

I

A Reappraisal of the Emerging Monuments & Other Structural Remains of District Muzaffarnagar (UP)

III

Omprakash Srivastav

Contd. from 2nd volume

56. Bhokerheri

The village Bukerheri lies 29°31'N and 77°56' on a metal led road from Bijnor to Deoband at a distance of about 24 km from the district headquarters.

A Tomb There is an old double-storied structure (tomb) in the heart of the village and is surrounded by the newly constructed residential buildings. The tomb is ascribed by the Hindu to one Baba Garib Das, a local saint. It is used by the Hindus and Muslims as a common place of worship.¹⁰ The Muslims consider it Baba Garib Shah. The structure is well preserved. Apart from this structure there are several other structures made of *lakhauri* brick like wells, residential buildings etc.

57. Firozpur

It is an uninhabited village and is about 5 km away from Morna block headquarters towards north-east.

Temple - The temple is towards the east of the village Firozpur. The temple is locally known as *Nilkantheshwar mandir*. The temple is on the top of an ancient mound. The *Nilkantheshwar* owes its name to the temple.

Mazar - In addition to the temple on the top of the ancient mound there are two *mazar* (graves) of unknown person built in *lakhauri* bricks. The *mazar* is locally known as Pir Saheb.

58. Kakrauli

The village Kakrauli lies 29°24' N and 77°55'E at a distance of about 6 km towards south of the Morna block headquarters on the Jansath-Morna road. It is a very rich village from architectural point of view. The place according to local traditions was largely inhabited by a branch of the *Jats* prior to Mughal advent in 1526 AD.

Hauz-Kund -The village is said to have had an old tank, known as *Hauz-Kund*, which was leveled up with earth in the year 1857. Locally this place is known as *Hathi-duba*.

59. Morna

The headquarters of the development block of the same name lies 29°28'N and 77°56'E. It is about 18 km away from the district headquarters. The place was a seat of Chatrauri branch of the Saiyids since the days of Akbar.

A large number of buildings tracing their origin to the Saiyids are found here even today, though in dilapidated state. Important among these is a large *masjid*¹¹ built by Bibi Jhabbu, wife of Nawab Husain Khan, who lived during the reign of Muhammad Shah in AH 1138 i.e. 1725 AD. This is one of the last of the major Saiyid buildings.

60. Sikri

The village Sikri is situated towards north of the Morna block headquarters at a distance of about 13 km. According to local people the name Sikri has been derived by the word '*Sikargarh*'. It is alleged that there were two wells of large bricks in the *Khole ke Jungle* but they are not traceable now.

Mosque - In the vicinity of the village there is a mosque of pre-modern period. Its front portion is old one but rest of the mosque is the later addition with two towering *minars* on both sides. Adjacent to the mosque there is a well, probably used for *vazu*.

61. Shukartal

The place comprises of two villages, Shukartal Banger and Khader. It lies 29°29' N and 78°11'E. It is located towards north-east of the Morna block head-quarters at a distance of about 7 km.

Temple - The place is one of the most important centers of Hindu pilgrimage in the district of Muzaffarnagar and adjoining areas. According to local tradition, this is the spot where the king Parikshit (grandson of Arjuna), was given a learned discourse on *Shreemad Bhagwata* by the sage Shukdeva.

Fort There is a fort belonging to one Rohilla chieftain, Najib-ud-Duala.

62. Bahramgarh

The village Bahramgarh is situated towards north of the Budhana block headquarters at a distance of about 8 km.

Building Complex There are many beautiful *havelis* in the village and newly constructed temples. The *havelis* are generally double storied and are painted in floral motifs.

63. Budhana

Budhana, the headquarters of the *tehsil* and the development block of the same name lies 29°17' and 77°99'E.

It is place of some antiquity, having been constituted a Mahal in the reign of Akbar.

A Temple There is a large temple in the vicinity of the town on a 1 m. high plinth. The whole complex is surrounded by a boundary wall. There are many beautiful small temples in the campus. An image of Kaliji has been installed on a slightly elevated platform in one of the temples, which has arched gateway. In the same way there are other temples of Lord Shiva, Hanumana, and Rama etc. They are made of *lakhauri* brick and thickly plastered and, therefore, their date could not be determined. Probably they all belong to medieval period.

64. Jaula

The village Jaula is on the Budhana-Kandhla road on the right side at a distance of about 6 km from the Budhana block headquarters towards the west. Jaula, a large village lies 29°17'N and 77°25'E.

Mosque/Temple There are two mosques in the village, known as *Bari Masjid* and *Chhoti Masjid*. Apart from these there are many temples. On the side of an ancient mound there are newly constructed temples.

65. Shikarpur

The village Shikarpur lies 29°22'N and 77°30'E at a distance of 10 km north of Budhana block headquarters.

A Mosque There are many mosques in the village Shikarpur. The Bari masjid, which, according to local people, belongs to Humayun period. There has been later addition in the mosque. It is thickly plastered and white-washed. The roof of the mosque has some paintings. There is an inscription in front gate of the mosque. Apart from the mosque, there are several *havelis* and others structural remains, such as wells etc.

66. Ailam

The village Ailam lies 29°17'N and 77°18'E on the Shamli-Shahdera road at a distance about 6 Kms.

Building Complex Tradition has it that the village was founded by one Mahipal Singh, about 620 A.D. It also formed the headquarters of one of the *Khaps* under the Khap Balian. There are many residential buildings built of *Lakhauri* bricks.

67. Kandhla

Kandhla, the headquarters of the block of the same name, lies 29°41' and 77°81'E at a distance of about 47 km towards south-west of the district headquarters.

In the reign of Akbar it was constituted into a Mahal in the Sirkar of Delhi.

A Tank There is an ancient tank called Suraj Kund, where people of the adjoining area come to bathe on religious occasions.

Jain Temple There is a big Jain temple in the heart of the town. According to local people it is very old. However, it is thickly plastered and white-washed.

A Tomb There is a famous tomb of a saint Maqdhum Shah, which was built in 1706 A.D. People offer prayers there.

Jama Mosque In the centre of the town, there is an old Jama mosque. It is in very bad state of preservation. In front of the mosque, there is a well bearing and inscription but it was not traceable.

68. Kamalpur

The village Kamalpur is situated towards west of the Shahpur block headquarters at a distance of about 5 km.

Mazar - There is a *mazar* of Pir Husain Shah on the top of an ancient mound. Except the *mazar* all the surrounding area is being leveled down by the farmers. People of the adjoining area come for *Ziarat* (for pilgrimage) on Thursdays.

References

1. There has been no jurisdictional change in the district during the decade. The difference in the area figures is due to revised calculation of the area done by the Board of Revenue. Varun, D.P., Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Muzaffarnagar (Lucknow 1980) pp. 74-75; cf. Jaganana 1971, Uttar Pradesh Granth Mala 21: Prathmik Jaganana Sarsangrah (Hindi) (Lucknow 1971), p. 4.
2. Varun, D.P., Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers: Muzaffarnagar (Lucknow 1980) pp. 1-3; Atkinson, E., Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North-Western Provinces, Vol. III, (Allahabad 1876), p. 589;
3. The density of the population in this district has increased largely since 1901; Varuna, D.P. Uttar Pradesh Gazetteers: Muzaffarnagar (Lucknow 1980) p. 46.
4. Fuher, A., Monumental Antiquity and Inscriptions in the North-western Provinces and Oudh, (London, 1891), p.12.
5. Indian Archaeology 1984-85, A Review, p.192.
6. Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 13; Cf. Varun, D.P. *Op. cit.*, p. 281.
7. Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 13.
8. *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1873*, p. 141; *Indian Archaeology, 1980-81: A Review*, p. 138; Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 13.
9. Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 13; *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1872*, p. 166.
10. Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 12.
11. Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 13, *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1873*, p. 142.
12. *Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1872*, p. 97; Fuher, A., *Op. cit.* p. 13.

2

Revolt in Kalapani**(1st April 1859)**P. K. Srivastava¹

The idea of penal settlement had never been present in the minds of pre-British Indian rulers. It was an idea, which originated along with the beginning of colonialism in India; and abolished only after India achieved freedom from British colonialism. The sole purpose behind opening the penal settlements was to segregate the 'dangerous ideas' detrimental to the very existence of colonial state. The popular notion of the British colonial state of yesterday was that the hardened criminals, whether challenging the colonial state from within as colonial lawbreakers or from without as rebels, both, were not suitable for well being of a civilized society, and therefore must be segregated and should be kept under strict vigil and surveillance.

The penal settlement at Andamans, popularly known as 'KALA PANI', is still stamped as synonym of terror at the minds of common people. It symbolised to a mystical place from where there was no probability of escape. Transportation to KALA PANI meant sending the rebel or the hardened criminal convict to Andaman Islands. It was awarded predominantly to dangerous rebels and hardened criminals sentenced for life in place of death penalty. The sentence of transportation for life was a kind of sentence more like exile. Though there are fairly good number of examples of exile during pre-British India but transportation beyond seas was seldom heard of. Travel beyond seas for any Indian, in whatsoever circumstances, was popularly believed as an act of sin beyond rectification. In fact, it was believed, that by crossing the sea a Hindu renounced his caste, without which there was no place for him in a Hindu society in general and

his caste community in particular. Renouncing caste means extinction of all existence in a Hindu society, as there was, and is, no possibility of being a Hindu without caste by birth. Indeed, the sentence of transportation for life for a Hindu was far more punitive than the sentence of death.² However, the system of penal settlement was created not for ordinary criminals but highly dangerous rebels and hardened criminals.

The system of penal settlement was completely unknown to pre-British India. Within thirty years of its colonial possession in Bengal, British at Benkoelen established the first Indian penal settlement across the sea in Sumatra, which was then under the possession of the government of India since 1865. The convicts were first transported from India to Fort Marlborough, at Benkoelen in 1787.³ Later it was ceded to Dutch in 1823, and the Indian convicts were transferred, in 1825, to Penang in Singapore. On the eve of the transfer of convicts from Benkoelen to Penang there were around 800-900 Indian convicts. The first batch of transfer took place on 8 April 1825, which was later transferred to Singapore. There were also other penal settlements at Malacca, Mauritius and Burma, from where all the convicts were transferred to Singapore in 1832. However, since 1858 penal settlement for Indian convicts was confined to Andaman Islands alone. The policy of government regarding rules and regulations remained the same as it were for Benkoelen or Penang.

Only convicts sentenced for life were transported to pre-Andaman penal settlements because majority of the term convicts preferred not to go back to their homes after completion of their term of sentences. It was assumed from the fact that the punitive gravity of the penal settlement was diminishing gradually. In fact, the terror of penal settlement was not lessened but the released term prisoners preferred to stay back at the settlement because they knew that the community of their own would not accept them within their fold. Their fear of ostracizing from their caste prompted them not to go back to their homes after their release. They preferred to live in the penal settlement instead of living without caste in their community.

The group of Andaman Islands comprise two hundred four large and small islands in the Bay of Bengal. They lie five hundred ninety miles from delta of Hooghli river and are at a distance of hundred twenty miles from Cape Negaris in Burma. It extends to the length of two hundred nineteen miles and is nowhere wider in breadth than thirty two miles. It is

a chain extending 250 miles between Burma and Sumatra.⁴ Geologically an extension of the Arakan Yoma, the islands form a part of the range of submarine mountains between Cape Negaris and Achin Head, perhaps once a land bridge the subsidence of which isolated these primitive survivors of a bygone age. It has an interesting past, which goes back to the Greeks. Ptolemy, just before the Christian era called it 'Agdaimonos Nedos'.⁵ Arab merchants, who sailed past them on their way to the straits of Sumatra, thereafter reported the existence of the islands in the 9th Century. The first Western visitor Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century and others, in 1563, 1695, and 1700, called it the land of the 'headhunters'. The native islanders regarded shipwrecked sailors 'as very wholesome diet, uncooked and not too fresh.' The yearly tribute from Malay race in the neighbouring Nicobars used to be paid in human bodies.⁶ The Marathas annexed the islands in the late 17th century. In the early, 18th century, the islands were the bases of Maratha Admiral Kanhoji Angre, whose navy frequently captured British, Dutch and Portugese ships. Angre remained undefeated by the combined British and Portugese naval task force, right upto his death in 1729.

It began with the transportation of rebels in 1858, thereafter, Wahabi and Moplah rebels were transported and finally the militant nationalists of early twentieth century were transported to the penal settlement of Andaman. The logic behind transportation to Andamans lied around the colonial state's fear of providing opportunity to contaminate the minds of other prisoners with 'dangerous ideas' by incarcerating rebels of any kind in the prisons of mainland. Andaman Island, from where there was no probability of escape of prisoners or transmission of their 'dangerous ideas', was selected in 1858 for transportation of such convicts.

The responsibility of erecting a penal settlement at the Andaman Islands was given to Colonel Henry Man, who had enriched himself in the experience of founding such colonies. Man proceeded to Port Blair and raised the Union Jack on 22nd January 1858.⁷ Thereafter, James Pattison Walker was appointed the first Superintendent of the penal settlement and Man left Port Blair after two months.⁸ Before coming back from Port Blair Man had accepted the convict classification system as enumerated in the 'Penang Rules', formulated by Sir Stamford Raffles.

Sir James Pettison Walker commenced his journey from Calcutta along with two hundred convicts, a local overseer and two doctors on March 4th 1858 on a company's steamship. Immediately after his arrival at Port Blair

on March 10 he drove convicts to clean Chatahm Island. The responsibility of cleaning Ross Island was put upon three batches of 25 convicts each. Both the islands were made suitable for inhabitation within record time. Indeed, it was an accomplishment of a very difficult task.

This penal settlement was initially planned for rebels of 1857 alone. In the first decade of its beginning only rebel convicts were transported to Andamans. The 1091 rebel convicts transported between January and July 1859 comprised 508 rebels convicted by special courts. "For colonial government the definition of a 'rebel' was not obvious in every situation. On the one hand, there were those who had fought in the name of Bahadur Shah and the Mughal throne, or of Tantia Tope, the Nana Saheb, and the Rani of Jhansi: i.e. who were part of the straightforward political narrative of the Mutiny. Abdool Rahim, alias Khool Kul Shah, a 'fakeer and camp-follower of Secundrabad who was transported to the Straits and then to the Andamans, evidently belonged to this category."⁹ The exact number of transported rebels is yet to be determined but it was not lesser than two to three thousand. Such transported lot of rebel convicts also included men of letters like Allami Fazli Haq Khairabadi, the friend of Ghalib, and Maulana Liaqat Ali, the renowned rebel leader. Both died at Port Blair.

Even the dreaded penal settlement failed to discourage and demoralize the rebels, which appeared in the various violent attempts made by the rebels on the lives of settlement officers or their number of attempts to escape from settlement. The first attempt to escape was made by Narain, a rebel convict from Dinapore, sentenced to transportation for life. He was caught and executed. J. P. Walker, the first Superintendent of the Settlement wrote:

"On the 4th day after arrival, Convict No. 61, Narain, sentenced on the 31st July last to transportation for life for having excited sedition in the Cantonment of Dinapore where he was a camp follower in the Bazar, after failing in an attempt to excite the Convicts with whom he was working to rebel, attempted to escape from Chatham Island by swimming to the main land, and nearly succeeded. He was made to alter his course by being fired upon, and was captured by a boat's crew. He was at once brought to trial, convicted of sedition and escaping, sentenced to suffer death, and executed. On the same day and about the same time, Convict, 46, Naringuh Sing, sentenced at Nuddea to transportation for life, for desertion, committed suicide by hanging himself, without any known cause, at a secluded spot of Ross Island. On the night of the 18th March, twenty one Convicts escaped on a raft from Ross Island to the main land, in the hope of

being able to reach the Continent of India by a narrow neck of land supposed to connect the great Andaman to Burmah. On the 23rd of March, eleven Convicts escaped from Ross Island. They were seen several miles to the south a few days subsequently, and were unsuccessfully pursued. On the 30th March, one of the Convicts who escaped on the 18th idem, delivered himself upto a boat's crew near Chatham island. He was in a debilitated state from want of food and water, and covered with vermin, that infested even his ears and eyelids, adhering so firmly that he could not remove them. He stated, that having along with others been duped by a fellow-prisoner, who pretended to have held communication with one of the aborigines, who promised assistance on the part of a Rajah, they escaped, and after traversing the south of the Great Andaman by the sea shore, during which they underwent great hardships from want of food, and especially fresh water, were attacked by about one hundred savage aborigines, one of whose first arrow inflicted a mortal wound on the convict-leader. The returned Convict, at the time escaping into the jungle, heard the fight proceeding for some time, and was under the impression that all his companions were massacred. Guided by the morning and evening guns (suns ?) he directed his course towards Port Blair, which he reached in three days, during which he had not met with water. He observed traces of the aborigines in his course hitherwards, but carefully avoided the tracks. His account of the privations he suffered has had a good effect upon the other Convicts, none of whom have since tried to escape. The fate of those who escaped on the second occasion is unknown, but there is little chance of their escaping death, either by hunger or by the hands of savage aborigines, whose hostility to all strangers is most unrelenting, and who at present must be considered unamenable to conciliation."¹⁰

It is not true that after such incidents prisoners did not attempt to escape. Many others kept on attempting to escape and were caught and executed or killed by aborigines. In the first two months alone 251 convicts escaped out of which 88 were recaptured and 86 of them were executed.¹¹

Other than attempting to escape the rebel convicts also conspired to capture power. On 1st April 1859, 200 Convicts attempted to assassinate James Pettisson Walker, his Indian Overseer and all guards of Navy. Superintendent of Port Blair on 29th April 1859 wrote:

“At about 2 o' clock p. m. the sentry on the duty at my office door, (distant only two or three paces from the Guard-room door) having been wounded by one convict with a felling axe, and disarmed by another, ran away in a state of insensibility. Possessed of the sentry's rifle, convict Surwar Shah mounted

the office north door steps and aimed at me, while I was writing with my back inclined to his position. The native Overseer, Lalla Muttra Doss, who was sitting at the side of the same table facing the assassin, unperceived by me, slipped out of a side door close to which he was sitting, and leaving the office by thseer's he Verandah, seized the convict assassin, Surwar Shah, No. 2,239 by the legs, and threw him prostrate on the ground; at the same time a convict (name unknown) came out of the Guard-room, and aiming a blow at the Overeer's head, struck him a severe blow on the shoulder with a felling axe; and another convict, Nuggur Muhummud Khan, No. 2215, also made his exit from the Guard-room, armed with a musket and bayonet, and attempted to stab him in the abdomen; the Overseer, however, parried the thrust with his hand, which was perforated by the weapon. He then fell down from faintness, partly from the shock, partly from loss of blood. My attention was attracted by a cry of alarm from the Guard-room (which is only separated from the office by a bamboo and mat partition), and rushing to the door, revolver in hand, I found a convict, Nuggur Muhummud Khan, aiming at me with an Enfield rifle from opposite the Guard-room door. On my firing at him, he retreated, and as I kept my pistol directed towards him he moved about to avoid my aim, and try to get an aim at me with his rifle. A second shot having missed him, I was warned by Lalla Muttra Doss, who was lying round the corner, to save myself by flight, as the office was surrounded by assassins. Fearing an attack from the south door, I rushed from the office, where I was alone, towards the hill where the Nuwul Guard Barrack is, pursued by convict Nuggur Muhummud Khan, who was only a few paces behind me, trying to shot me, when I was met by one of my convict Orderlies, two section gangmen, and a sub-division gangsmen, who, hearing the alarm, and perceiving my perilous position, rushed to my assistance and arrested and disarmed my assailant, who was stabbed by one of my personal guard when he came out."¹²

Lalla Muthoora Doss, aged 32, of the Khutree caste, was previously employed in the Agra Central Prison as Accountant and Cashier from 1847 to 1851, when he was promoted by Walker to be Darogah or Deputy Jailor. He held the appointment until transferred as an Overseer on the formation of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair.¹³ While recommending the award of zamindaree to Lalla Muthoora Doss¹⁴, in return of his services rendered at the time of revolts at Agra in 1857 and in Andamans on 1st April 1859, Walker described in detail about both the rebellions. According to Walker, Lalla Muthoora Doss was "trustworthy, able, and most zealous in the discharge of multifarious duties".¹⁵ He wrote:

"For six weeks the fate of Agra was dependent on the safe custody of the 3,400 prisoners confined in the Central Prison. They had been collected from all parts

of the North-Western Provinces, Punjab, Oude, and Native States, chiefly on account of their dangerous character, and their escape at any time within the period into the city would have excited the rebellion inhabitants to that destructive demonstration which was deferred till the 5th of July, 1857.

“The Commandant of the Prison Guard having been murdered on detached duty at Meerut, I remained the sole European on the establishment, and it was to the combined loyalty, zeal, and ability of three of my Native officials that I was enabled to maintain perfect discipline among the prisoners until the retirement of the European Troops towards the Fort, on the 5th of July. These three were Pundit Kesree Doss, the Jailor; Lalla Muthoorra Doss, the Darogah; and Moonah Singh, the Soobadar; of these the Lalla was conspicuous for his personal bravery.

After describing in detail about his role in Agra rebellion, Walker wrote about Muthura Das that he volunteered to serve under Walker in the Sanitary Department. Later, he was employed as Intelligence Officer, and it was him through whom he obtained the earliest intelligence from Major Renaud of the approach of the British force to Cawnpore, and subsequently another detailed information to the Intelligence Department at a difficult time from Furruckabad.¹⁶

In March 1858, Lalla Muthura Das, accompanied Walker as an Overseer to the Andamans, and during those eighteen months performed in a most zealous manner to the full satisfaction of Walker. On the 1st of April, 1859, a section of the convicts attempted to raise the banner of revolt in the Andamans. In that critical hour “Lalla acted with great presence of mind, bravery, and devotion during which he was wounded in the shoulder by a blow from a felling axe aimed at his head, and had his hand transfixed by a fixed bayonet in parrying a thrust at his belly.”¹⁷ This momentary repulse of the assassin saved Walker’s life from the most imminent danger when unconsciously he was being aimed at from behind with a loaded rifle of the disarmed European Sentry, and enabled him to defend himself, and receive assistance from well disposed convicts in the neighbourhood. Walker further wrote:

“As it was the crowd around the Naval Guard Barrack on a neighbouring hill, waiting for the concerted signal of my death, was only kept off by a threatened discharge of grape; and had my death happened, which was considered the *sine qua non* to the combination of the whole of the convicts, the result would have been serious. The contingency, however, humanly speaking, was averted by Lalla Muthoorra Doss.”¹⁸

Lalla Muthoora Doss was the only Hindu, who had volunteered, even in the obvious danger of losing his caste, to accompany Walker for service at the penal settlement in the Andaman Islands. As expected he was subjected to the humiliation of his friends and relatives for so doing, and on his return to Agra he could enter his family residence only 'at the cost of much anxiety and money.' Walker presented him with a gold watch and chain as an expression of his services to him.¹⁹ Walker was glad to learn that Lalla Muthoora Doss had been recommended for one of the villages in Kham Tehsil in Zillah Agra, for he knew that he preferred a Zumendaree to a Deputy Collectorship.²⁰

Conclusion

The rebellion of 1st April 1859 was not the end of resistance encountered by the administration of the penal settlement from transported convicts but was only the beginning of the spirit of resistance to be continued until the very existence of penal settlement at the Andaman Islands. Through the attempts to escape by early convicts, the violent attacks upon jail officers, disobeying the jail regulations and resorting to hunger strikes the rebel and other political convicts continued resisting the colonial administration throughout the existence of penal settlement in the Andaman Islands. The culmination of such spirit of resistance was the assassination of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy of India, on 8 February 1872 by a Wahabi prisoner, Sher Ali²¹ and the martyrdom of three political prisoners during the hunger-strike of 1933²².

References

1. Dr. P. K. Srivastava is Professor in the Department of Western History, University of Lucknow, India.
2. U.P. State Archives, Lucknow, hereinafter cited as UPSA , Oodey Pratab Singh, Ex-Rajah of Nuggur, when about to be sentenced to transportation, suddenly seized the sword of one of the Guard, and inflicted wounds on himself, of which he died. No. 386 and 388 of 19th April 1859. Officiating Commissioner Goruckpore. Dated 6th April, No. 67. Abstract of Proceedings, Judicial (Criminal) Department.
3. Majumdar, R. C. Penal Settlement in Andamans, 1975, New Delhi, pp. 47-49.
4. Mathur, L.P. Kala Pani: History of Andaman & Nicobar Islands with a study of India's Freedom Struggle, 1968, Delhi, p. 1.

5. India Office Records and Library, London, hereinafter cited as IORL: G. M. Roth, Andaman Islands, L/P&J/484, p. 1.
6. Ibid. p. 114.
7. Singh, N. Iqbal, *The Andaman Story*, 1978, New Delhi, p. 73.
8. Majumdar, 1975, op.cit., p. 103.
9. Sen, Satadru, *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands*, OUP, 2000, p. 62.
10. Majumdar, R. C., Op. Cit., pp. 112-113.
11. Mathur, L. P., Op. Cit. p. 37.
12. UPSA, Extracts from Paragraph 5, of a letter from the Superintendent of Port Blair, dated the 29th April 1859, No. 1123, Proceeding No. 2, August 1860, Political, NWP, p. 255.
13. IORL: Memorandum by J.P. Walker, formerly Superintendent of the Agra Central Prison, and lately Superintendent of the Penal Settlement at Port Blair, in the Andamans, on the services of Lalla Muthoora Doss, dated Allahabad, the 3rd July, 1860, No. 12, Judicial, Fort William, July 13, pp. 44-45.
14. IORL: Extract from a Demi-official Letter from Dr. J. P. Walker, dated Allahabad, the 5th July 1860, No. 11, Judicial, Fort William, July 13, p. 44.
15. Ibid. p. 45.
16. Ibid. p. 47.
17. Ibid. p. 47.
18. Ibid. p. 47.
19. Ibid. p. 48.
20. UPSA, Extracts from a Demi-official Letter from Dr. J. P. Walker, dated Allahabad, the 5th of July 1860, Proceeding No. 2, August 1860, Political, NWP, p. 257.
21. See Pramod Kumar, *KALA PANI andaman ki dandi basti*, National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 2006.
22. For history of Hunger strike in 1933 see Srivastava, Pramod Kumar, *Resistance and repression in India: the hunger strike at the Andaman cellular jail in 1933*, *Crime, Histoire & Societes (Crime, History & Societies)* 2003, vol.7, no.2, pp. 81-102.

3

A Historical Perspective of the Early Foundations of the Archaeological Survey of India (upto 1900 A.D)

Dr. Naveen Vashishta

Part -I

1.0 Introduction- The study of land, culture and people can best be done through systematic surveying and mapping of the region. Events in history have occurred at certain geographical locations, and knowledge about these geographical locations has come through surveys. A survey of archaeological remains throughout India is indispensable to the study of Indian history. It forms one of the important branch for identifications of ancient sites, physical changes in places, monuments, works of art and paintings, sculptured edifices which arouse exciting and stimulating interest for investigating mysteries of Indian chronology and art. The archaeological impacts of the Hindu Capital *Vijaynagar* established in 1336 A.D. by *Harihara* and *Bucket* aroused the interest of explorers.¹

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) has completed 150 years of its establishment last year. It comes under the Union Ministry of Culture. It is a vibrant, multifaceted organization which is tasked with research in archeology and protection of India's cultural heritage. Its activities covers a wide range: excavation of archaeological sites, conservation of ancient monuments, epigraphy, numismatics, underwater archeology, survey of temples, administration of museums, publishing, study of antiquities, running well-stocked libraries, and so on.²

This study aims to work out a detailed historical account of the functions of Archaeological Survey of India and its evolution through different periods. The main object is to educate the present generation of surveyors

and historians not only about the history of Archaeological Survey of India but also about the conditions under which their predecessors worked; how much romantic, adventurous and painstaking were their efforts and how the modern surveying systems came to be built up.

1.1 Description of Early travelers - The Hindu capital of Vijayanagar is described in the works of *Varthema*, *Abdur Razzak*, *Nicola di Conti*, *Nikitin*, *Barbosa* and *Caesar Frederick*. The beauties of Bijapur were noticed by *Tavernier*; *Bernier* and others, who visited the Mughal court described Agra and Delhi. The cave temples of Western India are also described by the early travelers. *Thevenot* and *Anquetil du Perron* explored the caves of Ellora. *Linschoten*, *Boon*, *Salt* described Salsette, and the famous Elephanta Caves were described by *Fryer*, *Hamilton*, *Niebuhr* and others.³

1.2 Sir William Jones and Foundations of Asiatic Society - *Sir William Jones (1746-1794)* had keen interest in the literature and antiquities of India and he started the systematic investigation of Indian antiquities dates. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 15th January 1784 A.D at Calcutta.⁴ Archaeological and historical pursuits in India actually started with the foundation of this institution. In the early days of Asiatic Society, William Jones could not procure even a small piece of land to house his dream. The Society which in no time was to regarded as the first and best of its kind in the whole world had no permanent address, no fixed place for holding its meetings and, which was most disconcerting, no funds.⁵ In the absence of an exhaustive Government Survey, such an institution as Asiatic Society was invaluable. The endeavor put forward by Jones culminated in the publication of a periodical journal named, *Asiatic Researches* started in 1788. The journal brought to light the researches, surveys carried out by the society to make the public aware of the antiquarian wealth of India.⁶

1.3 Early Labors in Archaeology -The earliest laborers in this important field of Indian archaeology were *Sir William Jones*, *Charles Wilkins*, *Henry Colebrook*, *Francis Gladwin*, *William Chambers*, and *Colin Mackenzie* followed by *Buchanan Hamilton* and *Horace Wilson*. These learned and accomplished scholars were ably assisted by many younger explorers. The aims of the pioneers in archaeology were far from purely archaeological. Their very programmed, which included a variety of subjects, ranging from ethnology to pure mathematics, from geology to meteorological observations, would belie their having any such aim.

1.4 Deciphering of inscriptions- The deciphering of inscriptions on pillars, metal plates, or coins was most essential to the student of Indian history because by these means alone dates could be obtained, without which history would have no coherence. *Colonel Polier* described the famous Buddhist pillar with its inscriptions, known as the Firoz Lat. *Blunt* and *Ewer* described the Qutub Miners Pillar at Delhi. *Charles Wilkins* wrote 6 papers on the meaning of various inscriptions that were forwarded to him and *Colebrook* wrote an essay on inscriptions. Many more inscriptions were deciphered and translated.

1.5 Discovery by Sir William Jones - *Sir William Jones* identified that Greeks used the name *Erannaboas* for the Indian river *Sone*. This discovery proved that *King Chandragupta* actually fixed the seat of his empire at *Pataliputra* at the mouth of the *Sone* (the *Palibothra* of *Strabo*), and was *Sandrocottus* who concluded a treaty with *Seleucus Nicator*. Thus *Sir William Jones* fixed the first great landmark in the ancient history of India.⁷

1.6 Descriptions of ruins in Asiatic Researches- Elaborate account of ruins and other architectural remains were also contributed to the *Asiatic Researches*. *William Chambers* visited the famous ruins on the *Coromandel Coast* called as the *Seven Pagodas* of *Mahabalipuram* in 1772 A.D. *Sir C. Malet* contributed a paper on the *Ellora Caves* in 1794 A.D. *Colin Mackenzie* described the pagoda of *Perwuttum* and wrote an account of *Jains*. A complete account of grand *Mohammedan* ruins at *Bijapur* was written by *Captain Sydenham* in 1811 A.D. *Sir James Mackintosh* visited them in 1808 A.D. and called *Bijapur* the “*Palmyra of the Deccan*”.

1.7 Accounts of Mr. Erskine, Mr. Salt, Colonel Sykes and Colin Mackenzie - *Mr. Erskine* drew up his exhaustive essay on the cave of *Elephanta* which was by far the best description of the cave that was published. *Mr. Salt* wrote an account of the caves in *Salsette* in 1806 A.D. *Colonel Sykes* from 1819 to 1820 A.D. wrote accounts of the ruined city of *Bijapur* and of *Ellora Caves*. *Colin Mackenzie's* collections of inscriptions on stone and copper, of manuscript and coins, have alone enabled the early history of *South India* and its dynasties to be understood and written e.g. *Pandyan* dynasty and *Cherie* dynasty.

