Ej th̄ m̄v̄aviY m̄SĀv̄ t̄q̄v̄ n̄t̄q̄ v̄t̄K̄ Zv̄ n̄t̄j— Õḡv̄b̄w̄bḡZ, ēeüZ l̄ c̄f̄w̄eZ ē-MZ w̄b̄ k̄b̄õ M̄t̄elYvi ḡv̄āt̄ḡ AZ̄x̄Z̄ m̄=úZi Aāq̄b̄ n̄t̄jv̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej| GB m̄SĀv̄q̄ GB c̄k̄e D̄l̄w̄c̄Z̄ nq̄ b̄v̄ th̄, t̄K̄v̄b̄ ḡv̄b̄ēj t̄K̄v̄b̄ iv̄R̄%õw̄ZK̄ Aēv̄t̄b̄ w̄ot̄q̄ Ab̄ t̄K̄v̄b̄ ḡv̄b̄ēt̄j i ē-MZ w̄b̄ k̄b̄õ M̄t̄elYv̄ K̄it̄Q Ges GB M̄t̄elYvi Avek̄K̄Zv̄ K̄x̄? Gi m̄v̄t_ iv̄õ l̄ iv̄R̄b̄w̄Zi m̄=úK̄K̄x̄? c̄Z̄Z̄Ej m̄=útk̄GB̄ aīt̄bi Aiv̄R̄%õw̄ZK̄ aviYv̄ ÿN̄P̄ b̄ c̄õZ̄õw̄b̄K̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej P̄P̄q̄ c̄f̄ve w̄e-w̄i K̄ti iv̄t̄L̄| 50-Gi ÿk̄t̄K̄ K̄v̄v̄t̄ḡv̄ē, D̄Ei K̄v̄v̄t̄ḡv̄ē, D̄Ei Av̄ayb̄K̄Z̄v̄ē, D̄Ei Jc̄ub̄t̄enk̄K̄Z̄v̄ē c̄f̄v̄Z̄ Z̄w̄ĒK̄ Av̄t̄jv̄P̄bv̄ Õv̄iv̄ c̄f̄w̄eZ̄ n̄t̄q̄ D̄Ei c̄õv̄q̄v̄ē x̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej bvgK̄ GK̄w̄ Z̄w̄ĒK̄ N̄iv̄b̄vi R̄b̄y nq̄¹, hv̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej l̄ Dc̄ub̄t̄et̄ki m̄=úK̄, ēZ̄ḡv̄b̄ l̄ AZ̄x̄Z̄i aviYv̄, c̄Z̄Z̄Ej th̄ Bw̄Znv̄m Ab̄j̄m̄Üv̄t̄bi K̄_v̄ et̄j Z̄vi iv̄R̄%õw̄ZK̄ ēenv̄i l̄ Av̄ayb̄K̄ R̄w̄Ziv̄t̄õ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej P̄P̄q̄ iv̄R̄b̄w̄Z, c̄f̄v̄Z̄ w̄elq̄t̄K̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej Av̄t̄jv̄P̄b̄vi m̄v̄t_ m̄=ú³ K̄ti| c̄Z̄Z̄Ej P̄S̄w̄i ḡt̄ā GB̄ c̄w̄ieZ̄f̄bi ḡā w̄t̄q̄B̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej w̄j ½x̄q̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej bvgK̄ GK̄w̄ w̄et̄K̄ l̄ N̄iv̄bv̄ ax̄t̄i ax̄t̄i w̄eK̄w̄K̄Z̄ nq̄, hv̄ Av̄ḡv̄t̄ i Av̄R̄t̄Ki Av̄t̄jv̄P̄b̄vi w̄elq̄| GB̄ Av̄t̄jv̄P̄b̄vi m̄jw̄v̄ Õ w̄K̄Q̄ȳ ¶ Av̄t̄Q, hv̄i t̄K̄ ÿq̄ j ¶w̄U n̄t̄jv̄ ev̄sjv̄t̄t̄k̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej P̄P̄q̄ c̄j l̄ Z̄w̄S̄K̄ ÿw̄f̄w̄i D̄t̄b̄P̄b̄ Ges b̄v̄ix̄ē x̄ ÿw̄f̄w̄i t̄t̄k̄ w̄K̄Q̄ȳc̄k̄õ D̄l̄v̄cb̄ l̄ w̄eK̄t̄i l̄ Ab̄j̄m̄Üv̄b̄| GB̄ K̄v̄R̄w̄U K̄ivi R̄b̄ ÿi"t̄Z̄B̄ w̄j ½x̄q̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej m̄=útk̄GK̄w̄ mḡK̄ aviYv̄ t̄q̄v̄i t̄P̄õv̄ K̄ie| Gici Gi w̄f̄w̄Ēt̄Z̄ ev̄sjv̄t̄t̄k̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej M̄t̄elYvi c̄j l̄ Z̄w̄S̄K̄Z̄vi ÿf̄c̄ D̄t̄b̄P̄b̄mn̄ GB̄ M̄t̄elYvi ḡv̄āt̄ḡ ev̄sjv̄i AZ̄x̄Z̄ b̄v̄ix̄i th̄ c̄j l̄ Z̄w̄S̄K̄ w̄bḡȲ K̄iv̄ n̄t̄q̄õ, Z̄vi w̄et̄K̄Ȳ n̄v̄R̄i K̄ie|

