

Aw` evmx m^ac0 vq gjuv mgvRi wetq e`e`vt bZwEĶ chfeŋY

kivbR ggZiR we`r

bZwEĶ msAv Abjviti vsj vt`tk Aew`Z Aw`evmx`i gta` tKvb tKvbU i msM egx^o gvj qx I Pxbv`i tPnivMZ m`k` cwi j wŋZ nq| c0Pxb gvbetMv0xi tkYmefvM e`vL`v Kti bjeAvbMY G m^axvtš-tcšQtQb th, Giv Aw` At0ij qv t`tk Avgvt`i Dcgnvt`tki weifb0AĀtj Qvotq ctowQtj v|¹

Lp mgvb` cwi gvtb I weifŋBfite iscj, w`brRcj, e`ov Ges ivRkvnzZ mvl Zij, I i v l, tnv, gjuv Ges ivReskx m^ac0 vtqi Aw`ZZ; i tqtQ| wKs` wŋY AĀtj wetkl Kti Lj bv Ges me`wŋY my`ieb DcKtj Aw`evmx gjuv`i Aw`ZZ; GKU weij NUbv wKsev tKvb DtcwŋZ BwZnm| 26tk Rb 1997` wK BtEdvK cwĪ Kvq cKwKZ Rwn` ingvtbi tj Lv 0 Aw`evmx etbv m^ac0 vtqi K_v0 t`tk Aw`evmx gjuv`i htkvi, gv`iv, wSbvB`n, bovBj Ges mvZŋxiv tRjvi weifb0e`vfb μgwe`ZwZi c0vY cvl qv hvq| gjuv`i Aw` wbev m0j fvi tzi ivPx tRj vq GQvov exi fg, ea0vb, nvl ov, ūMj x, PweŸk ci Mbv, gwk`ver`, b`xqv c0wZ tRj vq gjuv`i emevm i tqtQ etj Rvbv hvq| vsj vt`tki iscj, w`brRcj, ivRkvn I my`ieb DcKtj Lp mgvb` cwi gvtb gjuv tMv0x emevm Kti | gjuviv Zvt`i wBR`^fvlv 0bvMix0 tZ K_v etj | Zviv wbtRt`i mbvZb atgP gvb| etj `vex Kti | k`vgcRv, fvj qv cRv, ebweei cRv BZ`w` bvbv i Kg cRv Zviv Kti weifb0mgta| evlvj xt`i gtZvB Zviv fivZ, gvQ, mĀx tLq Rxb aviY Kti | cKwZi Ašt0ti emevm etj cKwZi gtZvB mnR mij Zviv AZ`š`-wi`Zvi gvtS Rxb AwZewmZ Kti etj brix I cj`I mgvb fite Nti I evBti KvR Kti | wKŋvi c0qvRbxqZv wK Zv Zvt`i KvQ AvtRv ARvbv| ZvB wKŋv M0tbi c0YZvI Zvt`i gta` Kg| my`ieb DcKtj i gjuviv mvaviYzt mi Kvix moK, teoxevā ev l qvc`vi DPziv`v ev gnvRtbi Rwg A_ev Lvm RwgZ emevm Kti | GB GjvKvi mvaviY gvbti i KvQ gjuviv etbv etj cwi wPZ| Gt`i Ni `tj v nq tQvU tQvU Ges gwU i `Zix| Ni `tj vi QvDwb `vtK Lt0i | RbĪ gZi ev wetqtZ i tqtQ Gt`i wetkl aitbi AvPvi Abp0b| gvQ aiv gj tckv ntj I Kw KvR, w`bgRj, Rvj epb BZ`w` tckvtZ AtbtKB RwoZ| Zvt`i Avq AZ`š-Kg etj c0qB Giv thš` cwi evti evm Kti | eQt i weifb0mgta weifb0cRv, wetq, RbĪ, gZi BZ`w` wcl qK bvbv i Kg Abp0b cvj b Ki tZ t`Lv hvq Zvt`i |

th tKvb mgvRi wPĪ dtU DtV Zvi ms`wZi gva`tg| tmB mgvR we`g vb weevn e`e`v, Awm m^acR, cwi evti i aib BZ`w` i gva`tg| my`ietbi tKvj tNtI emevm Z gjuv RbtMv0x ntj v metPtq c0vrc` RwZ|²

my`ietbi gjuv

mvZŋxiv tRjvi k`vgbMi DctRjvi igRvbbMi I ejotMvqvj bx BDwbqtbi 2wU M0g Gi gjuv`i Dci cwi Pwv Z ntqtQ GB Mt0lYv Kg0| eZ0vfb mvZŋxiv tRjv 7wU DctRjv, 78wU BDwbqb, 953 wU tgSRv Ges 1421 wU M0g wbtq MwVZ| mvZŋxiv tRjvi ceP tK Lj bv I htkvi tRjvi wK0y Ask, cwi0g fvi tzi cwi0ge½, D0ti htkvi tRjv Ges wŋYw tK my`ieb I et½vcvMi | D0i` wŋY`xN`mvZŋxiv tRjvi eZ0v AvqZb 3,858.33 eM0Ktugt ev 1,489.71 eM0vBj | Zb0a` 58.48 eM0Ktugt b`-b`x Ges 1,534.88 eM0Ktugt ebR½j | G tRjvi D0i tMvj vta`bi ŋxq ti Lv Ges KK0μwš-ti Lvi ga`eZx^o 21.360 t`tk 22.540 D0i AŋvstK Ges 88.580 t`tk 89.200 ce`wNgvstK Aew`Z| k`vgbMi DctRjvi igRvbbMi BDwbqb 9,163 GK i Gi 12 wU M0g i tqtQ| Avi ejotMvqvj bx 10,533 GK i Ges Gi M0gi msL`v 18wU| gj Zt GB igRvbbMi I ejotMvqvj bx BDwbqtbi 2wU M0g Zvovxcj I ejotMvqvj bx AĀtj emevm Z gjuv RbtMv0xK wbtqB GB Mt0lYv|

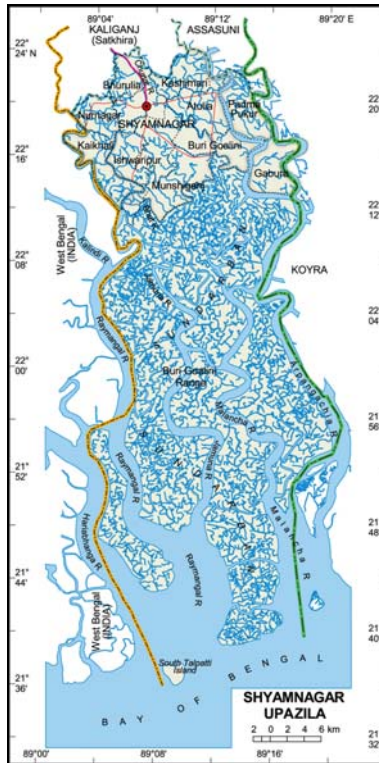
¹ (Guha : "An outline of the Racial Ethnology of India" Page no- 131)

² (ingvb, RwgDi - gjuv cj 0Z GK i b, wK c0g Avtj v 7B Rj vB 1999)

mvZ¶xi v †Rj vq emeivmi Z g¶v†` i Gj vKwfvwEK Ae`vb

Dc†Rj v	BDmbqb	Mōg	cwi evi	RbmsL v		
				cj j	gunj v	†gvU
Zvj v	bMi NvUv	nwi Y†Lv j v	30	73	64	137
	bMi NvUv	evKLwj	27	78	58	136
	Lwj l Lwj	`ej vi Pi	12	39	43	82
k vgbMi	Mvej v	Wgyi qv	12	24	27	51
	Mvej v	cv†kgvi x	11	33	32	65
	Mvej v	†R†j Lv j x	22	72	76	148
	%KLvj x	mvCLvj x	31	101	87	188
	%KLvj x	%kj Lv j x	19	44	42	86
	i gRvbbMi	Kwj wÄ	30	81	83	164
	i gRvbbMi	†FULwj	30	71	79	150
	i gRvbbMi	Zvovxcj	16	33	42	75
	Kwkxcj	Kwkxcj	24	61	69	130
	Ck†j xcj	agNvU	23	61	57	118
	Ck†j xcj	k†dj KwU	18	58	44	102
	gyxMA	gyxMA	25	76	68	144
	eyo†Mvqv j xbx	P†bv	14	34	39	73
	eyo†Mvqv j xbx	`vwZbvLv j	19	64	48	112
	†gvU	9	17	363	1003	958

k"vgbMi Dc†Rj vi gvbwPÎ t



0weevn ntjv mf mgvRi Ab'ib" mKj e'vciiti gZvB cKwZi Awfcltqi mt½ gvb'li Awfcltqi mU' vctbi e'e'v0'3
 gj Zt weevn ntPQ GKwU Kvhe'v'j x hvi gra'tg cwie'v' K m'UR m'p nq| gvb| GKvKx evm Kitz cvtibv ZvB tm m'½x Pvq|
 mgvR Rxe'tbi cQvR'tb I gube wetk'ti 'Re 00 wibmtb gvb| weevni gra'tg cwie'v' MVb Kti'tQ| ZvB mvgwRK -'KwZ
 AR0 I Kvhe'v'j xi gra'tgB gvb| weevn eU'tb Ave'x nq| weevn GKwU Avb'pwbKZv hvi gra'tg mgvR bvix cij'tli th'b
 m'UR Ges Zv't' i Av'0mvgwRK, agv' I mvs'wZK Rxe'tbi cQZ mg'0 Ávcb Kti| Bst'Rx Marry kã t'tK Marriage
 K_wU GtmtQ| Marriage K_wU i A'ntjv- To take husband and wife. wKŠ' Marriage: The ceremony by which a
 man and woman become husband and wife.

MacIner- The family is a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children.

Willam. N. Stephens (1963) Marriage is a socially legitimate sexual union, begun with a public announcement and undertaken with some idea of permanence, it is assumed with a more or less explicit marriage contract, which spells out reciprocal rights and obligations between spouses and between the spouses and between the spouses and their future children.

weirfbæþeÁvbx l mgyRweÁvbxMY weevntK Dctiv³ msÁvq msÁvqZ Kitj l Aw`g mæc0vq.tjvi weevn e`e`vq cv_R`
we`gvb| Zvt`i weevn e`e`v Avcb wekto` fr`f| GB weevn e`e`v Zvt`i ÁvMZ mæcR, eskaviv l cwíevi KwVtgyvi mstM
Nubôfite mæú,³| GB KvítY Zviv Zvt`i weevn e`e`vtK AZ`ŠZ ,iZ;mnKvti MðY Kti _vtK| weevn thtKvb mgvtRi Rb`
GKwU tgŠij K c0Zòvb hñ mgyR KvVtgytK `vd Kwitq ivtL| g0v mæc0vq ntjv wczmfxq mgyR| ZvB GLvtb wetqi e`vcvti
cjtliVB gE` fvgKv cvj b Kti _vtK| Zte bvixi fvgKv GtKvti DctmZ bq| maviYZ Mðgi cðvb ev tgroj g0vt`i
wetqi KvR mæúbeKti _vtK| t0tj i eev, tqtq t`tL c0` Kitj B`iynq wetqi Abp0vb| GtZ tKvb cftiwnZ j vtMbv| Zte
eZgvtb wKQvKQv wetq cftiwnZt`i 0viv ntPQ| wetqi w`b hvi mvg_ÁvtQ tm tXvj evRvq, cvj wK Pto, ei Avmtj eiY Kti|
GgbwK ei thw`b wetq KitZ Avtm tmw`b aeate mv`v gj Mx tKtU Zvi it³i Dci c0tg evg cv w`tq t0tj ei tetk tqtqi
ewotZ hvq| G0vov Zviv tqtqK wetqi Abp0vb jvj kvox w`tq _vtK| GLvtb mv`v l jvj istqi AŠZ0nxZ A_ÁvtQ| KviY
GZ`AAtj weirfbæ`vrb t`Lv tMtQ mv`v is ntjv cwe1Zvi c0ZxK Ges jvj is cRbb 1lgZvi c0ZxK| g0v mæc`vtqi weevn
Abp0vb tKvb gŠt cW nqvb| i agv1 Avb0vwbKZv w`tq weevn mæcbæng|