1.8 Daniel's drawings of Indian monuments - *Thomas Daniel* made the most accurate drawings of the temples and places at *Madura*, *Tanjore* and ruins at *Mahabalipuram*, to represent the architecture of *Southern India*; the *Taj Mahal*, *Akbar's tomb*, and mosques at *Jaunpur* and *Delhi*; and rock-hewn temples at *Salsette* and *Elephanta*.

1.9 Notice of James Princep - The Buddhist inscriptions, inscriptions on the pillars at Delhi and Allahabad were undeciphered. In 1837 A.D. *James Princep* obtained a clue to the alphabets on inscription, and the language turned out to resemble the Pali of Ceylon. He applied these alphabets to the inscriptions on pillars at Delhi and Allahabad, and the great discovery was completed. They all proved to be the same series of edicts by the famous Buddhist king *Asoka*. The name on the pillars was Priyadasi which was identified with those of *Asoka*. He discovered the first positive dates in early Indian history. He died in 1840 A.D.

1.10 Captain Kittoe's discoveries in Cuttack, and excavations at Sarnath – *Captain Kit toe* investigated the ruins in Orissa, and discovered an important series of rock inscriptions at Dhauli, in Cuttack. He also made excavations at Sarnath, near Benares.

1.11 The Girnar inscription- The rock inscription at Girnar, in Gujarat and Dhauli inscription were carefully studied by *James Princep*. Those discovered by *Kit toe* at Dhauli; in Cuttack, proved to be identical with the Girnar, in Gujarat, being Asokan inscriptions.

1.12 The Manikyala Tope - *Generals Ventura* and *Court*, Officers in the service of *Ranjeet Singh*, opened a tope at Manikyala, in 1830 A.D., and others between Jhelum and the Indus in 1833 and 1834 A.D. They obtained a gold box which contained coins and relics. *Masson*, *Honigberger*, and *Gerard* examined topes near Jallalabad. *Captain William Brown* also gave an account of the ancient temple and famous ship model at Hissar, in Princep's journal.

After the death of *James Princep*, *Cunningham* and *Massey* in the north, *Meadows Taylor* and *Wilson* in Bombay, *Walter Elliot* in Madras took the lead and had many followers like, *Aurel Stein* (1862-1943 A.D.) and *John Marshall* (1876 A.D.).

1.13 Contribution of James Fergusson - *Fergusson* systematized and rendered clear the chronology and history of eastern art. From 1829 to 1833 A.D. he visited Dacca, Rajghur, and some other places in the Ganges Delta which contained remains of architectural art. In 1834 A.D. he visited Banaras, Agra, Delhi, Jaipur, Luck now and Jaunpur and many other places till 1839 A.D. He re-visited India in 1842 A.D. and went to South India, and made himself acquainted with the architecture of South India. In 1843 A.D. he read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society on the "Rock-Cut Temples of India". In 1847 A.D. he published "Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in India".

(a) **Prehistoric remains**– They consisted of cairns, cromlechs, and other cognate remains of unknown age, constructed by unknown people, and scattered widely in different parts of India. In 1820 A.D. *Mr. Babington* described the Cody Kulls or Pando Koolies of Malabar. The next notice of prehistoric remains was by *Captain Harkness*, followed by *Captain Gangreve*, *J.T. Kearns*, *Captain New bold* and *Captain Meadows Taylor*.

(b) **Buddhist Remains** - A wide interval separates the cairns and cromlechs from the Buddhist remains, for the Aryans who composed the Vedic literature built nothing that has endured to our time. For five centuries from 250 B.C., almost all monuments in India are Buddhist and Jaina, consisting of rock inscriptions, topes or stupas, rock cut temples, and viharas or monasteries, the most important being the Sanchi Stupa in Bhopal in Central India, described by *Cunningham* and *Fergusson*, and the Amravati stupa near the mouth of Krishna, also described in the “Tree and Serpent Worship”, and by *Dr. Burgess*. There is another group of Buddhist remains near Banaras, called Sarnath, which was opened in 1835 A.D. by *General Cunningham*. The raths or rock-hewn temples at Mahabalipuram near Madras which were described by *Chambers* and *Goldingham*, are commonly called as seven pagodas, are classed by *Mr. Fergusson* as forms of Buddhist architecture adopted by the Hindu.

(c) **Dravidian Architecture** - This style of architecture extends over all India south of the river Krishna, except Mysore, and originated in the three ancient kingdoms of Pandya, Chola and Chera. The Dravidian temples consist of vimana as shrine, the mandapas or porches leading to it, the gopuras or lofty gate pyramids. They are recognizable by their pyramidal form, distinction of storey's, and separation into compartments by pilasters. The holy *Rishi Aghastya*, who brought the first Brahman colony into South India, is said to have written a treatise on architecture, and others were also composed in ancient times, which were collectively called *Silpa Sastra*.

(d) **Bengali Architecture** - The Bengali or northern temples have no trace of division into storeys, no pilasters, and a curvilinear outline, with a polygonal base. The best examples are found at Bubhneswar, in Orissa, and around the temple of Jagannath. The first style appears in the 6th or 7th Century, but *Mr. Fergusson* found its origin as mysterious and unexplained.

(e) **Chalukya Architecture**- The Chalukya Style of Architecture prevails in Gujarat, Mysore and Rajputana. The Hale bid temple, one of its finest examples, was built at the same time as Lincoln and Salisbury cathedrals,

and is considered by *Mr. Fergusson* to be among the most marvelous exhibitions of patient human labour the world has ever produced.

(f) Jain Architecture - The Jain temples are numerous and elaborate, and have been described by *Mr. Burgess*. The most noticeable examples are at Satrunjaya, Gina, Mount Abu, and Sadri, and they are found along the western Deccan as far as Belgaum, as well as in Bengal and Central Provinces. In elaborateness and elegance they in some respects, surpass even the 13th Century buildings of the Chalukyas.

(g) Muhammadan or Saracenic Architecture - The Muhammadan or Saracenic Architecture, in the form of beautiful mosques and tombs, is scattered over nearly all parts of India except the extreme South. The different styles bear the effect of the localities in which they originated; combining the general features of Islamism with many special details peculiar to native art. According to *Fergusson* the earliest Muhammadan Style is that of the Pathans at Delhi which includes Qutub Minar, tomb of *Iltutmish*. Mosques and tombs at Jaunpur (1397-1478 A.D.), Jama Masjid at Ahmadabad, Bijapur, Delhi, and many other spots are examples of Saracenic architecture. The tomb of *Akbar* and Taj Mahal, which represent the Mughal architecture, are even more widely known, and have been thoroughly examined.

(h) Coins and Inscriptions - The collection and deciphering of coins and plates is a very important branch of Indian archaeology, because by the study of such relics alone the sequence and chronology of ancient dynasties be ascertained. Much was done by the early archaeologists in this field as it has already been discussed earlier. In the north India, numismatics was studied by *James Princep, Cunningham, Wilson* and *Edward Thomas*. By means of coins *Mr. Thomas* has illustrated the history of the Tasmanians, the Shah kings of Gujarat, the chronology of Bactrian Kings, of the Gupta dynasty and others.

1.14 General Cunningham as Archaeological Surveyor - The Government of India instituted an Archaeological Survey in 1861 A.D. with the object of preserving ancient monuments, rendering them easy of access, procuring correct copies of inscriptions and pieces of sculpture, and thus facilitating the study of future antiquaries and historians. *General Cunningham* was selected by *Lord Canning* (1856-1862 A.D.) to conduct the operations of the survey. In its early days, the Survey was engaged in major exploratory

activities which resulted in the discovery of important archaeological sites like Sankisa, Sravasti, Bharhut, Kosambi. Cunningham was instrumental in such findings and paved the way for newer studies in Historical Archaeology of India⁸

During the season 1861-62 A.D., *General Cunningham* identified number of ruins of Buddhist structures in Magadha. Two Chinese pilgrims *Fa Hien* (399-414 A.D.) and *Hsuan Tsang* (629-644 A.D.) visited India, and the localities, cities and monuments described by them form important historical and topographic landmarks which the Indian antiquaries and comparative geographers should identify. *General Cunningham* observed that as *Pliny* followed the route of Alexander, so an Indian archaeologist should tread in the footsteps of the two Chinese pilgrims. *Cunningham* carefully examined 24 ruins during his first season, including the caves in Barbara Hills, excavated by *King Asoka*. His first report concludes with a full account of the great Buddhist tower at Sarnath, near Banaras. Judging from the style of inscription at Gaya he assigned 477 B.C. as the date of nirvana of Buddha.⁹ The dates of foundations of Rajgriha were fixed.

In the season of 1862-63 A.D., *General Cunningham* toured Fatehgarh, Kannauj, Roorkee, Kalsi, and Mathura, to Delhi. He examined ruins of Sankisa, the spot where Buddha descended from heaven. At Also he made an impression of the famous inscription of *Asoka*. At Mathura and Delhi he copied several inscriptions, and made many drawings and measurements. He made complete examination of the ruins of Delhi and came to the conclusion that no single stone remains of Indraprastha, the capital of Pandus.

During 1863-64 A.D. *Cunningham* explored the ruins in Punjab, and worked at the identification of the cities and peoples described in the expedition of *Alexander the Great*. He worked on the track of Alexander and Chinese pilgrims. He gave accounts of Taxila, Manikyala, and scene of *Alexander's* battle with *Pores* on the Jhelum.

In 1864-65 A.D., *Cunningham* explored and described the ancient cities between the Yamuna and Narmada, and gave account of Dhamnas caves. He carefully examined and described the ruins and inscriptions in nine of the ancient kingdoms of Hindustan. In 1866 A.D. *Lord Lawrence* abolished the appointment of Archaeological Surveyor. *Cunningham* chief discoveries were Aornos, the rock fort captured by the Macedonian king; Taxila, the ancient capital of North-West Punjab; Bairat, the capital of Matsya, Sankisa, near

Kannauj,; and Nalanda, the famous Buddhist monastery in India. During the tenure of Cunningham (1867–68), A.C.L. Carlleyle of ASI discovered important rock paintings in the rock shelters of Suhagihat in the Rewa District, Madhya Pradesh.¹⁰

1.15 Comparison of James Fergusson and Alexander Cunningham- Fergusson attempted a survey of Indian architecture, putting for the first time India's vast architectural heritage into an order of time and a sequencing of worth. He ultimately wrote a history of world architecture, in which Indian architecture was placed. His tools were surveys, drawings, and a new technology, photography. Cunningham, on the other hand, was an archaeologist, whose tools were excavations, but also the collection of artifacts, including sculptures, coins, and inscriptions. He became entranced by the recently translated histories written by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India, particularly that of Hsuan Tsang who traveled in India in the seventh century. Cunningham attempted to retrace Hsuan Tsang's footsteps by identifying Buddhist sites across India. Yet, however different the two, their respective ways of categorization and identification of art and architecture remain with us today. Both felt monuments and artifacts could tell the history of India, a history otherwise difficult to recover, due primarily to a lack of historical texts. Both were attempting to organize the art into a chronology, as well as to render judgments of aesthetic value.¹¹

References

1. Markham C.R., 1871, *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, London, pp. 170-71.
2. <http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl2801/stories/20110114280106200.htm>
3. Markham C.R., 1871, p. 170.
4. Roy, Surindranath & Archaeological Survey of India, 1961, *The story of Indian archaeology, 1784-1947*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
5. <http://asiaticsocietycal.com/history/index.htm>
6. http://asi.nic.in/asi_aboutus_history.asp
7. Markham C.R., 1871.
8. Singh, Upinder, 2004, *Discovery of Ancient India: Early Archaeologists and the Beginnings of Archaeology*, Permanent Black, Delhi.
9. Black C.E.D., 1891, *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys (1875-90)*, London, pp. 320-21.

10. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for February, 1883*, p.49.
11. Robert L. Brown, 2006, *Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*, Journal of the American Oriental Society.

to be concluded in the next issue of the Journal, Vol. 4, Oct-Dec.
2012

4

The Techniques of Water Management System in Medieval Malwa

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava

Malwa was one of the most important provinces of India in ancient times and its influence on Indian culture has been profound. Physically, culturally and politically we may call it the heart of India. It is the passage to the North India to Deccan. 'Malwa' implies the plateau region which formed a political unit like 'Magadha, 'Kalinga' and 'Saurashtra'.¹ Malwa covered an area of about 47,760 Sq. kms. and comprised of the present district of Dhar, Jhabua, Ratlam, Dewas, Indore, Ujjain, Mandsaur, Sehore, Raisen, Shajapur and Vidisha.²

According to Abul Fazl in his *A-in-I- Akbari*, It is stated that, "Subah of Malwa is situated in the second climate. Its length from extreme point of Garha (Mandla) to Banswarah is 245 kos. Its breadth from Chanderi to Nandurbar is 230 kos. To the east lies Bandhun (Rewa) ; to the North, Narwar; to the south Baglanah to the Gujrat and Ajmer There are mountain to the South.³ Abul Fazl says that, " Its principal rivers are the Narmada, the Shipra, the Kali Sindh, the Betwa and the Godi. According to Abul Fazl, ' Godi is a tributary of the 'Narmada'.⁴ At every two or three kos clear and limpid streams are met on whose banks the willow grows wild and the hyacinth and fragrant flowers of many hues, amid the abundant shade of trees. Lakes and green meads are frequent and stately Palaces and fair country homes breathe tales of fairyland.⁵

The rulers of Medieval Malwa and Rajasthan have took care of their states very well. Their ideals were based on the ritual policies and religious scripts, such as 'Vedas', Puranas, Manusmriti, Sukra Niti,, Artha Shastra etc. are special noticed.

The Techniques of Water Management System in Medieval Malwa 25

In 11th century Samrangan Sutradhar of Raja Bhoj was the most valuable and authentic source of water technique in the Palaces and forts, construction methods of water resources, the architecture of water bodies of Malwa.⁶ Raja Bhoj constructed so many water tanks, lakes and reservoirs in Dhar, Mandu and Bhojpur.

There must be many Tanks, Gardens,, wells and bathing place in the city. Water has obtained from the wells & clouds for the irrigation. Many wells, tanks, Canals and reservoirs were dug in that period. King Munz Parmar constructed Munz Sagar in Dhar and king Bhoj constructed a huge tank near Chitor which is called Bhojsar.⁷

During the establishment of Muslim rule in India, many Historians have written the inscriptions in Persian and Arebic and Many 'Tawarikh' were written by them in Persian. There is a reference of water resources and water management of Malwa in the Rajasthan autobiography of some muslim ruler in India.⁸ The Mughal Emperor Babur described the environment, rainfall, gardens, wells, rivers, canals, tanks, Arawali hills, ponds and irrigation, tools and techniques like Rahet, Chadas, Dhinkly etc.⁹ Abul Fazl described in the third volume of A- In-I-Akbari about the Crops, the environment, natural beauty, sweet water productions, art and industry etc.¹⁰

The Mughal Emperor Jahangir described beautifully in his autobiography Tujuk-I-Jahangiri about the water resources, wells, step wells,, rivers, sarovars, kunds, springs, lakes, tanks, ponds and fountains. He writes about Malwa that, "Five big rivers flows in Malwa apart from canals, rivers and springs. These rivers are Chambal, Shipra, Kali-Sindh, Neera (Betwa), Narbada.¹¹ He has referred the Kaliadah palace kund of Ujjain and the beautions places, tanks and big canals of Mandu.¹²

Originally, the religious feeling inspired for the construction of the process of water reources, on the other hand the water resources have compulsurely required in the State for drinking water, Agriculture irrigation and the economic development. Therefore in the medieval period, many rulers of Malwa and Rajasthan constructed the numbers of water resources in many places. They have took keen interest for the development of water resources in their areas. The rulers of this region have inspired their 'Jagirdars, Samantas, and 'Rayyats' to construct the wells, step wells, kup, tanks reservoirs in their region for the economic development of the state.¹³

In Medieval Malwa the Muslim rulers have also made the wonderful efforts for the water management. The residue of extensive and scientific water resources like huge step wells,, reservoirs, cistern etc. have existed in different places of Malwa. According to the Waqi' at-e-Mushtaqi Nasir-Ud-din Khilji was constructed the Palaces, Hauz and Ahu- khana in different places of Malwa. In Kaliadah Palace of Ujjain, the beautiful Palace, water canal and fifty two reservoirs constructed with the excellant engineering and architect.¹⁴

The Malwa agriculture has always depended on various sources of water both natural and artificial for its irrigational requirement via Rain, wells, river, tanks canals, step wells etc. The construction of water works and the technological changes that took place in the traditional irrigation system in this region during the Malwa Parmar kings and sultunate hitherto neglected, need a scientific study. The relevant evidence available in the contemporary Indian and Persian works through the construction of water works and the changes that irrigation technology and water refining technology undervent from time to time. In perticular the setting up of the percian wheel on wells and the construction of large artificial canals provide clues to the introduction of certain mechanical devices in the irrigation system employed during the period under review.¹⁵

Dams, lakes, and water reservoirs were some of the important means of irrigation in Malwa at 11th Century. The artificial lake at Bhojpur Commissioned by King Bhoj in the middle of the 11th Century covered 250 Sq.miles.¹⁶

An important aspect of Indian agriculture is artificial irrigation to supplement the natural bounty of the mansoons. The principal means employed for this purpose was the construction of well, tanks and canals. In Malwa, wells must have provided the chief source of irrigation. Number of artificial devices were used to lift water from well. Pullys were employed over wells for this purpose. Another device worked on the lever principal. In the region of all Malwa there was the wooden arhet or 'rahat'¹⁷ called by the english the 'Percian Wheel' with the chain of pots and pin drums gearing. This water lifting mechanism obtained much greather ability to lift water from greather depth when the pots were transferred from the spokes or rim to a rope chain or "Pot-Garland" (Malwa)¹⁸ The earliest allusion to *this 'Pot-Garland'* Occurs in 'Yashodharman's Mandsaur inscription found on two type stone pillars of victory set up by king Yashodharman of Unknown

The Techniques of Water Management System in Medieval Malwa 27

origin near Mandsaur. One of them is dated in Malwa year 589 (532-33 AD). The dated on records the construction of a large well by one Daksha, whose brother Dharmadasa was the minister of Yashodharman.¹⁹

On other techniques in which uses of heavy wood Pillar of tree, and small harbest and clay make a 'Kacha Bandha' on river then growing the label of water and make a temperory canal and uses water for irrigation. This type of temporary canal called 'Saran'.²⁰

In his general account of Malwa and Mewar agriculture is artificial irrigation to suppliment the natural bounty of the mansoons. In Malwa and Mewar, wells and 'Deekli' (local language) 'Kotumba' and 'Bundha' must have provided the chief source of irrigation.²¹ In Malwa wells must have provided the chief source of irrigation. Most of the wells were 'Kachcha' that is made without use of mesonary. These necessaruily had to be dug or dug of resh every year. In Malwa out of a very large number of water tanks recorded in all region and many ruines of 'Wooden Rahat' also found in this region.²²

Some cultivated fields when watering is required women and men irrigate by drawing up water by other techniques like 'Kutumba' and odi (abat). These techniques were found in Malwa and Mewar. In Kutumba long hollow tree like 'Kajui' and other any long nal tree one side attached on height and second terminal attached in agriculture area or fort area, then water moving up to down.²³ There are an allusion of ruined hallows, have found at many places in the lower portion of Asirgarh fort in between the main wall and the second wall of the fortress.²⁴

In Malwa all techniques of Water Management have depended on Rain water harvesting. The water of rain, rivers and streams has conservated in wells, step wells, and tanks in most of the forts, temples and other areas of Malwa during medieval period. These conservated water has used for drinking and irrigation purpose. The techniques of Kachcha Bandha, Kutumba and water courses have used for this purpose.²⁵

In Malwa many examples of roof water harvesting finds in Mandu. The monument of "Jahaj Mahal" and Rani Rupmati Mahal are the great example of Rain water harvesting. Asirgarh fort and 'Khundi Bhandara' of Burhanpur, are also the great example of Rain water harvesting²⁶, as they were neighbouring area of Malwa.

In Malwa there are two main techniques of rain water harvesting storage of rain water on surface for further use. Recharge to ground water the

storage of rain water on surface is a traditional techniques and structures used were under ground tanks, ponds, check, dams weirs etc.²⁷

Example of water related architecture in Malwa include Lateral step built on the banks of rivers, reservoirs and dams or ghats, which form a characteristic feature at various pilgrimage sites and religious enclosures, wells, royal pleasure pavilions fronting or situated on rivers and lakes and ornamental pools and water gardens attached to Palaces. Other type of water related architecture included deep stepped basins, village tanks and wells which served as community areas for bathing, watering animals and meeting places etc.²⁸

Alongside this Since the Palaces and forts of the rulers and their feudatories incorporated water bodies to meet drinking water needs as well as for aesthetic and weather conditioning purpose, elaborate system of transporting water within Palaces and forts and of fountains and water chanals that ran through chambers and gardens were devised.²⁹ In the context of Malwa for example Baj Bahadur and Rani Rupmati Mahal, Jahaj Mahal, Kalidah Mahal at Ujjain, Shahi Hammam at Mandu and Burhanpur, Asirgarh fort, Mahal Gulara and Ahukhana at Burhanpur, Rewa Kund of Mandu etc.³⁰

Thus the splendid water management system and techniques of medieval Malwa was based on the roof water harvesting for the collection and conservation of rain water in the Palaces and other places in contemporary times. Filtre system techniques were used, for the purification of water in many forts and building of medieval Malwa. A sign of 'Light System' has also been existent as a tools of water management to reached the water on the height. The whole water management system of Malwa was based on the conservation of water system which were based on the rainfall.³¹

References

1. K.C. Jain, *Malwa Through the Ages, From the Earliest time to 1305 A.D.* Publisher, Motilal, Banarsidas, Varanasi, p. 15.
2. S.D. Mishra, *Natural Regions of the Indian sub continent*, Type script, p. 108.
3. Abul Fazl, *Ain-I-Akbari* (Eng Trans.) by H. Blochman, Low Price Publication, Delhi, Vol. II, p. 206.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 206.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 206.

The Techniques of Water Management System in Medieval Malwa 29

6. *Raja Bhoj-Samrangan Sutradhar* (This important Granth gives the information about the Palaces, and the water Management Sources of Malwa).
7. Dr. Bhagwatilal Rajpurohit, *Bhojraj Malwa ka Parmar Raja Bhoj-I*, Vishva Vidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi, pp. 30-31.
8. Dr. K.S. Gupta and Dr. J.K. Ojha, *Rajasthan ka Rajnetic Avam Sanskritic Itihas*, p. 31.
9. Babur, *Baburnama* (Translated by A.S. Beveridge) Low Price Publications, Delhi, 2006, pp. 484, 488, 515, 518.
10. Abul Fazl, *Ain-I-Akbari* (Trans.by A.H. Blochman Vol.III) Low Price Publications, Delhi, 2008, pp. 1, 10, 11.
11. Munshi Devi Prasad, *Jahangir Nama*, Editor Dr. Raghbir Singh, Publication Scheme, Jaipur, p. 164.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
13. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, *Irrigation works and other water works in Malwa 1100-1800 AD*, Major Research Project Report (2011) UGC, New Delhi, (Under Publication), p. 1.
14. Shaikh Rizquallah Mushtaqui, *Waqi at-e Mushtaqui* (Translate by Sayyad Athar Abbas Rijvi, Uttar Tammor Kaleen Bharat) Part II, p. 14.
15. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, *Op. Cit.*, p. 47.
16. D.C. Ganguly, *Parmar Rajvans ka Itihas*, p. 181.
17. 'Rahat'-(A hindi equivalent of percian wheel) Babur refers to the persian wheel being used in India as 'Charakh' , Baburnama p. 486.
18. Irfan Habib, *Technology in medieval India (650-1750 AD)*, Pub. Aligarh Historian Society, Tulika Books, New Delhi, 2008, p. 9.
19. Vishnuvardhan, *Mandsaur Gazetteer*, p. 23.
20. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, *Op.Cit.*, p. 48.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 49 & Field Survey under the Major Research Project of Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, UGC, New Delhi (2009-2011).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 49 & *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, p. 75 & *Ibid.*
25. Field Survey under the Major Research Project of Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, UGC, New Delhi, (2009-2011).
26. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, *Ibid.*, p. 50.

27. I.H. Siddiqui - Journal of Economic and Social History of the orient, Vol. XXIX, Water works and irrigation system in India during pre Mughal Times.
28. Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, Op. Cit. p. 51.
29. Ibid., p. 51.
30. Ibid., p. 51.
31. Field Survey under Major Research Project of Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, UGC, New Delhi, (2009-2011).

5

Khusrau to Today's World

Dr. Aparna Sharma

India is known to have produced luminaries in almost all the fields of human development. Among those Amir Khusrau stands as one. Nearly 750 Yrs. ago, during early Medieval era Khusrau was born and emerged as a courtier, literary laureate, historian, musician, socialite, spokesperson of masses within the attire of a Sufi and a courtier.

To him, we can call—first poet of Khari Boli, multi-dimensional talent, profunder of liberal Sufi thoughts, first to talk of Hindu-Muslim unity, a bridge for the cultural merger, a great patriot and lover of his land, musical composer and innovator and much more. In the lime light of this description we could prove his relevance in today's scenario.

Spiritual Relevance

In this age of ambition and materialism the Sufi or spiritual ideology of Khusrau will help the people to gain a sense of satisfaction, to remain calm and within limits.

His personality is as relevant and to be followed as of king Janak (Father of Sita) a famous character of Indian Epic “Ramayana” for whom it is said,

‘Ek bairagi grah mein, Ek grahi mein bairag’

His spiritualism was awarded to him by his Guru Nizamuddin Auliya who never interfered in his professional life and asked him to make a dignified balance between the two.

The concept is to devote oneself fully to the Supreme Being the God. Sufi thoughts condemn cruelty, egoism and trivial self interest and determine that the predestination of man is love for people and help to those who are in need. Khusrau provides with an advisory preaching,

“Share with those who need whatever it pleases the Lord to bestow on thee.....

Remove the crust of selfishness from thy heart.....

Give with a pleasant face whatever thou hast, and thy liberality will be twice blessed.....

let strangers partake of thy liberality,

for every silly ass can be generous to his wife and children.

The man whose kindness extends to his family only, is really selfish.”¹

This description provides with a true sense of service to mankind and developing charity.

Spiritualism makes one free from prejudice, bigotry and fanaticism. Love of God is identical with the love of humanity. A lover of God according to Sufis love all his creations irrespective of class, color, creed, good, bad, high, low, friends and the foe. At times the feeling reach to an extent that there remains no difference between the two, Khusrau says:

“I am a lover, if anyone calls my soul,

My beloved responds from inside my breast saying it is I.”²

He says further,

“My entity has disappeared, now I think only of Him,

That which you actually see is not me but He.”³

The relevance of this feeling of Khusrau is that it could be graded equal to the ‘Advait’ philosophy of Hinduism which propound God and his creation as one and the same i.e. two bodies with unison. His spiritualistic bent also manifests with that of Bhakti according to which love to God is pure, chaste and sincere and one who loves God is near him. According to Plato, “The lover of Absolute Beauty is rewarded with a glorious new life in which he forgets the pangs of miseries of material life, and enjoys the vision of Absolute Beauty, the pleasure of which is far greater than all other pleasures”.⁴

In Curbing the Violence

Terror and violence are increasing the ideological animosity among human race and overpowering the sensitivity and peace of mind. Regional, racial, economical and ideological disparities are creating hatred, suspicion,

disregard and disrespect in human beings for each other. Economic competition arising due to industrial or market monopoly, pressure Groups are giving rise to terror and disturbance and raising an alarm for secularism, unemployment and ascending population giving jolts to the existing governing structures.

In this era of violence the character of Khusrau and his works can act as a soothing stream of water. Though he was not a preacher in the direct terms but being one of the most favorite disciple of a Sufi, Aulia he inculcated a fine personality.

He firmly followed the basic concept of Sufi i.e., "to live and let live in peace". Khusrau's works if spread to the confusion fanaticism and dissatisfaction suffering people, surely a considerable decline will be noticed in their negativity. The faith behind this logic is that one of the famous elegy of Khusrau brought tears in the eyes of Sultan Bal ban who propounded the theory of 'blood and iron', and was not merciful even to women and children. His ideology if could not change the heart of people who are becoming a part of terror and violence today, then it could at least inculcates a path of new hope.

The secular concept of globalization will become successful only when some of ideologies of the persons like Khusrau are promoted in the world. His cosmopolitan perception could help in making bridge of harmony among various nations, and the proof of this, is, that today he is frequently remembered on his birthday and anniversary in various nations such as, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, England, Kazakhstan, USA, Turkmenistan, France, Russia, Germany, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan⁵ etc. Violence which is becoming a common feature need to be cut down in welfare of society and promotion of such personalities as a Khusrau and his works is the need of hour.

Musical and Poetical Relevance

The invention of various rags, taals, and styles of singing by Khusrau made him relevant in Indian Cinema. We could observe that he is a person 'much ahead' of his times as nearly 750 yrs back he gave us the mixed style in which he amalgamated. Indian Rags with Persian ones and prepared new melodies. He composed in two languages a single work of poetry/song. Same practical is done by our musicians and composers and lyricists of today in name of 'Fusion', it is nothing but the mixing of two different styles. This

intermingling will become heart winning of youngsters one day that was known to Khusrau years back. His songs and Ghazals include the usage of two languages in a single line as,

“Zihale miskin bakul taugaphul durai naina, banaye batiyan.....”

This ghazal of mixed language is to be sung in ‘Bagru’ (rag) and the emotions it is having, are of ‘separation in love’ (Srinagar Ras : Viyog). The famous line of this ghazal has been carried on as an opening line of a song of a movie.....

The language and musical rags were not only to be dealt with fusion by Khusrau, he also made innovations in the existing musical instruments of that time. Those were-‘Sehtar’ : developed as Sitar⁶ (a combination of Indian Veena and Persian Sehtar), and Tabla⁷ (Mridanga was divided into two parts Tabla and Baya), and according to some writers-Dholak⁸ (a modified version of Pakhawaj). This way he gives a scientific thought and touch even to the field of culture and language and his innovations and changing approach not only infused the mind set of contemporary society but it is still prevailing, and not only prevailing but making the cultural and civilization rich by its presence. Khusrau was knowledgeably alive to the scientific propensities of it, regarded ‘Music’ as a ‘Majlisi-Hunar’—‘a Chamber art’.

As a poet of Hindawi (Hindi)

Great personalities leave the era behind and make out new paths to be followed, Khusrau no doubt was one having a vision much ahead of his age. His dealing with the language of masses ‘Hindavi’ which further became the National language of India is a great example of his genius. When Persian acted as the court language and varied areas were having regional languages for dialect, at that time he came up with the Hindavi (language of masses) which was not acting in a red-tapeism manner as Sanskrit, Persian and many other but flowing like a natural stream benefiting the all. He observed its pace and long life and developed it in such a manner that, it could not be separated from India. The verbal grip of the people over Hindavi made Khusrau realize its importance for future.

But as the era was of Persian, to make Hindavi equally respected and admired he mixed it with Persian in his Ghazals as, “Je hale miskin, makur tugaful, durai naina banaya batiyan.....”. He used the Hindi words in his (riddles) Paheli, Kah Mukarnis, Do sukhne etc. and contributed to the

language a classical richness by writing Khalikbari (a dictionary of Hindavi, Persian, Arabic and Turkey).

A Patriot of Distinction

Khusrau was proud of being an Indian, and enumerated various reasons to prove the superiority of India over other states. Patriotism was the remarkable feature of his personality, with noble sentiments and vast vision he praises India, its people, its language, religion, custom, tradition, learning mannerism, flora, fauna, towns, festivals, saints and much more. In particular he dedicated his two works in devotion and adoration for his motherland i.e. 'Nuh Siph'r and 'Qiran-us-Sadain'.

His patriotism is relevant today as an eye opener to the people who just think for their selfish ends and did not hesitate in being unfaithful towards their birth place. It is a lesson to the present fast running people who think 'love of nation' as an outdated emotion and to those who think religion above nation. He quoted a reason to love one's soil, "Prophet Mohd. says love for nation is a symbol of one's honesty and loyalty". This proves that 'country is above all' and that should be traced out and followed by nation lovers. His love of country is seen when he says,

"A Turkish Indian, speaking Hindavi I am.

No lump of sugar or Arabic in expression"⁹.

and,

"Rightly speaking I am an Indian finch

Ask of me Hindavi that I may sing in it"¹⁰.