w̄j ½x̄q̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej

w̄j ½x̄q̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej c̄Z̄Z̄Ej b̄v̄ix̄i l̄ci c̄j t̄l̄i Āw̄ac̄Z̄t̄k̄ k̄b̄v̄³ l̄ mḡv̄t̄jv̄P̄bv̄ K̄ti Ges c̄Z̄Z̄Ej P̄P̄q̄ ḡv̄āt̄ḡ b̄v̄ix̄i Bw̄Znv̄m c̄p̄M̄P̄t̄bi c̄f̄ve K̄ti| GB̄ K̄v̄R̄w̄U K̄t̄q̄K̄w̄U ḡv̄āt̄ḡ m̄S̄M̄V̄Z̄ nq̄| c̄õḡZ, c̄Z̄Z̄Ej M̄t̄elYvi t̄¶t̄ c̄õZ̄õw̄b̄K̄ c̄w̄im̄t̄i c̄j l̄ Z̄w̄S̄K̄Z̄vi mḡv̄t̄jv̄P̄bv̄ K̄iv| b̄v̄ix̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej M̄t̄elYvi R̄b̄ c̄j- K̄iv̄f̄w̄ĒK̄, M̄t̄elYv̄m̄v̄i K̄ c̄f̄v̄Z̄ K̄ḡ c̄w̄ik̄t̄gi l̄ K̄ḡS̄ȳKi K̄v̄R̄t̄K̄ ÿf̄w̄eK̄ f̄v̄e| c̄¶v̄S̄t̄i Ab̄j̄m̄Üv̄b̄, Dr̄L̄bb̄ c̄f̄v̄Z̄ S̄ȳK̄c̄Ȳõ K̄õK̄i K̄iv̄R̄ c̄j l̄ c̄Z̄Z̄Ej t̄i R̄b̄ ÿf̄w̄eK̄ f̄v̄e— c̄Z̄Z̄Ej M̄t̄elYv̄K̄t̄ḡP̄ GB̄ w̄j ½x̄q̄ w̄ef̄v̄R̄t̄bi Z̄v̄iv̄ w̄ēt̄i w̄āZ̄v̄ K̄t̄ib̄|

¹ g_w_D Rbmb, AwK̄P̄j w̄R̄K̄j w_l̄w̄i : Gb̄ B̄Ūw̄K̄k̄b, ēw̄K̄At̄q̄j, B̄sj̄ v̄U, 1999|

w0ZxqZ, G hverKvtj m=úw`Z cŁZwĚĚK MtelYvi gva'tg wlvqZ ŐAZxZ0-G bvixi lci cj'tli Awact'Zi th ivR%wZK wlvqY Zvi mgvtj vPbv l wetiwaZv Kiv| thgb : ŐwkKwi cj'l, mSMŏKvix bvix0 g'tWtj l mgvtj vPbv| ZZxqZ, cŁZwĚĚK MtelYvi gva'tg bvixi BwZnmv er wj t'zi BwZnm'tK Z'tj aivi t'p0v l Gi Rb` ZwĚĚK KvVtgv l c×wZMZ Dbqtb Kiv²| wbt'P GB wclq,tjv wē-Z Kiv ntjv|

wj ½xq cŁZwĚĚKMY kv`xq PPA gta` cj'l wact'Zi wetiwaZv Ktib| wj ½xq cŁZwĚĚKMY wj t'zi wfvĚt'Z th ktgwefvRb Zv cŁZwĚĚĚj kv`xq PPA gta` l j'Ŧ Ktib| Zwiw DrLbb l AbmŪvb cŦwZ KvRtK cj'tli Rb` h_vh_ gtb Kivi th cŦYZv, Zvi wetiwaZv Ktib| Ab'w`tK bwe'Avb Ges cŁZwĚĚK MtelYvq Őwġi Ő-Gi aviYvi mgvtj vPbv Kti gZvgZ t`b th Őwġi Ő l ŐtnvgŐ-Gi gta` wew'QbZv `Zwi Kivi gva'tg Ni l evB'ti th ŐcŪB'tFUŐ l Őcvevj KŐ wefvRb ZvtKB cpi`rcw`Z Kiv nq| bvixev`x cŁZwĚĚKMY bvix'tK N'ti Ges Ni'tK Aivr%wZK wnt'mte wlvqYi GB cj'l ZwšK gZv`k'Kvfvte kv`xq ZĚjqb l PPA gta` cŦve wē`h Kti Ges GtK kw³kjv`x Kti t'Zvtj tm wcltq cpgg`vq'tbi `we t'Zvtj b|

wj ½xq cŁZwĚĚKMY cŁZwĚĚK MtelYvq wlvqZ ŐAZxZ0-G wj ½xq Awact'Zi AbmŪvb Kivi cŦve Ktib| G'tŦt'Z Zwi v KtqKwŪ c'wvb Bmj wbtq Avtj vPbv Ktib—

gvbe BwZnm'ti e`vL`vi t'Ŧt'Z wKQz wj ½wfvĚĚK g'tWtj i Awact'Zi| hvi gva'tg AZxZ gvbt'li e`env'ti Avtj vPbvq GKwŪ wbw`Ŧ wj ½tK ewZj Kiv ntq'tQ| thgb ŐwkKwi cj'l, mSMŏKvix bvix0 g'tWj | gvbe weeZŦ Ges gvbe BwZnmv e`vL`vi t'Ŧt'Z GB g'tWtj i e`envi c'wvbZ AZxZ gvbt'li e`env'ti t'Ŧt'Z cj'tli e`envi'tK cŁZŐv Kti'tQ Ges bvi xtK Lwi R Kti'tQ|