Môgervm`i fvl` Abhvx Zt`i Aw` wbevm Qj fvtZi i vPx tRj vq| GQrov gvk®ver`, b`xqv, 24 ciMbv, ûMij, nvl ov, exi fg, ea@vb, tqw`bcj cFvZ tRj vq qUv`i emevm i tqQ|

clq`βkZ ermi cte^QKv^uvbx Avgtj i`ri^tZ GB AĀtj i Rwg`vi i^vP tRj vi Rwg`vti i m^t P³ Kti Zt^ti tK ebR¹/₂j
tKtU Pvlvert`i Rb`wb^tq Avtmb| AvbgvmbK 1857 m^tj Rwg`vi c^jmy`ix`vmx Zt^ti Avtbb| k¹Z Abh^vqx Zviv AZ`šZ
Kg⁹, R¹/₂j tKtU Pvlvert`i Rwg`Zix^tZ Awf^A Ges Zxi ab^k Puj bvq cvi`k^xQj | t^tki`w¹lb AĀtj i ebR¹/₂j tKtU Zviv
mekvj AĀj Avev`Ki^tZ iⁱyKti| GB mekvj Avev`Rwgi gwj Kvbv Rwg`vii Avj wLZ fvte c⁰vb Kti | P³ Abh^vqx i^vPx
tRj vi Rwg`vi g⁰v m^c0vtqi tj vKtK tdir tbi qvi Rb`Avmtj G AĀtj i Rwg`vi etj b th, Zvi Gj vKvq ōg⁰v0 etj tKvb
m^c0vq tbB eis hv Av^tQ Zviv me m^vP | G AĀtj i g⁰v hviv wQj Zvivl w^tRt^ti tK m^vP etj cwi Pq w`j | Kvi Y Zt^ti
GB AĀtj emevm Ki^tZ tKvb Am^uav n^uPQj bv| hvi d^jk¹Z^tZ Zviv i^vPx tRj vq bv w^tq G AĀtj emevm Ki^tZ j w^ttj v|

Aw` evmx m^αc0 vq qUv mqvRi weiq e`e`vt bZwEK cheY

gŭv m̃acŏvq G AĀtj ˘nɸ b hɐr emɐm Kivi cti evʒj xivl axti axti Zṽti i cvkvcmk H AĀtj em̃Z ˘vcb i i yKti
Ges Zṽti i m̃sL˘vl ep̃ cvq| Dti ˘ gŭv m̃acŏvq mnR mij Ges cĭPhZvi ga ˘ w̃tq Rxb Am̃Zem̃Z KiťZv| cieZx̃chṽq
H Gjvkvq emɐmKvix evʒj xiv Zṽti i G aiťbi ˘ eʃZvi m̃thvM w̃btq w̃wfbṽte Zṽti i w̃bKU ˘ t̃K Rwg Am̃M̃ti cĭP̃ov
Pvj vq| Gf̃vte μgm̃Z Rwg Am̃M̃ti dtj eZg̃vb ōgŭṽ m̃acŏvq Ggb GK chṽq t̃c̃t̃q t̃h Zṽti i em̃Z ˘vc̃t̃bi Rb˘
w̃bR˘^RvqMv UKĭ t̃bB ej t̃j B P̃tj | eZg̃vb Zviv teox eṽtai cvrk I L̃t̃j i cvrk A˘ṽ Lvm Rwt̃Z emɐm KiťQ Ges
gnvRb I ab̃k t̃kYx ōviv b̃rṽṽte w̃bhṽZb I w̃bc̃x̃t̃bi w̃kKvi ñt̃PQ|

gŭṽt`i A_ŕoizK eybvq` th AwZgṽl̃vq cōvrċ` Zv gŭṽt`i tPniṽ t`L̃tj B mntR tevSv hvq| maṽiYZt GB Dck̃tj
gŭṽt`i em̃wZ Mto DtṼtQ eo w̃ej , b`xi avi Aajm̃Z Rbc`, evl o, Rj ṽf̃wg Ges Dck̃tj xq my`ieb AÃtj | GB Dck̃tj xq
AÃtj emevm̃Kvix gŭṽt`i cāvb tckṽ gṽO aiv| Zviv w̃ekym̃ Kti th, gṽO aiv c̃j̃lṽb̃utgb Zṽt`i tckṽ ntq `notqt̃Q| Ab`
tckṽq hvl qv Ges w̃eKī tKvb w̃KQy L̃tR tbqv Zṽt`i Rb` L̃pB Kómṽa`| niṽY gŭṽ etj - AvgṽtMi cāvb Am̃et̃a KvR bṽ
_vKv/ GLb AṽtMi gt̃Zṽ gṽO _vt̃Kbv/ tg̃t̃q c̃j̃lṽ i R̃w̃gz Rb (gRj) w̃ t̃Z nq| w̃KŠK gṽO aiv Qvor Avgiv Ab` w̃KQy S̃tb/
ZvB Avgṽt`i R̃tbi `vg̃l Kg/ t̃Mi ~Ziv AvgṽtMi VKvB Argiv w̃KQy Kit̃Z cm̃it̃b g̃K ej̃R min` Kūē nq̃O/ Zṽt`i Aṽñ
c̃j̃lṽ iv Xxi ab̃K w̃ t̃q`i K̃i, nw̃ib, eb`RŠ` w̃Kvi KiZ| eZg̃ṽtb Zviv eṽz̃j x gnṽRbt̃ i R̃wt̃Z avb tiṽcb Kiv, avb KvUv,
grovB BZ`w̃ KvR K̃ti _vt̃K| w̃KQy gm̃Ji KvRI K̃ti _vt̃K| Kul I Rb gR̃j̃xi KvR c̃j̃lṽ I gm̃j̃v GKm̃ṽt̃_ K̃ti _vt̃K|
mvgṽb` nṽm̃ gj̃ Mx Qvor Ab` tKvb m̃ac` t̃bB Zṽt`i |

Aw'evmx gPv' i' gta' GLbl tMw' cäv' cÜv Pvjyitq|Q|, mePiq eq' Ges eyxgvb e'w'ivB tMw' cäv' nb| Ab'vb' eq' e'w'iv wePri kwj im cävbtK mrvh' Ktib| gPvcrovq clek Kitj gtb nq GUv GKwes kZväxi cÜg j tMetKvb cj xbg; thb wePQbätKvb Øxc| Aw' R AbMöhi Zv, teKvi Zi Aw'v Gme wKQywgj tQ Zviv thb cÜwZvnmK h'vMi Aw'g Awaevmx| hv' i' tPvLi mvgtb mxgvnb AÜKvi mewKQyami|

4

jß ntZ Ptj tQ Zv`i ms`wZ| Zv`i wR`^fvli Mvb AvtQ Zviv wbtRivB Gi MvqK, mjKvi | GLvfb gJv`i GKwU tj vKm½xtZi Askwetkl Dc`vcb Kiv ntj v-

0Wp, ixi Dc`ti tK`ti SmU KvU?
 num euU tMv bvMesmx ivRvi teUv
 mij`vZb KmU/O (MvqK- tMvKj Ps`^gJv)

Zv`i fvli `GKwU bgbv t`qv ntj v-

bvMix	evsj v
mšZvi	Avj v`v
wZtqb	Zi Kvi x
Kvi tqb Lv`j b?	wK w`tq Lv`eb?
Nti Pvi bwiK PvDi`tj evRvi hvqwiZ	Nti Pj tbB evRv`ti AvbtZ thtZ nte

Lv` t

gJviv Gt`tk eUw`b atiB emevm Ki tQ| Zv`i Lv` ev½vj xt`i gtZvB fvZ- gvQ, wevfbædj gj I kvKmâx| gJv gvnj v Ges cijj GKmv` cwiktj Kti th A`DcvRb Kti ZvtZ Zv`i wZbtej v wZbgfVv Lv` tRvtUbv| RweKv wbev`ni Rb` avbKvUvi tgšmtg Zviv tKv`vj Ges tWj wbtq ewni nq| AZtci wetj wMtq Zviv Bũ`ti i MZ`t`K avb tei Kti, tmUv`K Zviv Lv` wntmte wbtq Avtm Ges tmB mv` Bũ`j`K aievi tPov Kti | KviY Bũ`ti i gysm Zv`i KvQ AwZ wcb| GQovl eb`i Ki, QvMj Ges tfovi gysm Zviv cQ` Kti | elvRvtj Lv`i Afve t`Lv t`q etj Giv GB mgq kvcj v dtj i gj thUv`K vbxq fvlvq kvj K etj tmUv`K Zviv Lv` wntmte e`envi Kti | GQovl Zviv kvcj v dtj K Lv` wntmte Mhb Kti | gvtS gvtS Zviv eb t`K Ryj vbx Kv I gaymsMh Kti wev` Kti v`K | cvtk Lvj I b`x vKvq bvix cijj wki wbe`ktl wPsox gvtQi tcvbv ati Ges tmB wPsox t`v vbxq evRv`ti wev` Kti |

wKv t

mgv`Ri AwKvsk gvb`li KvQ Giv etbv wntmte wPyZ| `wi`Zvi Kv`Y Zv`i Aw`ZZ; AvR wecb` Ankv I Kms`vi Gt`i`K tvtj w`tPQ Avt`v wQtb| AwKvsk gJv wKv Avtj v t`K ew`Z| wKv ev`Ze cQqvRb th AvtQ tmUv th gJv`i KvQ iZcy`Zv bq| KviY Kvi I bvtg wPw Avtmbv| wUcmB t`q cQqvRb ntj | miKvix wKv mthvM t`K ew`Z Zviv| cvov tjtZ t`dj hvevi gtZv wki AtbK, wKtkvixl AtbK hv`i evj weev`ni gra`tg ewj t`qv ntPQ| nvZ tMvbv KtqKRb gv` 8g tkYx chSZ cto`Q| gv` ß Rb hviv GmGmm cvk Kti tQ| eZgvtb t`Lv hvq, GLb tek wKQytQ` t`dj hvq wKŠ`mgvwmRKZvi Kv`Y mncwv`i mv` GKvZntZ cvti bv| dtj ZvovZwo Zv`i wdti AvmtZ nq`g tQto ewotZ|

tcvkv t

iPxtZ Ae`vbKvtj Zv`i tcvkv wK wQj tm mæu`K Rbv hvqwb| tmmgq cij`liv GKvZ tbsw cotZv| wKŠ` eZgvtb gJv`i gta`Kvi tcvkvKi t`t` t`Lv hvq- hjetKiv ev½vj xt`i gtZv j½ cto| tgtq`i t`t` t`Lv hvq Zviv kvox cto| e`Ztct` cQZ gvb`li B wKQyGKUv Kti citbi Kvco itqtQ| gvtS gvtS tVw cto Ges Pj eva Lmv I PwKti | kvZ FZi Zv`i Rb` LpB KóKi | KviY Zv`i Kvi I kvZi tcvkv tbB| exivB metPtq tek Kó Kti |

evm`v t

miKwi moK, teoxev ev I qvc`vi DPziv`Zv wKsev tKvb gnvRtbi RvgtZ ev Lvm RvgtZ Giv emevm Kti v`K| tKvb tKvb RvqMvq Lvm Rvgt`vKtj I Zv Zv`i bvMtj i evBti | KotKi Ltoi QvDbx w`tq %Zix gvwJi mwi mwi Ni | G Nti cQek Kitz nq nvgv` w`tq wK thb Gw`dgv`i Nti tXvKvi gZ Ae`v| Nti i`Rv hZUv t`cwim`ti Rvbvj v Zvi tPtq tQv Ges nvZ tMbv`GKwU Rvbj v| ex Nti Avtj v evZm cQek Kti bv mPivPi |

ag⁹

g⁹Uv vbtRt` i tK mbvZb atg⁹ g⁹byl wntmte `vex Kti | wKš' mbvZb agx⁹ c⁹tiwnZiv Zvt` i tK mbvZb agx⁹ g⁹byl wntmte `xKuZ t` b bv | Zte Zviv `vex Kti th, c⁹nvovq⁹ AAtj i A_v⁹ i vPx tRjvi ce⁹cj⁹l i v thfvte cRv KitZv Zivl tmfvte cRv AP⁹ Kti Ges G⁹ t⁹ v Zvt` i mgvR c⁹avbivB Kti _vtKb | cRv cve⁹ gi MxK cve⁹ Zvi cZxK wntmte wetePbv Kiv nq | Zvt` i gj cRv mgn ntPQ- k⁹vg cRv, Kving cRv, k⁹vaj cRv, fuj qv cRv ev tM⁹px cRv | fuj qv cRv ev tM⁹j⁹ cRv Kiv nq avb tivctbi AvtM | G cRvi gj D⁹l k⁹ hvZ dmj Drcv` b fvtj v nq | k⁹vgv cRv dvêp- `PÎ gvtm Abj⁹oZ nq | c⁹ZuU emoi c⁹j | I g⁹nj v G cRvq AskM⁹hb Kti | G cRvi mg⁹t c⁹ZuU emotZ m⁹ivivZ MvbevRbv Ges bvP nq | f⁹v⁹ gvtmi tk⁹li i w⁹ tK Kving cRv Abj⁹oZ nq | GtZ wbgwš⁹lZ e⁹w⁹ i v emo t⁹ tK Pj , Wj wbtq hvq | AZtci ivbuev⁹ Kti Ges m⁹iv ivZ Abj⁹oZ Pj | m⁹aviYZt wec` Avc` t⁹ tK i q⁹lv cvl qvi Rb` G cRv Kiv nq | bZb eQitK eiY Kivi Rb` th cRv Kti _vtK ZvtK k⁹vaj cRv ej v nq |