In Nuh Siph'r he advised the Sultan, his officials and courtiers for administration and to look after the welfare of its people, no doubt that advisory note is to be given, only by a patriot. His own life is an example of the loyalty towards the royal seat without any regrets about the injustice done to the former seat holders. He remained indifferent of the treachery of Jalaluddin Khilji and Alauddin Khilji and continued his services and praise for them as he didn't want to interrupt in the system of govt., and considered King's decision and order as supreme.

A Harbinger of Heterogeneous cultures and perceptions

The Sufi impact over him and his upbringing was responsible for his liberal outlook. He brought two composite cultures together and developed

Dr. Aparna Sharma

new innovation in language and music. He was the founder of Indo-Persian 'ghazals' and chief architect of the whole Indo-Persian tradition which held sway over the subcontinent during last seven centuries and even today it holds the promise of a happier and better integrated India for its inhabitants¹.

His relevance in the contemporary life and society can be best summed up by suggesting that while every decade life and the world is changing, but the creative genius of the 13th century i.e. Amir Khusrau is absolutely freshening and absolutely relevant in this era of Information Technology also. However, to understand Khusrau one needs realization.

Khusrau totally lived a life of regulations and self limitations either provided for by his Guru, Sufism Islam or the court. Even in the area of music although he introduced fusion but that was within the parameters (Bandish) of the classical music.

It is true that while Khusrau could lay his own priority and selection of rule book, but never deviated from the regulations. If he was not a orthodox 'Sunni' he adhered to Sufi principles in totality, As a strong devotee of God and Guru a via media for the same. He could never be a rebel of society.

It is therefore in the consumerism and permissivism era of today where religious regulations, social regulation and all related ruled books are flouted. It is difficult to understand Khusrau in this backdrop. It is true that modernization and information transformation era is eminent to live in today, one cannot go back, but in transformation and transition some regulations are to be evolved. Living without any regulation or rule book is a general phenomenon and therefore it could be difficult to understand Khusrau. Who was bound strictly within the regulations of Sufism within the parameters of Islam who composed music within the limits of Ban dish. Therefore he was rule and law abiding, we can only understand him if one can inculcate discipline and has cherished norms and rule in one life. Lawless permissivism has nothing to do with Khusrau.

References

1. Mohd. Habib, *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, Bombay, 1927, p. 39.
2. Dr. M. Safdar Ali Baig, *Amir Khusrau, his beliefs and the Sufi Tradition*, Commemoration Vol., p. 203.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

4. Plato : *The Dialogues of Plato* (tr. B. Jowett) Vol. 1, p. 65.
5. Dr. Anand Mohan Zutshi Gulzar Dehlavi, Tooti-i-Hind-Khwaja Amir Khusrau—The Benefactor and founder of Urdu, Hindi and Composite culture.”, in Amir Khusrau Dehlavi, A Seminar Report, 2003, p. 53.
6. Raja Sultan Maqsood, Amir Khusrau : The innovator, Amir Khusrau, Critical studies, Nat. Comm. for 700th Anniversary, 1975, p. 82.
7. Ibid., p. 82.
8. Abdul Halim Jaferkhan, *Amir Khusrau and Hindustani Music*, Commemoration Vol., p. 273.
9. Shujaat Ali Sandilvi, A Great Indian Patriot in Amir Khusrau memorial volume, Publication Division, Min of Information and Broadcasting, 1975, Delhi, p. 22.
10. Ibid.
11. Prof. Wasim Kirmani, Amir Khusrau—The founder of Indo Persian tradition in Ghazal, Hazarat Amir Khusrau Academy Publications, New Delhi, p. 21.

6

Sanchi, Curzon and Conservations Policy of India: A Co-relation

Dr. Shalini Awasthi

It is one of those ironical twist to historical legacy that George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquis of Kedleston and Viceroy of India, (1898-1905), “that rash man”¹ was instrumental in the promulgation for the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act on 18th March 1904.

Curzon, with his sense of romance for the ancient, became a seasoned traveler in India, visiting a large number of historical and archaeological sites. Sanchi was thought to be very important at the beginning of the twentieth century, as it was perceived as the ancient most site in India, hence, was visited by Curzon in the first year of his viceroyalty. John Marshall² described the stupas at Sanchi as “one of the several groups of such monuments situated within a dozen miles of Bhilsâ and known commonly as the Bhilsâ Topes.

The monuments at Sanchi³ were rediscovered in 1818 by General Taylor in “a remarkably good state of preservation. At that time three of the gateways of the Great Stupa were still standing erect, and the southern was lying where it had fallen; the great dome was intact; and a portion of the balustrade on the summit was still ‘in-situ.’”⁴ The unique architectural forms, the panoramic location of the group of structures excited great fervor and interest, so much so that a large number of monographs and works were published.⁵

The Sanchi stupa was first opened in 1822 by T.H. Maddock, the Political Agent at Bhopal and his assistant, Captain Johnson. In January-February 1851, Alexander Cunningham, along with F.C. Massey, shafted the Sanchi stupa vertically, from top and down to the centre, leading to great

damage to the structure, which forced Lapel Griffin, serving as Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, to decry some thirty years later on the vandalism effected in the name of discovery of the knowledge of the life of the by-gone eras. Griffin lamented in his note of 21st April 1882, from Indore, to the Secretary to the Government of India, that, “*A thousand years of time and weather have not done so much injury to the invaluable Topes⁶ at Sanchi as was caused by the action of Major-General Cunningham, the Director-General of Archaeology, who years ago mined deep into the Topes in vain search for coins or inscriptions, and never filled in his excavations, reducing a quarter of this ancient and unique monument to complete ruin.*” Restoration work at Sanchi was begun in 1881 under the supervision of Austin Mears, Superintendent of the Public Works at Sehore. ‘As a consequence of this, the enormous breach in the face of the stupa was built up with dry masonry, and its two gateways, which had earlier collapsed, re-erected. The gateway of Stupa 3 was also re-erected, sculpture was cleaned, and the approach road on the northern side of the hill, along with the ancient causeway which led to Stupa 2, improved and restored. In subsequent years, although one does not hear of major conservation at Sanchi, some minor repair works did continue. The pace of the works in the 1890s must have been very slow because, as we saw, the money allocated by the imperial government for archaeology had been severely slashed.’⁷ ‘When Major J.B. Keith (assistant to the curator of ancient monuments for Central India) stepped in to assist Mears in the conservation work at Sanchi in 1882, he had to undo some of the work done previously. Mears had, by mistake apparently, used railing slabs to reconstruct a stairway. Keith in turn faced the top and bottom lintels of the southern gateway of Stupa 1 incorrectly and made the same mistake in one of the gateways of Stupa No.3. apart from such mistakes, much remained undone. The task of rescuing the numerous other crumbling structures on the site—shrines, monasteries, stupas— from vegetation and debris, and of protecting the hundreds of sculptures and inscriptions lying about the site, was left to be done some three decades later by John Marshall.’⁸

Against this background, the vice regal couple arrived by train to Sanchi, on the winter morning of 28th November 1899⁹, which lay on the main line of the Great Indian Peninsular Railway between Bhilsa and Bhopal.¹⁰

The ruins of Sanchi had left an indelible impression in the mind of Curzon, which had a singularly important impact in the framing on the conservation policy for the heritage of India. A preview is visible in the

speech, delivered by Lord Curzon on 7th February 1900,¹¹ at the Bengal Asiatic Society under the title “Ancient Monuments of India”, barely two months after his momentous visit to Sanchi. In this declamation Curzon clearly spelt out the duty of the Government of India towards the protection of the ancient structures, as he spoke, “India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, or persecuted and sometimes dishonored creeds..... All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon the Government in India¹². If there be anyone who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. *View from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Buddhist Vihara, and the Mahomedan Musjid as the Christian Cathedral. Much of ancient history, even in an age of great discoveries still remains mere guess work. It is only slowly being pieced together by the efforts of the scholars and by the outcome of research. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age. Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early monuments, the age or the majority of the Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction¹³, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot be placed before the middle of the third century Before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier.*” The “clues” alluded to by Curzon were listed at Clause 2.1 and Clause 2.1.2 in the Act of 1904 under the definition of “ancient monument”, and “antiquities” respectively.¹⁴

Lamenting on the desecration of the monuments in India, by British hands, Curzon hoped to reverse this process. On a visit to the Taj Mahal at Agra, he had “found that the marble tomb of Shah Jahan in the lower vault, beneath which his body actually lies, was still destitute of much of its original inlay, of which I ordered restoration.” For the Red Fort, Delhi, Lord Curzon narrated that, “When the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost; and a fresh coat of whitewash was plentifully bespattered over the sandstone pillars and paints of the Durbar-hall of Aurangzeb. This too I hope to get removed. When his Royal Highness was at Agra, and the various pavilion of Shah Jahan’s palace were connected together for the purposes of an evening party and ball, local talent was called to reproduce

the faded paintings on the marble and plaster of the Moghul artists two and a half centuries before. The result of their labours is still an eyesore and regret. When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque in the fort which was erected by Jahangir exactly three hundred years ago, and still used for the profane purposes to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, vis., as Government Treasury. The arches built up with brick-work and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of the iron bound chest of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose, not one visitor in a hundred in Lahore has ever seen.....At Ahmadabad I found the mosque of Sidi Saied, the pierced lattice work of whose demi-lune windows is one of the glories of India, used as a *tehsildar's kutcherry*, and disfigured with plaster partitions and the omnivorous whitewash.

Lord Curzon fleetingly touched upon the concept “of restoration¹⁵” but refrained from expounding upon this fact, when he expressed his inability “on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis that I have time to bestow upon them this evening.”

On the occasion of the enactment of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, on 18th March 1904, Curzon had the following message, “As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty I have charged myself with their reverent custody and their stupendous repair.....All know that there is beauty in India in abundance, I like to think there is reverence also, and amid our struggles the present could join hands in pious respect of the past.”¹⁶ The noble sentiments of Curzon required some more time to be executed correctly, as the discipline of conservation was in a nascent stage of evolution. The efforts in this direction were fraught with many hurdles, as was exemplified at Sanchi, the site which had nudged Curzon towards adopting the policy of protection and conservation for the monuments of India.¹⁷ In 1904, H.B. Cook, the state engineer of Bhopal, had begun repairs at Sanchi, and replaced the old rails, coping stones, and pillars from the main stupa's balustrade, with new stones, forcing Curzon to term this exercise as the ‘consecration of a desecration’. A meticulous and detailed conservation of Sanchi was carried out from 1912 to 1919, under John Marshall, with a site museum being established to house the movable antiquities.

In the task 'to cherish and conserve', the 'visible record' of 'art and beauty' Curzon was ably assisted by John Marshall, the Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India (1902-1905). The principles of conservation were first recorded by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1907, in a pamphlet titled, *Conservation of Ancient Monuments: General Principles for the Guidance of Those Entrusted with the Custody of, and Execution of Repairs to, Ancient Monuments*. It was in 1922 that John Marshall was to produce his magnum opus the *Conservation Manual*, which laid down the principles and guidelines for all subsequent conservation works to be undertaken in India. The necessity for the adoption of these guidelines is recorded in the *Preface to the Conservation Manual*, wherein it was said that while presently the *Military Works Handbook*, in its seventh edition was being consulted. "But as this *Handbook* was designed solely to meet the requirements of Engineers and Builders engaged on new buildings, it necessarily contains much that is irrelevant and also much that is unsuitable for archaeological works."¹⁸ Once the *Conservation Manual* had been examined and amendments introduced by a Joint Committee of Public Works and Archaeological Officers, the Government of India officially embarked upon the pursuit of a conservation policy set up with "detailed instructions and specifications of all questions likely to arise in connexion with the conservation of ancient monuments in India."

References

1. This expression for Curzon was used by Elisabeth (Bessie), the daughter of Lord Elgin, whose successor Lord Curzon had been designated. On the knowledge of the succession plan, Bessie remarked to her aunt, "I cannot explain to you his (i.e. her father's) beautiful expression. It seemed a mixture of feelings, a sense that his own work seemed more nearly at an end, of happiness about being soon to see home, and also a thought of that rash man and to what he was leaving all India. Where will it all go if Mr. Curzon is impetuous. Bence-Jones, Mark. *The Viceroys of India*, Constable, London, 1999, p. 168.
2. Marshall, John, *A Guide to Sanchi*. Eastern Book House, Patna. (1936, second edition 1990). p. 1.
3. Alexander Cunningham identified Sanchi with Sha-chi of Fa Xian's account.
4. Marshall, John, *A Guide to Sanchi*, Eastern Book House, Patna. (1936, second edition 1990), p. 25.

5. These included 'Bhilsa Topes' of A. Cunningham (1854); 'Tree and Serpent Worship' by J. Fergusson (1868); 'Sanchi and its Remains' by Gen. Massey (1892).
6. Tope was the Anglo-Indian variant for the Prakrit term 'thūpa', implying stupa. The first use of this term is recorded in the year 1839, when Elphinstone in *Kabul* recorded, that 'tope is an expression used for a mound or barrow as far west as Peshwar.' Crooke, William. *Hobson-Jobson*. Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi. (1904, new edition 1994).
7. Lahiri, Nayanjot, *Finding Forgotten Cities: How the Indus Civilization was Discovered*, Permanent Black, New Delhi. 2005, p. 94.
8. Singh, Upinder, *The Discovery of Ancient India: Early Archaeologists and the Beginnings of Archaeology*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, (2004, reprint 2006), p. 238-239.
9. Bradley, John (ed), *Lady Curzon's India: Letters of a Vicerine*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1985, From the diary entry.
10. John Marshall wrote that, "Mail trains can be stopped there by giving warning before hand to the guard. There is a pleasant dāk bungalow at Sāñchi, a few hundred yards from the station, which is maintained by the Bhopal State. Travelers intending to stay there should take bedding with them and inform the khānsāmāh beforehand." Marshall, John. *A Guide to Sanchi*, Eastern Book House, Patna, (1936, second edition 1990), Note to Travelers.
11. Sharma, Pramila, (trans. Anjula Bedi), *Curzon-Nama: Autocrat Curzon Unconquerable India*, Eshwar, Mumbai, 1999, p. 64ff.
12. Perhaps as an assertion against Lord Elgin's proposal for a European association overseeing an Indian Exploration Fund for the subcontinent. The responsibility of the British Government for "maintaining intact this great inheritance" was reiterated by Curzon in his dispatch dated 20th December 1900, to George Hamilton, the Secretary of State for India.
13. It was much later, in September 1921 that the discovery of the ruins of the citadel at Harappa was unearthed by Daya Ram Sahani.
14. In the Act of 1904 **ancient monument** meant 'any structure, erection or monument, or tumulus or place of internment, or any cave, rock-sculpture, inscription, monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest, or any remains thereof.' **Antiquities** would include 'any movable objects, which (the Central Government) by reason of their historical or archaeological associations, may think necessary to protect against injury, removal or dispersion. *The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904, (VII of 1904)*. Ministry of Law, Government of India, Delhi. 1949.

15. In the *Dictionary* (1866) of Eugene Violet le Duc, restoration was defined as 'to restore a building is not to preserve it, to repair, or to rebuild it; it is to reinstate it in a condition of completeness which may never have existed at any given time.' -Jokilehto, Jukka, *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford, 1999, p. 151.
16. Jagmohan, *Soul and Structure of Governance in India*, Allied Publishers, New Delhi, 2005, p. 130.
17. Following Curzon's visit, Henry Cousins, the archaeological superintendent of Western Circle, pointed out to the Bhopal State the necessity of undertaking measures for the protection of the gateways of the main stupa and the conservation of Stupa 2.
18. Marshall, John, *Conservation Manual*, Indological Book House, Delhi, 1922, reprint 1973.

7

A Historical Perspective of Amarnath Yatra and the Exploration of its Economic Potential

(In Light of the Journey Undertaken in 2011)

Dr. Amit Kumar Singh & Namita Sethi

“History is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and the facts, as unending dialogue between the present and the past.”

- E.H. Carr in ‘What is history’.

Pilgrimage has been a part and parcel of Indian life, as has been historically documented¹. Deep rooted as a compulsion in the Indian psyche, pilgrimage has a long and enduring tradition in India. Amarnath, situated in Kashmir, has been an important site of pilgrimage, as can be gauged from the travel accounts about it, and the detailed description of the Amaranth cave, in ancient as well as medieval literatures.² Even in modern Indian literature, an analysis of the spiritual significance and other aspects of this pilgrimage can be found, as for example, in Swami Vivekananda’s memoirs.³ It appears then, that the Amaranth journey has always been an integral part of the spiritual quest as well as the broader Indian world view.

It may come as a surprise to the readers to know exactly how popular this destination remains today, in the twenty first century. The shrine located at a formidable altitude of 12,729 feet⁴, attracted no less than six and a half lakhs (6, 50,000) pilgrims, in 2011 alone.⁵ This testifies the unflagging enthusiasm of pilgrims and the enduring popularity of this journey among contemporary Indians.

The writer of this paper too, has been a personal witness of this phenomenon. This paper aims to demonstrate the continuing relevance of the Amarnath

Yatra, in terms not only of the role it plays in reinforcing the cultural unity of India, as experienced by the travellers, but also of its contribution to the economic prosperity of Kashmir and its people⁶. By combining a historical perspective of this famous “yatra”, with an analysis of how revenue generated by the tourists enhances the standard of living of the local Kashmiri population, the paper initiates a new trend in studies of pilgrimage. This interdisciplinary approach has its roots in a logical and scientific approach to historical analysis.

For the convenience of the reader, the paper has been divided into two parts. The first part offers a historical perspective and accounts related to Amarnath Yatra. The second part focuses on a detailed study of the 2011 Amarnath Yatra, in the context of the writer’s experience. On the basis of these experiences, anecdotes, research and informal dialogue, a rational and scientific analysis, of the economic impact and contribution of this pilgrimage, has been attempted.

The shrine situated in Kashmir has been a subject of fascination for believers, metaphysicians, pilgrims, tourists and academics alike. The journey has enabled the cord between Kashmir and the rest of India, to grow stronger, and the link is more secular in nature than is usually believed. This pilgrimage gives glimpses of a “Mini India”. Kashmir’s heritage is a contested site in the international arena. It is also a central issue of debate in Indo-Pak relations. Viewed from this perspective, the Amarnath Yatra emerges as an informal and unofficial signature of India’s secular identity and character.

In this context, it is interesting to recall a story from ancient India which testifies to the secular nature of Indian culture. The reference to Kashmir is found in *Neelmut Purana*⁷. Information about this pilgrimage to Amarnath was available from the 6th century AD, as is evident from the discussion of Amareshwara. Vincent A. Smith, the writer of the *Oxford History of India*, had commented in his second edition of Bernier’s book, on the amazing ice in the Amarnath cave, which is formed by the constant dripping of water from its roof. The mass of ice formed by these frozen droplets, he commented, is worshipped as the Siva Linga by Hindus:

“The Linga or phallic image is about 20-25 feet from the entrance and is at the inner extremity of the cave. The grotto is rightly said to be “full of wonderful congelations.”
(Bernier’s Travels, p. 418 note)

A Historical Perspective of Amarnath Yatra and the Exploration of...47

According to Dr. Stein, the linga which is an embodiment of Siva Amareswara is :

“A large block of transparent ice formed by the freezing of the water which oozes from the rock“ Stein ed. *Rajatarangini*, vol. II, p. 409. The rock is evidently dolomite.

Accounts of the yatra are found in medieval literature as well. Jenulbaddin (1420-1470 AD), one of the kings of Kashmir, who was affectionately addressed as “Badshah” (Emperor), by his people, had visited the shrine once⁸. This has been recorded by the historian Zonarja:

“Every year in the month of Sravana, the pilgrims start from Marttanda, Martan or Bhavan, for Amarnath escorted by the officers of the Maharaja of Kashmir” (JASB, 1866,p.219).

A reference to the sacred status of this site, is also found in Abul-Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* , which is a historical account of Akbar's reign (16th century)

In modern times, many references to Amarnath are found in accounts of Swami Vivekananda. The experience of visiting the shrine was an ethereal one for him, as he confessed to Nivedita:

*“I experienced great pleasure! It seemed as if the hima-linga emanated the divine presence of Lord Siva himself. There were no greedy Brahmins to intervene, no one running a business, nothing out of place...just a sensation of divine worship. I have not felt such sublimity in any pilgrim site before.”*⁹

At the Paris Congress of the History of Religions in 1900, Swami Vivekananda heard a paper read by Gustav Oppert, who termed linga worship, a return to Phallicism¹⁰. Vivekananda responded to this paper and refuted it, offering his own explanation of the Shiva-linga¹¹.

Sister Nivedita wrote:

*“Never had Swamiji felt such spiritual exaltation. So saturated had he become with the presence of the Great God that for days after he could speak of nothing else. Shiva was all in all; Shiva the eternal one, the great monk, rapt in meditation, aloof from the world.”*¹²

Later on Swami Vivekanand himself recounted:

*“I have never been to anything so beautiful, so inspiring.”*¹³

In the late 20th century, Amarnath Yatra was still popular, but not done on a regular basis. It was interrupted for many reasons.

Amarnath Yatra was banned from 1991-1995. During this period Kashmir was a contested site, due to the upsurge in militancy. In 1996, 242 persons were killed by exhaustion and exposure. Some disturbance was also caused by Kashmiri separatists. In 2002, separatists killed 30 people in Pahalgam. The then Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee condemned the Lashka-e-taiba for this brutality.

In 2005, a heavy earth quake shook Kashmir. In 2006 there was a controversy that the Siva Linga at the shrine was artificially created.

In 2009, there was a regional conflict between Jammu and Kashmir regarding the land transfer decision from J&K government to the Amarnath shrine Board in Baltal. In 2010, a stone-throwing controversy at Lal Chowk in Srinagar disrupted the Yatra, to a large extent.

2011: A Historical Mile-Stone for Amarnath Yatra

Situated at an altitude of 12,729 feet above sea level, the shrine of Amarnath beckons pilgrims to a dangerous and arduous trek. There are two paths that pilgrims follow commonly: a narrow and treacherous route from Baltal to the Amarnath cave, that spans (12) kms; and another from Pahalgam to Amarnath which stretches across 42 kms. We started from Pahalgam to reach Amarnath, but returned via the second route, which took us to Baltal.

This journey, which spanned 54 kms., was extremely dangerous but also a rewardingly spiritual, sublime and ethereal experience. What was really surprising was, that despite the extreme cold, the altitude related breathing difficulties, and the inclement weather, a mini -India was on display, such was the popularity of this site. As Ram Manohar Lohia once said:

*“If you stand at a corner of any pilgrimage site, you shall witness India in miniature, in all its sights and sounds”.*¹⁴

Lohia saw in this phenomena, the secret of India’s unity.¹⁵

On the fourth day of our journey, we witnessed huge crowds of tourists. Pilgrims were rushing to and fro from Amarnath to Baltal and Pahalgam respectively. Helicopters were ferrying passengers from Pahalgam and Baltal to Amarnath and back, at the helipad at Panchtarini, which is situated

not far from the holy cave. A helicopter was landing or taking off every five minutes. The fare was less than five thousand.

According to a report published in the online edition of *Dainik Jagran*, June 2011, a new record has been set in terms of the sheer number of registrations for the Amarnath tour. Leaving past records far behind, about 5 lakh pilgrims registered in this year¹⁶. According to information of Amarnath Shrine Board, 32,000 devotees visit the shrine on any given day (2011). At the time of our visit the pilgrimage had been progressing without any hitch for 22 days in succession. By this calculation, the actual turnout at Amarnath seemed to exceed the expected figure of five lacs. Therefore, the actual figure was garnered from statistics from another source.

This was obtained from the Jammu edition of *Dainik Jagran*, which quoted the J& K chief minister Omar Abdullah, who cited a figure of 6.5 lakh pilgrims in the year 2011.¹⁷ It is easy to guess then, the contribution of the Yatra, to the overall revenue generated by Tourism, in Jammu and Kashmir in 2011.

In this context it is useful to refer to a study conducted at IIT Delhi, on April 13, 2012, by Prof. A.K. Jain, Head of the Management Department.¹⁸ His research, which was predicated on a figure of 4 lakhs, as the estimated number of visitors to Amarnath, suggested that each of these pilgrims spent an average amount of Rs. 3000, while in Kashmir.¹⁹ This generates a figure of a whopping 1.2 crores as revenue earnings for the state, as a direct contribution of the Yatra to the state economy.²⁰

The majority of pilgrims at Amarnath belonged predominantly to the middle classes. This is unlike the Kumbh Mela, which attracts a crowd of pilgrims belonging predominately to the lower middle class, especially since the management of the arrangements is left largely to Sadhus for religious and cultural reasons. The Amarnath pilgrims were relatively better placed socially. The large numbers arriving by helicopters testify to the class status of the pilgrims, by and large. Quite a few had come from Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi by taxis or their own conveyance. A lot of these tourists proceeded to visit Pahalgam, Sonmarg, Gulmarg, Srinagar, and Ladakh. They already had hotel reservations in these tourist spots of Kashmir. All these details add up to indicate a huge revenue turnout.

Additionally, a lot of pilgrims used horses and mules to ride up to the shrine. The horse ride could cost anything between Rs.1000 to Rs. 3000, depending on the distance and other circumstances.

On the basis of these facts and observations, it is easy to calculate the monetary contribution of this Yatra to Kashmir's economy.

Practical observation would put the estimate of the average expenditure by each pilgrim at approximately Rs 5000 each. Using the statistics quoted by the Hon. Chief Minister, i.e. an estimated 6.5.lac pilgrims in 2011, the amount generated by the pilgrimage comes to an astonishing figure of 32,50,00,000; i.e. 32 crores and 50 lakh rupees or thirty two and a half crores.

The reason behind this success story of the 2011 Amarnath Yatra is the improved law and order situation in Jammu and Kashmir. Official records put forward a claim of 48% decrease in incidents of violence, in the year 2011.²¹

An interesting facet of this contemporary economic development is the relatively minor amount allocated by the J& K government to promote tourism at Amarnath. Of the total amount of Rs. 2076.62 lakh allocated to the tourism sector in 2011-12, only 33 lakhs was laid aside for the management and promotion of the Amarnath Yatra.²²

From an economic perspective then, the Amarnath Yatra is a boon for the people of Jammu and Kashmir.²³ It is a timely relief for a state afflicted sometimes by violence within and without the state: at times state sponsored, at times Pakistan sponsored terrorism and a general anti India propaganda, for which the innocent locals are not responsible.

In addition to economic advantages, it is important to stress the importance of the secular nature of this Yatra. In accordance with the old tradition, one fourth part of the offerings at the shrine is given to the family of the Buta Malik shepherd, who discovered this holy cave.²⁴ The historical context of the Amarnath Yatra remains socially and culturally relevant even today.

References

1. A.K. Raina, *Tourism Industry in Kashmir*, Shipra publications, Delhi, 2002, p. 10.
2. Subodh Kapoor(Ed), *The Indian Encyclopaedia*, Volume 1, Cosmo publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 178.
3. Swami Gambhiranand, *Yugayak Vivekanand*, Ramkrishna Math, Nagpur, 2005, pp. 129-144.

A Historical Perspective of Amarnath Yatra and the Exploration of...51

4. Jawahar Dhir, *Shradha ka Mahasamar- Sri Amarnath*, Pushtak Sansar, Jammu, 2002, p. 35.
5. [postjagran.com, over-13-lakh-tourist-visit-JK-this-summer-boost-state-economy-131799143](http://postjagran.com/over-13-lakh-tourist-visit-JK-this-summer-boost-state-economy-131799143)
6. A.K. Raina, op. cit. pp. 139-143.
7. Kalhans, *Raja Trangini*, p. (1.27).
8. Subodh Kapoor, op. cit. p. 178.
9. Swami Gambhiranand, op. cit., pp. 138-140.
10. Amiya, P. Sen, *The Indispensable of Vivekanand*, Orient Blackswan, London, 2006, pp. 25-26.
11. Ibid, p. 24.
12. Subodh Kapoor, op.cit. p. 179.
13. Ibid.
14. Mastram Kapoor (Ed.), *Ram Manohar Lohiya Granthavali*, Vol. 8, Anamika Publications, New Delhi, 2008, p. 22.
15. Ibid.
16. www.indianexpress.com/news/batch-of-1-02/pilgrims-leave-for-amarnath/822522.
17. post.jagran.com/over-13-lakh-tourists-visit-JK-this-summer-boost-state-economy-131799143.
18. *The Sunday Guardian*, Apr. 13, 2012.
19. Ibid.
20. www.sunday-guardian.com/investigation/J&K-can-earn-rs-24000cr-from-yatra.
21. post.jagran.com/terror-fears-slowly-fading-in-jammu-and-kashmir-2011-witness-48-percent-decline-in-military-132452577
22. <http://www.jktourism.org/budgetary.pdf>
23. www.statetimes.in/news/shri-amarnath-yatra-lifeline-of-kasmir-economy
24. Subodh Kapoor, Ibid, p. 180.

8

Kamatpur Kingdom in Eastern India From 650 AD to 12th Century A.D.

Binay Barman

The vast area of North-East India encompassing Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, and Darjeeling, Cooch Behar of present North Bengal, Rangpur, Bagura and Northern part of Rajshahi of Bangladesh and Assam with whole of North-East frontier was known as Pragjyotishpur in ancient times. During the Gupta period Verman kings of Kamrupa ruled this vast area. Even this Verman kings declared themselves as Pragjyotishendra¹.

Here it is to be mentioned that the Pragjyotishpur was known as Kamrupa in later times. There was a close politico-cultural resemblance between Kamrupa and Kamatapur. The Western part of Kamrupa kingdom was known as Kamata; This Kamata region later became Kamatpur with its separate political establishment. As per orders Kamrup was divided into four parts or Pithas, such as Kama pitha, Subarna pitha, swarna pitha and Ratna pitha². This Kamat or Kamatapur was situated in Ratna pith division. 'Ain-i-Akbari', 'Baharistane Ghaibi', Koch desh (Kachar District of Assam), and Kamata-Kamrup (Kamru) have been mentioned³. We also find clear mention of the name 'Kamata' in the map of Bleave's in 1650 A.D.⁴. In the shlokas of 'Yogini Tantrum' the details of the geographical area of kamrup has been portrayed:

Nepalasya Kanchanadri Brahmaputrasya Sangamang.

Karatoya samasrita yabaddikkarbasini

Uttarasan yajmagiri Karatoyastu Paschime.

Tirthasrestha Dikshunadi Purbasyang girikanyaka.

Dakshine Brahmaputrasya sangamabadhi.

Kamatapur Kingdom in Eastern India From 650 A.D. to 12th Century.53

Tringsat yojana bistirna, dirghen shata yojanam.

Kamrupang Vijanihi trikonakar muktamam⁵.

(Meaning: So, as detailed in the above mentioned quotation of 'Yogini tantrum' the area of ancient Kamrupa was Kanchagiri of Nepal in the North and confluence of Brahmaputra and lakshma in the south, Karatoya in the West and Dikshu River in the East.)

In this paper an attempt is made to study the evolution of history of Kamatapur kingdom from 650 A.D. to 12th century A.D. This period covered in this study starts from the death of Vaskar Verman and extends up to the 12th century A.D.

The rule of Kamatapur kingdom finds its fruitful political seat with socio-cultural and socio-economical development in present North Bengal which gradually gathers its power to be independent from Kamrup. The dynasties of Kamatapur kingdom, one after another could cast special influence upon the history of India for which the history of Kamatapur claims to be notable in all respects. Sandhya Roy the emperor of Kamrup, due to some diplomatic reasons, shifted his capital from Kamrupa to Kamata or kamatapur; and thereby the name of his kingdom changed from Kamrupa to Kamatapur. And most possibly from then on, Kamatapur started to evolve flourishingly with strong political power in this region the main start of which dates back to the seventh century A.D. by the hand of Sangaldip.