wj ½wfvĚĚK ktgwefvRtb eZg'vb Awact'Z aviYtK AZxt'Z wlvqY Kiv ntq'tQ| thLv'tb wbw`Ŧ KvRtK wbw`Ŧ wj ½m=úwKZ Kti Avtj vPbv Kiv ntq'tQ Ges wbw`Ŧ cŁZwĚĚK wbw`Ŧ wj t'zi mt'z m=úwKZ Kiv ntq'tQ| thgb wKkvi, KwŪ KvR, e`emv-emYR`, h'k cŦwZ KvRmgat'K cj'tli KvR wnt'mte t`Lv'tbv ntq'tQ| Ab'w`tK mSMŏ l Ab'vb` Mvn` Kg'w`tK bvixi KvR wnt'mte t`Lv'tbv ntq'tQ| ZxiwMŐ PvKvq `Zwi grcvĪ, gmY nwwZqvi cŦwZ cj'tli mvt_ Ges nvt'Z `Zwi grcvĪ'tK bvixi mvt_ m=úwKZ Kiv ntq'tQ| gvmŦiU KbwK Ges Ab'vb` wj ½xq cŁZwĚĚKMY wct'k'Y Kti t`Lv'tb th, t'Kv'tbv Ke'ti hw` ZxiwMŐcvl qv hvq Ges lB GKB Ke'ti hw` cj'tli Kskvj cvl qv hvq, Z'te Zvt'K cj'tli Kvt'ri mvt_ m=ú,³ Kiv ntq'tQ| wKs't'Kv'tbv Ke'ti hw` ZxiwMŐ l bvixi Kskvj cvl qv hvq, Z'te Zvt'K bvixi Kvt'ri mvt_ m=ú,³ Kiv nq w| Avevi t'Kv'tbv Ke'ti hw` tcl't'Yi nwwZqvi Ges bvixi Kskvj cvl qv hvq, Z'te Zvi e`vL`v Ggb ntq'tQ th, bvixiv Lv` cŪl'qvKiY KiZ| wKs't'Kv'tbv Ke'ti hw` tcl'Yhš'i cj'tli Kskvj cvl qv hvq, Z'te Zvi e`vL`v cŪvb Kiv ntq'tQ GiKg Kti th, cj'tli v GB tcl'Yhš'i`Zwi Kti'tQ| GKBfvte wew'fbwemYwR`K DcKiY cj'tli mvt_ cvl qv t'Mtj Zvi e`vL`v`wotq'tQ, cj'l emYR` KiZ Avi bvixi mvt_ cvl qv t'Mtj Zvi e`vL`v`wotq'tQ, bvix G,tjv e`envi KiZ ev cj'l bvixi Rb` G,tjv evbvZ|

cŁZwĚĚK e`L`vt'K mgvtj vPbv Kti bvixev`x cŁZwĚĚKMY w×vt'š-Avtmb th, GB ai'tbi MtelYv cj'l Őviv cwi Pwvj Z Ges Zv cj'l ZwšK|

wj ½xq cŁZwĚĚKMY mgvtj vPbv Ktib th, cŁZwĚĚK e`L`vq ktgi wfbwemYwR` Av'tvc Kiv ntq'tQ| A`Ŧ cj'tli mvt_ m=úwKZ KvRtK tenk ,i`Zj't`qv ntq'tQ Ges bvixi mvt_ m=úwKZ KvRtK Kg ,i`Zj t`qv ntq'tQ| cŁZwĚĚK b'w`t'Z cj'tli KvR ,i`ZcY` m'w'w'q l t'Rv'vtjvfvte Ges bvixi KvRtK ,i`Zp'xb l wbi'Ŧfvte Dc`vc'b Kiv ntq'tQ| thgb wKkvi, h'k, e`emv-emYR`, Lv` Drcv`b cŦwZ

² gvmŦiU WneŦ-KbwK l t'Rtbu wv t`úYvi, AwkŦj wR A'vŪ w` ÷wv Ae t'RŪvi | t'Kvj tnBm-wj wcb l t'wfvw Gm ūBuj (m=úv.) w'Ww Bb t'RŪvi AwkŦj wR, i`új R, j Ūb l wDBqK©1998|

KvRtK cj"li KvR wntmte mnuq, exi ZmPK, mgvRnbqšK I cwi eZBKvix ivR%bwZK Kg³wntmte Dc`vcb Kiv ntqtQ Ges bixi KvR thgb Lv`msMh, cūuqvKiY I mšw jvjbcyj bmn Mv³Kg³ tK Kg „i"ZcY³ AivR%bwZK KvR wntmte Dc`vcb Kiv ntqtQ| Gfvte cj"li ōcvej KŌ Ges bixi Ōwtgw=KŌ mEvi AvbZwEjK wfwE wbgfY Kiv ntqtQ, hv eZgjb AwactZ`kxj cvej K I cŌBtFU wefvRtbi tšiki| bixev`xMY weZK³tZtj b th, cvej K I cŌBtFU wefvRtbi GB aviYv wki weceDĒi cwŌgy kni I Dckni tK³ K GKwJ aviYv, hv tK bix-cj"l kŷwefvRtbi ivR%bwZK gj` wbaŷtY wekRbxb Kti t`Lvfbv ntqtQ| bixev`x cŌZwEjKMY kŷgi GB wj ½tK³ K wefvRtK mgvtj vPbv Ktib Ges wfbewfbemgvtR wfbewfbewj tšzi aviYv Ges wj ½xq KvRi wfbewfbew ivR%bwZK „i"Zj_vKvi m³ebvi I ci tRvi t`b|