Rb⁹ I gZi t

g⁹Uv m⁹c⁹Uvq tKvb gvZv mšZvb Rb⁹ vb Kiti ZvtK H beRvZtKi m⁹t_ 9 w⁹ b Avj v` v Kti ivtL | Zvt` i m⁹t_ H emoi m⁹aviY g⁹byl i tKvb m⁹c⁹R _vtKbv | H 9 w⁹ tbi gta` Zvt` i tK `ck⁹Kitj øv KitiZ nq | H 9 w⁹ b beRvZK I Zvi gvtK evB⁹ti Avtj v evZm t⁹ tK GtKev⁹ti wePQbv Kiv nq | g⁹Uv` i gta` tKD g⁹iv tM⁹j Zvi ke mgwa ev Kei t` qv nq | wKš` h⁹ tKD gZi c⁹te⁹c⁹vovtbi K_v etj hvq Zvtj Zvi gZi ci Zvi ke tcvovt⁹ nq | gZi 10 w⁹ b ci k⁹x Kiv nq | k⁹x Abj⁹oZbv cvovi mKj tK Lvl qvtbvi c⁹Uv AvtQ |

g⁹Uv mgvtRi wetq e`e`v t

b⁹jeAvtbi `c⁹fb Avgiv j q⁹l KtiwQ th, weevn Aw⁹ evmx g⁹byl Rtbi wR wR tMv⁹x msnwZi `vt`_mvs`wZK I eskaviv c⁹evtni GKwL Kv⁹hRix _i⁹zcy⁹mgv⁹mk cšv | weevn wea c⁹U_exi mg`Z Aw⁹ evmx g⁹byl Rtbi wR wR HwZn` Abj⁹oZ ci `ui t⁹gtb Pj b | c⁹U_exi me⁹ weevtni mgq wef⁹b⁹etMv⁹x Zvt` i wR wR AvPvi Abj⁹oZ t⁹gtb Pj b | GB mKj AvPvi Abj⁹oZbv m⁹oi Aw⁹ BwZnm Kte Zv AvR chšZ Rvbv m⁹te nq | wKš` g⁹Uv tMv⁹x Zvt` i wR wR`c⁹wiwPwZ AvR AvPvi Abj⁹oZbv g⁹atg wUwKtq ti⁹l⁹Q | cv⁹l cv⁹l x c⁹U` nevi ci weevtni w⁹ b ZwiL wK Kiv nq | wetqi mgq tKvb c⁹tiwnZ Øviv wetq covt⁹bv nq | estki etqvt⁹R`Øviv wetq c⁹wtq _vtKb | g⁹nj v⁹iv wetqi ci kvLv I w⁹u⁹j c⁹tob | weevtni w⁹ b Zviv mv⁹_`Abj⁹oZ AvtqvRb Kti | g⁹Uv` i weevn c⁹Uvq t` Lv hvq, AvBeo t⁹gtqi Kvb⁹ Av⁹z⁹ i i³ bmcZtK w⁹ t⁹q KjvcvZiv ivLv nq | tmB i³ m⁹z⁹vq w⁹f⁹Rtq ei Ktb GKB Nu⁹tKi nvZ evatZ nq `pZv eU⁹ti Rb` | ei thw⁹ b wetq KitiZ Avt⁹te tmw⁹ b aeate m⁹v⁹ gj Mx tKtU Zvi i³ i | ci w⁹ t⁹q tntU eit⁹tk t⁹gtqi emotZ hvq | wec` t⁹ tK g⁹ c⁹evi Rb` gj Mx f⁹Mextbi bvtg Drm⁹ Kiv nq | wetqi Abj⁹oZbv tKvb gš⁹l c⁹W Kiv nq | tKvb tiw⁹u⁹o⁹ e`e`v t⁹tb | bvP, Mv⁹ I n⁹woqv cvtbi Avb⁹oZbv KZv w⁹ t⁹qB weevtni KvR m⁹u⁹b⁹ekiv nq | t⁹Qj I t⁹gt⁹tK g⁹lvg⁹l emtq t⁹Qj i nvZ t⁹gt⁹tK mgc⁹ Kiv nq | wetq⁹tZ c⁹Yc⁹Uv AvtQ | me⁹bae 2 nvRvi UvKv t⁹ tK mte⁹PP 10 nvRvi UvKv chšZ | G⁹Uv w⁹ t⁹z nq Ae`vi c⁹wt⁹c⁹U⁹ t⁹z ei I Ktb `RbtKB | AZxtZ ei tK w⁹ t⁹z ntZv eZ⁹vtb Ktb⁹tK w⁹ t⁹z nq | Zvt` i gta` evj` weevtni c⁹Pj b Lp tenk | tKvb emotZ weevn ntj cvovi mKj tK Lvl qvtbv eva`Zvgj K | g⁹Uv⁹ weevn wetPQ` Abtgv` b Kti b | h⁹ tKD weevn wetPQ` NUvtZ P⁹vq Zte 4wL Lvm, g` Ges `BwL i Ki w⁹ t⁹q Zvt` i t⁹ vKt` i wbgš⁹l b Kti Lvl qvtZ nte | G⁹U AZ`šZ e`qeuj etj weevn wetPQ` NtU bv |

wetqi eqm t

g⁹Uv m⁹c⁹Uvq wetqi t⁹q⁹l eqtmi tZgb tKvb mxgve⁹xZv t⁹tb | GLvtb thgb evj` weevn c⁹Pj Z tZgvb c⁹U eqt` i weevni wZl mgv⁹b⁹fvte c⁹Pj Z | Zte m⁹aviYZ t⁹Qj t` i 16-20 Avi t⁹gt⁹t` i 12-14 eQI eqtm wetq t` evi c⁹YZv AvtQ | Zte eZ⁹vtb GB c⁹YZv wKQ⁹Uv Kt⁹Q | m⁹aviYZt `vgxi t⁹Ptq `T⁹x 5 t⁹ tK 10 eQti i t⁹Qw ntq _vtK |

wetqi mgq t

m⁹aviYZ wetqi Abj⁹oZbv m⁹c⁹b⁹enq gvN- dvêtb | wetqi w⁹ b w⁹avPY Kti NUK | NUK c⁹w⁹AKv t⁹ tL i f⁹v b w⁹avPY Kti wetqi Rb`, hv` ß ct⁹li (ei I Ktb) mg⁹fb wetqi w⁹ b etj w⁹av⁹l Z nq | PÎ I f⁹v⁹ gvtm wetq nq |

Rxebm½x wbevpb t

gŭvt` i gvtS ewnfēevn cŭij Z| wczvgvZvi `wqZi_vtK mšZvibi wēq t`qv| MtelYvq t`Lv tMtQ GKw tQtj i Rb` Ktb wbevpbi 2w c_ i tqtQ|

1. macywczvgvZvi cQt` wēq|
2. tQtj KtbK cQ` Kti Zwi gv-evēvtK Rvbtē|

Ktb wbevpb t

gŭv macyvtqi AwffveK Zwi tQtj i Rb` Ktb wbevpb mēPtq tewk , iȳj t`q th wēlq Zvntjv tqtqi kvixwi K tmš`hŭ ZvQvov Zvi Pwi tKgb? Zvi cwiēvi tKgb? BZ`w wēlq Gtŭt` iȳcyŭ wēqi cteŭQtj i gv-evēv, AvZwq` Rb tMvctb Lei tbq tqtqi tKvb tclŭgi macyŭK AvtQ wK bv? hw` tKvb tqtqtK cQ` nq ZLb tKvb AvZwq ev tQtj i eŭi gva`tg tqtqtK Rvbvq| tQtj AtbK mgq tqtqtK bv t`LB i wR nq Avei KLtbv tqtqtK t`Ltz Pq| Ges tMvctb tqtqi Mŭtg wMtq t`tL| tQtj i wmxvšZ wK ntjv Zv Zwi evēv-gvtqi KvQ Rvbvq Zwi eŭi| gv-evēv KLtbvB Zwi tQtj i gZvgZ miwmi RvbtZ Pqbv| tQtj i wR ntj GKRb NUK WvKv nq th Ktb cŭŭi mvt_ thvMvthvM Kti Ges wēqi K_vēvZvēj | tQtj t` i tŭt` kvixwi K tmš`hŭq eis A_ŭwZK Ae`v , iȳcyŭ Zte tQtj GKRb my` ix tqtqtK Zwi `Tx wntmte wbevpb Kti |

wēqi Abp̄v t

gŭv macyvtq wēqi HwZw`K, mvgwRK, A_ŭwZK, mvs`wZK Ges ivRŭwZK w`K i tqtQ| wēqi K_vēvZvēj ntj tQtj cŭŭi wQyAvZwq` Rb tqtqi ewotZ hvq celbaw`Z w`tb| tmLvfb Zvt` i tK Avc`vqb Kiv nq| Avb̄vmbKfvte tqtqtK t`Lvbtv nq Gmgq tqtqtK tQtj i AvZwq` Rb bvbvi Kg cŭkŭkŭi_vtK| wēqi K_vēvZvēj ntj Zwi v tqtqi nvtZ GKw j vj mȳv ev avMv tetā t`q| AwZw` t` i tLRŭi i cvZvi gv`j, hvK Zwi v tclwqv etj ZvtZ emtZ t`qv nq| AwZw` t` i cv atq t`qv nq macyb cŭRb Ki tZ| Gfvte GKw Abp̄v tQtj i ewotZ nq| tqtqi AvZwq` Rb tmLvfb hvq| GB Abp̄v , tjtZ fvZ, gvQ, Wj Ges KvBwR Lvl qvbtv nq| GB Abp̄v , tjtZ Zvi v Mv Kti_vtK hvK ņMvZ tMv` ņ ej v nq| GB Mtbi gva`tg Zvi v Zvt` i cwiwPwZ Ztj ati | Zvt` i mȳ-` tL fvMvfwM Kti tbq|

bxP Zvt` i wēqi 2w Mv Dŭj bKiv ntj v-

1. tMvi aȳj t` gvB
tMvi aȳj t`
M½v tm Avbv tj
wbgŭ cwb
tMvi aȳj t`/
2. GtK tKvLŭK Rbgŭj wj
wFD Bi ewnb
GtK gvtq nwtm Rj
tMigv Rj
`j wctj vq ti
tZvi AvKv wj Lb fvBqvti
P`bv i cŭi qv
nvgvi AvKv wj Lb ci t`k/

gŭvt` i wēqi Abp̄v KZ , tjt v AvPvi cvj b Kiv nq| thgb- Mtq njȳ , cvbeib, wēqi gj Abp̄v BZ`w` | wēqi Abp̄v th `vtb macyw` Z nq Zvi Pvi cvtk 4w Kj wMvQ cȳtZ nq| bZb MvgQvq njȳ ti tL Mtq njȳ nq| Mtq njȳ i AvtM 1w Ljŭ ewk cȳtZ nq| Ljŭ tcvZvi AvtM MtZ`njȳ , Zvgvi cqm, mcywi, Kw BZ`w` ti tL Zvi ci tmB MtZ`Ljŭ tcvZv nq| wēqi Abp̄vbi Qq gvm ev GkeQi ci thw`b i t` i evRvi nq tmw`b Kw, cqm, mcywi BZ`w` `ē` MZ`Ljŭ tei Kiv nq| Ges G , tjt v hZwmnKvti i vLv nq hvZ fwerltZ tQtj ev tqtqi wēqtZ G , tjt v e`envi Kiv hvq| gŭvt` i wēqtZ j Mē_vtK 3w-