The year 650 A.D. is an important land mark in the history of Eastern India. Vaskar Verman, the eminent emperor of Kamrupa passed away this year. And in the meantime Harsh Vardhana of Kanauj and Shashank of Gaur breathed their last. After the death of Shashank as propagated emphatically by some historians there occurred a chaos of political rule in Bengal. They called it as 'Matsanyay'. But due to lack of sufficient evidence their propaganda of Matsanyay seems to be wrong. After the death Shashank just central rule of Bengal has been lost. But in several regions the feudal rulers continued to rule their area. This is indeed true. On the other hand, if we look at present North Bengal, whatever may happen in Bengal(Gaur), there was a continues rule in North Bengal. In the mean time after the death of Vaskar Verman, Salastambha Verman who was Avanti Verman ascended the throne of Kmarup. After Salastambha Verman there ruled a series of Kings in Kamrupa, such as: 1) Vijay Verman(665 A.D), 2)

Palak Verman (685 A.D - 700 A.D), 3) Kumar Verman (700 A.D -715 A.D), 4) Vajradeva Verman (715 A.D -730 A.D), 5) Harshadeva Verman (725/30 A.D - 748 A.D), 6) Bala Verman II (765 A.D -790 A.D), 7) Harjar Verman (815 A.D -835 A.D), 8) Banamala Verman (835-865 A.D), 9) Jaymala Verman (865 A.D -885 A.D), 10) Bala Verman III (885 A.D -910 A.D), 11) Tyag Sinha (910 A.D -980 A.D) A.D. During this period Pal kings of Bengal established their kingdom centering round Gaur (750 AD to 1150 A.D). Here it is to be mentioned that Vaidyadeva, the chieftain of Kumar Pals, was able to occupy Kamrupa and established his rule in Kamatapur. He adorned himself with the title “Maharajdhiraj Parameswar Parma Bhattarak.”⁶ After the death of Vaidyadeva (1150 A.D.) the picture of political history of Kamrupa went through different changes.

History of Kamatapur draws closer attention of any student of history of Eastern India. Foreign powers could never establish their reign in Kamatapur permanently. In this respect opinion of R.C. Mazumdar may be mentioned: “while the rest of India was convulsed by the upheaval of new religious sects, Kamrupa retained the Brahmanical religion to the last.”⁷ It has been seen in Indian history that the Hindu king of Jammu invited the king of Gajni Muhammad-Bin-Sum to invade India. Gajni occupied the kingdom of Prithviraj Chouhans in Delhi and Ajmer. And afterwards so many Hindu kingdoms such Gujrat, Bundelkhand, Kannouj and Gaur have become occupied by the Muslim invaders and thus the Muslim rulers started to rule nearly most of the Hindu kingdoms of India. But they could not enter into Kamatapur. The most valiant defender to Muslim invasion was Prithu of Kamatapur. Prithu ruled over the vast area of Kamrupa and Karotoya valley. Under his successful leadership the subject of Kamatapur could defeat and destroy the grand army of Bakhtiyar in 1206 A.D.⁸ Prithu's successor was Sandhya Roy. He ruled Kamatapur from 1228 A.D to 1265 A.D.

Bhutanese cronocle,⁹ Gyalrabselvemong¹⁰ and Namthurs, mention that in 650 A.D after the death of Vaskar Verman possibly in 6th or 7th century A.D. a powerful king named Sangaldip appeared in the history of North-East India. He defeated the king of Kamrupa and established his rule in Kamatapur and then he attacked and defeated the king of Gaur. In ‘Assam Burunji’ of P. N. Gohai Barua, in ‘Anals’ of Badsahate’ of S. K. Bhuiya and in ‘A History of Assam by A.E. Gait, we find mention of Sangaldip. In these records it is mentioned that in the 4th century A.D. a powerful king

appeared in the history of North India who defeated Turan, Scythian king in a tremendous battle. He even had been able to extend his occupying hand up to Persia. The Persian hero Rustam had been killed by him in a battle. This opinion does not seem to be acceptable. Because during that period The Gupta kings were on the top of the height of power. They could assert supremacy mostly over all the kingdoms extending from Middle-East to West, and also North India. So usually it comes to assertion that no stronger king like Sangaldip seems to have been necessary to protect India from the invasion of Scythian king. So it can be said that a powerful king like Sangaldip might have been necessary in the 7th century A.D. Moreover it is also possible for him to have occupied Gaur in the state of political power-vacuum after the death of Shashank¹¹. And it is seemingly right that Sangaldip was probably the first independent king of Kamatapur.

The Bhutanese Cronocles like 'Namthurs'¹² tells us that in the 8th century A.D. an Indian king named Sindhu ruled in Bumthang of Bhutan. He invited guru Padmasambhab of Nalanda university to Bhutan. Guru Padmasambhab went to Bhutan crossing the Kamata kingdom. In the plain area of Bhutan there reigned a king named Namudara who was a strong rival of Sindhu, and against whom Sindhu Raja waged war several times. Sindhu Raja was probably the 2nd king of Kamatapur kingdom.

After the death of Sindhu Raja Kamatapur turned to be just feudatory kingdom to the Palas of Kamrupa. For a long time political history of kamatapur Passed through some obscurities having no supreme ruler. In the 11th century A. D Manik Chand and Maynamati asserted independence of Kamatapur. Manikchand established his capital on the river bank of Tista. After his demise his wife Maynamati ascended the throne of sovereign power. She was a woman of religious spirit who followed the Yoga philosophy of Garokhnath, and established some Siva temples in different parts of her Kingdom. These celebrity Queen of Kamatapur became known as Maynamao or Maynaburi. Her capital was named Maynaguri after her name. After Maynamati her son Gopichand took up the power of sovereignty of Kamatapur. Gopichandra extended his sovereign power to Southern Bengal; and Bengal came under his rule. And a large part of Kamrupa came under his control. Gopichand was succeeded by his son Bhavachandra and grandson Havachandra.

After Gopichandra the history of Kamatapur again passed through some obscurities having no supreme ruler. And finally the Kamatapur kingdom

remained intact under a new king named Prithu. He ruled Kamatapur from 1185 A.D- 1228A.D. After the death of Prithu Sandhya Roy ascended the throne of Kamatapur. He ruled Kamatapur from 1228 A.D - 1270 A.D. During his time he assumed the title of Gaureswar or Lord of Gaur. Sandhya Roy and his successors were the kings of Kamata kingdom and their capital was Kamatapur. After Sandhya Roy, Sindhu Roy was one of the stronger king of Kamatapur kingdom. He ruled Kamatapur kingdom from 1270 A.D -1285. A.D Sindhu Roy was succeeded by his son Rupnarayan. Rupnarayan ruled his kingdom from (1285 A.D -1300 A.D). After the death of Rupnarayan (1300A.D) his Singhadhwaj (1300- A.D 1305 A.D) son ascended the throne of Kamatapur.

Rulers of Kamatapur Kingdom

Sangaldip (7th Century A.D)

Sindhu Raja (8th Century A.D)

(Long period of Obscurity)

Manikchand (11th Century A.D)

Gopichand

Bhavachandra

Havachandra

(Chaotic period)

Prithu (1185 A.D -1228 A.D)

Sandhya Roy (1228 A.D -1270 A.D)

Sindhu Roy (1270 A.D -1285 A.D)

Rupnarayan (1285 A.D -1300 A.D)

Singhadhwaj(1300 A.D -1305 A.D)

Pratapdhwaj (1305 A.D -1325 A.D)

Dharmanarayan (1325 A.D -1330 A.D)

Durlabh Narayan (1330 A.D -1350 A.D)

Indranarayan (1350 A.D -1365 A.D)

Arimatta (1365 A.D -1385 A.D)

In conclusion we can say that the above mentioned kings were the kings of Kamatapur kingdom of early stage. Here is another point to be noted that there is slight confusion regarding the first king of Kamatapur which may most probably, as we studied in the above paragraphs, be Sangaldip. Most of the scholars started their history of Kamatapur from 13th century A.D. with the accounts of Niladhvaj (1428 A.D.). It is to be thought over once again after thorough search. History of Kamatapur has somehow been left unstudied. It has rendered the history of Bengal an incompleteness. History of Bengal and the history of Kamatapur bear a closer relation. Without one, the other one will be incomplete.

References

1. Chitrarekha Gupta, *Trade and Markets of North-East India: The Ancient Period*, Archaeologies of North-East India, Edt., Jaiprakash Sing and Gautam Sengupta, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 281-286.
2. Khanchowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, '*Coochbeharer Itihas*' in Bengali, Modern Book Agency, Kolkata, 1990, p. 3.
3. Sir A.E. Gait, *A History of Assam*, Lawyear's Book Stall, Guwahati, 7th Edition, 1997, P- 40. Where he mentioned: Shown as Comotay in the map of India given in Bleave's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1650). In the *Baharistan-i-Ghabi* the Koch king Lakshminarayan, who ruled west of the Sankosh is called the raja of kamata.
4. Khanchowdhuri Amanatulla Ahmed, '*Coochbeharer Itihas*' in Bengali, Modern Book Agency, Kolkata, 1990, p. 3.
5. *Yogini Tantram*, Edited by Swami Sarbeswara Nanda Saraswati, Nava Bharati Publishers, Kolkata, 1385 BS, p. 114.
6. *Epigraphica India*, Vol-II, 1893 and Reprint 1921, p. 347.
7. R.C. Majumdar, *Ancient India*, Motilal Banarsidass Pltd. Delhi, Reprint 2003, p. 257.
8. N.N.Acharya, *A Brief History of Assam*, Omson Publications, Guwahati, 1996, p. 41.
9. Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *History of Bhutan*, Education Department, Bhutan, 1980. And David Field Rennie, *Bhutan and the Story of the Doar War*, First Published John Murray, Albemarle Street, London, 1966, Reprint by B. Himalayica, 1970.
10. Dr. Sailen Debnath, *The Doars in Historical Transition*, N.L. Publishers, Sivmandir (SLG), 2010, p. 3.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

9

Purana-An Important Historical Source of Ancient Malwa

Dr. Asha Shrivastava

One of the most important traditions of historiography in ancient India was the Puranic historiography is important from dynastic, genealogical and chronological points of view.

The Purana originally a single text (divided into eighteen parts) and called both "*Purana Samhita*" and "*Itihasa Samhita*", was composed by Vedavyasa in the Dvapara age.

The Purana in general are partly legendary and partly historical. Out of the eighteen main purana, the six -*Matsya*¹, *Vayu*², *Visnu*³, *Brahmanda*⁴, *Bhagavata*⁵, and *Bhavisya*⁶, are very important from a historical point of view. The first two have been called by their composers '*Puratan Itihas*' (ancient history in support of their historicity as they like the other four Purana) deal with historical subject. These six Purana have very historical records. Old Purana's contain historical portions with kings, dynasties, genealogies and chronology.⁸ Of the six Purana's mentioned here in the first four additions to the original contents were made up to the fourth of 5th century A.D., in the 5th up to the eighth or ninth century A.D. and in the sixth up to the 12th century A.D.

It is significant to note that the first phase of Pauravas settlements in the **sarasvata region** and upper Doab and Yadava settlements in Narmada, Malwa, Gujarat and Ganga-Yamuna Doab are archaeologically associated with Ochre-colored pottery (OCP) of late Harappan period (2200-1700 B.C.) and Chalcolithic black and red ware (BRW) ascribed to c. 2000 B.C. respectively.

The Puranic history of the early Aryans has its own importance. The Puranic data about their origin and expansion is really valuable.

The information supplied in the Puranas the five kinds of **Pradyota dynasty** who ruled the kingdom of Avanti are mentioned in the Purana's with their regnal years and total duration of their rule. They are said to have ruled for 138 years.¹⁰ But in fact they ruled for 102 years. (513-411B.C.)

In the Purana's also mentioned the total length of the reigns of the seven kings of **Gardabhilla dynasty**. (of Ujjayini, the capital of Avanti, Western Malwa).¹¹

The details of Vikramaditya son of Mehendraditya of Ujjayini and his dynasty have been provided in the Pratisarga Parvan of the "*Bhavisya Purana*".¹² The total length of the reigns of Vikramaditya and his four successors is also given. The former is said to have reigned for 60 years (commencing from 57B.C.) and the latter including his son Salivahana, for 75 years¹³ which comes to a total of 135 years, which is absolutely correct. The Jain historical tradition also affirms it.

The Purana do contain some useful information about the rule of the Naga dynasties at Vidisa (the capital of eastern Malwa). The historicity of most of the kings of Vidisa mentioned in the Puranas¹⁴ has been proved.

The information's contained especially in the *Bhavisya Purana* (Pratisarya Par van) about the Pratiharas of Kanauj, the Paramaras of Malwa the Cahamanas of Ajmer and Delhi, are of considerable historical importance.

A notable ruler of Pratihara dynasty named Vatsaraja (identified with the father of **Nagabhata (II)**, A.D.805-33) figures in the Purana as a king of Avanti.¹⁵ It is a well known fact that prior to the conquest of Kanauj the Pratiharas established their rule in Avanti with its capital at Ujjayini. Vatsaraja ascended the throne in about A.D.778. **Bhoja (I)** (A.D.836-85) and **Bhoja (II)** (A.D.910-12) were the Pratihara rulers of Kanauj. We find the description of the **Bhojas** in the Purana¹⁶ but neither their periods nor the details of their achievements are given therein.

The **Paramaras** of Malwa according to the Purana, were the descendants of king Paramara of Avanti. He is said to have ruled over Avantipura (Ujjayini, which had an extent of four yojanas) for six years.¹⁷ **Munj** or **Munjavarma** (A.D.974-98), who was the seventh king of his dynasty, also finds mention in the Purana. The details about **Sindhuraja** are also given therein.¹⁸ The most famous king of this dynasty was **Bhoja** (son of **Sindhuraja**) who ruled for about forty two years from A.D.1018 to A.D.1060.

The Purana explicitly mentions his name as a king of this dynasty.¹⁹ The later Paramara king of Malwa are also mentioned in the Purana.²⁰ But the historicity of only two of them, Naravarman and Udayaditya, has been established. The copper plate of the former preserved in Archaeological Museum of Indore proves that the latter (A.D.1059-94) was brother of Bhoja. According to the Purana, udayaditya was the founder of Udayapur²¹ which can be confirmed by “*Udaipur Inscription*”²² in which he has been described as the successor of Bhoj.

There are some other aspects of ancient Indian history like towns and cities, Janapadas (territories and peoples), kingdoms state and government polity and administration, society, religion and culture which are also recorded in the Puranas. The Janapada mentioned in the Purana's include Avanti, Vidisa, Tripuri of Vindhyan region.

The Puranas throw a good deal of light on the evolution of kingship, emergence of the state and its seven constituents inter-state relation, administrative organization, revenue system etc.²³

The Puranic description of socio-religious life of the people with references to the Varnasrama Dharma, class and caste, Saiva, Sakti and Vaisnava cults of Hinduism etc. have considerable historical value.

References

1. Matsya, (text with Hindi trans. Gorakhpur, 1985), pp. 53, 3-11, 68-69;
2. Vayu (text with Hindi trans. by R.P. Tripathi Sastri, Prayag, 1987), pp. 103, 48-51, 55-58;
3. Vishnu, (text with Hindi trans. by M.L. Gupta, Gorakhpur, Samvat 2041), (III), 3,2-21; (III) 4, 1-10; (III), 6, 15;
4. Brahmanda (text Bombay 1913) (I), 173; (IV), 4, 47-50, 54-58;
5. Bhagavata (text with Hindi trans. and annotation, Gorakhpur sambat 2040) ed. with English trans. by C.L. Goswami (Gorakhpur 1982) (I), 4,20; (III), 12,39;
6. Bhavisya, R.K.Arora, Historical and cultural data from the Bhavisya purana (Delhi, 1972) p. 37f.;
7. Mistaya 72, 6, Vayu, 103, 48.
8. History of Indian Literature, English trans. from the second German edition by J. Mann and Zacharias (London, 1882, Delhi, reprint 1981) pp. 213-15.
9. Romila Thapar, “Puranic Lineages and Archaeological cultures”, in idem, Ancient Indian social History, Hyderabad 1984, p. 242 offhand Genealogical Table facing p. 262.

10. Matsya 272, 1-5; Vayu, 99, 308-14; Visnu, (IV), 24, 1-8; Brahmanda, (III), 74, 121-25; Bhagavata (XII), 1, 2-4; PDKA, pp. 18-21; 68-69; Visnu, English trans. by H.H. Wilson (Calcutta,1961), p. 372;
11. R.K.Arora, "Historical and cultural data from the Bhavisya Purana, (Delhi 1972), p. 37f. and G.P. singh, "The Puranic tradition of historiography in India" (paper published in the Indian historical Review, Vol.(XXXX), numbers, 1-2 Jan. and July 2004).
12. Bhavisya, I, v.v. 8-26, pp. 337-40; (II), v.v. 13-21, pp.161-64.
13. Bhavisya, I, v.v. 17-19, 33, pp. 416-19; v.v. 1-4 pp. 419-20; v.v. 1-2. p. 425; (II), v.v. 22-23, pp. 163-164.
14. Vayu, 99, 366-70; Visnu, (IV), 24, 56; Visnu, English trans. by Wilson, pp. 382-83.
15. Bhavisya, (II), v. 32, p. 165 and G.P. Singh, "The Puranic tradition of historiography In India" (paper published in the Indian historical Review, Vol. (XXXX), no. 1-2 Jan. and July 2004).
16. Ibid., (I) pp. 419-20, 425; (II), p. 165.
17. Ibid., (I) V. 49, p. 335; v. 8, p. 337; (II), vv. 13-15, pp. 161-62.
18. Ibid., (II), vv. 25-30, pp. 175-77.
19. R.P. Sharma, "Pauranika Kosa" (Varansi, Samvat, 2028) p. 481.
20. Bhavisya, (II), vv. 31-35, pp. 176-77.
21. Ibid., v. 34, p. 176.
22. G.P. Singh, "The Puranic tradition of historiography in India" (Paper published in the Indian historical Review, Vol. (XXXX), Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India (Delhi, 1971) pp. 26-74.
23. Matsya, chapters, 215-220, 225-227, and, B.B. Mishra, "Polity in the Agni Purana" (Calcutta 1965) p. 27f. and G.P. Singh, "Political Thought in Ancient India" (Delhi, 1993), p. 21ff.

10

Rocketry During Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan

Dr. S. Mujahid Khan

“Remember above all that valour can elevate us to a throne, but it is not sufficient to preserve an empire. While we may seize a crown owing to the timidity of the people, it can escape us if we do not make haste to entrust it to their love” This was the hallmark of the Tipu Sultan’s statecraft.

Hyder Ali advise to Tipu Sultan sent through a letter while lying on his death bed:

“Tipu is the only prince who has preserved in disciplining and arranging his army after a regular plan. In this respect he is perfectly unprejudiced and ready to adopt any change which may serve for the improvement of his troops.”

William Macleod observation ¹

Rocketry

Rockets were invented in medieval China (Circa 1044 AD) but its first practical use for serious purpose other than entertainment took place in 1232 AD by the Chinese against the Mongols at the siege of Kai-Feng-Fue. Later from 1750 to 1799 A.D. Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan perfected the rockets used for military purposes, effectively used them in war against the British colonial armies. ²Hyder Ali successfully established the powerful Sultanate of Mysore and introduced the first iron-cased metal-cylinder Rocket. Hyder Ali was an innovator in the military use of rockets, which were used against positions and territories held by the British East India Company during the Anglo-Mysore Wars. Although rocket technology originated in China and had made its way to India and Europe by the 13th century, development of accurate cannons had sidelined rockets as a military technology in Europe.

Hyder Ali's father, the Naik at Budikote, commanded 50 rocket men for the Nawab of Arcot. There was a regular rocket corps in the Mysore Army, beginning with about 1,200 men in Hyder Ali's time. But it was Hyder who improved them and significantly expanded their use in the military. Technological innovations included the use of high-quality iron casing (better than that was available in Europe) for the combustion chamber, enabling the use of higher-powered explosive charges. He also organized companies of rocket men who were experienced in aiming rockets based on the size of the rocket and the distance to the target. Rockets could also be mounted on carts that improved their mobility and made possible the firing of large numbers of them all at once. Rockets developed by Hyder Ali and later by Tipu Sultan led to a renaissance of interest in the technology in Britain, where William Congreve, supplied with rocket cases from Mysore, developed what became known as Congreve rockets in the early 19th century.

In Hyder's time the Mysore an army had a rocket corps of as many as 1,200 men, which Tipu increased to 5,000. At the 1780 Battle of Pollilur, during the Second Anglo Mysore war, Colonel William Baillie's ammunition stores are thought to have been detonated by a hit from one of Hyder's rockets, contributing to a humiliating British defeat.

The rockets were manufactured in the foundries' there were two kinds of rockets during the Tipu Sultans period:

- a) *The Sky rockets*
- b) *The Ground rockets*

The rockets tubes about one foot long and an inch in diameter tied to a bamboo rod ten to twelve feet long. The rocket tubes were filled with combustible composition which produced great noise and succeeded in annoying the assaulting parties.³ The rockets were manufactured in such a manner that the sky rockets had the capacity to fly upward like an arrow for a hundred yards.

The ground rockets had a serpentine motion, striking the ground, rising again and bounding along till the force was exhausted⁴ The rockets had the capacity of even breaking the rocks, which confronted them and proved highly dangerous to the attacking the enemies.⁵

Military use of rockets

Tipu Sultan and his father Hyder Ali were regarded as pioneers in the use of solid fuel rocket technology or missiles for military use. A military tactic they developed was the use of mass attacks with rocket brigades on infantry formations. Tipu Sultan wrote a military manual called *Fathul-Mujahidin* in which 200 rocket men were assigned to each Mysore a "Qushun" (Regiment).⁶ Rockets are referred in Persian language as *Bah ram*, *Shih ale* and Rocketeers *Shihaledar* Mysore had 16 to 24 Qushuns of infantry. Each Qushuns had an establishment of rocketmen under the Juqdar, each Qushuns had a red, triangular standard, with a green border and pendants to distinguish the corps.⁷ The areas of town where rockets and fireworks were manufactured were known as Taramandals Pet ("Galaxy Market").⁸

The rocket men were trained to launch their rockets at an angle calculated from the diameter of the cylinder and the distance to the target. In addition, wheeled rocket launchers capable of launching five to ten rockets almost simultaneously were used in war. Rockets could be of various sizes, but usually consisted of a tube of soft hammered iron about 8 inches (20 cm) long and 1.5 to 3 in (3.8 to 7.6 cm) in diameter, closed at one end and strapped to a shaft of bamboo about 4 feet (1 m) long. The iron tube acted as a combustion chamber and contained well packed black powder propellant. A rocket carrying about one pound of powder could travel almost 1,000 yards.

In 1792, during the Third Anglo-Mysore War, there was mention of two rocket units fielded by Tipu Sultan, 120 men and 131 men respectively. Lt. Col. Knox was attacked by rockets near Srirangapatna on the night of 6 February 1792, while advancing towards the Kaveri River from the north. The Rocket Corps ultimately reached strength of about 5000 in Tipu Sultan's army. Use of Iron by Tipu in rockets is an ingenious example. It was a massive weapon, having a stalk of thick bamboo, eight to ten feet long, with an iron tube weighing between six to twelve pounds, containing the fuse and the powder fixed to its end.

More over the Mysore rockets were also used for ceremonial purposes. When the Jacobin Club of Mysore sent a delegation to Tipu Sultan, 500 rockets were launched as part of the gun salute. .

At this point (near the village of Sultan pet,) there was a large tope, or grove, which gave shelter to Tipu's rocket men and had obviously to be cleaned out before the siege could be pressed closer to Srirangapatana Island. The commander chosen for this operation was Col. Wellesley, but advancing towards the tope after dark on the 5 April 1799, he was set upon with rockets and musket-fires, lost his way and, as Beat son politely puts it, had to "postpone the attack" until a more favourable opportunity could offer.

The following day, Lord Wellesley launched a fresh attack with a larger force, and took the whole position without losing a single man. On 22 April 1799, twelve days before the main battle, racketeers worked their way around to the rear of the British encampment, then 'threw a great number of rockets at the same instant' to signal the beginning of an assault by 6,000 Indian infantry and a corps of Frenchmen, all directed by Mir Gulam Husain and Mohammed Husain Mir Mirans. The rockets had a range of about 1,000 yards.

During the conclusive British attack on Srirangapatna on May 2, 1799, a British shot struck a magazine of rockets within Tipu Sultan's fort, causing it to explode and send a towering cloud of black smoke with cascades of exploding white light rising up from the battlements.

After the fall of Srirangapatna, 600 launchers, 700 serviceable rockets and 9,000 empty rockets were found.

These experiences eventually led the Royal Woolwich Arsenal to start a military rocket research and development program in 1801, based on the Mysore an technology. William Congreve thoroughly examined the Indian specimens to reverse engineering and making its copies that were later used successfully in naval attack on Boulogne (1806), siege of Copenhagen (1807) and also against Fort Washington (New York) during the American Independence War. Their first demonstration of solid-fuel rockets came in 1805 and was followed by publication of *A Concise Account of the Origin and Progress of the Rocket System* in 1807 by William Congreve, son of the arsenal's commandant. Congreve rockets were soon systematically used by the British during the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812. A number of American ships were destroyed by Congreve rockets during the War of 1812 during the siege. The battle was witnessed by a young lawyer named Francis Scott Key, who mentioned the Congreve rockets' red glare in his song "The Star Spangled Banner".⁹

In 1817, Congreve established his private firm “Congreve Rocket and Ordnance Stores Manufactory” at 14 London Street, Essex, for supplying his rockets to the East India Company.

In the history of Indian Technology the rocket researchers are very much keen about the rockets of Mysore. There are two specimens of Mysore rockets preserved in the Royal Artillery Museum, Woolwich Arsenal.¹⁰ And there are three specimens preserved in India at Karnataka Government Museum at Bangalore among these only one has strips of hide tied to the cylinder and bamboo stick. The Dimensions of the rockets preserved are as follows:

Sl. No.	Description	I Rocket	II Rocket	III Rocket
1	Length including Bamboo stick	193 cms	152 cms	195 cms
2	Length of the cylinder	25 cms	17.5 cms	20 cms
3	Circumference of the cylinder	20 cms	12 cms	10 cms
4	Diameter of the cylinder	6 cms	4 cms	3 cms

Likewise, Interesting information is that some rockets were discovered during 2002 at Nagar the capital of the Keladi rulers. These rockets were found in a farm well belonging to a farmer and later been shifted to Karnataka Government Museum, Shimoga. Interesting the cylinders still contains gun powder, and bamboo stick and cotton tied to it are in deteriorating condition. Apart from these iron cylinders another two wooden specimens were found which resembles iron cylinder and another is a stick fill with the gun powder.

Conclusion

Thus, these experiences eventually led the Royal Woolwich Arsenal, Royal Artillery Museum, Greenwich Museum, to start a military rocket research and development program based on Mysore an technology. Today’s rockets are remarkable collections of human ingenuity that have their roots in the science and technology of the past. They are natural outgrowths of literally thousands of years of experimentation and research on rockets and rocket propulsion. The rockets were a necessary link in the development of technology that began with fire arrows and led to a walk on the Moon, A journey from Srirangapatna to Sriharikota.

References

1. Military Sundry Book, volume 101 (1792-95), p. 93.
2. Samuel Strindberg, Tipu Sultan the Tiger of Mysore or to fight against odds, New Delhi, 1984, pp. 19-27.
3. Edward Moor, A Narrative of the Operations of Capital Little's Detachment, London, 1794, p. 509.
4. Ibid.
5. Wilks, Historical Sketches of the South of India in an attempt to trace the history of Mysore, Mysore, 1930, Ed., Vol. I, pp. 727-29.
6. Mohibbul Hasan, History of Tipu Sultan , Calcutta, 1971, p. 353.
7. Fath-ul-Mujahidin by Zain-ul-Abidin Shaustri, Translated into English by Mir Mahmood Husine (Former Director , Tipu Sultan Research Institute and Museum, Srirangapatna) A Military Manual of Tipu Sultan ,VI Chapter, p. 12, 1982.
8. Kirmani, History of Tipu Sultan, Translated by Miles W., New Delhi, 1986, p. 69.
(Taramandals means the centre of place where military weapons and ammunitions were prepared).
9. William Congreve, Memoir on the Possibility, the Means and the Importance of the Description of the Boulogne Flotilla, etc., London, 1806, (Private Publication).
William Congreve, A Concise Account of the Origin and Progress of the Rocket System etc., London, 1810 (First Published 1807): William Congreve, Postscript of the Concise Account of the Origin and Progress of the Rocket System, London, 1808 (Private Publication): William Congreve, Detail Plan for attaching to Cavalry Regiments a Proportion of Rocket Artillery etc., London 1809 (Private Publication): William Congreve, The different modes of use and Exercise of Rockets both for Bombardment and for the Field etc., London 1810 (Private Publication): Major General Sir William Congreve, A Treatise on the General Principles , Powers and Facility of the Congreve Rocket System etc., London, 1827.
10. Ibid.

11

Indigo Cultivation in North Bihar: An Analytical Study

Nand Kishor Singh

When did indigo cultivation begin in north Bihar is not known. It is however certain that indigo was being produced there long before the arrival of European planters.

Indigo plantation by the European began in the latter half of the eighteenth century.¹ The first indigo factory was founded by a Dutchman, Alexander Noel (who after wards set up the Novel and Company), at Kanti in the district of Muzaffarpur in 1778. In 1792 Francois Grand, the first collector of sarkar Tirhut, took a keen interest in the promotion of indigo cultivation. He is said to have built three indigo factories but the names of these factories are nowhere found in government records.²

Although indigo factories rapidly spread in Muzaffarpur (towards the end of the eighteenth century the total number of the factories had gone up to 12), no factory was built in Champaran until early in the nineteenth century. The first factories in Champaran were established at Rajpur, Motihari and Bara (near Chakia railway station on Muzaffarpur- Motihari section of the north-eastern railway.) Soon after the Turkaulia factory was started by Henry hill. Later in 1845 captain Johan Taylor built the Seercah factory and after that a number of other factories and outwards came up.

The late start of indigo factories in Champaran is explained by the fact that during the last decades of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century the main interest of the Europeans in Champaran was in the sugar industry. In 1816 the collector did not even mention indigo among the indigenous products of the district and in 1830 only a reference was made. At that indigo cultivation was not very important in the district.

Sugar continued to be a flourishing industry until about 1850 and the revenue survey of 1847 made frequent mentions of steam sugar factories found throughout the district, Sugar industry suffered a grave set back during 1845-50 from which it could not recover for the following 60&70 years.

Secondly, indigo became more profitable than sugar only after 1849-50 when the price of indigo began to shoot up and the dye sold at very lucrative prices.⁴ The result was that the people stopped bothering their heads about sugar,⁵ Many European planters changed over to indigo and a large part of capital invested in sugar was transferred to indigo plantation and the manufacture of dye.

Thirdly, in the beginning from the point of view of indigo cultivation and the manufacture of dye "Bengal was in full swing". Bengal had many advantages, Calcutta being the main market and port for the sale and the export of dye, the Bengal indigo factories had to incur only a very small amount of expenditure of transport compared with the factories in north Bihar particularly Champaran, because of its geographical location. But as a result of troubles in Bengal and the report of the indigo commission of 1860, indigo planters were forced more and more to move out of Bengal proper⁶ they then migrated to Bihar. The collapse of indigo plantation in Bengal led to the transfer of a substantial portion of capital to Bihar. This helped the growth of indigo plantation in Bihar. North Bihar attracted the planters most because it was the most productive indigo area and also the only tract in which native manufactures had by that time succeeded in establishing themselves in competition with the Europeans.⁷ In 1857-58 Bengal produced 50,330 mounds (1 mound- 80lb) and Bihar produced only 18,822 mounds of Indigo, but in 1888-89 the position was reversed, the Bihar rose to 58,748 mounds.⁸

Fourthly, during the rebellion of 1857 which was very widespread in Bihar the planters in north Bihar proved strong props of the company rule. They fought against the rebels, guarded Muzaffarpur and helped the company restore its rule. Consequently, the attitude of the government became more favorable to them. The experiences of the mutiny and the motives of imperial interest caused the expediency of creating pockets of European population intended to support the empire in times of emergency.⁹ The hands of planters were strengthened by giving them magisterial power and commission in the army. In the disputes between the planters and the

peasants the government generally sided with the planters. This created the favorable condition for the planters to utilize the existing agrarian relations to get indigo grown on the Assam war system.

Lastly, the most important factor responsible for the faster growth of indigo cultivation in Champaran was the existing agrarian relations. They used the Zamindari rights to force the raiyats to grow indigo on the terms and conditions dictated by them.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has however given another reason for the rapid spread of indigo cultivation in Champaran after the collapse of sugar industry. According to him the climate of the district was cooler and for that reason it was liked by the European planters.¹⁰ This explanation seems to be superficial. Champaran therefore was not preferred for this cooler climate but for the agrarian relations.