Dch³ wclq,tjv kbv³ Kivi gva'tg bixev`x cŌZwEjKMY hv Dc`vcb Kitz Pvb, Zv ntjv cŌZwEjK MtelYvi gva'tg th BwZnm wbgfY Kiv ntqtQ Zv cj"li i wKš' ZvtK ōgybe BwZnmŌ wntmte Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ Ges cj"l I bix m³utK³mvi eEvKZ aviYv `Zwi Kiv ntqtQ hv Gt`i KvR, GB KvRi mvgwRK I ivR%bwZK gj`, e`envi Ges mgvR I ōmf`ZvŌi weZfB Gi „i"ZtK wbt`R Kti| thgb ŌnkKwi cj"l, msMhKvix bixŌ gŷWtj i gva'tg cj"l tK wKwi wntmte t`Lvfbv ntqtQ Ges GB wKvi I emnti Kvh³ mvgwRK weZfB fvgKv tittQ, wKš' bixi KvR Mnbw³ nI qvq bix weZfB fvgKv ivLtz e`_ntqtQ— Gtnb eqyb cŌZŌv Kiv ntqtQ| Ab`w tK ev`Pv Drcv`b, jvjbcyj b, bixi Mf³aviY— GB wclq,tjvtK enĒi mvgwRK weZfB bixi AskMh³Yi tŷtĀ AthvM`Zv I evav wntmte kbv³ Kiv ntqtQ Ges GB Avtj vPbv Kiv ntqtQ tnwgnbW t`tK tnvtgvtmctqY tmctqY chš³ tŷtĀ wj ½xq cŌZwEjKt`i e³e` ntjv cŌ_wgK tnwgnbW t`tK weZfBi GB Avtj vPbv GK ai tbi AcŌZwv`Zv itqtQ| Ab`w tK KbwK etj b, ev`Pv Drcv`b Kiv, gvb| Kiv Ges G,tjv Kivi Kvity eBti enĒi Drcv`bKxj LvZ fvgKv ivLtz bv civ— Guv GtKv³B wj ½ Ges m`wZ wv`Ō aviYv, hv cj"l I mv`v cwŌgy m`wZi BwZnm AwactZ`i mvt`_ RwoZ| KbwKi gZ, G,tjv hZuv bv cŌMwZnvmK ev`eZv, Zvi tPtq teik cwŌgy mv`v cj"li AvbZwEjK AwactZ`i ivR%bwZK wbgfY| G Kvity mvgwRK mvs`wZK weZŌ I m³cŌwity cj"li fvgKvi eqvbw P`vtj tšzi gŷLvgvL ntqtQ| GKbfvte NitK³ KZvi aviYv— bix Nti `vtK ; cj"l Ni t`tK KvR tei nq ; Avevi Lv` wbtq Nti tdti ; GKmt½ cj"l I bix Lv` fivfvwM Kti— bix I cj"l wgtj gbj`Zi wbgfYi GB mvi eEvKZ aviYwJ bixi MuzwewatK mxgwqZ Kti w`tq etj wj ½xq cŌZwEjKMY gtb Ktib| GB `wotKvY t`tK wj ½xq cŌZwEjKMY cwiev³ GB aviYvtK mgvtj vPbv Ktib| wj ½xq cŌZwEjKt`i tK`tq weZtK³ RvqMv ntjv— cŌZwEjK AvL`v bix tK Ggbfvte wbgfY Kiv nq th bixi Aa`bZv eŌw tbi, wPivqZ I `tfweK| Zuiv GB aviYvi wetiwaZv Ktib| Gw³tK wPivqZ ev`tfweK wntmte bv t`tL cwŌgy mv`v-cj"l AwactZ`i ivR%bwZK I cŌZwEjK wbgfY wntmte t`Ltz Pvb|

wj ½xq cŌZwEjKMY cŌZwEjK MtelYvi gva'tg bixi e`envi, KvR, cŷvZ AbmŌv³tbi Rb` weKí ZĒj I c³wZi AbmŌv³ Ktib| KbwKi gZ, hv I GLb chš-Ggb ZĒjev c³wZ tbB hvi gva'tg cŌZwEjK tiKw³civ³ I wetiK³ Kti wj ½wfwEjK KvRi BwZnm wbgfY m³e| Zte bixev`xt`i cŷ t`tK G ai tbi tPov Pj tQ| hvi gta` tRtK t`ú±i KZR (1981-82) bKkvKZ ŌKvR c_KvKiY c³wZŌi K_v Dtj L-Kiv hvq³|

³ cl,³

1971 mvtj evsj vt`k `vaxb nevi ci GK gnvb RvZxqZvev`x tNvl YvmtgZ hvIv`i`i` Kti evsj vt`tki cZzEj| Jcubtekk Avb I `wofwz t`tk cwi Pwj Z nevi dtj GwU Gi ōceEj`lŌ-Gi avivevnnKZv eRvq ivtL| MZ 37 eQtI evsj vi th BvZnvm vbwgZ ntqtQ Zv GKwU cj`l ki xti i KvWtgvZ vbwgZ| cZzEj Kvj wefvRb GB cj`l KvWtgv Ab`Zg t`T| cZzEj; AZxZ mggtK wefvRbKvj cte`efvRZ Kti, thgb cŌBvZnm-BvZnvm, cŌ`hM-tj ŠnhM A_ev cŌPxb-ga`-AvaybK hM| cZzEjK bw`tZ GB wefvRZ hMmggtK gvbe cŌMvZ ev weeZfbi avc vnmvte eYŌv Kiv nq| GB wefvRb wK gvbe³ ev AMŌMvZi vbt`RK bv cj`tl i weRq hvIvi vbt`RK ? GB hMwefvRb vixtK Kxfvte vbgŸ Kti tQ ? GB cKq: tj v DĪ vcb Kti tQb vixev`xMY| tRvb tKj x vixi BvZnvm vbgK cZ`qtK „Z; mnKvti vetePbv Kivi K_v etj b, hv HwZnwmK chfj vPbv vixtK mvgtb vbtq Avtm|⁸ GB h³ atI GtMvtj ej v hvq, cŌ`hM t`tk tj ŠnhM, wKsev cŌPxb-ga`hM ntq AvaybK hM DEiYtK hw` vixi AMŌMvZi mvtctj| gj`vqb Kiv nq, Zvntj GB AMŌMvZi eqvb gj`_pfo cote| tKbbv, th AMŌMvZtK gvbe AMŌMvZ vntmte t`Lvfbv ntqtQ Zv Avmtj cj`tl i AMŌMvZ| vixi AMŌMvZi tKvfbv Dvj E-GLvfb tbB| Ab`fvte ej v hvq, AMŌMvZi gvbe`E vntmte Avmtj av ntqtQ cj`tl i AMŌMvZtK, vixi AMŌMvZtK bq| G Kvi tY dvi qv gŠe` Ktib vixi gv³tK hw` tKvfbv GKwU hM i meRbxv gv³ i mPK vntmte atI tbqv hvq, Zvntj Gt`vbwqvb mF`Zv, titbm Ges diwm vetei gtZv Z_vKw_Z cŌMvZtK bZb Kti gj`vqtb i cŌqRb t`Lv t`te| Gt`tY vixi Rb` ōcŌMvZi A_`h`Q vix-Avj tQ bMi cZ` i Aei`x nI qv Ges i vŸZv nI qv| BDtvtci titbmvg ōcŌMvZi gvfb nt`Q eŸRŸv `xi Mv`KiY cŌv Ges tkvMvtektI ŌvBvb vbabŌ ZxeZi Kti tZvj v| Ges diwm vetei ō`vaxbZvŌ, ōvvgŌ, ōavZtZiŌ avi Yv t`tk cKvtk`B vixtK `ti tvtj t`qv ntqtQ|⁹