N. wetq ms_μvšZ t_j b_t` b

gŭv m̃cŏṽtqi w̃etq ẽ'ẽ-vi m̃ṽt_ w̃KQy b̃x̃mZg̃jv v R̃w̃oZ | w̃etqi b̃x̃mZg̃jv v ñtj v G̃gb w̃KQy ĩx̃mZ ev b̃x̃mZg̃jv ĩ m̃g̃ño th, t̃j v w̃bqg c̃ŏv ev H̃uZñ Ab̃h̃vq̃x ci- c̃t̃i ĩ m̃ṽt_ m̃c̃ŏK̃Z | GB b̃x̃mZg̃jv v Ab̃h̃vq̃x gŭv m̃g̃vR w̃m̃x̃ṽS̃Z t̃bq th, t̃m KṽtK w̃etq K̃ĩt̃e ev w̃Kf̃r̃t̃e w̃etq K̃ĩt̃e? G c̃ñst̃M Z̃ṽt̃i w̃KQy w̃etqi b̃x̃mZg̃jv v Z̃t̃j aiv ñtj v |

GUU ntjv Ggb GKw i xwZ thLvrb cvl cvl x wberPtb tKvb weKí e'e~v _vtKbv| A_vP GKRb e'w³ tKvb GKUv mybw 0 tMvTl wetq Ki tZ nq| tMvTl ntjv Ggb GK e'e~v thLvrb GKUv ¶j³ Rb tMox hviv Zvt`i ceeyj mæcPK fvtj v fte Rvrb wKS' mimiwi thvMmJ nwi t q t d t j t Q| gUv mgvR wvrb tMvTl wef³ thgb UuU, Zxi tKvqi, kuj, ivRcZ& Zvgvi, ivReskx BZ'w~| GKB tMvTl i tQj t g t q t`i g t a` GKB i³ cæwnZ| G w b q t g i e v B t i h w` t K D w e t q K t i Z v n t j Z v t K R v Z P i Z K i v n q | G L v b t _ t K g t b K i v n q t h Z v t`i g t a` A R v P v i w b w l t x i e'v c v i w U b n x Z | G K R b e'w³ h w` Z v i w b t R i c 0 t b` A b` mæc0 v t q i m v t _ (w~`y g m u j g) w e t q K t i Z t e Z v t K I R v Z P i Z K i v n q | Z t e G t ¶ t i m g v t R i G K U v c x w Z A v t Q Z v t K w b t R i t M v T l w d w i t q A v b v i R b`| R v Z P i Z g U v h w` k M t g i g U v A w` e u m x t`i L v m x t g t i t c U f t i G K t e j v t L t Z t`q Z v n t j t m i`x n t q w b R t M v T l w d t i A v m t e | G e'e~v t K Z v i v m g v R w b q S l t b i e o n w Z q v i w n t m t e w e t e P b v K t i G e s Z v i v g t b K t i t h, G B` t U i K _ v w P S Z v K t i t K v b g U v w f b e t M v T l w e t q K i v i m v n m c v t e b v | d t j m g v t R k w i S Z k s L j v e R v q _ v K t e |

GUv ntj v Ggb GK mvs`ZK bwiZgvjv thLvtb e`w³ Zvi wbtRi c0>` Abhvqx cvlcvlx wbevPb KitZ cvti A_v⁸ e`w³i
c0t>`i AMnaKvtii wfvEtZ GLvtb wetq nql wKŠ`gUv mgvR wetqi e`vcvti ,iRbt`i e³e` ntjv, hw` tKvb weKjv½ cvl
cvlx l Zviv w`i Kti Zvntj l ney cvl cvlxK webv ktZ⁶GUv tqtb wbtZ eva` ntZ nql ,iRbtiv cvl cvlx wbevPbti tqt

mvaviYZ ewn`K tPnvivi w`tk `wocvZ bv Kti kvixiKfvte KvR KitZ m`lg GiKg e`w`3tK c0` Kti | Zte mgvRuU wczZwš`K etj t0tj tK A`bK mgq tMvctb tqtq t`L`Z cvVtbn nq | tek KtqKUv t`t` j` t`bxq th, Kb`v wbevPtbi t`t` cvt`i gZvgtZi tek c0avb` t`qv ntPQ | m`Zivs ej v hvq th, Av`K`Kfvte g`v mgvR e`w`3MZ c0` _vKtj l ev`Zte t`Lv hv`PQ Gi D`t`v w` KUv Ges GB e`vcviw`i mSL`v w`b w`b e`w`x cvtPQ |

DPzI b`Prestki wetq t

g`v mgvR cvl` cvl`xi wetq t`evi mgq DPrestk (A`w`w`ZK gvb`tU) mgU KitZ wetkl c0` Kti GB Kv`Y th tqtqi _vKv ev Lvl qv civi tKvb Am`eav ntebv | Zte DPrestk wetq w`tq Zviv bvbviKg mgm`vi m`w`xb nq | A`bK mgq Aw`K mPQj Zv m`cbæe`w`3iv Zv`i _t`x`K kvixi K l gvbwmK fvte w`b`vZb Kti _v`K | Aek` Zv`i AZ`vPv`i Ab`Zg Kv`Y ntj v OdviviR`U Rwg A`v` wczZv m`cw`Ei w`KQß cvqbv etj | thgb- g`v mgvR GKRB tqtq`K Zvi Ae`v t`x`K GKUz fv`j v Ae`v m`cbæcv`t`i mstM wetq t`qv nq | th t0tj w`i emo Kqiv _vbvq | t0tj w`i w`KQytj Lvcov Rv`b Ges cieZx`PZ tm _vbvq GKw`l Gbw`l tZ P`Kix cvq | P`Kix Kivi cti tm _t`x`K Avi Zvi ewotZ w`b`q hv`PQbv Ges A`bK w`b hver tm e`evi ewotZ AvtQ | Dci`š t0tj w`i tqtq`K Zvj vKI w`tPQbv Ges w`v`fæKrmv iUv`PQ th, tqtqi AvPvi AvPiY Lvi vc | e`vcviw`i w`bi m`tbi Rb` Kb`vi e`ev c0w`Zöw`bK AvB`bi Avk`q tbevi K`v w`PŠZv fivebv Ki`Qb |

weaev wetq t

g`v mgvR weaev weevn i`w`Z i`tqtQ | weaev wetqi c0v Ab`hvqx gZ _`gx i`th`Kvb fvB`qi m`_ weaev g`nj vi wetq t`qv nq | Avevi A`bK mgq t`Lv hvq th _t`x`K t0to _`gx Ab`T P`j hvq | G`t`t` _`gx h`w` Rvbvq tm Avi KL`bv w`d`i Avm`te bv ZLb _t`x`w`Zxq wetq Ki`Z cvt`i |

wetbww`bx g`v

eqm t 40 eQi

eZ`v w`Kv`v t`e`w`tM`v`j w`b

tckv t`w`bgR`j

wetbww`bx g`vi eZ`v eqm 40 eQi | tm KvR Kti _v`bxq avb-P`tj i` w`tj | KL`bv KL`bv Kw`l KvRI Kti | tqtq`K tm _`dj cvVvq | _`æ`et`L Zv`K gvb`j Kivi | gv`l 15 eQi eqtm wetbww`bx g`vi wetq nq Kb`g`vi m`_ | Kb`g`vi msmv`i g`b`v`h`w`x w`Qj bv | bvbv`f`te wetbww`bx g`v`K tm AZ`vPvi Ki`Zv | GKw`b nVv`r tm Davl ntq hvq | wetbww`bx g`v w`tbi ci w`b A`c`v`v Ki`Z _v`K Zvi Rb` w`KŠ`tm Avi w`d`i Avtmbv | GKw`b wetbww`bx g`v i`b`Z cvq tm cvk`PZx`t`k fvi`Z tM`Q | wetbww`bx g`v f`te tm nqtZv UvKv cqm`v Rwg`q w`d`i Avm`te | w`KŠ`Zvi A`c`v`v Avi tkl nqbv | G`f`te tKtU hvq 20w` eQi | GKw`b KY`g`v Lei c`w`v`q t`q tm Avi tKv`w`b wetbww`bx g`vi Kv`Q w`d`ite bv | w`b`tm`2 Rieb wetbww`bx g`vi Amn` ntq l`v | wetbww`bx wetq Ki`Z i`w`R nq | 35 eQi eqtm wetbww`bx Avevi wetqi w`cw`tZ e`tm | Agj` g`vi AvtMi _t`x`g`v i`v tM`Q | _`w` mšZvb l msmv`i i` c0qvR`b Zv`K wetq Ki`Z nte | ZvB Agj` g`vi m`_ tek agav`gi m`_ wetbww`bx g`vi wetq nq | Geri tm m`_x nq | Agj` g`v Zv`K fvi`v`tm | Ze`j KL`bv KL`bv Zvi KY`g`vi K`v g`b cto hvq |

gZ ṽxi tevbtK wētq t
 gǫv m̄cōv̄tq M̄tēlYv Kītz M̄tq j ǫ Kiv hvq th, Zv̄i i gvtS gZ ṽxi tevbtK wētq Kivi ēēv PjyitqtQ| ṽgx fvtj v
 ntj gZ ṽxi tevbtK wētq Kivi Rb̄ m̄gRc̄wZiv wētkl cōv̄ Kti | Gt̄ǫt̄ Zv̄i i h̄p̄³ ntjv G aītbi wētq ntj cjt̄bv
 AvZ̄wq m̄c̄R bō bv ntq bZb̄fv̄tē wēKv̄k jv̄f Kti | h̄w̄ I Zviv G aītbi wētq cōv̄ Kti wKš' Zv̄i i gvtS (M̄tēlYvKZ
 GjvKvq) G aītbi wēev̄n ēēv̄i ṽp̄v̄SZ L̄jR cvl qv hvqwb | Ztē ṽxi gZi ci Ab̄ ṽxi M̄h̄Y Kivi ṽp̄v̄SZ j ǫ Kiv hvq|