For indigo cultivation high and un-inundated land was considered suitable. This was an important reason for the establishment of the first indigo factory in the southern and northern parts of the district. Later planters moved to the northwestern parts. Finally the entire district became honeycombed with indigo factories. Factories were built mostly on the banks of the lakes (the district has 43 big lakes). Because they needed ample water supply for the manufacture of dye.¹¹

During the last decade of the nineteenth century when indigo industry was at its peak in the district, there were 21 indigo factories with 46 outworks. It is obvious that indigo factories were common in the Motihari subdivision. Out of 21 factories 12 were located there. Except Lasaraya all the major factories such as Rajpur, Bara, Motihari and Turkaulia were in the Motihari subdivision. This was because planters held 58.55 percent of the total area of the Motihari subdivision under them as proprietors, intermediary tenure holders and under tenure holders while in the Bettiah subdivision they had only 34.9 percent of the total land area under them. Besides these transport difficulties were acute in the Bettiah subdivision.

Our conclusion about the expansion of indigo cultivation is strengthened by the acreage under this crop. The area under indigo cultivation is strengthened by the acreage under this crop. The area under indigo showed an upward trend till 1904-5, after which a downward trend set in. Indigo had become such an important crop in the district that in 1899-1900 it accounted for 95,970 acres of 6.63 percent of the cropped area.¹²

The reversal of the rising trend in the area and output of indigo was the result of an outside factor. Germany introduced a cheap synthetic dye in 1896-97 in the world market on a large scale and the demand for the natural dye fell. Consequently the average price of the natural dye fell from Rs. 235 per maund in 1894-95 to Rs.150 in 1897-99. Planters were hard hit because the rapid fall in the price of the natural dye made it difficult for them to cover even the cost production.

Planters tried best to save the industry from extinction by introducing new methods of cultivation and new varieties of seed, etc. with a view to reducing the cost of production and increasing the per-acre outturn.

References

1. Indigo was imported from West Indies and the South – American colonies and was used in the English textile and for coloring the British naval costumes. But as a result of the French revolution the emancipation of Negro slaves in the French colonies took place especially into Santo Domingo, and the production of indigo sharply declined. Earlier about the year 1847 most of the planters in West Indies, particularly Jamaica, gave up Indigo cultivation owing to the high duty imposed on it. A number of planters then came to India and began indigo plantation See: Buchanan, *The Development of Capitalistic Enterprise in India*, London, 1966, p. 36. And Watt, *The Commercial Products of India*, London, 1908, p. 668.
2. Wilson, *History of Behar Indigo Factories*, Calcutta, 1908.
3. According to Wilson, (op. cit. p. 72) the Bara factory was built by steward around 1820; while O, Malay, (*Bengal District Gazetteers: Champaran*, p. 146) held that it was founded by Colonel Hickey in 1813.
4. *Report of the Indigo Commission 1860*, appendix III.
5. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 62-63.
6. For indigo disturbances in Bengal see: King, *The Blue Mutiny*.
7. Watt, op. cit. 17.
8. Wilson, op. cit.
9. Misra, (edited). *Select Documents on Mahatma Gandhi's Movement in Champaran*, 8.
10. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power in Indian Politics, 1915-1927*, Oxford, 1972.
11. For details of the process of cultivation of indigo see: Grison, *Bihar Peasant Life*, Patna, 1926, pp. 243-44.
12. Stevenson-Moore, *Final Report on Champaran*, Calcutta, 1900.

12

Markets, Prices and Inter-Regional Trading Network: The Eastern Coast of India Under the Mughals

Dr. K.N. Sethi

The inter-regional trade in the eastern coast of India under the Mughals was not, as has been sometimes suggested, predominantly an exchange of highly priced luxury products. Despite the heavy expense increased in land transport heavy enough to stifle certain lines of commerce the trade in foodstuff and a wide range of textile products, some of which surely cannot be described as luxuries, were the most important components of the inter-regional trade of the period. The waterways, both inland and coastal, were cheaper and therefore preferred; much of the inter-regional trade being in fact, coastal.

Coromandel and Malabar had flourishing country trade. The *Marakayars* of Coromandel generally dominated the rice trade, particularly with Calicut in the early years of the sixteenth century; they sailed in their own vessels. Three leading Hindu merchants of Mylaore also engaged in rice trade. Many Muslims and Hindus of Malabar sailed to Coromandel in their own ships for purchase of rice.

The Portuguese settled in Cochin, when they learnt that spices were exchanged for Coromandel rice in the Malabar coast, stipulated that all rice carrying vessels sailing from Coromandel to Calicut should carry *cartages*. They also maintained an armada in Coromandel to protect ships against pirates and to curb the movement of ships sailing without *cartages*. The *orcamento da Estado da India* records that soldiers of the armada were paid thirty-six *pardoas*. As early as 1503, some Portuguese traders like Duarte Pacheco and Manuel Pessanha sailed from the Coromandel coast for Cochin with a cargo of rice.

The export of rice from Coromandel to Cochin in 1527 was 124 *gantas* and in 1547, 717 *gantas*. Cochin also emerged as a rice distribution centre of Maldives. The Viceroy, Lopo Saores, encouraged private Portuguese barter trade with rice exchanged for spices, especially pepper. The Portuguese required rice also for themselves, since the soldiers were paid partly in cash and partly in rice. We have confirmation of this in the writings of *Almoxarife dos Mantimentos* of Cochin, who reports that rice of Coromandel was necessary for military payments.

The inter-regional trade of Orissa during our period had extensive commercial relationship with Bengal, Bihar, northern India, Gujarat, Surat, Dacca, Kerala, Vizagapatam, Masulipatanam and Madras, Pulicat, Cochin, etc. Both the Indian merchants from different parts and their European counterparts participated actively in the commercial activities of Orissa. The ports such as Bal sore, Pipli, Hariharpur and Ganjam which carried on trade with different parts of India as well as the world were also centre's of coastal trade.

The principal articles of export from Orissa to different places of India were rice, gram, butter, sugar, textile goods, gingelly seed, salt, iron, stone plates, lead and broadcloth etc. Orissa imported mainly articles like tobacco, spices and saltpeter. There are also occasional references to the import of rice and salt into Orissa. In addition we have references about the merchants of Bal sore who traded at Calcutta in the sixties of the eighteenth century. They used to send iron, stone plates, rice and some other commodities. Their imports from Calcutta to Bal sore consisted of tobacco and certain other commodities.¹ Sometime before 1684 AD, a *gomastah* of Khem Chand purchased huge quantities of cassias at Dacca.² There is also mention of a ship of the merchants at Gingerly coast that was burnt by the Portuguese in the 'Road' of Polecat in the early twenties of the seventeenth century.³ In the thirties of the seventeenth century, Manrique had found at Pipli, a ship belonging to the local *Shiqdar* that was sent to Cochin laden with merchandise.⁴ In the same year, Peter Mundy (1628 – 1634 AD) had noted that cloths of Orissa were also available at Patna.⁵ Thomas Bowery in the seventies of the seventeenth century observed that the various cotton manufactures of Bal sore like *sannoos*, *ginghams*, *orammals* (*rumals*), cotton yarn and other goods were sent to Patna.⁶ The English factors at Bal sore had reported (1659 AD) that salt was exported from Bal sore to Patna on oxen.⁷ Bal sore supplied coconuts and timbers to Dacca and other places.

The Dacca authorities required timber for the 'Pent House' in 1678 AD. The commodity was to be sent to Dacca as soon as they could be procured at Bal sore.⁸

The coastal trade between the port of Bengal and Orissa was carried on with boats called *Purgoos* as the means of transports. In the second half of the seventeenth century, their trade flourished along the coasts of the Bay of Bengal, especially between Bal sore and Hugli and also Bal sore and Dacca.⁹ The close connection between the ports of Bal sore and Hugli necessitated constant coastal trade between Orissa and Bengal. The correspondence of the Company of this period, especially that on the 17th August 1677 AD, shows that the sloops continued playing an important role in the trade in those areas till 1677 AD.¹⁰ Merchants of Orissa exported salt, stoneware, iron, cloth and rice to Bengal.

Masulipatanam was a place of huge commercial traffic in the seventeenth century with which Orissa traded on her products like rice, butter, gingerly seed and sugar. Rice was regularly supplied to Masulipatanam and adjacent regions but was stopped in 1677 AD due to the blockade of the coast by the Dutch.¹¹ We have also references of boats plying between Masulipatanam and Ganjam. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, Ganjam exported rice to the South,¹² as is evident from the records of Fort St. George.

With the coming up of the English settlements on the seaboard of Orissa, closer trade-links were forged between Bengal and the Coromandel Coast, the Orissa factories thus acting as convenient halting points. There was regular supply of rice, sugar, butter etc. to Masulipatanam in the early part of the seventeenth century.¹³ Sugar was carried in the English ship, the *Thomas*, from Bal sore for Masulipatanam in March 1634 AD. The East India Company, in India, had to take into account several factors for the smooth execution of their business. In 1638 AD, the Masulipatanam factors, Thomas Clark and Richard Hudson, advised John Yard at Bal sore, that freight goods belonging to Mirza Taqi, Dabir of Golconda should be sent out.¹⁴ During the early phase of the English settlements in the Bay of Bengal, the trade between Orissa and Masulipatanam became significant. In November 1642 AD, the *Advice*,¹⁵ brought from Bal sore, commodities worth Rs. 5333- and *annas* 12 to Masulipatanam, in the account of the joint stock. She had also freight goods loaded in her to the tune of Rs. 486.¹⁶ The commodities invoiced at Rs. 15,879 and 12 *annas* were dispatched from Bal sore to Masulipatanam in December 1642 AD. The *Hopewell* which carried

these goods to Masulipatanam were meant for the General Voyage. But she also brought freight goods worth Rs. 6345. Several passengers travelled in this ship from Bal sore to Masulipatanam¹⁷ which goes to show the existence of a sizeable trade between the two places.

The English had opened their first commercial venture at Hariharpur in Orissa. The port as have already told, played an important role in the coastal trade of Orissa. The vessel *Endeavor*, that left Bal sore in November 1642 AD, had reached Masulipatanam after halting at Hariharpur.¹⁸ She was also engaged in another voyage from Bal sore to Masulipatanam through Hariharpur in December of the same year.¹⁹

In the second half of the seventeenth century, many European traders had settled at Bal sore. They were mostly engaged in the coastal trade. Streyntsham Master used to dispatch letters to Masulipatanam from Bal sore by a Danish ship. The Dutch, the Danes, the French traded with Masulipatanam.²⁰

As regards the commercial relationship between coastal Orissa and Fort St. George, the chief article of export from the former place was rice. Bernier had observed that Bal sore port was frequented by sloops from Madras coast.²¹ There was arrangement for the travel of general passengers and other officials irrespective of their origin or affiliation.²² We have reference to the English authorities at Bal sore who had reportedly decided on 14th December 1667 AD to send rice and other provisions by sloops to Fort St. George.²³

Apart from rice Bal sore also supplied timber, saltpeter, paddy, butter, oil and other victuals to cater to the needs of the people at port.²⁴ The colony at Fort St. George was fairly populated. It had a population of 80,000 inhabitants out of which four or five hundred were Europeans. As per Hamilton, to feed these people, "The rice is brought by sea from Ganjam and other places of Orissa, wheat from Surat and Bengal, and firewood from the islands of Diu, a low point of land that lies near Masulipatanam".²⁵ The *Nawab* of Cuttack, who owned a ship of 200 tons also, participated in the coastal trade. His ship loaded with rice and other commodities had arrived at the Fort on 1st March 1695 AD.²⁶

The Moors had come to settle in Bal sore for trade, as seemed with Henry Garret who was the pilot of the ship '*Calamantram*', a Moorish vessel from Madras which got into the Bal sore Road sometime in August, 1693 AD.²⁷

Another Moorish ship belonging to Bal sore had sailed to Fort St. George arriving, there in April 1694.²⁸ The ship 'Devadoolot' and the ship 'Dieumund' had brought letters from the president at St. George to the chief at Balasore factory on 25 April, 1695 AD²⁹ and on 26 July, 1695 AD respectively.³⁰ However there is no mention of the commodities brought by them from the fort. The ship *Chedrow Shelam* belonging to the Moors that reached the fort on 20 March, 1696 AD, had with it goods from Bal sore.³¹ In December 1696 AD, the sloop *Rama Chundry* of Piamea Nocqueda had been made available at Bal sore for its coastal voyage to Fort St. George.³² The ship *Bauvanee Anco Serang* arrived at Fort on 29 December 1697 AD had brought goods from Ganjam.³³ A Moorish ship from Bal sore had also arrived at St. George, on 16 January 1697 AD.³⁴

The letter of Anthony Tester, in 1699 AD, to president Thomas Pitt at Fort revealed that the *Benjamin* was loaded at Pipli Road and had been dispatched to Fort St. George signifying that Pipli, even at the close of the seventeenth century, remained a port and centre of trade as well.³⁵

In the early part of the seventeenth century Polecat was a Portuguese centre of trade. We have reference to the considerable rivalry that existed among the Dutch, the Portuguese and the English for the rice trade between Orissa and Polecat. The reputation of the place was for various kinds of cotton cloth, both painted and plain.³⁶ Invariably, the cloths were dyed-red by means of the chay root found in Polecat³⁷ and other neighboring places. The best *chay*, a small and thin root was found in Ganjam.³⁸

Ships laden with rice, butter and Gingerly seeds came to Polecat from Orissa in the seventeenth century. It seems that Dutch settlement to some extent had depended on the rice supply from Orissa, as is mentioned by Schorer, a Dutch factor at Masulipatanam (1608 – 1614 AD), about the import of rice to Polecat from Orissa every year.³⁹ These ships usually visited Polecat every year in the month of February or March.⁴⁰ Schorer informs us about the import of articles like spices of various kinds and salt to Orissa from Polecat.⁴¹ On return voyage the ships took salt and spices. Usually they sailed on the return voyage to Orissa in the month of April or May.⁴² Due to rivalry between the English and the Dutch, the activity of the former was stopped when Dutch offered protection to the Indian boats carrying such provisions.⁴³ The recorded evidence in support of Orissa's trade with Bombay is extremely scanty. But sugar, which was one of the important items of export from Bal sore, was sent directly by ship. The fact

is revealed by the London correspondence with Hugli, dated 2nd July 1684 AD.⁴⁴

The Dutch and the English were engaged in coastal trade from Bal sore to Surat. In 1653 AD, two Dutch ships from Bal sore left for Surat on way to Gombrooe in Persia.⁴⁵ In 1679 AD, the local merchants of Bal sore exported 25 bales of silk at Rs. 150 each to Surat,⁴⁶ and in the year 1682 AD, a great quantity of the same commodity was also sent to Surat.⁴⁷ It seems that in the second half of the seventeenth century the trade in silk had been flourishing at Bal sore.

At times, ships from Surat came to Bal sore via Maldives islands. Four ships from Surat had arrived at Bal sore in the year 1682-83 AD.⁴⁸ In the same year, a ship left Bal sore for Surat.⁴⁹ Hedges mentions that two ships from Surat had come via Maldives islands to Bal sore with *cowris* etc.⁵⁰

The Portuguese were the powerful traders at the port of Pipli, but religious taboo contributed to their strained relations with the Mughal administrator, Mirza Sarif for which the administrator at Pipli had taken strong measures against the Christians.⁵¹ The Portuguese were permitted by Jahangir to reside in Pipli and they had maintained good trade with Cochin. Manrique had observed about vessels regularly sailing from Pipli to Cochin.⁵² But unfortunately, we have no information on the export-import commodities from Orissa to Kerala except Manrique's reference to that of big ship loaded at Pipli with different kinds of merchandise bound for Cochin in the thirties of the seventeenth century.⁵³

“The great trade of the province is in cotton cloth and there is as much traffic in Burhanpur, as is in any place of the Indies. Painted cloths are sold there as everywhere else: but the white are particularly esteemed, because of the lovely mixture of gold and silver that is in them, where of the rich make veils, scarf's, handkerchiefs and coverings but the white cloths so adorned, are dear. In short I do not think that any country of Hindustan abounds so much in cotton as this does which bears plenty of rice and indigo. The same trade is driven at Orissa...”⁵⁴

There was a keen competition between the Portuguese and the English in regards to the purchase of *calicoes* from Patna. But before the English came into the trading scenario of Orissa, the Portuguese who had settled at Pipli visited Patna in 1620 AD to purchase Calicoes and they sold these articles at Pipli.⁵⁵ Patna produced huge quantities of *amberty calicoes* and

was reputed for their quality. Later on, the English Company procured saltpeter from Patna for their trade at Bal sore and the articles were brought by oxen every year.⁵⁶ Bal sore also sent to Patna articles imported by the English like broad-cloth and lead, which could not be disposed of there.

References

1. *The English Factories in India*, New Series, (here after EFI, New Series), (ed.), Charles Fawcett, Oxford, 1670-1677, p. 250.
2. J.N.Sarkar, "A Seventeenth Century Hindu Merchant and Broker of Balasore", *JBR*, 1954, p. 126.
3. *The English Factories in India*, (here after EFI), (ed.) William Foster, Oxford, 1622-23, p. 260.
4. Fray Sebastian Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique (1628 – 1641)*, 2 Vols. Introduction and Notes by Beckford Luard, assisted by Father H. Hosten, Oxford: 1927, Vol. II, pp. 440-41.
5. Peter Mundy, (1608-1667), *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia*, Lt. Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, (ed.), Vol. II; *Travels in Asia (1628-1634)*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1914, pp. 154-55.
6. Thomas Bowery, *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669 -1679*. Lt.Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, (ed.), London: Hakluyt Society, 1905, pp. 231-32.
7. *EFI*, 1655-60, p. 297.
8. *Sundry Book of 1680-1681 (Hugli Letters)*. Madras: 1677-1678 (1910), p. 108.
9. Streynsham Master, *Diaries of Streynsham Master 1675-1680 and other contemporary papers relating there to*. Sir R.C. Temple, (ed.), Vols. I and II; London: 1911, Vol. I, pp. 414-489.
10. *Sundry Book*, 1677-78, p. 3.
11. Tapan Ray Chaudhury, *Jan Company in Coromandel, 1605-1690*. The Hague: 1962, p. 67.
12. *Records of Fort St. George, Letters from Fort St. George*, 1696, Madras, 1921, p. 70.
13. *EFI*, 1634-36, p. 41.
14. *EFI*, 1637-41, p. 65; J.N.Sarkar, "Medieval Orissa's Seaport", *JBR*, 1950, p. 158.
15. *EFI*, 1642-45, p. 43.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.; J.N.Sarkar, "Notes on Bal sore and the English in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century", *PIHC*, Nagpur, 1950, p. 216.
20. *Master's Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 302-03.
21. F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, Reprint, New Delhi, 1983, p. 441.
22. Ibid.
23. *Master's Diary*, Vol. II, pp. 70-71.
24. *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book of 1687*, Madras, 1916, p. 156.
25. Alexander Hamilton, (1688-1723), *A New Account of the East Indies being observations and remarks of Captain Alexander Hamilton*, 2 Vols. Sir W. Foster, (ed.), London: 1930, Vol. I, p. 203.
26. *Diary and Consultation*, 1692, p. 32.
27. *Letters of Fort*, 1693-94, p. 81.
28. *Letters of Fort*, 1694, p. 38.
29. *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation*, 1692, Madras, 1917, p. 57.
30. Ibid., p. 97.
31. *Diary and Consultation*, 1696, p. 35.
32. Ibid., p. 157.
33. *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book*, 1697, Madras, 1921, p. 151.
34. *Diary and Consultation*, 1696, p. 172.
35. *Letters to Fort*, Vol. 7, 1699-1700, p. 18.
36. W.H. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Hakluyt Society, Neindeiln, 1967, p. 53.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 77.
39. Schorer's account in W.H. Moreland's *Relations of Golconda...*, p. 54.
40. Ibid., p. 53.
41. Schorer's account in W.H. Moreland's *Relations of Golconda...*, p. 54.
42. Ibid., p. 53.
43. Tapan Ray Chaudhury, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-106.

44. *Dispatches*, 1681-86, p. 95.
45. J.N.Sarkar, "Medieval Orissa's Seaport", *JBRs*, 1950, p. 161.
46. *Letters to Fort*, 1682, Vol. II, p. 10.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
48. Om Prakash, "The European Trading Companies", *IESHR*, Vol. I, No.3, 1964, p. 403.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
50. Sir William Hedges, *The Diaries of Sir William Hedges during his Agency in Bengal as well as Voyage out and return overland (1681-1687)*, 3 Vols, London: Hakluyt Society, 1837-1889, Vol. I, p. 95.
51. *Manrique*, Vol. I, p. 442.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 439.
53. *Manrique*, Vol. I, pp. 440-441.
54. Giovami Francesco Gamely Careri, (1695), *Indian Travels of M.D.Thevenot and Jamelli Careri*, Surendranath Sen,(ed.), New Delhi: 1949, Vol. II, p. 122.
55. *EFI*, 1618-1621, p. 213.
56. *EFI*, 1655-1660, p. 297.

13

The Institution of Police During Ancient and Medieval Period

Dr. Vishal Kumar Sharma

The society, since its very inception has been infested with irrational and selfish type of elements that create hurdles for a common man to attain good goals, that is why judiciary or the institution of police came into existence. So we can safely say that the origin of the police in the society is the out come of mass reasoning against the apprehension of disturbances and can be termed as old as the human history itself.¹ The word “Police” has been taken from the Latin word “Politia” which signifies an exclusive civil force of state to maintain public law and order and detect crime.²

If we peep into the doors of history and go way back to the early Vedic age, Ugra and Rakshaka were the officers used to work as civil force and their works were in accordance to the Dharma and Rita.³ This we find illustrated in the hymns of the Rig-Veda. In those times, the whole rural social economic and security administration was the collective responsibility of the villagers and this administration was performed under the supervision of Gramini, the family or village headman. He used to discharge his duties in accordance to the advice given to him by Sabah, the institution of adult fellows. In the Mauryan Age, the security system changed a little. Chanakya, the Mentor to the Mauryan Kingdom, made a group of five to ten villages known as Samgrahan and the officer of the unit was called Gop or Grambhojka, they were fully responsible for keeping peace in the locality. The biggest units of villages were called as Karwatika Dronamukh and Sthaniya etc. Janpada was higher in this respect and Sthanik was responsible for its security system. These offices used to maintain an effective link between the state and the village but were not

allowed to disturb the autonomous, democratic and collective form of the village administration.⁴ In later Mauryan period a significant change took place and it was separate urban and rural police arrangements.⁵

During the days of Guptas, a strong central empire was build up. The village headman, Gramika was responsible for keeping peace in the local community with the help of a council of village elders as Gram Mahattera or Panchkulas. The policing duty was still a collective functioning. Prather's and Rakshakas remained the rural police force in this period also.

Later Harshvardhana did a splendid job, he organized strong central rule. The village was governed by an elected village head with the assistance of a council known as Astakul Adhikarna.⁶ The village Akshapatakolak was directly responsible for its security and so he was known as the village police chief.⁷ The feature of this system was that the posts of Gram Pratihar's and Rakshakas was hereditary and paid mort of the time.⁸ In later phase, i.e. after the downfall of the Vardhan dynasty there prevailed the environment of chaos in the political life. Pratihar, Sen, Pal, Kalchuris, Gaharwal, Chandel, Parmar and Chahman etc. were the prominent feudatories in the north.

In Agni Purana, it is written, the villages were duly guarded by the Rakshakas round the clock.⁹ Various names were given to the village heads such as Grampati, Gramesa, Gram Bharta, Gramadbyaksha, Gramyeka and Gwarda¹¹. All of these were responsible for the local police administration. In southern state, Natur or Mandiliya used to appoint officer known as Sahsadhpati for local security.¹² For a congloveration of one hindered villages a central police officer known as Sthanika, Sthanapola etc. used to operate.¹³ In the same reference the name of Gaulmika also comes in various references.¹⁴ The village autonomy was so well preserved that even the king had to consult the village head in the matters of revenue, police and security.¹⁵ The quality and efficiency of police and spy system of India was appreciated in following lives :-

“It is possible that no modern CID in any country has ever been so ubiquitous or so highly organized as the system of espionage described by the Kautilya.”¹⁶

Various books or records that throw light over the urban police administration were Arthashastra, Manusmriti etc. Kautilya describes of Nagarika who used to look after the entire city, his assistant Sthanik on officer responsible for a sector and Gopas (Care takers of 10 to 40

houses) The offices can be compared to the Deputy Commissioner of police of today's'. Metropolis¹⁷. Kalidas', Abhigyan Shakuntalam, Sudraka's Mri Chhakatikam, works of Huen- Tsang tell more about urban police administration.

After the establishment of Sultanate of Delhi, the things was quite different in this reference. "Kotwal" was the important officer in big cities, except him, no other officer comes into notice as far as police in concerned.¹⁸ Initially he used to take a military officer, with some "Sepoys" under him, he was responsible for the local peace. One the officer named "Muhtasib" also draws our attention but his chief work was to take care of the daily behavior of the people of Sultanate not to maintain law and order at local level. There was no trace of local police in small towns or villages. Prisons were also not up to date and old forts were being used to prisons.¹⁹ Thus the police administration came to downfall is Sultanate period but it touched the new heights in the Moughal Period again.

In Moughal era, the old tradition was followed in the cases of villages and 'Mukhiya' remained responsible for the local administration in villages.²⁰ But in cities so many responsibilities were given to the police, as is told in Ain- I-Akbari, following were the duties of police in cities :-

1. To catch thieves.
2. To control the prices of markets
3. To take visits in late nights .
4. To maintain register regarding identity of new comers in the city.
5. To manage spy system and to take care of income and expenditure of citizen.
6. To maintain list of properties of lost people.
7. To check the Sati System without the will of the lady etc.²¹

Dr. Yadunath Sarkar maintain that these were the ideal duties of a kotwal not the practical ones, though Mannuchi defers from him and call all of them, the real duties of a Kotwal. He frankly says that the Kotwal was fully responsible for the law and order in the cities. This work was done by Faujdar at District level. ²²

So we can sum up by saying that the local administration or police system had been integral part of the security of the state for long time, In

ancient times, all cares were taken to set the police system as an important system to maintain law and order at local level. In the period of Sultanate of Delhi, it lost its significance a bit but regained the important position in the Moughal period. And even today it is the imprint of history that we carry in local administration or police system.

References

1. Altekar, A.S., State and Government in Ancient India, Delhi, 1958, Jayaswal, K.P., Hindu Polity, Calcutta, 1924. Basham A.L., The Wonder that was India, London, 1974.
2. Manu Smriti , 8.4.
3. Rig Veda, 1.65.2 and 1.65.5.
4. Atharava Veda, 11.7.17, 18.3.1.
5. Op. Cit. Altekar, A.S., p. 257.
6. यत्कृत्वा यत्कृत्वा इव प्रप्य [कृत्वा इत्यत्र कृत्वा ना कृत्वा] व'त्कृत्वा यत्कृत्वा
fnYyA
7. usel%ilg%ilg l eg & pæ'klj d'r jkt ulfr jRuklj
8. Shukracharya has defined the village as settlement of at least twelve families living and area of a Krosa and paying thousand silver coins in take to the king. Agani Purana.
9. Gatha Sapta Sati, VII -31
10. Op. Cit., Altekar A.S., P. 352
11. Ganguli, D.K., Aspects of ancient Indian Administration New Delhi, 1979, p. 137.
12. Agni Puran, 165.11, 165.12.
13. Sukra Niti Sar, 2.1 20, 2.121.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Yagavalakya Smi 2.173.
17. Curry J.C., The Indian Police, London : Faber & faber Ltd. MCM XXX II, 1932, (18-21).
18. Shrivastava, A.L., Delhi Agra 1959, p. 284.
19. Ibid.

20. Majumder, Raychovdhary, Dutt, Madhyakaleen Bharat Ka Brahat Itihas, Madras, 1970, p. 271.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.

Also see for details :-

1. Mukherjee R.K., Chandra Gupta and his times, Delhi, 1943.
2. I Samasastry, R, Kautilys's Arthasastra.
3. Chaterjee, S.K., Police In Ancient India.
4. Elliot & Dowson, History of India, Vol I to IV.
5. Qureshi, I.H, Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi.
6. Habibullah, A.B.M, Foundation of Muslim Rule in India.
7. Hussain, Wahid, Administration of Justice in Muslim India.
8. Tripathi, R.P., Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.
9. Ashraf, M., Life and Condition of the people of Hindustan.

14

Cold War Politics And Stockholm Environment Treaty 1972 : A Historical Analysis

Dr. Subhash Balhara

I. Introduction

Early twentieth century environmental treaties proved to be piecemeal solutions to specific issues between two nations, but none focused truly on issues of environmental protection but focused more on economics or protection of wildlife for the sake of beauty to man rather than on the protection of ecosystems. The earliest of such international treaties was the 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty between United States and Great Britain in reference to United States and Canadian boundaries.¹

What began as international environmental interest and concern did not manifest itself into its political potential until after much of the horrific devastation of the world wars. Prior to the Stockholm Conference, more than twenty different agencies dealt with environmental issues as they pertained to their specific function (i.e. economic development, health etc.). Agencies such as the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the World Health Organization (WHO), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) were active in contributing to the study of the environment. Perhaps the most significant organization to deal with environmental issues was the 'International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN)' founded in 1948, an evolutionary organization of UNESCO, to study and assess the environment.

In the 1970s, attention was focused first on the biophysical environment, for example, on issues of wildlife management, soil conservation, water

pollution, land degradation and desertification and people were considered as the root cause of such problems.² In the west, there were two principal schools of thought about the causes of environmental degradation: one school blamed greed and relentless pursuit of economic growth; the other blamed population growth. The 1970s was the foundation decade of modern environmentalism in world. The world of 1972 was very different from that of today. The cold war still divided many of the world's most industrialized nations, the period of colonization had not yet fully ended and although e-mail had just been invented. The personal computer did not exist, global warming had only just been mentioned for the first time.³

June 1972 was the prophetic period in the history of human kind. Between 1 June and 17 June, three separate conferences on the Human Environment were organized at Stockholm. From 1 to 6 June, the Dai Dong Independent Conference met and from 5 to 17 June the official United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (1200 delegates from 113 countries) and its unofficial parallel meeting the Environment Forum, organized by citizen groups, both took place.⁴

The Stockholm Conference established precedent in three major areas. First it established a global environmental monitoring system known as Earth Watch. Secondly; it charted new territory in international environmental negotiation toward the implementation of an international governing organization to develop programmes of environmental education. Thirdly, the unexpected political tensions of 1972 brought an agenda to the Conference not previously anticipated areas. Wade Rowland in his work, 'The Plot To Save The World' in 1973 mentioned that Stockholm Conference indeed was the initial point in history⁵ where political actors, on an official platform such as a UN conference, spoke out against western and specifically American imperialistic aggression and environmental destruction in the war in Vietnam.

Perhaps one of the most insightful works on the conference was written by Peter Stone, Senior Information Officer to the Conference and Maurice Strong, the Secretary General to the Conference. In his 1973 work, "Did we save the Earth at Stockholm?", Stone gives details of Conference proceedings and inside look at the conference preparations. While this work is extremely valuable to the historiography of the conference, however, it does not address the political misconceptions and complexities prevailing after second world war in the form of cold war which had considerable impacts

on the concluding results of the Stockholm Conference and the decades of attempts at organizational formation made prior to the conference. John McCormick's⁶ work 'Reclaiming Paradise' offers a chapter devoted to the Stockholm Conference and the creation of United Nations Environment Programme, however does not fully address political tensions of the day that created unintended political agendas at the conference. Countless other authors of international environmental negotiations offer even short synopses of the conference, but none offers in depth retrospective analysis of both the conference proceedings and the political tensions, surrounding the conference and within the conference.