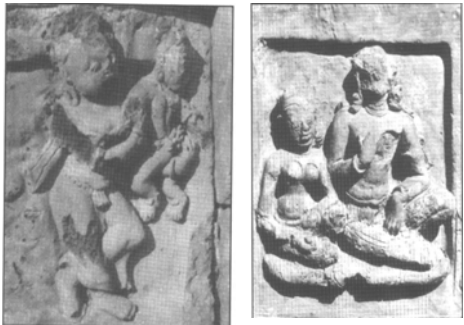
tKj xi vektY cZzEj Kvj KiY cŌYZvq cŌqM Ki tj ej v hvq, cŌ`hM t`tk tj ŠnhM DEiYi Kwnvb wKvvi cj`l t`tk Kvl cEbKvix, emYR` we`vi I bMi `vcbKvix cj`tl i Kwnvb Ōrov Ab` wKQy bv| vix GLvfb me`vB vbwŸEj, ev`Pv cj bKvix, cj`tl i m`xi AwA wKQy bq| cŌPxbhM t`tk AvaybKhM DEiYi eqvb gvZvšK cwi evti i vej Ÿ tNvl Yv Kti wczZšK AwKí vntmte cŌZvŌZ Kti| G Kvi tY vixi gv³tK HwZnwmK vetePbv vbtq Avmtj GB DEiY_tj vK tKvfbv vteB DEiY ej v hvq bv| wKŠ` GB cj`l ZvšK ceRi YtKB cZzEjK Mtel Yvq cŌZŌv Kiv ntqtQ ōmF`ZvŌi AMŌMvZ vntmte| evsj vt`tk cŌMvZnwmK mgq t`tk Jcubtekk mgtqi th Kvij K wefvRb, Zv evsj vi mF`Zvi AMŌMvZi gvBj dj K vntmte vetePZ| cŌPxb ōevsj vi mF`ZvŌ ej tZ th vP`Kí vbwgZ ntqtQ, Zv tgŠ` i ½-β-cvj -tmb cŸvZ ivReskxq kvmb e`e`vi tMŠegg eYŌv| GB mgtqi `vcZ`, fv`h`cKvmbK e`e`v, bMi e`e`v, A_`vZv cŸvZi AMŌMvZi buri cj`tl i KwxZ vntmte cŌZvŌZ ntqtQ| GB mF`Zvq vixi Ae`vb I fvgKv eYŌv Kitz e`_GB cj`l ZvšK KvWtgv| Z_vw GB mgtq vixi th mg`eYŌv cvl qv hvq, ZvtZ Dvj wZ ntqtQ tgŠ` i ½, cvj ev tmb Avgtj i vix|¹⁰ A_`v vixtK cŌ_gZ eRŌ Kiv ntqtQ Ges th RvqMvq Dvj E-Kiv ntqtQ tmLvfb vixi Kvj etj vPvYZ ntqtQ cj`tl i Kvj| BvZnvtm vixi tKvfbv Kvj vbgŸ Kiv hvq vb| tKbbv, Kvj vntmte hv vetePbv Kiv ntqtQ, Zv ce`_tKB cj`tl i `LjKZ| GB cj`tl i Kvtj vixi Dcw`vZ AbmŪvbi Rb` cZzEj vektI K`vŪvMvi Kiv ntqtQ| GB K`vŪvMvi vixi BvZnvtmK mvgvRK BvZnvm vntmte Avi cj`tl i BvZnvtmK ivR`vZK BvZnvm vntmte Ztj atI| mvgvRK GB K`vŪvMvi tZ vixi Dcw`vZ AbmŪvb Kivi Rb` vektw`Z ntqtQ gj`Z fv`h`Ō tUivtKvŪv| vbtP GB vel qvU we`Z Kiv ntj v|

⁸ tRvb tKj, vj tzi mvgvRK m`uK` vixi BvZnvtm c`xvZMv vbwZ A_`q vrbm tPšajx I mvqi qv „j i`L (m`v.), ŌKZŸ msviŌ, ifcvŠi cKvk, tde`qmi 2000|
⁹ cŌ_3
¹⁰ fvi Z I evsj vi BvZnvm eB_tj vtZ GB aitbi eYŌvi AmsL` D`vni Y etqtQ|

cĀZĒj l mvgwRK bvi x

cĀZĒwĒK bw tZ bvi x wbgZ nġtQ GK mvgwRK mĒv wntmte, hvi KvR ʾfweK mgvRRxeb wbeñ Kiv, mšvb Drcv b l jvj bcvj b Kiv| GB eqvtb bvi x Duj w-Z iġtQ wki l cĀKwZi cvkvcwk| mgM0 eqvtbi mvggġnjv bvi x Zvi cĀKwZK mĒv AwZug Kti ivR%wZK eʾw3 nġq DVtZ cvti w| GB aiġbi GKwU KvġRi aʾc`x D`vniY nġjv kvnbvivi ūmvBb-Gi KvR| kvnbvivi ūmvBb cvnvocġi tUivġKvUv wġkġY Kti cĀPxb evsjvi bvi xi mvgwRK BwZnm Ztj aiġtQb| Zui Mtelyv cġtŪi bvg Paharpur Terracotta Plaques: A Source of Social History of Ancient Bengal. GwU cĀKwZ nġtQ Bengal Art Gi 4 bʾt msLvq|