bvq t nriyb gǫv
eqm t 50 eQi
eZǫv̄b wKv̄b t ep̄tM̄qij w̄b
tckv̄ t gv̄Q aiv
 nriyb gǫvi c̄l̄g ṽxi iv̄b̄x̄vjv gǫv gvi hvq n̄v̄Zi ǫZ ntq| gv̄-ēv̄vi B̄tP̄Q̄tZ nriyb gǫv wētq Ktiw̄Q̄tjv iv̄b̄x̄vjv̄tK| wKš'
 nriyb wētqi K̄w̄b c̄tiB em̄o t̄t̄K c̄w̄j̄tq hvq| nrīv̄tbi fiv̄l̄vq- ŌAm̄g ZLb L̄p̄ tQ̄vU w̄Q̄jv̄g| wētq wK ZivB-B ēs̄Z̄v̄g bv̄/
 fvtjv jv̄M̄t̄Ziv bv̄, ZivB em̄o tQ̄to c̄w̄j̄tq w̄M̄t̄q̄w̄jv̄ḡ| tek wK̄Q̄j̄b c̄w̄j̄tq t̄t̄K nriyb w̄d̄ti Av̄tm̄ w̄bR M̄tn̄| m̄sm̄v̄ti
 ḡt̄bv̄th̄w̄M̄r nq| Ḡt̄K Ḡt̄K N̄ti Av̄tm̄ 3w̄U m̄šZiv̄| wKš' w̄ēw̄ēvg ZivB n̄v̄Zi ǫZ t̄t̄K I n̄f̄ēc̄t̄ion ntq gvi hvq iv̄b̄x̄vjv
 gǫv̄| m̄šZiv̄t̄i t̄L̄v̄tk̄v̄b, m̄sm̄vi m̄ḡj̄v̄t̄bv nrīv̄tbi c̄t̄ǫ Am̄ē ntq c̄to| ZivB w̄Z̄x̄q wētq| iv̄Ȳēvjv gvi hv̄l̄q̄i
 GK̄ḡv̄tm̄i gv̄v̄q nriyb wētq Kti Av̄ij Ziv̄t̄K| tK̄bb̄v̄ P̄v̄iḡm̄ ntq t̄M̄t̄j̄B Av̄i wētq Kiv h̄v̄tē bv̄| Āt̄c̄ǭv̄ Kītz n̄tē 5 eQi |
 ZivB Z̄v̄ōv̄ōv̄ Kti nriyb wētq Kti 15 eQ̄ti Av̄ij Ziv̄ gǫv̄t̄K| eZǫv̄t̄b nrīv̄tbi m̄v̄Z m̄šZiv̄ Aek̄' Ḡiḡv̄t̄S 2 t̄ḡt̄qi wētq
 w̄t̄q̄t̄Q nriyb| AZ̄'šZ ṽw̄i ṽA_P n̄w̄m̄L̄j̄k GB ḡv̄b̄l̄w̄U ḡt̄b Kti Ziv m̄sm̄vi w̄U m̄L̄x̄ m̄sm̄vi |

gv̄ḡv̄t̄Ziv-L̄vj̄ v̄t̄Ziv Ges P̄v̄P̄t̄Ziv-cl̄d̄v̄t̄Ziv fiv̄B̄t̄v̄t̄bi wētq t
 gǫv m̄ḡv̄t̄R Av̄cb gv̄ḡv̄t̄Ziv-L̄vj̄ v̄t̄Ziv Ges P̄v̄P̄t̄Ziv-cl̄d̄v̄t̄Ziv fiv̄B̄t̄v̄t̄bi wētq nq̄bv̄| wKš' ṽi m̄ēūf̄Ki ntj Zv̄i i ḡt̄ā wētq nq|
 ḠQ̄v̄ōv̄l̄ Ḡǭv̄ c̄x̄w̄Z̄t̄Z h̄w̄ wētq nq Zv̄nt̄j̄ w̄b̄t̄R̄t̄i i ḡt̄ā' c̄ēt̄t̄KB th̄ Āw̄Z̄ēv̄PK c̄v̄ej̄x̄ īt̄q̄t̄Q Ziv c̄w̄i ēZ̄b Kītz nq|
 t̄m̄R̄b̄ Ziv̄ Ḡaīt̄bi wētq cōv̄ Kti bv̄ Ges G R̄v̄Z̄x̄q wētq Zv̄i i m̄ḡv̄t̄R w̄ej̄ | Ztē M̄tēlYv GjvKvq P̄v̄P̄t̄Ziv fiv̄B̄t̄v̄t̄bi
 GK̄w̄U wētq t̄L̄v hvq|

m̄f̄v̄m̄x̄ gǫv̄, 49 eQi, eZǫv̄b wKv̄b t Z̄v̄ōv̄ic̄j̄
K̄ij̄x̄P̄īY gǫvi t̄ḡt̄q m̄f̄v̄m̄x̄ gǫv̄| t̄M̄v̄l̄ K̄ij̄ | m̄f̄v̄m̄x̄ gǫvi ēv̄vi fiv̄B̄t̄qi t̄Q̄t̄j̄ w̄b̄ZivB gǫv̄| w̄b̄ZivB I m̄f̄v̄m̄x̄ gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄t̄Ri w̄b̄q̄g
t̄f̄t̄% ṽR̄t̄b wētq Kti t̄d̄t̄j̄ | 1970 m̄v̄t̄j̄ Zv̄i i wētq nq| GB wētq̄t̄Z m̄ḡv̄t̄Ri ēv̄v̄v̄ Av̄tm̄| m̄ḡv̄R Zv̄i īt̄K Z̄v̄M̄ Kti | c̄ti
m̄ḡv̄t̄R ṽŪ w̄t̄q Zv̄i īt̄K m̄ḡv̄t̄R DV̄t̄Z n̄t̄q̄t̄Q| Zv̄i īt̄K w̄b̄t̄Ri M̄t̄gi c̄ā̄v̄b Ōv̄ōv̄l̄ Av̄t̄iv̄ 5w̄U M̄t̄gi c̄ā̄v̄b̄t̄K t̄W̄t̄K L̄vl̄ q̄t̄Z
n̄t̄q̄t̄Q| L̄w̄mi ḡism̄ I n̄w̄ōq̄v̄ w̄t̄q Zv̄i īt̄K Av̄c̄v̄q̄b Kiv n̄t̄q̄t̄Q| c̄w̄īt̄k̄t̄l̄ m̄ḡv̄R Zv̄i īt̄ḡt̄b w̄b̄t̄q̄t̄Q| Zv̄i īt̄Z̄b m̄šZiv̄|
m̄K̄t̄j̄ īt̄ḡt̄q n̄t̄q w̄M̄t̄q̄t̄Q|

Āv̄em̄'j̄ I gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄R t
 gǫv m̄ḡv̄t̄R GK̄Uv̄ Ab̄p̄v̄t̄bi ḡv̄āt̄ḡ cv̄l̄ cv̄l̄x̄ Zv̄i īt̄ Āv̄em̄ ṽb̄ c̄w̄i ēZ̄b Kti | w̄b̄t̄æ K̄t̄q̄K̄w̄U Āv̄em̄ ṽt̄bi aiY Av̄t̄j̄ v̄P̄bv̄ Kiv
 ntj v-

w̄c̄Z̄ēvm̄ Āv̄em̄ ṽb̄ t
 gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄R w̄c̄Z̄Z̄w̄š̄t̄K̄ ēt̄j̄ GL̄v̄t̄b̄ w̄c̄Z̄ēvm̄ īx̄w̄Z̄ j ǫ Kiv hvq Āv̄P̄ GL̄v̄t̄b̄ wētqi ci t̄ḡt̄q̄iv̄ ṽgx̄i ēw̄ōt̄Z̄ Av̄tm̄| L̄p̄ w̄b̄K̄t̄U
 wētq ntj cv̄t̄q̄ t̄n̄t̄U Av̄i ṽt̄i ntj cv̄j̄ wK̄ ēv̄ t̄b̄š̄K̄v̄q̄ Kti Av̄tm̄| gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄t̄R M̄n̄ ēēv̄i m̄v̄t̄_ w̄c̄Z̄Z̄w̄š̄t̄K̄ Āv̄em̄ ṽt̄bi GK̄Uv̄
 m̄n̄ m̄ēūf̄K̄ Av̄t̄Q̄| GL̄v̄t̄b̄ GK̄R̄b̄ b̄v̄ix̄ h̄L̄b̄ c̄j̄ēaȳnt̄q̄ Av̄tm̄ ZLb̄ t̄m̄B̄ ḡt̄Z̄'Z̄v̄t̄K̄ c̄t̄iv̄ M̄tn̄i ṽw̄q̄Z̄i w̄b̄t̄Z̄ nq| b̄v̄ix̄ iv̄b̄ēv̄b̄w̄i
 K̄v̄R t̄t̄K̄ īīȳK̄ti ṽi t̄t̄K̄ w̄ḡw̄ō c̄w̄b̄ Av̄bv̄, j̄v̄K̄ox̄ m̄s̄M̄h̄, n̄v̄m̄ ḡj̄M̄x̄ c̄ā̄Z̄cv̄j̄ b̄, ḡv̄v̄R̄b̄t̄i R̄iḡt̄Z̄ ḡR̄j̄ w̄nt̄m̄t̄ē K̄v̄R Kiv
 Ges m̄šZiv̄ j̄v̄j̄ b̄ cv̄j̄ t̄bi ṽw̄q̄Z̄i M̄h̄Y Kti | Zviv̄ ēt̄j̄ th̄ wētqi c̄ti Zv̄i īt̄ ṽgx̄ ṽxi ḡt̄ā' t̄Z̄gb̄ GK̄Uv̄ ō' nq̄ bv̄| eZǫv̄t̄b̄
 G GjvKvi c̄l̄q̄ Ḡt̄Ki P̄vi f̄v̄M̄ t̄c̄v̄bv̄ gv̄Q̄ āt̄i Āw̄_Ŕ m̄s̄ ṽt̄bi R̄b̄' K̄v̄R Kti gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄t̄Ri b̄v̄ix̄iv̄| M̄tn̄i K̄v̄R Ōv̄ōv̄l̄ Āw̄_Ŕ
 ṽP̄Q̄j̄ Ziv̄ R̄b̄' gǫv̄ b̄v̄ix̄iv̄ ēv̄B̄t̄i K̄v̄R Kti | Ḡf̄v̄t̄ē gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄t̄R b̄v̄ix̄ Ziv̄ ṽgx̄i Āv̄em̄ ṽt̄b̄ Ḡt̄m̄ ṽR̄w̄ēK̄ Ges m̄v̄ḡw̄RK̄
 D̄rc̄v̄ t̄bi R̄b̄' GK̄ ṽīZ̄c̄Ȳ'f̄ḡK̄v̄ cv̄j̄ b̄ Kti ṽt̄K̄| M̄tēlYv GjvKv̄ ch̄f̄ēǭb̄ Kti ēj̄ v̄ hvq th, gǫv̄ m̄ḡv̄t̄R w̄j̄ ½ w̄ēf̄v̄R̄b̄Ūv̄q̄

Public and private dicotomy A₁ tqtq¹ i KvR Nti Ae⁻vb Kiv Ges cjt¹ i KvR ntjv Nti i evBti i KvR₁ tjv Kiv GB
 wcl qUv Zvt¹ i gta¹ tZgb GKUv t¹ Lv hvq bv| eis GLvtb wctqi ci¹ t¹gx t¹x Dftq evBti i KgRvt¹ Ask MhY Kti |

Ni RvgtB t

Avevm⁻vtbi GB bmxZgvj v Abhvqx t¹gx Zvi t¹xi wclvj tq emevm Kti | gUv mgvR tqtqi ewotZ⁻vKvi i xwZ mvaviYZ
 j¹ Kiv hvq bv| Zte thme Nti cy¹ mSZvb⁻vtKbv Zviv Zvt¹ i Mtn RvgtB ivtL GRb⁻ th, Zvt¹ i wftU ewo i¹qv nte| Zte
 t¹xi ewotZ⁻vKtZ tMj¹ ever gvtqi AbgvZ wbtZ nq| MtelyvKZ GjvKv Zvovbxc¹ti mZxm gUv bvtg GKRb Ni RvgtBtK
 cvl qv hvq| GQrov Zvt¹ i gta¹ Avi GKaitbi ifc j¹ Kiv hvq| tmlU ntjv avb KvUvi tgsm¹tg RvgtB t¹xi ewotZ⁻Ae⁻vb
 Kti Ges Pvc c¹qum bv Kiv chSZ tm thtZ Pvc bv| Ae⁻vi tcl¹jtZ avi Yv Kiv hvq th¹ iy⁻wqZ¹fvi Govtbi Rb⁻ tm thtZ
 Pvc bv|

bqvevmixZ t

Avevm⁻vtbi GB bmxZ Abhvqx bewewnZ hMj bZb GK⁻vtb wltq emwZ⁻vcb Kti | Gt¹jt¹ Zviv Ab⁻vtb wltq emevm
 Kijt¹ cte¹ Avevm⁻vtbi mvt⁻ m⁻cR¹ wUwKtq ivtL| KvY tm wR Mt¹gi evBti Ae⁻vb Kijt¹ mgvRi wbggKvbp tgb
 Ptj |

mZivs ejv hvq th, gUv mgvRi Avevm⁻vtbi aibUv ntjv GK aitbi mvgwRK bmxZgvj v Uviv cwi Pwj Z⁻vbsZi c⁻xwZ| GB
 t⁻vbsZi Gi c⁻xwZUv GKwU Abp⁻vb ev wctqi gva⁻tg cwi Pwj Z nq Ges Gi mvt⁻ mvt⁻ Drcv⁻tbi c⁻uqumU¹ RwoZ|

wctq e⁻vi cKvit⁻f⁻ t

mgvR l ms⁻wZt⁻f⁻ wctq e⁻vi gta⁻ cv⁻R⁻ itqtQ| cwZ ev cZxi Dci wft⁻E Kti wctqtK 2 fvtM fvm Kiv hvq| wctqi GB
 fvm₁ tjv ntjv-