II. Historical Debates on Environment vs. Development

More than 200 years ago, the first question arose regarding the impact of the evolution of our civilization on the environment and resources of our planet. In 1798, Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), demographer, political economist and country pastor in England wrote, "An Essay On The Principle of Population," in which he predicted that the world's population would eventually starve or, at the least, live at a minimal level of subsistence because food production could not keep pace with the growth of population.⁷ But technological advances since that time have proved him wrong. Through better farming techniques, the invention of new farming equipment, and continuing advances in agricultural sciences, production has increased much more rapidly than population, so much so that in real terms, the price of food is much lower today than it was two hundred years ago, or for that matter, even fifty years ago.⁸ The next wave of Malthusianism was represented by the ideas and prospects presented by the 'Club of Rome'. The results of computer simulations made by MIT techniques were published in the well known books, 'The Limits To Growth' (Meadows, 1972) which focused attention on depletion of non-renewable resources and resulting increases in commodity prices.⁹

Although The environment has always been critical to life but concerns over the balance between human life and the environment assumed international dimensions only during the 1950s. In the years that followed, supportably unconnected pieces of a global jigsaw puzzle began to fit together to reveal a picture of a world with an uncertain future. Paradigm-breaking books and articles such as Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring' (1962)¹⁰ and Garret Hardin's 'The Tragedy of the Commons' (1968)¹¹ galvanized individual countries and the international community into action. At the

end of the 1960s, the voice of environmental concern was heard almost uniquely in the west. In the communist world, the relentless destruction of environment in the name of industrialization continued unabated.

In the developing countries, environmental concerns were recorded as western luxuries and poverty was the worst form of pollution for them.¹² In her opening speech to the conference, Indian Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi eloquently expressed the sharp contrast between rich and poor countries and interpreted the political and ideological differences as “The political and ideological differences dividing man cannot alter the physical fact that our survival and well being are dependent on the way we manage this unitary physical system.”¹³

The UN sponsored its ‘first Scientific Conference on the conservation and utilization of resources in 1949, after its proposal by U.S. President Harry S. Truman. In the 1950s and 1960s, growing public awareness of environmental concerns urged the study of the environment in respect or relation to technological and scientific invention and advancement. In 1962, Rachel Carson’s book, ‘Silent Spring’ warned of the dangers from the use of pesticides. Even as early as the 1950s, the beats began to tout the open spaces of nature as an antidote to the poisonous conformity of suburbia.¹⁴ Youth groups and college campuses organized in the later parts of the 1960s to protest many forms of social injustices, including the neglect of the environment. In the United States, ‘Fortune’ magazine devoted two issues to the environment, which in 1970, were reprinted into a book entitled, ‘Fortune; The Environment : A National Mission for The Seventies.’ In 1972 alone, publications such as the Limits To Growth, ‘A Blueprint for Survival, and only ‘One Earth’ represented popular points of view regarding the consumption of natural resources and recommendations of natural resources stabilization.¹⁵ The Club of Rome, financed by a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation, and led by Aurelio Peccei, first met in April of 1968. In 1970, the group met for two weeks in Cambridge, MA at MIT with Dennis Meadows to discuss a statistical model analysis for analyzing the relationship between industrialized Earth and environmental degradation.¹⁶

The prevailing economic theories failed to respond to the challenges posed by environmental problems. In the nineteenth century, being inspired by new science of the Newtonian universe, new technologies of large scale conquest of nature, and discoveries of nature-rich new lands, the neo-

classicists developed their economies that induced more and more greed and legitimized ruthless self-centrism. This was bound to estrange nature and ethics. It could only capture self-interest-driven continuum, disregarding the aspect of social preferences.¹⁷ The environmental degradations through wastes, desertification, ozone depletion etc. caused irreparable damages to the ecosystems, that is, to the basic renewables. Exhaustion of minerals resources fast approached the limits, implying that the total resource base dwindling, thus consequently deteriorating the composite resource, environment. Thus due to the increasing entropy in course of all this, any hope to regenerate lost resources seemed impossible. This process happened to lead the modern society to the 'Tragedy of the Commons.'¹⁸ (Hardin 1968). A relatively new factor influencing national policies towards industrial research and development reflected, in one sense, the success that research and development had in promoting economic growth. These emerging social and environmental problems had lent themselves particularly well to large spurges of international pontification, over the past many years to the Stockholm Conference.¹⁹

The starting point for the modern consideration of the possibility of global warming from increasing green house gas concentrations began in the mid 1950's, when in most parts of the world growth and development had vastly improved living standards and quality of life largely due to the application of technology and the new technology produced new set of problems concerning environmental stress.²⁰ Increasing oil spillages and pollution, soil erosion, river contamination, desertification and deforestation were among many of the apocalyptic threats to our environment. At the heart of the matter was the world population explosion. Public concerns about the effects of man's activities on the environment increased during the 1960's.²¹ During the late 1960's, the economic optimism and technological determinism was being implicitly rejected and the emphasis during this period was on an alternative concept of space in subordinate. Thus, the environment, the energy, and economy along with technology and space determined the process and nature of development because during the late 1970's, many kinds of obstacle had arisen in the development process: such as rising cost of energy resources, environmental disruption and resources depletion.²² Towards the end of the 1960s considerable concerns began to be expressed in the developed countries about the impact that economic growth was having on their environment. Many of these concerns were brilliantly formulated by E.J. Mishan who enumerated various alleged

shortcomings of economic growth.²³ Similar concerns were later set out in well-known book by Schumacher, E.F., 'Small Is Beautiful' in 1973.²⁴

Scientists also played an important part in sensitizing this issue among the intelligentsia and politics. The decade of 1970s witnessed the publication of some excellent and objective works like Study of Critical Environmental Problems : Man's Impacts on The Global Environment (Popularly known as the SCEPT Report).²⁵ Statements from various quarters attracted the public attentions during the late 1960s and the early 1970s. Paul Ehrlich, who was at the forefront of the environmental movement, asserted in 1968: 'the battle to feed all of the humanity is over. In the 1970s the world will undergo famines – hundreds of millions of people are going to starve to death.'²⁶ Similarly, in 1967, William and Paul Paddock by their book "Famine 1975" tried to alarm the world about the severe consequences of environmental problems in terms of hunger and his idea received wide publicity.²⁷ Two reports on population explosion, resource depletion, and environmental quality that received wide publicity in society and governance in 1972, were 'A Blue Print For Survival' by the journal 'The Ecologist'²⁸ and 'The Limits to Growth'.²⁹ The former polemic was written in Britain, and was signed by several respected scientists. The work of these scientists "The Limit to Growth" was a highly accepted and readable report that attempted to analyze for the first time the complex interactions between population, resources and environment by computer modeling. In so doing, and by ringing the doomsday bell with vigor, about which distinguished environmentalist F. Kenneth Hare observed : 'the environmentalist movement has captured, and occasionally intoxicated, a number of first-class minds.'³⁰ It facilitated the development of an appropriate technology and promotion of a rational use of environmental resources and a new dimension to the environment development syndrome. One of the consequences of this growing concern was the 1972 United Nations World Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm.³¹

Increasing signs all over the world of serious negative environmental side-effects of the rapid development of science and technology, particularly after the second world war, provided the general background for the Swedish initiative. These problems transcended national boundaries and cut across traditional administrative borderlines, thus rapidly rendering obsolete existing national and international institutional mechanisms in the environmental field. The notion of a growing inter-dependence

between the nations, which resulted from these developments, stimulated the emergence of a new concept in world politics – that of the oneness of our planet. Consequently the stage was set for a new kind of international discussion, involving not only considerations of practical measures to deal with these new problems, but also a questioning of traditional values in today's world. The organizations and individuals who had attempted to identify aspects of pollution, had conflicting definitions of pollution and correspondingly conflicting approaches to pollution control repeatedly emerged.³² Infact, even in the advanced countries it was never clear that environmental protection was high on the agenda for the majority of the population, as distinct from the more affluent members of the society. The vast majority of the ordinary working people in the developed countries appreciated only too well the improvements in their living standards that technological advance could bring.³³

This conference evolved the principles and action plan for controlling and regulating the environmental degradation. Besides the principal of fundamental right to live the life of dignity and wellbeing (Principle-2), principle-7 laid the onus on the nations to take steps to prevent pollution of the environment. The United Nations also created the position of special Reporter on human rights and environment, and came out with a report, popularly known as 'Ksentini Report'.³⁴ The report presented a theoretical, thematic, and practical framework thus establishing an important link between human rights and environment. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights recognize 'an inherent right to life' of every human being through the improvement of all aspects of environmental hygiene. Among the International charters related to the Human Rights, the African Charter of Human and People's Right, 1981, in its article 24, recognized the rights of all individuals to a satisfactory environment. Further, in Europe, the Organization of Economic and Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) and the organization of American States, in its 1988 Protocol of San Salvador had all directly or indirectly acknowledged the human rights to a clean development.³⁵

III. Cold War Politics versus the Global Environmental Concerns

The problem of the environment was first mooted as an important and urgent international problem, at international meetings in the late

1950's and early 1960's. In December 1962, the United Nations General Assembly adopted, on the proposal of the Mongolian People's Republic and other Socialist Countries Resolution 1831 (XVII), entitled: "Economic Development and the Conservation of Nature." Among other things, it gave support to the discussions previously adopted by the UN Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC) and also by UNESCO concerning the preservation, restoration, enrichment and rational use of natural resources and the flora and fauna of the world.³⁶ In the spring of 1971, the UN Economic Commission for Europe held a symposium in Prague on the Human Environment. The symposium's work constituted an important stage in preparing the UN Conference on the Human Environment. The initiative for focusing UNs attention on the global environment came from the government of Sweden, which brought the problem to the attention of the UNs Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC) in May 1968.³⁷

A major concern of men in 1970s was the expanding elements of destructiveness in mid-20th century culture. It might well be more than a coincidence that the Secretary-General of the United Nations convened the security council to deal with the problem of air-piracy during the same week in which a U.Ns conference in Stockholm discussed the current ecological menace.³⁸ For many years, the prevailing image of international politics had been that of states and nation states competing, conflicting, and intermittently fighting over questions of national military security during the first half of the twentieth century. But during 1970s, governments appeared increasingly absorbed in enhancing the economic, social and intellectual interactions. Most important, many of international organization started to function effectively to influence the policies of governments and affect the lives and welfare of people in almost every country of the world. Therefore, international interaction via international organizations was rapidly becoming an ever more important feature of the world politics in 1970s.³⁹

The international system had been undergoing a considerable change during the preceding few years of Stockholm Conference and a period of transition was not yet finished. In the first place, clearly one of the most (if not the most) important sources of change was the Sino-Soviet conflict. The dispute, whose origin go back to the 1950s, became apparent to the world in 1963. The Soviet Union was steadily seeking to outflank the west in the third world; the weapons of the conflict were largely ideological.

Vietnam played only a minor part in this process.⁴⁰ The year 1972 was also not uneventful in the realm of international politics. U.S. President Nixon made unprecedented international visits to China in February of 1972 and the USSR in May of 1972. Britain took direct rule over northern Ireland, the start of the Watergate scandal erupted during the Stockholm Conference, eleven Israeli athletes were killed in an Arab terrorist bombing of the Olympic games, and a Christmas bombing of North Vietnam unsettled the already tense international political arena. These current political tensions when combined with old tensions between nations associated with colonialism and imperialism served to complicate the environmental politics of negotiating control over land and resource use.

The Stockholm Conference's capstone document, "The Declaration on The Human, Environment," however notes a nation's 'sovereign right' to exploit natural resources at the nation's own prerogative.⁴¹ But an issue of grave concern to the conference preparatory meeting was the cold war disputes over East Germany. Even in the spirit of international cooperation, the politics of the cold war took clouded the conference atmosphere because the U.Ns General Assembly decided in 1971 on the proposal by USA and Great Britain to limit the attendance to the conference to only members of the UN or its agencies only to restrict the entry of the East Germany to the Conference; and strengthen the position of West Germany, as a member of WHO and UNESCO, to attend the Conference. This was significant blow to the Conference preparation for two reasons – first, the Soviet Union, until that point, contributed greatly to the preparations for the Conference. Their national environmental reports and documents were important to adequate global analysis of the environment. Secondly, it meant that Soviet Union's allies – Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia – were expected to join the Russian boycott.⁴² But the UNs did not expect the Soviet to pull out of the conference, for they made significant progress towards the environmental protection and negotiation in the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, when president Nixon visited Moscow in May, an environmental agreement was negotiated with United States. The Soviet Union also engaged in a programme of controlling their own pollution with programme "ranging from costly water-purification project to the recultivation of land ravaged by strip mining."⁴³

References

1. Christopher, C. Joyner . *The United Nations And International Law* (New York, Cambridge, 1997), p. 289.
2. Europe declared 1970 as the year of Conservation. In 1963, the first 'Countryside in 1970' Conference was organised in London and for the first time the full extent and seriousness of the situation became apparent. The basic concept of the Conference was that it must be a concerted effort to make the right choices in improving the quality of the environment and creative surroundings that satisfy man's present and future needs. Europe declared 1970 as the year of conservation. the situation became apparent. The basic concept of the Conference was that it must be a concerted effort to make the right choices in improving the quality of the environment and creative surroundings that satisfy man's present and future needs. Europe declared 1970 as the year of conservation.
3. SCEP. *Man's Impact on The Global Environment Study of Critical Environment Problems*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1970), MIT Press.
4. Knelman, F.H. ' What Happened at Stockholm', *East politics* vol. 28 (1): 1972-73, p. 1.
5. For McCormick, the environmental movement's painful teen years ended at the UN. Stockholm Conference, 1972, where it became a responsible, mature, global movement capable of working patiently through international institutions.
6. Rogers Peter, Jalal K., Boyd J. (2008); *An Introduction To Sustainable Development* (London:2008) Earthscan, , p. 20.
7. Baumol, William Litan, R. Schramm, C., *Good Capitalism, Bad Capitalism, And The Economics of Growth and Prosperity* (New Haven & London:2007) Yale University Press, p. 17.
8. Meadows, Donella '*The Limits To Growth*' (New York Signet:1972) In April 1968, a small international group of professionals from the field of diplomacy, industry, academia and civil society met in Rome to discuss the dilemma of prevailing short term thinking in international affairs and, in particular, the concerns regarding unlimited resource consumption in an increasingly interdependent world. In 1972, the campaigning of this growing group of like-minded individuals gained a new world-wide reputation with the first report to the club of Rome: "The Limits to Growth."
9. Carson, Rachel. Writer, Scientist, and Ecologist grew up simply in the rural river town of Springdale, Pennsylvania. Disturbed by the profligate use of synthetic chemical pesticides, after world war II, Carson reluctantly changed

her focus in order to warn the public about the long term effects of misusing pesticides.

10. Throughout this book Hardin mentions that as population grow and as their need increased, they tend to over-use commons leading to tragedy. In primitive societies; land gets over-grazed, trees get chopped down till the hills are bare and wells are drained until they run dry.
11. Strong, M. (1999); 'Hunger, Poverty, Population And Environment.' The Hunger Project Millennium Lecture, 7 April 1999, Madras, India. See <http://www.thp.org/reports/strong499.htm>.
12. Strong, M.F. *One Year After Stockholm*, 1973.
13. Ramee, Adam, 'Give Earth A Chance : The Environmental Movement And The Sixties', *Journal of American History*, 90(2) Sept. 2003, p. 543.
14. "Struggling Against The Doomsday Timetable," *New York Times*, June 11, 1972, E. 7.
15. Rowland, Wade . *The Plot to Save The World: The Life and Times of The Stockholm Conference on The Environment* (Toronto:1973) Clark, Irwin & Company Limited.
16. Fehr, E., U. Fischbacher 'Why Social Preferences Matter – The Impact of Non-Selfish Motives on Competition, Cooperation and Incentives,' *Economic Journal*, Vol.112, No. 478, 2002.
17. Bose, Deb Kumar *Essays in Environmental Economics: A Review* (Kolkata:2004) K.P. Bagchi & Co; *Social Scientist*, Vol. 34 (3-4), March-April 2006, p. 106.
18. Pavitt, Keith, *World Politics*, Vol.25, No.2, 1972-73. p. 199.
19. Key Note Address of Rowland, F. Sherwood in Delhi Sustainable Development Summit, 2004.
20. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 2 (1), January 1980, p. 131.
21. *Third Concept*, January 1992; pp. 40-41.
22. Mishan, E.J., *The Cost of Economic Growth* (London:1967) Staples Press, First published in 1967, E.J. Mishra's critique of our growth driven economy was a forerunner of the new economic approach associated E.F. Schumacher and Herman Daly. The key principle of 'The Costs of Economic Growth' is that expanding population, technology and affluence have unintentional 'spillover' effects on social costs.
23. In his book Schumacher argues that the modern economy is unsustainable and nature's resistance to pollution is limited as well. He concluded that government effort must be concentrated on sustainable development, because

relatively minor improvements, for example, technology transfer to third world countries, will not solve the underlying problem of an unsustainable economy.

24. SCEP (Cambridge:1970) Mass : MIT Press.
25. Ehrlich, P., *The Population Bomb* (New York:1968) Ballantine Books. Quoted in *Environment And Sustained Development in the Third World: A Review of the Past Decade* by Margaret R Biswas and Asit K. Biswas; *Journal of Third World Quarterly*, June 1982.
26. Paddock, William and Paul, *Famine 1975* (Boston:1967) Little Brown & Co. The brothers described the rapidly growing population of the world, and a situation in which they believed it would be impossible to feed the entire global population within the short term future. They believed that widespread famine would be the inevitable result by 1975.
27. 'Blue Print for Survival', *The Ecologist*, Vol. 2 (1) 1972, pp. 1-43.
28. Meadows, D.H., Meadows, D.L., Randers, J. and Behrens, W.W., *The Limits to Growth* (New York:1972) Basic Books. The political systems we generally term 'developed' have adapted to, created or borrowed high levels of technological organization which have given them enormous powers to alter the political conditions of life.
29. Hare, F.K. 'The Planetary Environment : Fragile or Sturdy ?' *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 146, No. 3, 1980, pp. 379-95.
30. Singh, R.B., *Studies In Environment And Development* (New Delhi:1988) Commonwealth Publication, p. 298. One of the major factors behind the Stockholm Conference was the development of a substantial and popular environmental movements in the mid-1960s in the Western Industrial countries, especially in North America. Numerous citizen's groups and non-governmental organizations continually focused the attention of the public and politicians on environmental problems.
31. Hump stone Charles Cheney 'Pollution: Precedent And Prospect.' *Journal of Foreign Affairs*, 1972 p. 325.
32. Beckerman, Wilfred, *Economic Growth And The Environment : Whose Growth ? Whose Environment ?*, *Journal of World Development*, Vol. 20, No.4, 1992 , p. 481.
33. Earth justice (INGO) was founded in 1971 and had consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. Earth justice's International Programme uses the power of the law to protect the environment and human health worldwide. In July 1994, Ms. Fatma Zohra Ksentini, Special Reporter on Human Rights and the Environment for the UNs sub-commission on

Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities issued her final report to the Sub-Commission.

34. Gullapalli, Sailaja, 'Environmental Rights, Values and Duties', *World Focus*, Sep. 2009, p. 390.
35. Feraru, Anne Thompson, 'International Political Interests and the Global Environment.' *International Organization*, Vol. 28 (1), 1974, p. 48. An international conference of experts on the rational use and protection of the resources of the biosphere, held in Paris in September 1968, under UNESCO auspices, suggested that the UN General Assembly should work out against a general declaration on the protection and improvement of the Environment.
36. Feraru, Anne Thompson, Transnational Political Interests And The Global Environment. *International Organization*; Vol. 28 (1), 1974, p. 31. The preparatory committee held four sessions, each lasting about ten days in 1970-72.
37. Segre, D.V. & Adler, J.H., "The Ecology of Terrorism", *Encounter*, Vol. XL, No.2, Feb. 1972, p. 17.
38. Donald, J. Puchala & Stuart, I. Fagan, 'Transnational Political Interests And The Global Environment', *International Organization*, Vol.28 (1), 1974 pp. 248-51.
39. Buchan, Alastair, 'Vietnam, Reasons and Rationales' *Encounter*, Vol. XL, No.5, 1973, pp. 30-31.
40. <http://www.unep.org/document/default>.
41. Rowland, Wade, *op.cit.* 1973, pp. 37-47.
42. Shabad, Theodore, "Soviet Stressing Pollution Curbs," *New York Times*, June 11, 1972. USSR had the big contribution in the economic and social development of many less developed countries (LCDs) by means of economic cooperative agreements and social development assistance of the Middle-East, South America and Africa between 1954 and the time of Stockholm Conference.
43. Donald, J. Puchala and Stuart I. Fagan, 'International Politics in the 1970s : The Search for a Perspective', *International Organization*, Vol.28, No.2, 1974, p. 256.

to be concluded in the next issue of the Journal, Vol. 4, Oct.-Dec. 2012

15

**Historiographical Works in Early Medieval
India (7th to 9th Century)**

Dr. Rinku Singh¹

There are many sources to study medieval Indian history, but the most prominent source is the literary sources of medieval India. We have a continuous chronological record of the major events of medieval India available in a series of works ranging from the seventh to the ninth century, and covering both dynasties and regions. There are a number of authentic historical works on the conquest of Sind by Muhammad bin Qasim and on the invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni and Muhammad Ghauri. With the establishment of Muslim rule in India official and non-official chroniclers produced works covering all the dynasties of the Central Sultanate of Delhi (C. 1200-1526) as well as the dynasties of the various Muslim kingdoms that arose on the ashes of the Sultanate. Most of these literary works were written in Persian language.

Muslim historical traditions first began developing earlier from the 7th century with the reconstruction of Muhammad's life in the centuries following his death. Due to numerous conflicting narratives regarding Muhammad and his companions from various sources, it was necessary to verify which sources were more reliable. In order to evaluate these sources, various methodologies were developed, such as the "science of biography", "science of hadith" and "Isnad" (chain of transmission). These methodologies were later applied to other historical figures in the Muslim world. When Islam appeared on the scene, historical consciousness became inherent in the faith. The Turks and later on the Mughals who came to India as the conquerors were quite familiar with the art of writing. With the rise of Islam Muslims had developed the tradition of history writing, for which religious

as well as social cause were responsible. In pre Islamic time the Arabs were very keen in writing of their genealogies (Ansab). Later on we find the same passion for writing genealogies in Muslims.²

We also can see the Persian influence on the medieval historical literature. There is no dearth of Muslim historical works on medieval India. Muslims have been prolific writers of history. The historical literature produced under Arabic inspiration or Persian tradition was replete with religious fervor and Islamic historiography has remained clerical in nature. The life and teachings of Muhammad, the expansion of Islam under the Caliphs and later achievements of Islam remained the principal contents of Sirah (biographies), Ansab (genealogies), Tabaqat (sketches), Malfuzat (memoirs), Maktubats (letters) and Maghazi (narratives of war and conquest).

It has always been a matter of conflict between modern historians that the Hindus in ancient India were not so good in history writing as compare to the Muslims in middle age. Dr. Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan succinctly puts it: "The West tried its best to persuade India that its philosophy is absurd, its art puerile, its poetry uninspired, its religion grotesque and its ethics barbarous".³

It is true that in ancient India or in hindu age the tradition of writing history in chronological order was not so developed, in this context we all are familiar with the remarks maid by middle Asian writer Al-beruni (writer of *Tehkikat-e-hind*) on Hindus that they(Hindus) were not familiar with the art of history writing. Professor R.C. Majumdar, a noted Indian historian has said that "... although it is difficult to accept, the Indians totally lacked the historical sense". The ancient Indians made great inroads into astronomy, physics, mathematics, all kinds of literature and arts but never seriously took to documenting their history and their indifference has cost their posterity very dearly.⁴

Pre-Islamic traditions of writings were in the form of Qasidas or odes and genealogies.

Though it is true that the first historical book on India was written after the 12th century A.D. (Kalhana's *Rajtarangini* recording the history of 7th-12th century Kashmir) yet it will be blasphemous to say that books were not authored in ancient India. Professor D.P.Singhal asserts that, contrary to the general belief, Indians in ancient times did not neglect the

important discipline of historiography. On the contrary, they were good writers of history. He states: "Ancient India did not produce a Thucydides, but there is considerable evidence to suggest that every important Hindu court maintained archives and genealogies of its rulers. And Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, written in twelfth century Kashmir, is a remarkable piece of historical literature. Despite his lapses into myths and legends, Kalhana had an unbiased approach to historical facts and history writing. He held that a true historian, while recounting the events of the past, must discard love (*raga*) and hatred (*dvesha*). Indeed, his well-developed concept of history and the technique of historical investigation have given rise to some speculation that there existed at the time a powerful tradition of historiography in which Kalhana must have received his training."⁵

But if that is true then why classical Hindu writers always blamed for not being good writers as compare to Muslims in medieval age. In this regard, James Todd, the famous author of the monumental classic *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, said :

- a. That ardent Hindus were good historiographers.
- b. That medieval times were not propitious for them for writing history; and
- c. That much of the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist literature was destroyed by Muslim invaders and rulers.⁶

Is it to be imagined that a nation so highly civilized as the Hindus, amongst whom the exact sciences flourished in perfection, by whom the fine arts, architecture, sculpture, poetry, music, were not only cultivated, but taught and defined by the nicest and most elaborate rules, were totally unacquainted with the simple art of recording the events of their history, the character of their princes and the acts of their reigns?" The fact appears to be that "After eight centuries of galling subjection to conquerors totally ignorant of the classical language of the Hindus; after every capital city had been repeatedly stormed and sacked by barbarous, bigoted, and exasperated foes; it is too much to expect that the literature of the country should not have sustained, in common with other interests, irretrievable losses."⁷

Despite all these unfavorable conditions, the early medieval period witnessed a further flowering of Indian historical tradition. Several historical works such as Bana Bhatta's *Harsha-Charita*, Bilhana's *Vikramankdeva-Charita*, and Jayanaka's *Prithviraja-Vijaya*, etc., were written in this period by historians mostly attached to royal courts.⁸

Persons of royal blood too, even if rarely, distinguished themselves as a historian. Somesvar III Bhulokamalla, the son and successor of Vikramaditya VI of the Chalukya dynasty of Kalyani, is an example. Known mainly for his famous work *Manasollasa*, he had also written a biography of his father entitled *Vikramankabhyudaya*.

The Indian historical tradition, thus, continued to develop and proliferate unabated during several millennia from its beginnings in Rigvedic times down to the end of the medieval period. As a result, such a rich and huge mass of historical literature came into existence that one could not possibly adequately describe it without classifying it into some sort of categories. Attempts have been made to classify it according to its sources (like Vedic, Buddhist and Jain) or in accordance with its chronology and provenance. However, all such efforts present difficulties for Indian historical tradition is one-piece, a 'whole' that can not be segmented into parts.

References

1. UP Autonomous PG College, Varanasi, UP.
2. Ahmad, Imtiyaj, *History of medieval India*, general book agency, Patna, p. 1.
3. India-forum.com discussions. international conference on Indian history, p-4 downloaded on 14 Jan 11.
4. www.kamat.com downloaded on 15 Jan 11.
5. Singhal, D.P. 'Battle for the Past' in *Problems of Indian Historiography*, Proceedings of the Indian History and Culture Society, Ed. Devahuti, D.K. Publishers, Delhi 1979.
6. James Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Routledge and Kegan Paul (London, 1829, 1957), 2 vols., I, Introduction, pp. xiv-xv.
7. Ibid., pp. xiv.
8. Minhaj, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, I, p. 552.

16

Maharaja Gulab Singh: The Founder of Jammu and Kashmir State

Annu Bala

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was created by the treaty of Amritsar which was signed on 16th March, 1846. Till 1846, Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh were separate and distinct areas under different rulers. They were for the first time united in a single political entity by Maharaja Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput of Jammu in 1846 A.D. Maharaja Gulab Singh is the only ruler in India's long history who could be said to have extended the geographical boundaries of India..... No previous Indian ruler, not even Samundra Gupta or Akbar, had even dreamt of invading Tibet.¹

Gulab Singh was descendent of Raja Dhruv Dev, son of Kishore Singh. He was born on 21st October 1792 A.D.²

Gulab Singh was an able and competent person. He rose from an ordinary soldier to the position of king of Jammu and Kashmir by his military and diplomatic skills.³ Gulab Singh came into limelight in the first Dogra-Sikh war or Battle of Gumat in 1808-1809 A.D. at the tender age of 16 years.⁴

At that time Jammu was ruled by Raja Ajit Singh, the son of Dulel Singh. He was an incompetent man and his Rani was an ambitious and intriguing woman. She took the management of affairs in her own hands.⁵ Meanwhile there was a dispute for the succession among the three sons of Kishore Singh viz. Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh and Suchet Singh. This dispute gave the Sikh Durbar of Lahore an opportunity to turn Jammu into a dependency.⁶ So Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Punjab ordered Bhai Hukam Singh, his able Lieutenant, to march on to Jammu and annex it to the Sikh state. The Battle of Gumat was fought between Dogra-Sikh army in 1808-1809 A.D. in which Gulab Singh led a band of young Dogra fighters in last desperate bid to save Jammu. He fought and proved his mettle by smashing many warriors of the enemy and made them withdraw. Bhai Hukam Singh Chimney, the Commander of the Sikh Army apprised Maharaja Ranjit Singh of valour and

ability of Gulab Singh and recommended that his talent be utilized in the Lahore Darbar.⁷

He was summoned by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Mian Mota presented him before the Maharaja at Sialkot in October, 1810. Impressed Maharaja appointed him cavalryman when he was only 18. Gulab Singh's heroic feats in the battle of Gumat led him to the Lordship of Jammu and Kashmir via Lahore.