bvgKiY wbwĀZ KiġQ, wZwb mvgwRK BwZnm AbjmŪvbġKB j ʾġl wntmte wbaġY KtiġQb| tj Lvi wĀZxq AbġʾQġ wZwb Dġj L Ktib, wenvġi Mvġq th tUivġKvUv iġtQ ZvtZ bibvixi bvP, ev`hšj evRvġbv, gvbe`ʾúwZ, gv l wki, ivgvqY-gnvfvġZi `k, t`ef`ex, Dw`c l cĀYxi wPġ iġtQ| wKš`PZġAbyQġ wMġq wZwb 2800 tUivġKvUvi GB wewfbwġtġi ġta` tKej bvi x wġqK tUivġKvUvi eYġv`ii` Ktib A_P Zui wġq mvgwRK BwZnm| mgM0 tj Lvi ġta` GK cġv tKej bvi xi BġGR mʾġj Z tUivġKvUvi bKkv Ges `B cġve`vcx Gi Kg 8wU tUivġKvUvi Qwġ | wZwb Zui tj Lvi mgwB Uvġbb 0...cnnvocġi i tUivġKvUv cġM i agvġ cĀPxb evsjvi wġtġi D`vniY bq G tġv GKB mvġ_ cĀPxb evʾvjx bvi xi BwZnvġmi Agj` cġwġK Drm|011 Zui eqvtb cĀPxb eiOwġj bvi x wPġ Z nq emv, `wovġbv, Pj vPj, bvP, wki i mvġ_ mġxovi Z l cġ`tli mvġ_ Kvgi Z Ae`vq Ges wbgZ nq mvgwRK mĒv wntmte| Gfvte bvi xi KgġK mvgwRK Kg`wntmte e`vL`v Kiv GKwU mvavi Y cġ`l ZwšġK cġYZv| GgbwK cpi`rcv` tbi ġtZv wġqK l e`vL`v Kiv nġtQ wġQ Mvñ` Kg`wntmte| thLvġb Rvj tġU wġtġj mn AġbK bvi xev`x cpi`rcv` bġK BwZnvġmi Kvj cġeP Ab`Zg gvġ`Ē wntmte t` Lvi cġve Ktib|



kvnbvivi ūmvBġbi cġtŪ e`eüZ Qwġ

kvnbvivi ūmvBġbi KvR Avġiv wKQŪv wġkġYi `we ivġL| wZwb hw` cvnvocġi tUivġKvUvġK cĀPxb evsjvi mvgwRK BwZnvġmi Ab`Zg cĀwġK Drm wntmte ġtb Ktib, Zv nġj GB cġkġtZvj v thġZ cvti th, tUivġKvUvġ cġ`tli th eYġv iġtQ Zv t`ġK tKb cġ`tli mvgwRK BwZnm wbgġYi Dġ`wM tbb w| mʾve` DĒi ġtb nq tmB Abġġi, hvġZ ġtb Kiv nq cġ`tli BwZnm ivR%wZK BwZnm, mvgwRK BwZnm bq| Avevi bvi xi wki i mvġ_ tLjv Kiv Ges cġ`tli mvġ_ cġtġi Qwġ cġ`l ZwšġK Kvq`vq tKvġbv mgvġj vPbvġj K wġkġY QvovB Dc`vcv Kiv nġtQ| 8g t`ġK 10g kZġKi `vʾúZ` Rxeb l wki i jvj bcvj bġK eZġvb cġ`l ZwšġK eiOwġj gv`kġv tġ wġkġY Kiv KZLwb mġZ ? tKvġbv wġK ZwĒK Ae`vb Qvov cġ`l ZwšġK Kwvġgv w`tġ bvi xi BwZnm AbjmŪvb Avġ`Šl mʾve wK bv ? Avgiv eis GB tj LwġġK GKwU Nġj tġ `evi cġ`ve KiwQ| hw` mwZ` mwZ` 2800 tUivġKvUvi AwKvsk bvi xi mġġ hġ nq, Zvntġ Avgiv bvi xi GKwU eġov mgvġek cve| GB mgvġetġ wKš`cġ`l mSL`vj Nġj GB mgvġetġ bvi xi mKj KvRġK hw` eZġvb ivR%wZK ġj` w`tġ wġePbv bv Kwġ, Zvntġ `we Kiv hvq tmB mgq

11 kvnbvivi ūmvBb, cvnvocġi tUivġKvUv cġM :G tmñwAe tmvġ`vj wñ=wi Ae A`vbmġtġU teġj | teġj AwU`mSL`v 4, 1999|

hvq, Zv ntjv GwU cieZPga`hM wbgZ¹⁷ cUPxb
 `vcZ`i AmacZ`kxj eqvbi tKv_vl G_s,tjvi
 mvf_ `vbxq bvixi m`uK`LuRvi tPov Kiv nq w|
 wKs` bvi`i eZGvb RgvqZ Ges Zv`i `Z`K
 cR Kti ejv hvq, GB aitbi `vcZ` bvi`i
 `i`ZcY`RgvqZi RvqMv wQj, hvi ZvrchEY`
 Av_`mvgwRK, ivR`wZK `i`Zi h_vh_ wekH`Yi
 `we ivfL| Gfvte wekH`Y Ki tj `vcZ`i Mtq th
 cj`l BtgR AuKv ntqQ, Zvi weciZ Gi m½
 bixi RgvqZ I wj BZvi GK wfbEwZnm `Zwi
 Kiv thZ cvti, hv `vcZ`i BwZnmK Avtiv teuk
 mvgwRK I ivR`wZK Kti Zj tZ mrvh` Ki te|