GKK weevn

eU weevn

GKRb t⁻gx l GKRb t⁻xi gta⁻ wctq ntj ZvtK GKK weevn etj | Avi eU t⁻xi mvt⁻ GKRb t⁻gx ev eU t⁻gx mvt⁻
 GKRb t⁻xi hLb wctq nq ZLb ZvtK eUweevn etj | t⁻gx l t⁻x tft⁻ eU weevn t⁻β cKvi-

eUcZ⁻weevn

eUcwZ weevn,

gUv mgvR eUcwZ weevn wbl x| GQrov Avtiv KtqK cKvi weevn j¹ Kiv hvq| G₁ tjv-

1. gZ t⁻gx fvtBtK weevn
2. gZ t⁻xi tevtBtK weevn
3. weaev weevn
4. cbt weevn
5. ej⁻ weevn

gUv mgvR cPwj Z weevtni aiY

mvaviY cKvit ⁻ f ⁻	Ab ⁻ vb cKvit ⁻ f ⁻
GKK weevn	gZ t ⁻ gx fvtBtK weevn
eUcZ ⁻ weevn	gZ t ⁻ xi tevtBtK weevn
	weaev weevn
	cbt weevn
	ej ⁻ weevn

gǝv mǝvR cǝw Z wɛtq e'e'vi KɛqKul cKvɪf' wɔtæ Avtj vPbv Kiv ntj v-

eũweevn t

gǝv mǝvR GK e'w³ ʰβ ev ZɪZwɛK wɛtq KitZ cvɪ | Zɛ Gɛʈɪɪ mǝvRcɪZɪ i e³e' ntj v th ZvɪK Aek'B me,tj v
 ˈɪxi fiY tcvlb t'evi gɛZv ʈɪgZv _vKɪZ nte | wɔZxq wɛtqi tɪɪɪ cǝg ˈɪxi gZvgɪZi tKvb cǝqvRb nq bv | wKš'
 cieZɪZ fib tcvlɔbi tɪɪɪ tKvbɪfc Amɛav ntj mǝvRcɪZiv ZvɪK wɛtkɪfɪte Pvc cǝqm Kɪ Ges etj th, fibtcvlb
 wɪZ cvɪte bv Zvntj ctii tǵtqi Rxb Gfɪte bɔ Kitj tKb? AɪbK tɪɪɪ Zvi Dci Anj wLZ wKQyewɛwɔɪa Avtɪvc Kɪ
 _vɪK | gǝv mǝvRi iɪwZ ntj v wɛtqi ctii hɪ tKvb ˈvɪgZv ˈɪxɪK Z'wM Kɪ Zvntj H gɪnɪvi Avi wɔZxq weevn nq bv |
 Ges mɪvRxb ZvɪK wɛav wɪntɛ KɪvɪZ nq | Zɛ mǝvR Rxbɪ cɪwɛZɪb tKD tKD wɛtq Kɪɪ | eũZɪ wɛtqi Avtɪv
 GKul ,iɪɪɪKvɪY ntj v mšZvb Rbɪ vɪb e'v_Zv |

bvg tɪnɪɪɪj gǝv

eqm t 42 eQi

eZǝv wKvɪv t ɛpɔɪMvɪj wɔ

tckv t gɪQaiv

42 eQɪi iɪnɪɪɪj gǝv tckvq grm wKvɪx ntj I Gi cɪkɪcɪmk tɪm GKRB I Sv | Zvi gɛZ tɪm hɪ ɪvɪv Rɪtb | cǝg ˈɪx
 QwɛZv gǝvɪK Zvi fɪtj v tɪɪM hɪq
 nq | wɛtqi ci tɛk KɪvɪQɪv mǝq |
 Amɪɪ ntq I tV | Zvi gɛb mɪa RɪtM
 tɪv KɪwɛZvɪK tɪm wɛtq KitZ Pɪq |
 Avkɛ tɔq | KɪwɛZvɪK tɪm hɪ ɪvɪv
 KɪDɪKB wɛtq KitZ iɪvɪ nqbv |
 wɛtqi cǝZve | Gfɪte tKɪU hɪq 5w
 ntq hɪvɪ ɪPšZɪq | wKš' KɪwɛZv Zvi
 ɪmɪvšZ tɔq Gfɪte mǝq bɔ bv Kɪ
 KɪwɛZv mɪ_B ɪnɪɪɪɪj i wɛtq nq |
 Gevi Zwi mɪa cɪY ntqɪQ | KɪwɛZv
 weevn GKul wɛj NUbv | ɪnɪɪɪɪj
 GLb chšZ tɪm GB mɪmɪ Pɪj vɪPQ
 Mɛɪ Yv GɪvKɪZ GKɪvɪ ɪnɪɪɪɪj gǝv tKB cvɪ qv hɪq th eũweevn Kɪɪ | gǝv mǝvR GKK weevnB cǝw Z wɔqg |



ZvɪB wɛtqi cǝZve t'q Ges mɪgɪwRKfɪte Zɪɪ i wɛtq
 wKš' cɪci wZbɪU Kb'v mšZvb nɪqvɪZ ɪnɪɪɪɪj gǝv
 GKul cɪ mšZvb Gi wɛZv nɪvɪ | ZvɪB QwɛZv tQɪU
 wKš' mǝvR Zv tǵtɔ tɔtɛbv | ɪnɪɪɪɪj gǝv ZvɪB hɪɪ
 wɪtq etK Avtɔ | dtj KɪwɛZv GKɪvɪ ɪnɪɪɪɪj Qvov
 mǝq Mɔtq Pɪj | KɪwɛZv evɪvɪ wɪwɪtq wɪZ _vɪK
 eQi | evɪv-gv Aw'ɪ ntq I tV tǵtqi wɛtqi eqm cvɪ
 ɪmɪvšZ AUj | Mɪtɪ cɪvɪ I Mɪgɪmɪ mKɪj wɪtj
 ɪnɪɪɪɪj gǝv mɪ_B KɪwɛZv wɛtq t'evɪ | AetKɪ
 Qwɛ'v I KɪwɛZv ɪvɪvɪK wɔtqB mɪmɪ Kɪɪ ɪnɪɪɪɪj |
 ZvɪK ɪU cɪ mšZvb Dcɪvɪ wɪtqɪQ | gǝv mǝvR eũ
 gǝv gɛZ tɪm Gɪv mɛ KɪɪQ hɪ ɪvɪvɪ gɪvɪtɪ | Ges
 hɪ ɪvɪvɪ gɪvɪtɪ | ZvɪB Zvi mɪmɪ AkwšZ tɔB |

eZǝv wKQyɪwKQyɪɪ i v eũ weevnK GKul A_ɔwZKfɪte Avtɪ Drm wɪntɛ wɛtɔbv Kɪɪ | gǝv mǝvRi tǵtqɪv Kgɪ etj
 GKwɛK wɛtq Kɪ ˈɪxɪ iɪK grm wKvɪx I wɔgRɪ wɪntɛ e'envɪ Kɪ A_ɔcvRb Kɪɪ | dtj tǵtqɪ i Ae'vɔ cǝšZɪK
 Pɪj hɪvɪPQ | Avi Gɛʈɪɪ cɪɪɪ i v mǝvR cǝw Z gɪ tɛvɪK cYɪvɪv KɪR j vMɪvɪPQ | e'vɪvɪ Gi Kg ntq hɪvɪPQ th, GKRB
 ˈwɪ'³ e'w³ i hZɛw ˈɪx _vKɛ AwɪR wK tɪK tɪm nte ZZɛw ˈPQj | GB e'e'wɪ AɪbKul AvɪdKvb Shifting
 cultivation Gi gɛZv etj avɪ Yv Kiv hɪq |

GKK weevn t

gǝv mǝvR GKK wɛtq cǝv e'vɪKfɪte wɛ'gɪv | GRb' Zvɪ i mǝvR KɛqKul KɪY i tǵtQ etj Rɪbv hɪq-

1. G aɪɔbi wɛtq e'e'vq Lɛ Kg mɪL'K e'w³ wɛtq tɪK ewɪZ nq |
2. GKK wɛtq e'e'vq AšZɪj ½ wɛtɪ I SMov weevɪ i mɛbv Kg _vɪK | hɪ I gǝv mǝvRi tɪɪɪ hɪvɪ i GKwɛK
 ˈɪx i tǵtQ Zvɪ i gɪa' SMov Kg nq |
3. G cɪwɪZɪ DEɪwɛKvɪ, mɛcɪɪɪfɪw BZ'w' mɪgɪwRK AvBbMZ wɛl qɪw mɪtR cɪv Pɪj bv Kiv hɪq |
4. mšZvb j vj b cɪj b mɪRmɪv Ges wɛZvgvZv I mšZvɪɪ i gɪa' wɪwɪo mɪvPh'ɛRvq _vɪK |

gǝlv mǝvʁ evj ʁ weevn eũj fʁt̪e cʰwǝj Z| GLvʁb AʁbK mǝq t̪ ʁv hʁq th, cwiervti i eq ʁiv mʂZvʁ fɿgʊ nevi AvʁMB wɛtq
wK Kʁi iʁʁ L Kvi tʊt̪j i mʁt̪_ Kvi tǝt̪q wɛtq nʁt̪| mʂZvʁ fɿgʊ nʁ qvi ciciB epvɛpɔ cʁv nq Ges GB cʁvq wɛtq
t̪ evi wɛl qwʁt̪K cʁkvcwK Kiv nq| Gi dʁt̪j t̪ ʁv hʁq th, eqtmʉi AvʁM Zvʁ i wɛtq t̪ qv nq| Gʁt̪t̪t̪ mǝvRcʁv evj b
th, Zvʁ i Aʁ eqtm wɛtq t̪ qv nq hvʁ Z Kʁi Zviv ZvovZwɔ Avʁqʁ dʁZʁKiʁZ cʁti| Gi dʁt̪j G mǝvʁ mǝvʁRK AʁKt̪qʁ
mʂL ʁ Zj bɿgʁ Kfʁt̪e Kg| evj ʁ weevʁni Avʁiv GKw Kvi Y nt̪j v wɛtq i Zwi L mʂpʁvʂZ Rʉw Zv| gǝlv mǝvʁ mʁavi YZ ʁekvL
Ges dʁɛp ǝt̪m wɛtq t̪ qv nq| Gʉvov Zvʁ i mǝvʁ t̪ ʁv hʁq th Zvʁ i wɛtq mʂpʁvʂZ wʁR ʁt̪h c ʁwZ i t̪qʉ t̪mLʁb AʁbK
mǝt̪q ʁʂ / wZb eʉti i ǝt̪a wɛtq i Abʁvʁb m ʁubɛKivi Rb ʁt̪Kvʁ Zwi L ʁt̪Kbv| GRb ʁvovZwɔ wɛtq bv w ʁt̪j t̪t̪j i ev
t̪t̪q eqm t̪mK nt̪q hvʁt̪e wɛt̪Pbv Kʁi Zvʁ i t̪K ZvovZwɔ wɛtq t̪ qv nq|