Gulab Singh's father Mian Kishore Singh and Brothers Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh were also employed and given important positions in Lahore Darbar. The subsequent history of these principalities and their unification is the story of the career of Raja Gulab Singh.⁸

Maharaja Ranjit Singh led several expeditions for territorial expansion and in these expeditions Gulab Singh distinguished himself as a military leader and fearless warrior. Gulab Singh played important role in the Conquest of Attock in 1813 on behalf of Lahore Darbar. He along with Mahakam Chand defeated Wazir Fateh Khan at Haidru near Attock fort on 12th July, 1813 A.D.⁹ After this victory Maharaja Ranjit Singh rewarded Gulab Singh with the command of 200 horsemen and few Jagirs near Jammu. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was greatly pleased with Gulab Singh's achievement and gave him Jagirs of Kharoti and Beyol and promoted him to the command of cavalry sub unit.¹⁰

In 1815 A.D. at the siege of Jalandhar he showed feats of valour and dauntlessness at the fort of Garhdamala in Jalandhar Doab. At this victory Gulab Singh got additional Jagirs of Lala Chobara in the Sialkot district and Ram Nagar near Samba.¹¹ In April, 1815 at the siege of Multan, Gulab Singh's personal bravery in recovering the dead body of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's favourite Sirdar won him praise and admiration from his master.¹²

In 1815 Gulab Singh had taken Jagir of Reasi from Mian Dewan Singh who was the mortal enemy of Gulab Singh and was one of the Prime movers in the Murder of Mian Mota. Gulab Singh suppressed the revolt and built fort at Bhingarh and placed under Wazir Zorawar Kalhoria, a trusted soldier of Gulab Singh.¹³ Gulab Singh accompanied by Birbal Dhillon also participated in the Sikh expedition of 1819 against Kashmir. Sikh army defeated Kashmir forces under Jabar Khan who fled across the mountains towards the Indus leaving the valley to be occupied without further opposition by the victorious army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.¹⁴

Thus in the frontier campaign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh between 1815 to 1820 Gulab Singh played a prominent role. One such intrepid Chief was Mian Dido of Jugti (Nagrota) who had terrorized Sikh forces in Jammu. So Maharaja Ranjit Singh asked Gulab Singh to bring him down and promised Jammu in Jagir if he succeeded in his mission. By a strategy, he cut off Dido's supplies and finally drove him to the peak of Trikuta hills where he was surrounded by Gulab Singh's soldiers who shot him dead.¹⁵

This act of great military and wise strategy convinced Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Gulab Singh being the fittest man to pacify the unruly and difficult province of Jammu. Thus pleased with the service of three brothers, Maharaja Ranjit Singh on 30th November, 1820 A.D. conferred the principality of Jammu on Gulab Singh, with the hereditary title of Raja.¹⁶ He conquered Ladakh and Baltistan between 1835 and 1840. As early as 1831, M. Jocquemont, a French traveller, had written of Raja Gulab Singh, "After Ranjit Singh, he is the greatest lord in the Punjab".¹⁷

In 1821, Raja Gulab Singh captured the strong fort of Rehlu Basohli.¹⁸ In the same year he conquered Kishtwar more by diplomacy than by the strength of arms. Raja Gulab Singh created dissensions between Raja Tej Singh of Kishtwar and his wazir Lakhpat. The later escaped to Bhaderwah and Raja Gulab Singh conquered Kishtwar with ease.¹⁹

Raja Gulab Singh succeeded in defeating Raja of Rajouri and took Bhimber and Rajouri from him.²⁰ Raja Gulab Singh accompanied Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Mankera and Dera Ismail Khan and conquered these in November 1821 A.D.²¹

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was so elated with the latest territorial acquisitions in the hills that he decided to place Jammu solely under the charge of Raja Gulab Singh. The Sikh ruler personally came to Akhnoor, Jammu.²² The trumpet sounded and the men cried 'Raja Gulab Singh ki Jai' and Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself applied Raj Tilak to Gulab Singh on 17th June 1822 at Jia Pota, Akhnoor and made him Raja of Jammu.²³

Once installed at Jammu, Raja Gulab Singh Preferred to spend most of time there, using the Sikh means to extend his own authority over his Rajput brothers and to conquer frontier regions. The annexation of Kishtwar principality opened gateway to Raja Gulab Singh's further conquests across the inner Himalayas.²⁴

Conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan

To get control over the trade of Pashmina shawls Raja Gulab Singh had his eyes on Kashmir and Ladakh. He made a confidential enquiry from the East India Company and on being informed that the British government had no objection to his expedition, a force of 800 soldiers was sent under Zorawar Singh to conquer Ladakh in 1834 A.D. and defeated them. Dogras were pursued up to Leh where King Gyalpo requested a British traveller, Henderson, to intervene on his behalf and secure for him aid from British. But a sharp protest by Maharaja Ranjit Singh to the British resulted in their total refusal of any aid to the Ladakhi King, who submitted, agreeing to pay war indemnity of Rs. 50,000/- and yearly tribute of Rs. 20,000/- to the Dogra Chief.²⁵

In 1844 General Zorawar Singh marched towards Baltistan with the help of one of the sons of the ruler of Baltistan. He conquered two provinces of Rudok and

Gar. Then advanced into the Districts of Mansarowar where faced no opposition. His army consisted of Baltis, Ladakhis and Dogra forces.²⁶

In 1842 Raja Gulab Singh sent forces of 6000 troops under the command of Diwan Hari Chand and Wazir Ratnu to recover Ladakh, which had been re-occupied by Tibetan forces after the defeat of Zorawar Singh. Raja Gulab Singh came personally to direct the operations and established his headquarters at Nasim Bagh near Srinagar.²⁷ Raja Gulab Singh for a long cast covetous eyes on the valley and after wards his sole aim was to acquire Kashmir valley and thus become the ruler of a consolidated state on the frontier of India.²⁸

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839, Raja Gulab Singh was one of the most important figures in the Punjab. In 1841, the British Army suffered reverses in Afghanistan and Raja Gulab Singh was deputed to help them.²⁹

In 1845 Daleep Singh the five year old son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh became ruler of Sikh state and his mother Rani Jindan a very ambitious queen of Lahore became his regent. In November, 1845, war broke out between Sikhs and British at Sabroan, but Raja Gulab Singh did not want to help Sikhs because he knew that his brothers and nephew were assassinated by Sikhs.³⁰ He also wanted to “earn the gratitude of the British diplomats. In this battle Gulab Singh appeared as useful mediator and trusted advisor of Sir Henry Lawrence. British Government demanded a war indemnity of Rs. One and a half crore. The British Government knew that the Sikh Durbar was not in a position to pay so much and was not disposed to enforce payment, the object was to weaken the Sikh Durbar, which was a constant menace. The plan was that “If the Sikh Durbar offer Kashmir instead of the payment of one and a half million, to accept the offer and transfer Kashmir to Gulab Singh in Payment of the compensation necessary”.³¹

Here Britishers acted diplomatically, they realised that his army was intact and it would again become a danger for Britishers. Therefore they tried to dissociate Raja Gulab Singh from Sikhs.³² So Lord Harding wrote to Lord Ripon, “A Rajput state independent of the Sikh on the right flank of our Beas frontier would strengthen us and weaken the Sikh and this consider most desirable”. True to the British expectations, the Sikh Durbar offered to cede the territories between the River Beas and Sutlej in lieu of one Crore of Rupees and the British Government accepted this offer readily.³³

On 9th March, 1846 was concluded the “Treaty of Lahore” between the British and Raja Daleep Singh of Lahore. It was provided in this treaty that “In consideration of the services rendered by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, to the Lahore state towards procuring the restoration of the relations of amity between the Lahore and British Government, the Maharaja Daleep Singh hereby agrees to recognise the independent sovereignty of Raja Gulab Singh in such territories and districts in the hills as may be made over to the said Raja Gulab Singh by separate agreement between himself and the British Government”.³⁴

Another treaty was concluded between Raja Gulab Singh and the British Government on 16th march, 1846 at Amritsar. By this treaty, the British Government made over to Raja Gulab Singh the state of Jammu and Kashmir. According to Article I of the Treaty, Kashmir was made "for ever and independent possession to Maharaja Gulab Singh and the male heirs of his body". Article III states, in consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of 75 Lakh of rupees (Nanakshai), 50 lakh to be paid on the ratification of this treaty and 25 Lakh on or before the 1st October, 1846.³⁵ According to Article IV the limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

The Treaty of Amritsar gave Gulab Singh the title deeds of Kashmir, but actual possession had yet to be taken. Raja Gulab Singh still had to defeat the Sikh Governor, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din who was unwilling to surrender the province. With the help of a small force sent by the East India Company, Raja Gulab Singh was able to get the possession of the Kashmir on November 9th, 1846.³⁶

Thus came into existence the vast state of Jammu and Kashmir under the direct rule of Maharaja Gulab Singh. Maharaja Gulab Singh's tenure was small of ten years i.e. 1846-1856 and in this small period he had to consolidate his rule as well as to satisfy the Britishers. In spite of this he took every measure to improve the conditions of his subjects.

The greatness of Maharaja lay in his superb statesmanship coupled with deep foresight that enabled him to use every opportunity to the best of its advantage when that knocked at his door. He thus gave India a state of composite religions and cultures of three distinct regions i.e. Ladakh, Kashmir and Jammu, interdependent on each other for their socio-economic growth. The unity of Jammu and Kashmir is a source of secular strength of India.

References

1. Wakhlu, Somnath, Hari Singh The Maharaja, The Man, The Times: A Biography of Maharaja Hari Singh of Jammu and Kashmir state (1895-1961), National Publishing House, New Delhi, 2004, p. 12.
2. Kapur, M.L., History of Jammu and Kashmir, vol. I, Making of J&K State under Maharaja Gulab Singh, Jammu, 1993 p. 35.
3. Wakhlu, Somnath, op. cit., p. 18.
4. Kapur, M.L. op. cit., pp. 23&24.
5. Pannikar, K.M., The Founding of the Kashmir State, (A Biography of Maharaja Gulab Singh 1792-1858), London, 1953, p. 15.

6. Anand, A.S., *The Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir its Development and comments*, universal law publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2010 (6th edn.), p. 5.
7. Wakhlu, Somnath, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
8. *A Handbook of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Publicity Department, J&K State, 3rd Edn., Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1947, p. 19.
9. Kapur, M.L., *op.cit.*, p. 36.
10. Pannikar, K.M., *op. cit.*, p. 13.
11. Kapur, M.L., *op. cit.*, p. 37.
12. Bamzai, P.N.K., *A history of Kashmir*, Metropolitan, Delhi, 1973, p. 642.
13. Pannikar, K.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 24&25.
14. Latif, Syed Mohammed, *Maharaja Ranjit Singh Punjab's man of Destiny*, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 93&94.
15. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 643.
16. Anand, A.S., *op. cit.*, p. 5.
17. *A Handbook of Jammu and Kashmir State*, Publicity Department, J&K State, 3rd Edn., Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1947, p. 19.
18. Bawa, Satinder Singh, *The Jammu fox, A Biography of maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, 1792-1857*, Southern Illinois University Press, London, 1973, p. 9.
19. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 643.
20. Pannikar, K.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 30&31.
21. Latif, Syed Mohammed, *op. cit.*, p. 102.
22. Bawa, Satinder Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
23. Pannikar, K.M., *op. cit.*, p. 32.
24. Bamzai, P.N.K., *Culture and Political History of Kashmir, Volume 3, Modern Kashmir*, MD Publication Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1994, p. 658.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 658-659.
26. Pannikar, K.M., *op. cit.*, pp. 80&81.
27. Kapur, M.L., *op. cit.*, pp. 62&63.
28. Bamzai, P.N.K., *op. cit.*, p. 661.
29. *Annual Administration Report of the Jammu and Kashmir State for the Year 1937-38*, State Archives Jammu, Ranbir Press, Jammu, 1939, p. 14.

30. Anand, A.S., op. cit., p. 6.
31. Bamzai, P.N.K., op. cit., p. 665.
32. Anand, A.S., op. cit., pp. 6&7.
33. Bamzai, P.N.K., op. cit., p. 665.
34. Anand, A.S., op. cit., p. 7.
35. Pannikar, K.M., op. cit., p. 99.
36. Diwan Kirpa Ram, Gulabnama, A History of Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, translated from Persian and Annotated by Charak, Sukhdev Singh and Billawaria, Anita Charak, Srinagar, 2005, pp. 21&22.

17

Classification of Agricultural Land and Crops During Keladi Period

Dr. Gangamma H.A.

Keladi Nayaka's ruled from 1500 to 1763 as feudatories of Vijayanagara empire of Karnataka. Their administration can be classified into three different regions Malnad, Coastal, Plain area. Because of three different geographical background different crops were growing. This article concentrates to express, Keladi in the region of Nayaka's agricultural land crops.

In the agrarian system, Keladi Nayaka's took system of agriculture existed in their previous administration. Later on they improvise their own. Keladi Nayaka's inscription reveals classification and measurement of land in their rule. We can examine improvisation, geographical environment and Keladi rulers and their contemporary rulers inscription which gives description of agricultural crops can be examine. Agricultural crops, classification of land, different types of crops can be discussed here.

Keladi Nayaka's inscription gives information about different classification and measurement of Agricultural land was divided into wet land, dry land and horticultural land. Along with that, land holders have given different names and four boundaries are clearly identified.¹

The land cultivated Paddy at Malnad region is called wet land. Those wet lands were differently divided for example, Makki Gadde² (Makki wet land), Bayalu Gadde³ (plain wet land), Mala Gadde⁴ (mala wet land), Mavina Gadde⁵ (mango wet land) etc. names were given Bayalu gadde means land was evenly distributed, land which is high region is called mala Gadde (mala wet land), in down region also known as Makki Gadde (Makki wet land). Instead of this in order to recognize the wet land it was identified through the name of the owners or that area or even the name of classification. For example Ane Gadde⁶, Bandari Gadde⁷, Arasa Gadde⁸, Kanthanada Gadde⁹, Mavina Gadde¹⁰, Talemakki Gadde¹¹, Kallu Gadde¹², Mamule Gadde¹³, Totada Gadde¹⁴, Hagami Gadde¹⁵, Taggina Gadde¹⁶, Bidaru Gadde¹⁷. Like wise different names have given in the inscriptions.

After these wet fields, what we find in inscription are another classification, Beddalu¹⁸ (dry land). It means agriculture land cultivated in rainy season it mean dry land. This was also called as Kandaramb¹⁹. Land which get irrigation facility is called Nirarambra. Generally in dry land Ragi, jowar etc. crops and food grains were cultivated. This kind of cultivation was found in the Malnad region and plain land.

Horticulture in this time how was its condition can be traced out through; references in inscription, through the sources of literature and through the Travellers who have written narratives, we can learn. Flower Thota (gardens) or 'Tudike' or horticulture specially temples and garden pertaining to the city is referred in the inscription. Those gardens are glorified in the inscription. Jasmine, Nagamallige, Paper flower, Suragi, Padari, Gorsige etc. flowers were growing in the flower garden. Flowers were used for pooja at temples and houses not only that it was the part of their social life. Both men and women decorated long hair locks with flowers. Rich people were using Jasmine garlands wearing surrounding their neck. Vijayanagara and Srirangapattanam capitals have description of flower renders streets.

Fruit gardens have been cultivated mango, Jack fruit, Jamun, Orange, grapes etc. Fruits were grown. We can find evidences in the inscription travellers who visited Vijayanagara kingdom have told that, not only besides the road which connected kingdom to west coast, even surrounding the kingdom these gardens were found, "you would find mangroves at the distance of two three miles". Outside the towns, and villages mango, jackfruit, tamarind other huge trees grounds were found. Those trees because the shelters to the traders who have trade relations with wider areas. Domingo Pae is one of the traveler who walked on such a road expressed his views.

In the garden beetlenut, coconut and beetle leaves was growing. Inscriptions and literary sources reveals about flower gardens and beetle nut gardens. Keladi kings encouraged beetle nut plantation. All travellers who had visited Karnataka expressed their views regarding tender coconut and multiple use of coconut tree, "coconut tree is most profitable and helpful tree we cannot find other trees as coconut tree" Ceaser Fedrick (1567) a Italian traveller expressed his views. Barbosa authentically explained that, among the exporting things, products of coconut trees were included. Beetle leaves gardens were common, beetle leaves Marballi becomes today's Huballi. Ele Siruvar today's Ele Siruru etc. places names came to those villages only because of beetle leaves. Ibn Battuta expressed that sugar cane field was extended from Barkur to western coast. According to 1156 inscription, Elephants were completely destroyed sugarcane crop at that region. Vegetables are grown in small gardens and wet land. Ibn Battuta said, in every house had a garden in each house of northern coastal area. Hilly region and coastal regions were mainly

grown cardamom and black pepper in higher quantity. The Portuguese circles have informed that, Kannada coastal have grown excellent qualities of black pepper than Malabar region. Portuguese called Gerosoppe's Queen as "Queen of black pepper" because her kingdom was exporting huge quantities of black pepper to them. Ginger, turmeric, tamarind and other spices were exported in those days. Because of that reason they made gardens"²⁰.

In hilly region and coastal areas, garden was mainly classified. Beetle nut was the main crop. Keladi inscriptions gives enormous number of details regarding beetle nut gardens which were shining in those days. Paddy was food crop and beetle was commercial crops. When the details of beetle garden were given, even the number of trees was also given because one can imagine the area of the garden through the number of trees. Including that, yield of the beetle garden and from that yield tax is paid to the government is known through that. Shivappanayaka granted his own taxation system to the beetle gardens of his region. Fruits and beetle leaves were also grown simultaneously in the beetle gardens. The horticulture crops like beetle nut tree, other trees mainly coconut tree have reference in inscription.

Keladi state had Paddy, Beetle nut, pepper, beetle leaves and plants were grown hugely. Instead of this honey in the forest²¹, honey wax²², soapnet was extracted from the forest. In agricultural system owner of the land nominated some tenants²³, many inscriptions reveals that. This indirectly suggest that beetle nut, Pepper, beetle leaves, honey and other agricultural yields are commercial crops, because further those crops were valued against money.

In Keladi state's hilly region beetle was the main cultivation. It was utilized goods hence excess tax was levied on beetle nut.

Likewise, land classification and crops depend on that land can be seen in the rule of Keladi Kings.

References

1. South Indian Inscription Part -7 No 321 - S.I.I., Part, 7, No. 321. Epigraphia of Carnataca Volume 8 Nagara I, S.I.I., Part, 7 No. 321 EC 8 Nagara I. South Indian Inscription Volume 2, No. 375, S.I.I., Vol. 2, No. 375.
2. South Indian Inscription - S.I.I., Vol. 9, Vol. 2, 389.
3. South Indian Inscription - S I.I., Vol. 2, No. 675.
4. South Indian Inscription - S.I.I., Vol. 9, Vol. 2, No. 389.
5. Same Vol. 9, Vol. 2, No. 389.
6. Mysore Archaeological Report - M.Y.S. ARC. RE 1943, No. 31.
7. South Indian Inscription - S.I.I., Vol. 2, No. 375.

8. Same Vol. 2, No. 389.
9. Same Vol. 2, No. 389.
10. Epigraphia of Carnataca, EC 8 Thirta 101.
11. Same Thirta 81.
12. Same.
13. Epigraphia of Carnataca - EC 8 Sagara 44.
14. Epigraphia of Carnataca - EC 8 Thirta 185.
15. Epigraphia of Carnataca- EC 8 Sagara 156.
16. M.Y.S. Arche. RE 1928, No. 62.
17. Epigraphia of Carnataca- EC 8 Thirta 24.
18. Epigraphia of Carnataca - EC 8 Thirta 98.
19. Karnataka State Gazetter Suryanath Kamat Page No. 485-496.
20. Epigraphia of Carnataca- EC 8 Thirta 6.
21. Epigraphia of Carnataca - EC 8 Thirta 6.
22. Mysore Archaeological Report - MYS. ARCHE. RE 1933 No. 30.
23. Mysore Archaeological Report - MYS. ARCHE. RE 1928 No. 67.

18

dkldjh eodnek%, d bfrgkl ijd fo'yšk k

Mk jf'e dϕkjh

l u~1921 ds vl g; kx vkhlyu dk iVklki pšh&pšk dsfgā d
 dkM ds mi jkr gqkA vkt lnh dk vy[k t xkrs gq 9 vxLr 1925
 dls jkVökn , oansk HdR dh ij.k l si fj r gkdj rFk ØkÜrdkjh
 vkhlyu eaxfr mRi lu djusds mnas; l sddkjheavtu Mdsrh Myh
 FkA' l u~1925 rd mRj iznsk eaØkÜrdkjhl aBu et cw gkspk
 Fk vlš l aBu ds fuekZk i fØ; k eart h Hh vk xbZFkA dkdjh Vtu
 Mdsrh dk mnas; t ezh l s dydrk clhjxlg vk jgs fi Lrkyk dk
 pkyku iRr djus ds fy; s/ku dh Ø oLFk dh Ø oLFk djuk FkA²

l Š; jkVökn

190h l nh ds vfure n'kda ea Hkj r dh jkt ulfr ea , d , i h
 fopkj/Hkj k dk t le gqk t ksvaxt kaeavkrad išk dj ml sHj r NkM-
 nsisij et cyj dj nsuseafo'okl j [krk FkA ; | fi 1871 eagh U; k k/
 ki kuleZi rFk 1872 eaok l jk; evkshgR; k dj ogkc; kausbl dh
 ulh j [k nh Fk] ijUrql dk l afBr : i 190h l nh ds vfure n'kd
 l sgh i kj Fk gqkA³

l Š; jkVökn dk igyk l aBu 1896&7 eaiwk eapki dj cUlyka
 }kj k 'Q k ke e.My* ds: i eacuka⁴

l a Ør i Rr dk cukjl Hh Hkj r dh l k dfrd jkt /Huh gkus ds
 dkj.k vc rd l Š; oknh xrfok/k; k dk dshzcu pdk FkA 1908 ea
 'kphhziFk l kU; ky us cukjl ea vuqkhyu l fefr dh 'kk [ksh
 fdUrqmUgkus vuqkhyu dk uke cny dj 1910 ea ^; Ød l a k* dj

fn; kA 'kplhznkfk l kU ky dh iR, d xrfof/k ij i fyl dh fuxlg
Fh fQj Hh os i fyl dks pdek nclj dydrk pyst krs Fks t glal s
ce vlš /ku nkukaykrs Fks**5 1913 ea 'kplhzn ds l kfk; kaus cukj l
dsfo | ky; kaeai pZckWsf l ea; ykfi; k dks Hxkus dh vihy dh xbZ
FhA dkykrj ea 'kplhzn ds us rO ea 7 Q fDr t k l š kÜrd i {k dks
ik; kfxd : i fn; st kus ds i {kij Fks; x eš , l k l , 'ku l s vyx
gkx; A bl ny dks cakj dh vuqkhyu l fefr l s Hh enn feyrh
FhA⁶

xnj vkhkyu

bl h clp xnj i kVlZ ds t k l nL; veš j dk l s Hkjr vk s Fks nšk
ds fofHkU Hxk ea Qš x; s FhA⁷ os l šud k ds l kfk feydj nšk dks
l kkt; okn; k l s eDr djuk plgrs FhA xnj i kVlZ ds l nL; k l s
fopkj fofue; djus ds i 'pk' 'kplhznkfk l kU ky us 21 Qojh 1915
dks ijs mRj Hkjr dh l šud Nkofu; kae, d l kfk fonš djus dh
; k uk cukA⁸ fdUrqi fyl t kudkj h gk t kus ds d kj . k frfk i fjo frZ
dj 19 Qojh 1915 dj nh xbA⁹ bl frfk i fjo rZ dh gh t kudkj
i fyl dks gkx; h vr% jkl fcgkj h ckl dks NkMej vU; l Hh i z d k
urk fxj Qrkj dj fy; sx; A jkl fcgkj h ckl Qkj gkx; srFk t ki ku
pys x; A¹⁰ 'kplhznkfk l kU ky dks gh bl dk eq; vfk, Dr cukdj
nš knš dh /kj kvk ds vUr xZ mlgavkt hou dky & i kuh dh l t k
nh x; h rFk v. Meku Ht fn; k x; kA¹¹ bl "kM; a ea' k fey l šud
dks Hh dVZek kZ dj dBk l t k, anh x; kA¹² bl izlkj l š; okh
jkVbkn dk ; g pj . k l ek r gkx; kA

xk h h h vfga k dh Q ki drk

bl h e/; xk h h tuojh 1915 ea Hkjr ykV vk s 1917 vlš 1918
ds vlj k ea xk h h us p k j . k vgenlkn vlš [kMk ea vkhkyu
NM- fn; kA mlgk us Qojh 1919 ea i Zrkfor jkV , DV ds f [kykQ
nš kQ, ki h vkhkyu dk vk' o gu fd; kA 13 viš 1919 dkt fy; kkyk
ckx dk M gkx; kA xk h h us 18 viš dks vkhkyu oki l ysfy; kA
, d l ky ckn mlgk us fQj jkVQ, ki h vkhkyu NMA 1 vxLr 1920
dks vkhkyu fNM- x; kA , d rjQ ; g vkhkyu xk h h t h ds us rO

ea vfgl Red : lk eapy jgk Flk rks nwjh vly fcfV'klj dky vius
iys ne l sbl s dpyus eayxh FkA

l S; okn l sl S; &x. kra=okn

i Fle fo'o ; q̄ eafot ; dsi 'pr~fcfV'klj dky usmu l Hh dSn; ka
dls ft u ij gR; k dk vly ki ugh Flk NlMus dk fu. lZ fy; kA ft l ds
QyLo: i nsk ds fofHku t s yka, oa v. Meku eadkyk i kuh dh l t k
Hxr jgs ØkŪrdkj h Hh fjgk gks x; A buea; xklrj] vuq̄kyu o vŪ
ØkŪrdkj h l xBu ds l kfk 'kphnzukFk l kŪ; ky* Hh Flk¹³ dky s i kuh
ds l t k l s oki l v kus ds i 'pr 'kphnzukFk l kŪ; ky us, d vf[ky
Hkj rh; ØkŪrdkj h i kVlZ dk xBu djus dk iz kl vly k fd; k¹⁴ l u~
1922 rd l kŪ; ky dk i fjp; jkt ūnzylgMh ohj Hnzfrokj h jleny kjs
f=onh fo". kly. k ncyf l rFlk eglolj R; kxh vkn l s gylA eglolj
R; kxh dh gh l gk; rk l sl kŪ; ky dk l EcŪk jlei l kn 'fcfLey* , oa
v'kQd mlylg l s gylA bl h rjg Qrgx<+ds fo'olr l g; kxh ds
ek; e l sl kŪ; ky Hxr fl g l s Hh feyA dkyklrj eajkt ūnzylgMh
dh l gk; rk l sl kŪ; ky dk i fjp; pūnz kly ^vkt kn* o eleFlukFk
xŪr l s Hh gylA¹⁵ blghafnuka vuq̄kyu caky ds l nL; ; kxskpūh
pVt lZ l a Ūr i ūr dh ØkŪrdkj h xrfof/k; ka dh t kudkj h nsus rFlk
ijLij l g; kx dh l Hhouk ryk kus ds fy; sl a Ūr i ūr vk; A fdŪrq
dkyklrj eaosl a Ūr i ūr ds gh gklj jg x; A¹⁶ bl h ds chn Hkj r
dk igyk dŪrdkj h l xBu , p-vlj-, - dk xBu 'kphnzukFk l kŪ; ky us
1923 eafd; kA bl i kVlZ dk l fo/ku mŪg l usLo; arS kj fd; k Flk vly
dŪn fnuka chn i kVlZ ds ?kšk ki = ds #i ea ^ØkŪrdkj h* 'kVlZ l s
, d ipZ Hh fy[k Flk¹⁷ 1923 rd 'kphnzukFk l kŪ; ky vius mnās; ka
eadkQh l Qy gks pds Fls rFlk muds l nL; l ū; k eadkQh of) gks
pūh FlkA 'kphnzukFk l kŪ; ky ds bŪghniz Ruk ds QyLo: i fgŪhŪrku
fjifcydu , l kŪ; ū, p-vlj-, - dk xBu gylA¹⁸

dkldkj h dk M

bl h , p-vlj-, - } kj k 9 vxLr] 1925 dks 8 Mmu Vū ea Myh xBZ
Mds h dh ?kVuk dk foLr' r fooj. k y[kuÅ ds i cy l dlrku Jh
bafy' kus bl izkj izku dh FkA

^Mds 1/2 Økürdkjh [kdh delt vls glQ iSV igus gq FlA
mudh l d; k 25 FlA ; g l c i < s fy [ks yx jgs FlA fi Lrky
ea t ks dkjrw feys Fls os oS s gh Fls t S s cakky ds jkt uSrd
Økürdkjh ?Wukvkaemi; Ør fd, x, FlA**19

pljckx ds LVsku ekLVj Jh t kl usbl dh igyh fj i kZfy [kbZ
FlA bl Vsu dk uEj 8 Mmu FlA Vsu jkklus dsfy, t t hj f}rh
Dykl eadkldjh l s M+ehy nyj y [kuÅ dh rjQ] [kph xbZ FlA
t t hj fcl fey us [kph FlA

Vsu ds: dus ds ckn rhu Økürdkjh t k l dM Dykl eavk jgs
Fl Vsu l smrjdj ; g dgrsgq xkMZ ds fMcs dh rjQ c < sfd mudk
, d cdl k dldjh eaNW x; k gA eq; xkMZ ds ikl igpdj ml gkus
; gh dgkuh nkgjkbZrc rd nwjh rjQ l s M cseavU; Økürdkjh Hh
?k x; A l Hh ; k =; ka ds fMcs ea gh jgus dsfy, dgk x; ka xkMZ
ds ikl t k frt kjh Flh ml s r k +fn; k x; ka bl ds i 'pr~Økürdkjh
dkldjh dh rjQ pysx; A t c~Vsu pyh rks bl dh l puk vkyeuxj
l si f'kr dh xbA²⁰

bl ?Wuk ea ejus okys dk uke vgen vyh Flk ft l s Økürdkj; ka
dh , d xkyh yx xbZ FlA²¹ ml dh yk k 204@19 l d; k ds [kHs ds
i kl feyh FlA Vwh gZfrt kjh 204@21 l d; k ds [kHs ds i kl feyh
FlA nkuk [kHs ds chp yxHx 140 xt dh nyh FlA bl ?Wuk ea
i k s t kus okys dkjrw ka dk uEj 403 FlA dkjrw ka ij MOMCy0, e0
d0d0 403 1/2 Nik FlA²²

9 rkjh [k dks 8 Mmu Vsu ds l dM Dykl dsfy, rhu Vsu fVdV
fcds Fls ft uds u0 0900 l s 0902 FlA²³ bl 8 Mmu ds xkMZ dk uke
t xLukFk i d kn oekZ FlA 8 Mmu Vsu ds dkldjh igpus dk l e;
19-17 l s 19-19 Flk vls vkyeuxj igpus dk l e; 20-15 l s 20-20
FlA²⁴

phQ xkMZ t xLukFk i d kn 1/2 oekZ i hyHhr dk jgus okyk Flk t ks
x. k kxt y [kuÅ ea jgrk FlA 8 Mmu dk nwjk xkMZ gl u vLdjh
FlA 8 Mmu Vsu dk Mboj fe0 ; x FlA ml uscrk kfd ft l l e; 8

Mmu Vū : dh Fkh ml dsnl feuV ckn 3 vi Vū cxy l sxt jh FkA
?Wuk LFky ij ml dh Vū de l sde 40 feuV rd : dh jgh²⁵

bl dk M eady 4601@& yVs x; s FkA Vū l s yWh t kus okyh
frt kjh ds vfrfjDr ogk rhu vls frt kj; ka FkA mu frt kj; ka ea
fuEufyf[kr /kujk' k FkA

- 1- frt kjh u0 nks : 0 441@9@3
- 2- frt kjh u0 mUhl : 0 179@5@&
- 3- frt kjh u0 bDI B : 0 21@4@9

bl dk M eaft u dkrwka dk mi; kx fd; k x; k Fk vls ft uds
[kay ?Wuk LFky ij feys Fks os l Ehor%ml h fi LrkY l spyk s x; s
Fks ft l dk mi; kx 24 ebZ1990 dks i rki x<+ft ys dh Mds h eafd,
x, s Fk²⁶ ilp : i; s dk , d ukW ft l s ml j yos Mds h ea 1/2 d d j h /2
yWkx; k Fk og 'kgt glaj eacjlen dj fy; k x; k Fk t k s cky dj k
uled Q fDr ds ikl FkA gYnuh ea, d nl : i; s dk ukW cjlen
fd; k x; k Fk²⁷ frygk i c y l Fkuk ds, d x; k fl g ds ikl l s Hh
, d ilp : i; s dk ukW cjlen g y k Fk²⁸ bl ?Wuk ds ckn l j d j ds
vks k ij fuEufyf[kr yskaij l Ung dsvk k j ij i c y l us i k j Fk d
t k p i k j Fk d h A

dk d j h dh fxj [rkj; ka

26 fl rEj] 1925 dks rele i k r l s Hk j h l d ; k ea fxj [rkj; ka
g p Z exj vkt kn vls muds d n l k Fk ugha i d M s t k l d s²⁹ ; | fi
dk d j h Vū Mds h ea 10 vneh FkA fdUrqt c fxj [rkj; ka g p Z rks
40 l s Hh vf/kd Q fDr fxj [rkj fd; s x; A ml fnu fuE L Fk u k l s
fxj [rkj; ka dh xbZ Fk %

'kgt glaj l s 1/2 Jh j k e i d kn 'fcfLey* 1/2 1/2 cukj l h yky 1/3 1/2
Jh g j x k o h 1/4 1/2 Jh i x e d ". k [kuk 1/5 1/2 Jh bUHQ Hk k fe=k 1/6 1/2 Jh
enuyky 1/7 1/2 Jh j k k u fl g A cukj l l s 1/4 1/2 l g s k p h z H V V l p k Z 1/2 1/2
Jh nek j Lo: i l B 1/3 1/2 Jh j k e u k F k i k s 1/4 1/2 Jh e l e F k u k F k 1/5 1/2
Jh M 10 M 10 H V V l p k Z 1/6 1/2 Jh bUhz foOe fl g r Fk e p d h y k y A
y [k u A l s 1/4 1/2 Jh 'k p h z u k F k 1/2 1/2 Jh x k o h p j u d j A d k u i g l s