tjv vPj vKvj MtQi wKotK cRv Kiv nt`Q

fv`h`

fv`h`bixi lci cj`l AmactZ`i Ab`Zg `siK| Gi m½ tms` h`l thsbZvi aviYv hP, hv bixi
 mE`v wbgY Ab`Zg nwmZvi wntmte e`eüZ ntqQ| AvaybK cRv`x e`e`v bixiK cj`li tms` h`l
 Kvgbri e`v wntmte wbgY Kti tQ| GB wbgY AvbMZ wfuE RvMtqQ cZwE`K MtelYv| Awe`KZ
 cUPxb fv`h`K e`vL`v Kiv ntqQ eZGvb thsbZv I tms` thP gZv`k`q| Gik Ztj aiv ntqQ bixi
 wPi sb Kgbxq, wv`E mEvi cZxK Ges bixiK cj`li tms` h`l Kvtgi DcKiY wntmte cZövi hP
 wntmte| wKs` fvi Z I evsjvi eü fv`h`cj`li bMzv I KvgKZvi AmsL` w`k`b`_vKtj I cj`l tK
 bixi Kvg I tms` thP DcKiY wntmte e`vL`v Kiv nq w| GK aitbi cj`l ZmwK Kí bv t`K ati tbqv
 ntqQ th, me fv`h`P RbK th AZxZ wKíx Zuiv mevB cj`l | Avi ZvB GB e`vL`v mnR ntqQ th,
 AZxZ t`KB bixi cj`li tms` thP Avavi, Kgbxq GK mE`v wQj | Ab`w`K AmsL` gw`ti wq_b
 fv`h`cj`li Kgbxq fvgKvi tKvtr mWk e`vL`v t`qv nq w| hv` bixi GB tms` h`l wKti
 w`qK` K e`vL`v bixiK wv`E I AivR`wZK wntmte wbgZ ntZ mrvh` Kti, Zte Gi weciZ GB
 cKvKiv thZ cvti th, AmsL` gw`ti cj`li KgbxqZv Dc`vctbi cil cj`li extivPZ fvgKv tKb
 w`b` ntq DVj bv| Gi Revte KbiKi gZv ejv`i Kvi, G_s,tjv hZUv bv AZxZ ev`eZv, Zvi tPq teuk
 cj`li AvbZwE`K I ivR`wZK wbgY¹⁸ fv`h`P th AmacZ`kxj eqvb Zvi Revte ejv thZ cvti
 th, thsbZvi eZGvb gZv`k`q AZxZ mgtqi thsb w`qK e`vL`v Kiv m½Z bq| wgtkj dtKv Zwi
 thsbZvi BwZnm w`qK Avtj vPvmg`n t`wL`tqQb eZGvb thsbZvi aviYv GKv`iB AvaybKkvj cte`
 Mto I W GKwU aviYv¹⁹ cOK-JcubteukK mgq I cOK-AvaybK GKwU mgvR thsbZvi A_`Gi Av_`
 mvgwRK gj` m`uY`Avj`v`v ntZ cvti | G Kvity fv`h`wekH`Y Kti AZxZ bixi tms` h`P tcvkK,
 Aj skvimm AZxZ bixi th BtgR `Zwi Kiv ntqQ, ZvK mgvtj vPvnxvfvte MhY bv Kti eis GB cKv
 tZjv`i Kvi th, tKb fv`h`P e`vL`vi t`j`i bixi I cj`l fv`h`P wfbE`vL`v `Zwi Kiv ntjv ? tKb
 bixi fv`h`K tms` h`P Kvg, wKí Avi cj`li fv`h`K kw`3, exiZi ev`qZvi cZxK etj e`vL`v Kiv
 ntjv ? GB e`vL`vKiv`i wj`xq c`qmwZ`Zi Kvi Y Kx ? tKb bixi I cj`l Dftqi agrE gwZP gta`
 bixi gwZ`tjv mvaviYfvte atgP AwaK tms` thP cZxK ntq DVj ? Ab`w`K cj`l gwZ`tjv
 mvaviYfvte agrE BtgRc`B ntjv ? Gi GKwU PgrKvi wekH`Y cvlqv hvq ZcZx`n VvKi Zvi h`xi
 RxebeE`Sg`K KvtRi gta`| thLv`b ZcZx t`Lv`b Krfvte fv`h`l Rv`Ni we`vi Avl Zvq h`xi

¹⁷ Avej Kvj ig tgvn`S` RvKwi qv, eisj v`iki cZm`u`, wKí Kvj GKvWgx, 1984|

¹⁸ gwM`ti U Wie`KbK I tRtBU w`t`uYvi, AmK`Pj wR AvU`w` ÷vW Ae tRÜvi | tKvj tnBm-wj wcb I tWwF Gm üBuj (m`u.) w`Wi Bb tRÜvi AmK`Pj wR, i`U`tj R, j`Üb I wDBqK`1998|

¹⁹ we`mi tZi Rb` t`Lp wgtkj dtKv, w`=wi Ae tm` p`vj wU 1984|

cwi Pq wbuqZ nq a'c`x wktí i cLxK wntmte|²⁰ Gfvte cLZÉ;PPWkí I tmS`hPK cji`I ZwšK GKU Ávb wntmte wbuqZ ntZ mrvh` KtítQ Ges eZgVb mgq chS- GtK cpi`rcw`Z KtítQ| evsj vt`k RvZxq Rv`Nti bMebvixgZP cD kB eZgVb cji`I ZwšK mgvRi bMzvi aviYvi mvt_ bviXi Aa`bZvi eqvbtK cptcDZov Kti| AZxZ th mgvR GB gwZP Rb# Ges th gvb#i i mvt_ Zvi emeem, tmB mgq I Zvi gj`tevtai Dc`vcb Ovov Rv`Nti i Pvi t`qvij i gta` cwi tCtQZnxv GKU e`wntmte GuU GKU bMebvixi cLxK `e Ab` tKv#v A_`Wk `Zwi KtítZ cvti ? evsj vt`k RvZxq Rv`Ni cwi Pwj Z GKU mv#vRvvi Rwi c (2006 mvj) t`tK GB cD#Ui tj LKt`i wtkL#v ntjv Rv`Ni KZ#Q GtK wktí i cLxK wntmte cD kB KtítQb etj `we Ktítj I `kPKi gtb nI qv Gt#tí wvfb#i Kg| GKU etov Astki `kR (hviv gmj gvb), GLvtb gwZP (wtklZ bviX gwZP) cD kB#K Athš#K gtb Kti| bviX`i etov GKU Ask fv`h`K#W (RvZxq Rv`Nti i th Kt#Q fv`h`g#v ivLv) `Z AwZµg Kti Pij hvq| Ab`w`K GKU etov Astki cji`I `kRt`i Rb` AwZ AvM#ni K#_tjvi gta` GuU Ab`Zg| thfvte AwKvsk bviX AwZ `ZZvi mvt_ GB K#W AwZµg Kti wK Zvi wecixZfvte AwKvsk cji`I `kRMY AwZ AvM#ni mvt_ GB Kt#Q bMwgZ`tj vtK DctfvM Kti| GuU tbnvtqZ wktí i cD kB _vtK bv, Gi mvt_ h# nq eZgVb mgtqi thšbZvi gZi`k# Zvi ivRbmZ|