gŋv mgyR wɔtRt̃ i wɛtq e'e ʋtK Ab'i Kg etj aviYv Kti | Zt̃ i gɛZ GKewi wɛtq ntj tKvb tɔtqi Avi wɛtq nqbv | Ges
tKvb tɔtj | tɔtq̃tK tɔt̃o t̃ qbv etj Zviv ʋex Kti | wKS̃ KvhZ̃ t̃ Lv hvq ʋlv wɛlqB Zt̃ i gtã wɛ ʋgɔb | wɛtq e'e ʋi
gtã thSbZvi e'vciwɔtK Zviv ʋiZ̃ t̃ q Zte Gi mɔt̃ Avtiw Ab'vb̃ wɔvgvKI RwoZ | eZɔt̃v tɔtj iv Aw̃ R̃ w̃ K t̃ t̃K
ʋej ʋ bv ntq wɛtq Ki t̃Z Pwt̃Qbv | hw̃ | Zviv wCvzvZvi Aṽ k Agvb̃ Ktibv | Zt̃ i gtã gvZ̃Z̃i ʋb At̃bK Dtãṽ
evj̃ weert̃ni ʋt̃q̃ gŋv mgyRi h̃ṽ ntjv GUV Zt̃ i cẽc̃j̃t̃iv Ki t̃Zb Zvivl h̃Mi ci h̃M̃ Kti Avmt̃Q | thLṽb
fṽt̃eṽt̃ i mSL̃v tw̃k t̃mLṽb tɔtq̃tK ZvovZwo wɛtq w̃ t̃j Aw̃ R̃ w̃ K t̃ t̃K Pj̃ t̃Z Avgt̃ i m̃w̃av nq |

gʷv mɣtR wɛtqʷv ntj v Ggb GKw mʰ hvi graʔg gvb| Zvi AvZkqZvi mʷRʔK mʷcʰwi Z Kti | GB mʷcʰwiʔbi gʰa mʷ | I tmev ʰUvB tj bʰ b nq| Zte gRvi K_v ntj v KvʰZt GB e'e-wʷ Zvʰ i gʰa we ʰgvb_vKtj | AvBbZt Zviv GUv ʰKvi KiʔZ Pʷqbv| Zviv ej ʔZ Pʷq Avgiv wKQwBbv| mvʰ mvʰ GUv etj th hvʰ i kw³ mvg_ʰAvʔQ tmLvʰb Avgiv ʰvex Kwi | GB ʰvexUv Kiv nq ʰcʰʰi AvZkq ʰRʰbi graʔg Ges Gi tKvb wj wLZ ifc tbB| Zte GK_v mZ ʰth, thLvʰb ʰvex Kiv hvq bv tmLvʰb Zviv ʰvex Kʰibv| mɣvRcwZiv AZʰSZ k³ etj wʰyev gmwj g mɣtRi gʰZv tj bʰ b mspwSZ RwJ Zv Zvʰ i gʰa Abcw-Z| Zvʰ i gʰa we ʰgvb KtqK aiʰbi tj bʰ b e'e-v,tjv ntj v-

ei ev eic†¶¶i ÁwZ†Mvòx KZR K†b ev K†b c†¶¶i ÁwZ †Mvò†K weevn Kvj xb mg†q A_ev †`q Dcnvi Dc†XSKb BZ`w`†K K†bcY ej v nq| mgvR †††` G bvlv i xwZ bwxZ I c0_v Drme i†q†Q| K†bcY LpB c0Px b c0_v| AwvdKxq†`i g†a` Gi eùj c0j b †`Lv hvq|

Kt̥cb̥ nt̥j v Ggb GKwJ c0v̥ t̥hLvt̥b̥ eic̥ŋ Kb̥v̥ c̥ŋŋi AvZ̥kq̥ ʔRb̥t̥K UvKv̥ cqm̥v̥ ev̥ ʔb̥ mvg̥M̥ c0vb̥ Kt̥i | Zv̥t̥i e3e̥
nt̥j v t̥gt̥q̥ w̥t̥q̥ t̥ ev̥i mgq̥ Avgv̥t̥i UvKv̥ j̥v̥t̥Mb̥v̥ | eis̥ t̥0t̥j c̥ŋ Kt̥bc̥Y̥ w̥t̥q̥ Avgv̥t̥i Kb̥v̥t̥K w̥t̥q̥ h̥v̥q̥ | Av̥t̥M̥ c̥t̥Yi̥ c̥wi̥ g̥vb̥
w̥Qj̥ 25 UvKv̥ Avevi̥ t̥KD̥ t̥KD̥ et̥j̥ v̥t̥Kb̥ 16 UvKv̥ | GB̥ c̥t̥Yi̥ c̥wi̥ g̥vb̥ w̥ b̥ w̥ b̥ n̥vm̥ cv̥t̥PQ̥ | eZ̥g̥v̥t̥b̥ Z̥vi̥ v̥t̥KD̥ t̥KD̥ cv̥P̥mw̥K̥
Ges̥ GKUv̥ k̥w̥o̥ Kb̥vi̥ g̥v̥t̥K̥ w̥t̥q̥ Kb̥v̥ w̥t̥q̥ Av̥t̥M̥ | Z̥t̥e̥ cv̥P̥mw̥K̥ m̥s̥KU̥ nt̥j̥ G̥t̥ŋ̥ŋi̥ Z̥vi̥ v̥t̥G̥K̥Uv̥Kv̥ w̥t̥q̥ Kb̥v̥t̥K̥ w̥t̥q̥ Av̥t̥M̥ |

cŭl ev cŭl x cŭl KZK cŭl xK ev cŭl xK cŭl q m=ŭlE ev Ab'v'v'`e' mvgMŭlK thSZK ej v nq| A_v' thSZK cŭl ev cŭl x DftqB tctZ cŭl | Zte Avgŭl i mgŭlR thSZK gj Zt cŭl x cŭl cŭl xK ŭl tq _vŭlK| mvgmRK fŭte G cŭl vŭlK Dcnvi DctXSKb bRivbv cŭl vb i'f'Qv cŭl xK ev ŭl kŭ hŭB ej v tŭvK bv tKb cŭl ŭl ŭl ŭl ymgŭlR Aek' cvj bxq| thŭnZi A_ŭl xK Kvi tY tŭtj i v t' i xZ weevn Kti Ges weevn Abxv cŭl vK Kti ZvB Kb'v'vqMŭl' ŭcZv gvZv thSZK cŭl vb ev thSZK cŭl vŭl bi A½xKvi Kti _vŭlKb| ga' l ŭb=ŭlE Avŭl q hŭtKiv thSZK i cŭl Av_ŭl mvgmRK Kvi tYB bq gb'ŭl xK cŭl qvRtbi AvMŭl x ntq cŭl tŭl Q|

gŭv̂ i e³eⁿ ntjv Avgiv wKQy B bv Ges wBb bv | wKŠ' MtelYvi tŋt̂ t̂ Lv tMtQ Zv̂ i GB e³teⁿ i tKvb wj tbB | AṭbK
tŋt̂ Zviv 2 t̂ tK 10 nvRvi UvKv chŠZ wbtq _v̂tK | G wePwZi KviY wRtĀm Kitj Zviv etj GLb hM cvtē tMtQ | A_P
nVvr Kti wRtĀm Kitj Zviv wcl qwU ˘Kvi KitZ Pvbv |

Ab˘vb˘ m̄c0 vtqi mv̂_ gŭv m̄c0 vtqi Zj bvgj K Avtj vPbv t
Aw̄g m̄c0 vq_ t̂jvi weevn e˘e˘vq cv_ R˘ we˘˘g vb | Ab˘vb˘ m̄c0 vtqi mv̂_ gŭv m̄c0 vtqi weevn e˘e˘vi Zj bvgj K
Avtj vPbvq t̂ Lv hvq th,

PvKgv m̄c0 vq t

PvKgv̂ i weev̂ni wef̂b̂ei xwZbxwZ LpB A˘wZ I PgrKvi | GmKj i xwZbxwZ_ t̂jv AvtRv cveZ˘ PĀM̄tgi A˘˘ti K˘˘ti mv̂˘ti
cwj Z nq | cv̂x cQ̂˘ i e˘vĉti Aw̄f̂v̂t̂Ki gẐtKB c0avb˘ t̂˘qv ntZv | weev̂ni ĉe˘m̂vejv (NUK), eicŋ I Kb˘vĉtŋi
ĝa˘ thŵthv̂M i ŋv Kti | PvKgv weev̂ni wbgvbm̂v̂ti cv̂t̂i eev̂t̂K cv̂t̂xi eev̂i wBKU weev̂ni ĉe˘AŠZt wZbev̂i tĥtZ nq |
weev̂ni Pdv̂Š-w̄b avh˘Kivi Rb˘ cv̂t̂i eev̂ cv̂t̂xi eev̂i Kv̂tQ ĝ˘ i tevZj Dcnvi t̂˘q | ĉe˘cv̂t̂xi eev̂ cv̂t̂i eev̂i Kv̂t
t̂ t̂K ĉt̂Yi UvKv wmv̂te mvgv˘ wKQyUvKv ˘vfv (cy) ˘t̂fc ŵt̂Zb | eD ŵt̂q ĥv̂i Av̂tM K̂bi Aw̄f̂v̂t̂Kiv K̂t̂t̂K Av̂x̂v˘
Kti | e˘Z etii ewôtZ weev̂ni mŵZ˘Kvi th mg˘ -Ab̂p̂vb m̄u˘w˘ Z nq Zv̂t̂jv-

1. Av̂McŵbKg Zj v̂bv Ges cv̂bcv˘ v̂ f̂v̂SB̂˘ bv
2. eDZj v̂bv
3. t̂Rv̂ev̂ŵt̂˘ bv Ges
4. P̂Dj vs

gvi gv t

mv̂aviYZ t̂t̂j i eev̂ gv t̂t̂j i c0˘ Kiv t̂ĝt̂t̂K ĉŷeayKivi B˘Qv t̂cv̂b Kti | t̂t̂j i ŵZv gvZv c0̂t̂g Zv̂ i tKvb Nibó
Av̂Zŵt̂K t̂ĝt̂i eev̂i gvi Kv̂tQ cv̂wb | t̂ĝt̂i eev̂ gv m̄ŝyZ t̂cv̂b Kitj t̂t̂j i ŵZv gvZv Zv̂ i Rb˘ GK̂evZj g˘
cŵt̂q t̂˘q | AẐtci Zviv ŵt̂q i w̄b avh˘K̂ib | weev̂ni ˘y˘b ĉe˘êt̂i eev̂ Zv̂ i ewôtZ M̂t̂˘eZv̂ i D̂t̂t̂k˘ P̂sĝt̂j
cR̂v cv̂j b Kti | ŵt̂q i w̄b ei hv̂t̂x̂iv i xwZ Ab̂hv̂x̂ i f̂ŋt̂Y K̂bi ewôtZ i l̂qv̂v nq | ŵt̂q i Ab̂p̂v̂bi mĝq etii ev̂gĉv̂k
K̂t̂t̂K em̂v̂bv nq | weev̂ ŵl̂qv R̂ŵK Dew˘˘vB KẐR̂ cwi Pŵj Z nq | Gf̂v̂te ŵZŵb gvi gv m̄c0 vtqi t̂t̂j t̂ĝt̂t̂ i ĝa˘
ĝš̂cv̂t̂Vi gva˘t̂g weev̂ m̄ú̂b̂K̂ib |

mv̂l Zvj t

mv̂l Zvĵ i ĝa˘ ŵt̂q i mĝq b̂v̂v aîbi mvgŵRKZv I Av̂Pvi Ab̂p̂vb cv̂j b Kiv nq | ŵt̂q̂t̂Z NUKj x̂ Kivi Rb˘ i v̂qeŵo
ŵb̂ŷ³ nq | etii t̂R˘ô̂v̂Zv K̂t̂t̂K t̂˘Doxi ĝa˘ eŵt̂q t̂˘q AẐtci mv̂ZRB̂ ĉy˘I t̂m̂ŵ Kv̂t̂a Kti weev̂ gŪt̂c ĉ0ek Kti |
Aĉi˘t̂K etii f̂ŵMĉŵZ eît̂K Kv̂t̂a Kti weev̂ gŪt̂c Av̂t̂m̂ | Gici ei Ŵb̂nv̂t̂Zi K̂wb̂o Av̂ŝj ŵt̂q K̂t̂bi M̂t̂j cici
ŵZbev̂i ŵm̂j j ŵM̂t̂q t̂˘q | G Ab̂p̂v̂bi ci ei eD̂t̂K t̂Kv̂j Kti t̂˘Dox t̂ t̂K ĝŵt̂Z b̂vĝq Gf̂v̂teB Zv̂ i ĝa˘ weev̂ m̄ú̂b̂o
nq |