cDvebv I mxgve×Zv

mKj tkvI tYi i tqtQ gZi`wK# wfvE, hv#K AvbZvbI M#guk D#j`KtítQb tnrRgub wntmte ; hvi evsjv Kiv th#Z cvti g#vRvMwZK AwacZ`| g#vRvMwZK `Lj wbuDZ Kivi ga` w`qB tkvI tYi KvhRi I `vqx Kti tZjv m#eci nq| wj`#xq tnrRgub `Zwi tZ cLZÉ; mµq fvgKvi `fC D#b#Pb Kiv wQj GB tj Lvi Ab`Zg D#t`k`| Avgiv gtb Kwi, GB cµqv O#vD#vvi tnrRgubD `Zwi KtítZ mrvh` Kite| evsjvi ō#eY`AZxZD th bviXi Rb` ō#eY`bq, Zv Avgvt`i tj Lvq Avgiv wtkL#v Kti t`Lv#vvi tPov KtíwQ| eZgVb tj LwM#K Avgvt`i GKU cD_wgK cvW wntmte wetePbv KivQ| GB tj Lvq Avgiv evsj vt`k cLZÉ;PP# gta` wj`#xq AwactZ`i Dcw`wZ kbv# Kivi tPov KtíwQ| GB tPov GtKvtiB cD_wgK ch#q| w`Z KvRi Rb` th e`vck gvWg# i Kvi Zv Kiv m#e nq w| G Kvi tY cLZÉ; mKj kvLv#K wtkL#v Kiv m#e nq w| Zte GB KvRi avivew#KZv eRvq`vKte etj Avkv Kwi| eZgVb tj Lv AšZ GuU c#vY Kivi tPov KtítQ th, evsj vt`k cLZÉ;PP#Gi Rb# t`tKB wj`#xq AwactZ`i m#½ RwoZ| GKBmvt_ GuU t`Lv#vvi tPov KtítQ th bviXi eZgVb Aa`bZvtK GKU wPi šb w#lq wntmte Z#j aivi th cji`I ZwšK c#YZv Pj gvb, Zv evsj vt`k cLZÉ; mµqfvte KvhRi Ges GB aviYvi cpi`rcv`b cµqvq cLZÉ; mµq fvgKv cji`b KtítQ| Dcti wtkL#v I ci wfvE Kti Avgiv ej tZ Pvb th, evsj vt`k cLZÉ; M#eLvi gva`g GB Rbct`i th AZxZ ōv#vteiD BwZnm `Zwi Kiv ntqtQ Zv Avmtj cji`I BwZnm| GB BwZnm GKw`K bviX#K fixYfvte Abcw`Z ivLv ntqtQ, Ab`w`K th wv`# I `f cwi mti bviX#K nvrRi Kiv ntqtQ Zv cKZ cDvte eZgVb cji`I ZwšK gZi`k`thfvte bviX#K gj`vq# Kti Zvi wfvE tZ iwPZ| G Kvi tY nvrRi eQti i evOw#j bviXi th BwZnm wbuqZ ntqtQ, Zv Avgiv c#g#`vq#bi `we KivQ|

GB KvRwU GuM#q wbtZ mµq fvgKv ivL#Z cvti wj`#xq cLZÉ; cD_gZ, cLZÉ; M#eLvi gva`g evsj vt`ki AZxZ bviX-cji`I th BwZnm wbg#Y Kiv ntqtQ, wj`#xq `wofw# t`tK Zvi mxgve×Zv kbv# KtítZ nte| GuU Kivi Rb` cLZÉ; wW#Kv#m`fv`h`vcZ`, Rv`Ni, cL#e`, cL#vb, cLZÉ; cDZte`b, BwZnm, BwZnm wj`Lb c#wZ, HwZn`, AZxZ c#vZ w#lq th AwacZ`k#j aviYv `Zwi ntqtQ Zvi wj`#xq c#vZ I AwacwZ`K ifctK Lwi R KtítZ nte Ges wj`#xq c#vZ I AwactZ`i ga` w`q wbuqZ th AZxZ bviX-cji`I BwZnm ZvtK wPi šb tKv#v w#lq wntmte cvW bv Kti wj`#xq

²⁰ ZcZx_n Vki Zv, gbtgUm, AetR#m, w#=#m : B#vUwDmbm Ae AvU# Bb Ktj w#q#j BwUqv, Kj w#qv BD#vfw#U t#h, wDBqK# 2004|

AwacZ' we`vii GKU cKí wntmte cW KiZ nte| GB cUqv BtZvgtá' wlogZ I cUwOZ AZxZ
bixi BwZnmTK cKue× I mgm'vmsKj Kti Zj te|

wOZxqZ, weKí wj ½evÙe cUZWÉK ZÉ; I cxwZ Mto Zj tZ nte, hv AZxZ bixi BwZnm wlogY
cUqM Kiv thZ cvti | eZg'v tj LwU GB weUqi I ci tKv'v Avtj vKcvZ KiZ m'g nq w| Gi
KviY, GKw`tK chB mgq I MtelYvi m'hm`Zwi KiZ e`_nlqv, Ab`w`tK wj ½xq cUZtÉ; GLb
chS-GB weUquU tZgbfvte weKwKZ bv nl qvq tKv'v m'bw`O ZwÉK Ae`vb MhY KiZ bv cviv|

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