gŭv t

gŭv̂ i ŵt̂q i Ab̂p̂v̂b KZ_ t̂jv Av̂Pvi cv̂j b Kiv nq | thgb- M̂t̂q nĵy˘, cv̂bei b, ŵt̂q i ĝj Ab̂p̂vb BZ˘w˘ | ŵt̂q i Ab̂p̂vb
th ˘v̂tb m̄u˘w˘ Z nq Zvi P̂v̂i cv̂t̂k 4ŵ K̂j v̂M̂vQ ĉŷt̂Z nq | bZb M̂vgOv̂q nĵy˘ tît̂L M̂t̂q nĵy˘ nq | M̂t̂q nĵy˘ i Av̂t̂M̂ 1ŵL L̂j
ev̂k ĉŷt̂Z nq | L̂j t̂cv̂Zi Av̂t̂M̂ M̂t̂Z˘nĵy˘, Zvĝvi ĉq̂mv̂, m̂yĉwi, K̂ŵo BZ˘w˘ tît̂L Ẑv̂ci t̂m̂B M̂t̂Z˘L̂j t̂cv̂Zv nq | ŵt̂q i
Ab̂p̂v̂bi Oq ĝym̂ ev̂ GKeQi ci tĥw̄b ît̂i ev̂Rvi nq t̂m̂w̄b K̂ŵo, ĉq̂mv̂, m̂yĉwi BZ˘w˘ ˘e˘ MZ˘L̂ĵo t̂ei Kiv nq | Ges
G_ t̂jv hẐm̂nK̂v̂ti i v̂Lv nq hv̂t̂Z f̂ŵer̂t̂Z t̂t̂j ev̂ t̂ĝt̂q i ŵt̂q̂t̂Z G_ t̂jv e˘envi Kiv hv̂q |

gŭv̂ i ŵt̂q̂t̂Z j M̂e˘v̂t̂K 3ŵL-

4. ŵeK̂v̂j - mŪ˘v̂t̂ hv̂t̂v̂ îiy(etii ewôtZ)
5. i v̂Z (ga˘) t̂ŵet̂q i Kv̂hv̂f̂
6. t̂f̂vi t̂ŵet̂q i mĝŵB

ei ŵt̂q i w̄b K̂t̂bi ewôtZ hv̂t̂vi ĉe˘êaête m̄v˘v̂ gi M̂x̂ t̂K̂t̂U Ẑvi ît̂³ i Dci ŵt̂q t̂t̂t̂U eît̂êt̂k hv̂t̂v̂ îiyK̂ti | ĝj Zt̂ ev̂
cv̂t̂q î³ j v̂M̂v̂bv nq | ŵec˘ t̂ t̂K ĝŷ³ ĉv̂vi Rb˘ K̂ĵt̂ov̂ (ĝj M̂x̂) ĝnv̂t̂˘eZvi b̂v̂t̂g Dr̂m̂M̂K̂iv nq | ĉŵêt̂Zv i ŋv̂t̂˘ei t̂gv̂Rv
ĉti | AẐtci eev̂ gv̂t̂K ĉ0v̂g Kti ei hv̂t̂v̂ îiyK̂ti |

Ktbi ewotZ ei I Zwi `j tcSQtj Ktbi fvB tevB I `v`v`v`x eitK ewotZ XKtZ evav t`q| Zviv eitK ewoi `i Rvq
`vD Kwitq wKQy avu avu wRtAm Kti | ei tmme avu avu Gi DEi w`tq Zvici ewotZ cOk Kti | Ktbi cwi evi ei I Zvi
m½xt`i kieZ, `p, wgwó BZ`w` w`tq Avc`vqb Kti | Gici ei I Zvi m½xiv wetqi j MaGi Rb` Atc¶lv Kti |
KtbtK mvg_© Abhvqx mrvtbr nq| Mvtq nj`i ci Ktb cvšZv (cwb fvZ) Lvq Ges wetq bv nI qv chšZ Avi wKQyLvqbv|
nvZ tj vnvI hwiZ ivtL memgq| GwU Kiv nq gj Zt tKvb Ai f`wó t`tK KtbtK i¶lv Kivi Rb`| ei Ktbi Rb` kvLv- wmu`j,
bvKdj I kwo AvtB| hv w`tq KtbtK mrvtbr nq| weevn Abpovb iij cte©ei Kj vMvtQ wmu`j j vMvq| wetqi `vbuUtz GKwU
tQvU cKti Lbb Kiv nq| gwU w`tq wZbuU cZj evbvtbr nq| wetqtZ tKvb gšT cov nq bv| wetqtZ Acwi nvh`wKQy`e` ntj v
njy, Pvtj i ov, mpcwo, `ev¶vm, Kwo, Zvgvi cqm, Kj v, wPuv o, Avqbv, wPipx BZ`w`| tQtj I tqtqK gv_vq wmu`j,
`ev¶vm, Pvj w`tq eib Kiv nq| eitK 16 UvKv Ktb cY w`tZ nq| Gi gva`tg Zviv gtb Kti ei KtbtK 16 UvKvi gva`tg
wKtb wbtj v| tqtqi gv ev gwmgv tqtqK tKvtj Kti ivtL| cZj 3wU cKti tdjt t`qv nq| Móg cAvb wetqi mg`Z`e`
MvgQvq teta ivtLb| GQov Móg cAvb ei I Ktbi Kwbó Av½tj i i³ wbtq Avj`v Avj`v fvte AvgcvZvq ivtLb| Gici
cvZv gto etii i³ j vMvtbr cvZv Ktbi Mj vq Ges Ktbi i³ j vMvtbr cvZv etii Mj vq cwi t`b| Zvt`i wekjm GfvteB
`Zix nq it³i eUbl tqtqi gv ev gwmgv Avtgi `wZb w`tq `wZ tgr tqtqi nvZ t`te| tqtq Zv gL Zjt tdjt t`te|
Gici Rtj i wUv w`tq mvZcvK t`qv nq| AZtci tQtj hLb tqtqi wmu`tZ wmu`j w`tZ hvq ZLb Ktbi ewevm Dcw`Z
tj vKRb tQtj tK wRtAm Kti Zvg wK tqtqK fib tcvl b w`tZ cvte? hw` n`wetj ZLb cpivq ZvtK cKwKiv nq GKw tbi
Rb` bv wPiv tbi Rb`? hw` tQtj wPiv tbi Rb` etj ZLb ZvtK tqtqi wmu`tZ wmu`j t`evi AbgwZ t`qv nq| tqtqK mæcðvb
Kti tqtqi eofvB ev tevbt i¶gx Avi tqtqK MhY Kti tQtj i ewev ev eofvB| wmu`j t`evi ci Ktbi nvZ ati ei ZvtK
Nti wbtq hvq| cñ½Zt Djt L-Kiv cOqvRb th, hLb wetqi Abpovb nq ZLb Pvicvk mv`v Kvco w`tq wNti ivLv nq Ges tKvb
AwewwZ tQtj ev tqtqK wetq t`Ltz t`qv nqbv|

mæcðvq tuj vi weevn mæuRxZ i xwZbxwZ chv¶vPbv Kti t`Lv hvq th, g¶v mæcðvtqi weevn i xwZi mvt_ Ab`vb` mæcðvtqi
weevn i xwZi t¶t¶t wfbvZ `k`gvb nq| wKQymKQyt¶t¶t mv`k` j ¶t Kiv tMtj I wetqi t¶t¶t g¶v mæcðvtqi itqtQ GtKvti
wbR`^`Zšj i xwZbxwZ| hv Zvt`i tK Ab`vb` mæcðvq t`tK cL Kti tQ|

tkl K_vt

mvgwRK Rxtbi GK tgsj K cOZovb ntj v wetq cOZwU mgvtRi ms`wZ I Rxeb hv¶vi aitbi Dci wetq e`e`vi ifc cwi Mh
Kti _vtK| evsj vt`tki GKwU ¶j Zg RbtMvöxi wetq e`e`vi Dci bZwE¶K chv¶vPbv ntZ Zvt`i cvi`cwi K`wqZ; KZE`
I Awakvi tK cOZ`vcv Kivi tPov Kiv ntqtQ| chv¶vPbv t`Lv tMtQ th, cOZteKx ms`wZi Rxeb hv¶vi Dcti evsj vt`tki
enEi mgvtRi wewfbwbggKvbp Zvt`i gta`wewfbvte KvR KitiQ| dtj Zvt`i weevn e`e`vmn th wbR`^`HwZn` wQj ag`
AvPvi Abpovb BZ`w` t¶t¶t tm tuj v AvR ugKxi mæ¶xb| Zvici I Zviv Zvt`i HwZn` Ges mgvR wqšT tbi Z_v weevn
e`e`vi wbggKvbp mgntK mgpZ ivLvi Rb` cOvcv tPov Kti hvPQ|

g¶v mgvR chv¶v i w`K t`tK wcuQtq cov GKwU mgvR| ZvB Zviv wetq e`e`vtK GKwU Ab`Zg tKškj wntmte wetePbv Kti
hvi gta` mvgwRK, ivR%wZK, agx¶ cOÄ tuj v RwoZ _vtK| g¶v mgvtR mgvRcuZiv thfvte Zvt`i mvgwRK wbggKvbp tuj v
eRvq ivLvi Rb` mtpó Zvi cksmv KitZB nq| Zte enEi mgvtRi n`Zt¶t Zvt`i tmB wqšT tbi c×wZ tuj v µgrštq
wej ybi ct_| Avgvi KvQ gtb ntqtQ th g¶v mgvtRi wetq tKej gvT GKRb brix Ges cjt¶i gta`B msMwZ nq bv| eis`ß
ct¶i i`ß tMvöxi gta` msMwZ nq| g¶v mgvtRi wetq e`e`wU mwZ`Kvi At_©More than Sexuality wntmte KvR Kti | Zviv
gj Zt mvgwRK Ges `RweK Drcv`tbi Rb` A_vP mgvtRi gRj e`e`vtK wUwKtq ivLvi Rb` wetq Kti | cOZwU ms`wZ tK
Avj`v Avj`v fvte Aa`qitbi cOqvRb itqtQ etj bjeÁvb ev bjeÁvbiv gtb Kti b|

evsj vt`tk enEi RbtMvöxi cvkvcmk KZ tuj v ¶j`a ¶j`a RbtMvöxi emevm itqtQ| Gt`i msL`v w¶kuU I tenk| Avi GB
Aw`evmx`i wFzi g¶viv Avgvt`i t`tk metPtq tenk cOvrc` mæcðvq| htKvi Lj bv Z_v `w¶Y-cwög DcKj xq AAj
mvZ¶xiv I Zvi cvk¶Zx`Gj vKvq g¶v mæcðvtqi emevm| Gme AAjt i mf`gvbt¶i v g¶vt`i etbv etj Rvtb| GgbwK ivó
Zvt`i Aw`evmx wntmte bb`Zg cōtcvl KZv t`qvb| g¶viv w¶¶wZ, ms`wZMZ, `eÁwbK, mvgwRK mew`K t`tKB cOvrc`|
cOZwbqZ mf`mgvtRi hvZvtj wó nq Giv Avtiv wcuQtq cotQ| Avgvt`i t`tki GB ¶j`a RbtMvöxtK ewPtq ivLv Ges
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PvKgv, mMZ
emy wbgj Kgi
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Ali, Ahsan
Aziz, K. M.A
Dalton, E.T
Hunter, W.W
J.P.Singh, N.N. Vyas,
R.S.Mann
Malinowski, B
Pelto, Pertli, J.
Risley, HH
Redfield, Robert
Selina, Ahsan
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ersj vt`tki DcRwZ I Aw`evmxt`i mgvR, ms`wZ I AvPri e`envi
wv`ymgvRi Mob, wekfvi Zx MŠ wefM, Kuj KvZv (1356)
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kvnbrR ggZvR we_x⁴

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