Jh olj Hnz frokj l jkt d qj fl Ugk o jkeny kjs f=onhA bylgckn l s
'kr ykl gk o Hnz ukFk l kl; kyA vxjkl spnz kj t l g jho pznky
t l g jhA , Vlk l sclkye oekA bVlok l sT; kr" kdj nlf{krA y[keig
lsgjukel qnj yky(cvky l selgu yky xkr(caky l s'k jnp l hz
xgk vlš dky mkl ckl (gjnk bZ l s Hš kl g(i wk l sj ked". k [k=lt
t cyig l sizk šk pVt l z jk c jyh l scuokj hykyA

f'kopj.kyky dk olj v fudyk ij fxj l r kj h ughag pZ vlš u dHh
ednek pykA jkt Hnz ukFk ykfgMh 26 r kj h [k dks gkFk ughayx A D; kld
os ce cukuk l h[kus ds fy, dyDrk x, FlA caky ea nfk k šoj
uled , d xko ea mudk dkj [kuk FlA , d fnu i fyl us bl s ?kj
fy; k vlš 9 0 fDr; k dks fxj l r kj dj fy; k ft l ea, d jkt Hnz ckw
Hh Fls ft Uga 10 l ky dh l t k g pZ t l s ckn dks cnydj 5 l ky gkxbZ
FlA Jh v' kQkd mYyk [kavš Jh 'kpl hnz ukFk Qj kj koLFk ea idMš
x; svlš p l hz k kj vkt kn cgr fnu kard [kysjg dj ØkUrd kj h dle
djus ds ckn 1931 dks Qjoh ea bylgckn ea i fyl l sl leuk djrs
gq s viuh xlyh l sej x; A³⁰ b l hz Hk k vlš cukj l hyky 'hgt glā g
us dQ fo'okl ?kr fd; k³¹

ednek

dkldj h d k M dk , frgkl d ednek yxHx 10 eghusrd y[kuÅ
dh vnkyr eapyk vlš bl ij l jdkj dk 10 yk[k : i; A 4 tuoj l
1926 l sednek 'k qyA ednek pyus l sigysi fyl usbu ykš k
ij l sekyk gVk fy; k FlA 'kr ykl gk] p l hz kj t l g jh p l hz ky
t l g jh enuyky] jkenr 'k y] ekguyky xkr e] ckjke xkr] gjule
l qnj nš hz HVV l p k Z 'k jnp l hz xg] dky mkl ckl] Hš kl g o baz
foØe fl gA cdh ykš k i j edneadsfy, , d Liš ky eft LVV l š n
vbua hu dksfu; Ør fd; kx; k FlA bu nš ki eh ykš k i j nQk 121,
l jdkj dsf [kyQ yMh Z N M us dh r š kj h 120 o vjkt uš rd l k t 'k
vlš 396 M š h ea dRy ds l kFk djus dk t qZy xk k x; k l jdkj
dh vlš l st xruk . k eYk viusyMelš cš j LVj vlš gfj' p l hz xkr
cš j LVj ds l g; k l sednek yMus dsfy, [kMš fd; sx; A vfk q k
dh vlš l selguyky l Dl uk p l hz huqxkr vlš vt hr i z kn vkn

17 fnl Ecj] 1927 Hkjrh; LorU-rk l æte ds bfrgk dk Øj] jlepd vls ân; fonkj d fnu Fk] t c l oZ Fk jk thzkFk ykGMh dks xkMk t sy ea Qk] h nh xbA 19 fnl Ecj] 1927 dks i Ø jleiz kn fclley dks xkj [kiq t sy ea Qk] h nh x; h Bkdq jksku fl g dks bylgkcn ea Qk] h ns nh x; h v'kQkd mYyk [ka dks Qs kcn ea Qk] h nh xbA³³

'kplthzkFk l k; ky o muds l kFk ØkUrdkj; ka ds l S kUrd ek; rkvædkfp=.k, p-vkj-, - ds?kšk ki= ^, ykij* eagyk ft l ds vuq kj mudk >qlk ck' kod ØkUrdh vls rksFk ijUql kE; okn ds i fr mudk n"Vdsk Li"V ughaFk vls /æZds i fr Hh mudk >qlk cuk gYk FkA³⁴ dkldjh dk M ds ckn 'kizurkva dh fxj [rkjh ds dlj.k; g l æBu vLrRogh gksx; ka bl ds 'kizurkva eal dsy pthzkj vkt kn o dnu yky ifyl dh vld ka ea/ky >kdrsgqs Qkj jgsrFk cns [k l sviuh xrfok/kædkl pkYr djrsjgA³⁵ bl h le; Hkj r ea: l dh ØkUrdskn dE; quLV ikVZdk ipkj , oa iz kj gks yxk FkA bl dks nkus ds fy; scfV'k l jdkj us is kjoj o duiq ck' kod d pyk k fdUrq; g fopkj/kjk fnu&i frfnu ykdfiz gkch pyh x; h rFk ØkUrdjh fopkj ekjk dh ij.k l r Hh cuA Hxr fl g dh fopkj/kjk vc rd vkt drk ds LFku ij l ekt omh gkpdh FkA³⁶ l a Ør iUr eajk/k ekgu xkdy th l R; HdR rFk ekYkuk gl jr egluh dh ij.k l s; ok ØkUrdjh l kE; okn dh vls vdf'kz gks yxs FkA³⁷

mi l gkj

l ekt om dh fn'k ea Hxr fl g dh o pkjd i æfr dh j [rkj cgr rt FkA ml gaus 1924 l s 1928 dschp fofHü fo"kaædkfoLr v/; ; u fd; k FkA ml gaus vls muds l kFk ka us 1928 ds vr rd l ekt om dks viusvkhlyu dk pje y{; ?k'kr dj fn; k Fk vls viuh ikVZ dk uke rnuq kj cny dj 'gUhrku l kkyLV fjifcydu vkelZ dj fn; k FkA ml gaus urk dh vko'; drkva, oaHkoukva ds vuq i dk Z djus rFk l jdkj l sl h/kl ækVZ djus dh ulfr ij pyus dk i Lrko j [ka bl h mnas; l s, d vf[ky Hkjrh; ØkUrdjh ny cukus dk

fu. l̥ fy; k x; k̥ ft lea i a k o l a Dr i Hr ds ØkUrðkj; l̥ dh
 l gefr FkA cak̥y ds ØkUrðkj; l̥ sl gefr yus grqf' lo oekZ d̥s
 dyd ðk Hk kx; k̥ yfdu viuh 'krk̥ij vfm̥x jgus ds d̥kj. k cak̥y
 ds ØkUrðkj h bl ny ds xBu ds i {k ea ugha FkA³⁸ 8 v̥l̥ 9 fl rEcj
 1928 d̥s fnYyh ds fQjkt 'k̥g d̥k̥yk ds [k Mgj l̥ ea m̥rcj Hk̥j r
 dh ØkUrðkj; l̥ dh, d c̥Bd g̥p̥Z ft lea H̥xr fl g̥ ds i Zr l̥ o l̥ ds
 vuq i ØkUrðkj l̥ xBu cukus dk fu. l̥ fy; k x; k r Fk̥ bl ny
 dk uk̥e 'fg̥h̥r̥ku l̥ ek̥t ok̥h i z̥ krḁ l̥ æk̥ j [k̥ x; k̥ H̥xr fl g̥ d̥s
 bl ny dk e̥q; l̥ x̥Budr̥Zr Fk̥ v̥kt̥ m̥ d̥s l̥ ok̥p̥ l̥ s̥ki fr cuk̥ k
 x; k̥³⁹ bl dh d̥t̥h̥r̥ l̥ fefr eav̥kt̥ m̥] H̥xr fl g̥] l̥ q̥ k̥n̥] f' lo oek̥Z
 fot; d̥æj fl U̥g̥k̥ d̥h̥nyky v̥l̥ Q. k̥h̥z? k̥k̥k̥ Fk̥ l̥ g̥ {k̥ d̥kj. k̥al s
 v̥kt̥ m̥ Lo; abl c̥Bd ea mi fl Fk̥r ugha Fk̥⁴⁰ fu% l̥ng] v̥crd Hk̥j r
 ds d̥k̥Urðkj v̥k̥h̥syu ds Lo#i usi; k̥Zr i x̥fr dj yh Fk̥A bl dk
 v̥f̥re m̥n̥s; v̥c ek̥ x. krḁ dh LFk̥i uk̥ rd l̥ l̥fer ugha jgh Fk̥A
 i j̥r̥q̥ v̥c; g̥ Hk̥j r ea l̥ ek̥t ok̥h x. krḁ LFk̥i r d̥jus ds fy; si z̥rc}
 g̥k̥sp̥h̥ Fk̥A; | fi bl l̥ eg̥ ds o̥p̥k̥j d̥ usk̥ l̥ jnk̥j H̥xr fl g̥ gh̥ Fk̥
 yfdu, p-, l- v̥lj-, - l̥ st̥ M̥s l̥ H̥h uk̥t̥ ok̥ l̥ ek̥t ok̥h v̥k̥n' k̥Z l̥ s
 i f̥j r g̥k̥sp̥d̥s Fk̥A osl H̥h d̥k̥lj̥h l̥ eg̥ dh̥n̥vj̥h i Dr ds d̥k̥Urðkj̥h Fk̥
 ft U̥g̥h̥s d̥k̥lj̥h ds c̥k̥n̥ f̥c [k̥j p̥d̥s d̥k̥Urðkj̥h v̥k̥h̥syu d̥s i q̥t̥ l̥Zor
 fd; k̥ Fk̥ i j̥r̥q̥budk̥ v̥k̥n' k̥Z v̥c d̥k̥lj̥h l̥ s d̥k̥Qh v̥k̥s fudy p̥dk̥
 Fk̥A ok̥Lro ea Hk̥j r ds d̥k̥Urðkj̥h v̥k̥h̥syu dh̥t̥ k̥ J̥q̥kyk 1897 ea
 i k̥j Fk̥ g̥p̥Z Fk̥ ml ds b̥fr̥g̥k̥l̥ ea d̥k̥lj̥h, d̥ ek̥; fed o eg̥ r̥oi v̥k̥Z d̥M̥h
 Fk̥A

l̥ aH̥Z

- 1- f̥ci u p̥h̥z Hk̥j r dk Lor̥rk̥ l̥ æk̥ l̥ fg̥h̥n̥ek̥; e dk̥ k̥Z; fun̥s̥k̥y; | fnYyh
 fo' ofo | ky; | i q̥e̥Z̥nr 2007] i' 190-
- 2- i k̥ sp̥l̥r̥ef. k̥ 'k̥p̥y̥k̥; k̥ruk H̥fe v̥M̥e ku dk j̥k̥k̥p̥d̥kj̥h b̥fr̥g̥k̥l̥ | 'k̥p̥y̥k̥
 i z̥k̥k̥d̥ e Fk̥j̥k̥ i' 65
- 3- i z̥k̥n̥ d̥æj] Hk̥j r dk Lor̥rk̥ l̥ æk̥] 1857&1947] e; j̥ i i j̥ c̥Dl̥ | ul̥s M̥j̥
 2008] i' 64
- 4- v; k̥; k̥ fl g̥] Hk̥j r dk e̥q̥ [Dr l̥ æk̥] e̥l̥f̥eyu] 2006] i' 234-

- 5- l M h l u d e v h f j i k W Z 1918] , l + , - v h j k y V] d y d R r k l q j h W M x o z s V
b f . M ; k] 1919] i : 91-
- 6- l M h l u d e v h f j i k W Z i : 91-
- 7- H j r l s c l g j f c v s i e a l a f B r j k V b l n h v k h s y u d k i j E k ' ; k e t h d " . k
o e l Z 1857 & 1930 1/2 } k j k f d ; k x ; k A H j r e a H j r h k a d h l j d k j c u k s d s
m n a s ; l s m l g l a s y a u e a Q j o j h 1905 e a b f . M ; u g l e : y l k l b v h d h
L F k i u k d h a f t l d h v / ; { k o s L o ; a F k a b l h o " Z m l g l a s y a u e a b f . M ; k
g k m l [h s y k t k s i o k l h H j r h ; k a d k ' k j . k L F h y F k a y a u e a l k o j d j r F k
H j r h ; O k U r d k j ; k a d s f x j r i g h d s i ' p k r H j r h ; k a u s i s j l d s v i u k
e d ; k y ; c u k k a o g l a i j ; y k i e a H j r h L o k k u r k d h v y [k t x k u s o k y s
' ; k e t h d " . k o e l Z e s M e d l e k r F k , l - v l j - j k k i g y s l s g h F k a 1911 e a
y k y k g j n ; k y v e f j d k i g p s r F k d s y Q k u Z k d s c d Z s d k s v i u k d i n z c u k d j
v i u h x f r f o f / k k a i j E k d j f n ; A d n l e ; d s f y ; s o s L v s i Q k W Z f o ' o f o | k y ;
e a H j r h n ' k z , o a l i d r d s i k s f u ; o r f d ; s x ; A 1910 e a d k k h j k e d s
u r t o e a i k W Z y S M e a H j r h ; O k U r d k j h x f r f o f / k k a c < + x ; k a o g h a i j y k y
g j n ; k y d h H a l l g u f l g x a f k y s l s g h A b u y k a u s f e y d j x n j u k e d
, d n y d k x B u f d ; k a b l d k m n a s ; j k V i r L o r a r k d s l k F k l F k g j
n s k d s f y ; s L o r a r k p l g u k F k a b l i z l j b l n y d k n f V d k s k v U r j k Z V i r
F k a
- 8- m i k ; k] f o ' o k e = H j r h ; d k U r d k j h v k h s y u H k x & l i z k k d i x f r ' h y
i z k k u l f n Y y h] 1983] i : 326-
- 9- m i k ; k] f o ' o k e = ' k p h h z k F k l k i k y o m u d k ; a] i x f r ' h y i z k k u l u b Z
f n Y y h] 1983] i : 93-
- 10- d j t e l d e c y i k y f v d y V e y b u b f . M ; k 1907 & 1917] b a M ; u d y d R r k
b f . M ; k] 1973] i : 130-
- 11- m i j k D r] i : 102 & 103-
- 12- m i j k D r] i : 97-
- 13- l k i k y ' k p h h z k F k c l i h t h o u l v k r e j k e , . M l U] f n Y y h 1938] i : 189-
- 14- m i k ; k] f o ' o k e = ' k p h h z k F k l k i k y v l s m u d k ; a] i x f r ' h y t u i z k k u l
u b Z f n Y y h] 1983] i : 155 & 157-
- 15- p e u y k y] H x r f l g v l s m u d s l k F k k a d s n L r k o t] j k t d e y i z k k u u b Z
f n Y y h 1986] i : 30-
- 16- , y - , p - M y v V j f j T e b u b f . M ; k] 1917 & 1937] i q z q z k n h i i f c y d s k u]
f n Y y h] 1974] i : 69-

- 17- ʌl R ʌnxukFk et ɸnɸj us viuh i ɸrd ʌbu l pZ vkQ , fjokʌ; wujh vɸfM; kykWh , .M , fjokʌ; wujh i sɸe* eabu nɸunLrɸt ɸij fvli.kh djrsqsfy [k g%ʌ; snɸunLrɸt mu Økʌrdɸj; ɸadh l ɸ dki ɸrfuf/kɸ djrsqɸt ɸsmu fnuɸ l ɸ; okn dh rjQ vkdfʌr rɸsgksjgsFɸ yɸdu jɸekuh Økʌrɸnrk dsi ɸɸo l siyh rjg eɸr ughagq sFɸ** bl dsɸn mɸgɸsnɸunLrɸt ɸadh foʌ KʌVrk ɸadk mYɸs k djrsq s dgk gS%ʌbu nɸunLrɸt ɸadh foʌ KʌVrk agɸɸd ½ l ek okn dh fot ; & i rɸdk Qgj kɸsɸys i gys nɸk ds #i eackʌʌɸod #l ds i ɸr vɸs l ɸ; okn ds i ɸr Li ʌV > ɸlo (¼ k ½ j KʌVɸ eɸr dsfy; s Økʌr ds v ɸr j KʌVɸ p f j = dɸ l e > us dh ʌ ɸ v k r ɸ g k y ɸ d ; g l e > v H h c g r l k Q u g h F k h (½ k ½ L o r a e H k j r d h l k e f t d r F k v k F F Z l o F k d h # i j s k r s k j d j u s d h d k k k (½ k ½ e t n j l a v l s f d l k u l a d s l a f B r d j u s d h t # j r e g l w d j u k v l s bl d e d s l E i u d j u s d s f y ; s d r l a d y i g k u k (½ k ½ i k v l z e a t u o k n l d s h z d j . k d s f l } k r d k i n s k ** o e l z f l o ʌ g m H x r f l g d h p q h g p Z d f r ; ɸ l e k t o k n h l k g R l n u l d k u i g] 1987] i ˆ 45-
- 18- mi j k D r] i ˆ 69-
- 19- m R j i n s k j k f ; v f H y s k x k j] v k x s l s m i j k v] d k d l j h ʌ M ; a e q d n e k] Q k b z l a 1 @ 43 & 2 @ 7 v k Q 1927] [k M & 2] i ˆ 995-
- 20- mi j k v % d k d l j h ʌ M ; a e q d n e k] Q k b z l a 1 @ 43 & 2 @ 7 v k Q 1927] [k M & 2] d k d l j h ʌ M ; a e q d n e k] i ˆ 995 & 1001-
- 21- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1005-
- 22- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1007-
- 23- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1013-
- 24- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1015-
- 25- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1017-
- 26- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1017-
- 27- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1021-
- 28- mi j k D r] i ˆ 1025-
- 29- e o k j e x ɸ r] d k d l j h d s p l j v e j ʌ g m f n l E c j 1927] ʌ g m k u s o r u] i z d k k u f r f F h 26 t u o j h] 1987] i ˆ 39 & 44-
- 30- mi j k D r] i ˆ 40-
- 31- mi j k D r] i ˆ 41-

- 32- 'kdj l ųrkuiųh] Økųrdkjh vkt k] vme~izk k 'lezi zkk ku fnYyh] 1989] i: 66&67-
- 33- eskje xųr] dkdjh dspkj vej 'lųm 1927] 'lųm kusoru izk ku] 1987] i: 100-
- 34- oelzf ko] l ųefr; k] 'lųm lej d izk ku] 'lųm uxj] iųlukfdyky[kuÅ] 1991] i: 30-
- 35- mijkųr] i: 63-
- 36- nųfyl dksk; k nųh fjokwkujh , .M nsj , DVlfofVt] chvkj- ifųyl x gkl] fnYyh] 1982] i: 54-
- 37- oelzf ko] iųm] i: 34-
- 38- oelzf ko] iųm] i: 35&36-
- 39- , p- Mųwgsy] iųkųr] i: 73-
- 40- mijkųr] i: 73-

19

eskm+ 'kyh ea0 fä fp=lödk v/; ; u 1710&1734½

MWl qkyk 'kälör

egkjkk vejfä g f}rh; 1698&1710 bZ½1700 bZ dsyxHx eskm+
fp= 'kyh ea, d egRoiwZifjorZi vk kj egkjkk vejfä g f}rh;
1698&1710 bZ½ dsdky eadbZjs{kfp=lödk fuelZk gvk t sl ä kj
ds fofHü fp= l azka eal jf{kr gA¹ eskm+ eajkt kva, oafof kV
Q fDr; lödkfp=.k egkjkk vejfä g f}rh; ds' Hl udky es' k# gvk
FKA

egkjkk vejfä g f}rh; ds jkt; kjg.k ds iwZ döj ins ea t c
os jkt uxj jg jgaFl# rc, d fp= cuk k x; k FKA bl eajkt dökj
vejfl g ihyh ixMh v# l Qn ikjn' HZt lek igus g\$ rFlk gkfk ea
gödsdhuyhfy, gSrFlk mudsl kfk nkl jnkj M#M; k gBlfl g v#
pl#ku ukfk cBs gA; g fp= bl l e; foDVkj; k E; ft; e esycklZea
gA²

ek?kl qn 5 foÖe l Eor~1756 1699 bZ½dsfnu t c vejfl g f}
rh; dk jkt; kHk'kd gvk rc og jkt l elh l smn; i# gkFlh t; eay
ij c#dj vk k FKA bl gkFlh dk l qnj fp=.k dj k k x; ka gkFlh dk
; g jaxu js{kfp= 1700 bZ½jKt; l azky; ubZfnYyh eal jf{kr
gA³

egkjkk vejfä g f}rh; us Q fDrxr fp=lödk i Hkfedrk nh Fkh
ml ds l e; ds fp=lö ea ega ij Nk HkH ¼kM½, oe~fcühwfp=.k
1LV1fyx½nVQ gA dbZkj fp=lödsi "B Hkx eamn; i# dk jkt egy
½ydisyl ½vkn fn; s x; s gA bul s Hh fp=lö dh efgek c< xbZgA⁴

egjk kk vejfä g f}rh; usexy'kyhij l æej dkegy cuok k ft l dk ule vej fodkl j [kk] bl dky dsy?kfp=kaavej foykl dhcft Z h xfcn] t kylnkj] >jkk k gk vly Qobjavk kuh l sigplus t k l drs gÄ egjk kk vejfl g f}rh; ds dky eaexy l ädfr dk iZho c<uk i kjkk gyl t kml dsiq l æe fä g f}rh; ¼710&1734 bZ½ds dky eapje mrd'kzij igpka⁵

egjk kk vejfä g f}rh; usvej'kgh ixMh ipfyr dh t k eskm' eafo'kk vol jkaij vc rd iguh t krh gÄ ; g vej'kgh ixMh bl dky dsfp=kaeaLi"V nsh t k l drh gÄ bl ixMh dh fo'kkk ; g gSfd i hNs dh vly , d ukd fudyhjgrh gÄ⁶

cMh l d ; kea0 fDrxr fp= Hh gÄ bueadN mYk kulr gÄ egjk kk vejfl g f}rh; dks , d fp= eaegy eajk= eagpdk i hrs gq l æhr dk vkuh yrs gq n'kz k x ; k gSmuds l keus nks l æhr dk ja ds nyka }kj k l æhr dk iZrqhdj.k fd ; k t k jgk gSbl fp= }kj k egjk kk ds l æhr fiz rk dk iæ k mi yCk gkrk gÄ ; g fp= bl l e ; fodVkj ; k E ; ft ; e esycklZea gÄ⁷

ml hizkj , d fp= eaegy eanskjfuokl dh efgyk vadsl æhr dk vkuh yrs gq n'kz k x ; k gSmueal s , d dks gpdk i hrs gq fn [kk ; k x ; k gSmuds eukj a ukfZ efgyk l æhr dk ja ds }kj k l æhr iZrq djus dk fp=. k gÄ⁸

egjk kk vejfl g f}rh; l jnkja ds l kfk glyh [kyrs gq fp= n'kz s x ; s gÄ egjk kk vejfl g f}rh; l oZ rfoykl ckx ea glyh [kyrs gq fp=r gÄ mudsikl dN njckjæ.k l æhr dk cBsgÄ ; g fp= Hh fodVkj ; k E ; ft ; e esycklZea gÄ⁹

, d vU fp= eaegjk kk vejfl g f}rh; }kj k vt hrfl g] jkBSM- t kki g ½t ; fl g ¼vej ½j kBSM-nqkZkl dks 1706 bZ dks t k?kMSij cBsgq sFl vlohxr dhA bl eayd k Hh yxk gqk gÄ ^egjkt k/kjkt egjk kk Jh vejfä g t S h t kr t h. kh ckt wJh t h ds jk k vt hr fl æk jkBSM-t kki g okyl Moh ckt wt S h t h dN lok vlej oky us Flak eu] eu dk iNS jkBSM-nqkZkl] vldj.kk vjt djrk FlA bl dsru fp= cusgÄ , d fodVkj ; k E ; ft ; e esycklZvly nst ; ig jkt egy ea gÄ¹⁰

egkjkk vej fl g egy eabl fp= dks3 [k Mseafn; k x; k gA
cgr l qnj cus gA bl sgly ea, UM, wkl QHYM us izlk' kr fd; k
gA¹¹

egkjkk vejfl g f}rh; dsf'kdj n'; l sl afU'kr fp= Hh mi yC/k
gA , d fp= eaegkjkk vejfl g f}rh; dksf'kdj djusgrq?kMk
ij cBdj nk; agkFk eaghd yclj t krs gq pfr fd; k x; k gA¹²

l =goh 'krknh dh fp= jpukvka ea ekuoh; vkdfr; ka dk l f/k
l a kt u , oafou; kl l arfyr gSrFk vkdfr; kadk vkdkj foLrkj mul s
l Ec) ifj dYi uk vls egRo cy ds vu#i gA pVdlyh jax; kt uk ds
l Fk vkdZkd #ifo/ku vls ifj'lj Haxek vafou; kl , oajl nfV rFk
mu l cds i kj Lifj d l ka L; ka l svHhV Hoka dk mn?kV u ekuoh;
vfHQ fDr dh nfV l sl fhfzr fp= jpukvka dh eksyd fo'kkrk gA
rF; r%l kygohal =goha'krknh ds eokM+ ds fp= t hou vls t hÖrrk
l s Hjs rFk fuj Urj xfr'kyrk ds rRola l svuq'f. kr gA¹³

l =goha'krknh dh eokM+ dh fp= jpuk, al kekt d , oal kadfrd
#>kula , oa l ekt ; k tul kkl; dh l kh; Z ckq dyki jd , oa
vuq' ukRed izfr dks Hh mn?kVr djrs gk jpukxr mis; j fo'k
oLrq, oa i Zrqhdj. k dh nfV l s os tul kkl; dh tul kkl; ds
izrfuf/k ka }kj k tul kkl; ; k ykd ds Kluj ifjykc , oa #fp l s
l Ec) jpuk, agA¹⁴

bl izlkj egkjkk vejfl g ds vls Hh Q fDrxr fp= izlk' kr
gqsgA osjkVh; l azky; ubZfnYyh dukM+ kl azg i Vuq t kki q
jkt egy vkn eagA

l =goha'krknh dh fp= jpukvka ea ekuoh; vkdfr; ka dk l f/k
l a kt u , oafou; kl l arfyr gSrFk vkdfr; kadk vkdkj foLrkj mul s
l Ec) ifj dYi uk vls egRo cy ds vu#i gA rF; r%l kygohal =goha
'krknh ds eokM+ ds fp= t hou vls t hÖrrk l s Hjs rFk fuj Urj
xfr'kyrk ds rRola l svuq'f. kr gA¹⁵

l =goha'krknh dh eokM+ dh fp= jpuk, al kekt d , oal kadfrd
#>kula , oa l ekt ; k tul kkl; dh l kh; Z ckq dyki jd , oa
vuq' ukRed izfr dks Hh mn?kVr djrs gA¹⁶

[kt Mh i w u & jkt i kl kn l æ gky; mn; i q eal g f {kr 1710 bZ ds fp= ea, d 'lfe; kuk ghxyqjæ ea v ä dr gÅ Åij dh v l j dbZ r k i s p f = r g S r k s, d r j Q e g l j k k c M s t y w l s o g k v k j g s g S r F k 'lfe; kuk ead b Z y l x c B s g Å 52^x17^m v k l j d k ; g f p = d y k d h n f V l s f o ' k k e g R o i w l Z g Å¹⁷

bl fp= ea r d k y l u u l e k y s k v u d l j Q f d r f p = l ö d k T; l ö d k R; l ö f p = . k n s k k t k l d r k g Å m u e a n ' l g j k d s v o l j i j [k t M h i w u e a l f e k f y r v l ä ; e k u o k d r ; l ö d s L o # l k ö d s p f = r n s k k t k l d r k g Å v u d r d k y l u n j c k j ; l ö d s f p = f o ' k k m Y Y k f k u h g \$ f t U g a g e Q f d r f p = . k d s v a x Z f o ' k k e g R o n s l d r s g Å¹⁸

t f B; k s d h d ä r h & 1720 bZ bl fp= ea e g l j k k e g y d s c l g j u l p s d h c B d e a c B s p f = r g Å e g y l ö d k l k h ; Z i w l Z v a l u g Å b l e s f = i l f y ; k d h v l j d b Z g k f h [k m s v ä d r g Å t k s p = d k s, d b d l b Z e a c l ä r h g Å 34^x29^m d s v k l j d h ; g H Q d f r j k t i k l k n l æ gky; mn; i q eal g f {kr g Å¹⁹

bl fp= ea e g l j k k l æ t e f l g t h d s i k l e a J h n ö k l k l t h c B s g q g S t k s f d t k i j l s f u " d k l r g k d j l æ t e f l g t h d s n j c k j e a v k A e g l j k k d h i l N s d h d r j e a l c l s i l N s j k t d e l j t x r f l g g Å b l f p = e a f t r u s H h i k = p f = r g \$ m u e a l o z F k e g e d ä r h ½ M a s o k y ½ t k x k M u d y j d h i x M h o i l y h p M M h i g u s g Å m u d s i k l g h y k y / k j h d h p M M h o k y k t B h e l B k g S r F k g j h / k j h d h p M M h o k y k j k t k l e t B h g Å b u n k u l d h d ä r h d k s u l S L r j e a, d g h f p = d s v ä r x Z f n [k d j f p = d l j u s e g R o i w l Z n " ; i L r q f d ; k g Å²⁰

; g d f r e g l j k k l æ t e f l g d s ; æ d s f o f ' k V f p = l ö d s f y, f o ' k k e g R o j [k r h g Å m l e a e g l j k k l æ t e f l g d s l E e k v u d r d k y l u Q f d r f p = l ö d k s u l e k d r d j r s g q f p f = r f d ; k x ; k g Å f t u d h o s k h w k , o a e d k e m k v u d v U R d k y l u Q f d r f p = l ö e a n s l u s i j l e k u # i l s n s k t k l d r h g \$, d s i z e d k Q f d r f p = l ö e a e g l j k k d s l E e k c B h i ä d r e a l c l s v l x s Ø e ' k % j k k d h j r f l g l j k o l j r f l g l e g l j k k m f e n f l g l e g l j k k r [r f l g l p l g k u u k f t l j > k y k n l S y r f l g l j k B l M + H k e f l g l j k B l M + f d ' k u n k l v l j r o j f d ' k u f l g c B s g S

rFk nãkZkl ds ihNs dh iDr ea eokM- ds ea-h fcgkj mkl i psh
 , oai gkgr l qkje cSsg²¹

t xefh j ea eukouk& 1720 bZ dsbl fp= ea egjk kkl æ fl g
 t h dskjfu; kãdsl kFk t x efh j ea dbZfØ; kvãdsl kFk fpf=r fd; s
 gÅ , d txg Msj ea >y jgs gÅ ogh i "BHfe eat x efh j egy
 dk t kfp=. k gÅ ml esj kãdsh ckjhdh dk vdu fo' kã mYk kã
 gÅ fp= ea fofkú izkj dh i kãdsh ea ekuo vkdf; kã rFk ukj; kã
 dsh fpfgr fd; k x; k gÅ ft uea fofkú jã ds l kM; kã dh igukos
 cgr dh vkd"Zl gÅ²²

/kãk x. kãkj & jkt ikl kn l ægky; mn; ij ea l ægr vU
 dykdf; kã ea /kãk x. kãkj fo' kã mYk kã kã gÅ ft l ea egjk kkl ds
 l kFk plãku ukFk h egjk k mFen fl g] >kyk nyr fã g vU jã kã
 fd' kunkl dsk ukFk dsep ij cSsgq fpf=r fd; k gÅ bl ds l eh
 gh nãjh ukd ea egjk k r[r fl g] dsk gFk t kã rFk mudsl kFk
 rãj fd' ku fã g] i psh h fd' kunkl | i psh jã h dsk fpf=r fd; k
 gÅ bl l s; g i æk. kr gkr gSfd bl ; æ ea ik pã dyk dk i kã
 vu#i 0 fDr fp= kã ea Nk; k izk k Hh fn [k; k t kus yxk²³

t lãk o fp=& jkt ikl kn l ægky; mn; ij ea l jfkr vU ogn
 fp= kã ea egjk kkl æ fl g] jkt dëkj izki fl g ds t lãk o ea
 egjk kkl dsk > jã kã ea cSfn [k; k gÅ i kã dk t lãk o 8 vxLr]
 1724 bZ dsk euk; k x; kã²⁴

plãku ea euljã u& bl hl ægky; ea egjk kkl æ fl g o egjk k
 l okZt; fl g dsk plãku ea euljã u djrsfn [k; k bl e egjk kkl dsk
 vi usegeku l okZt; fl g ds l kFk cSfn [k; k gÅ²⁵ l okZt; fl g
 dsnfguh vU xkã ky i ky 1/2 kã kã jkt k fdjr fl g] jko Hxr fl g]
 jkor ds jh fl g] jkor l æ fl g] rFk egjk kkl æ fl g ds fudV
 vk kã dsegjk k r[r fl g] jkt dëkj t xrf l g gÅ^{26z}

fook l ekjg fp=& egjk kkl æ fl g] jkt dëkj t xrf l g ds
 fook l ekjg ij jkt ikl kn ea 1730 bZ ukjks ds njh [kã ij ; g
 l kã fud l ekjg vk kã r fd; k x; k bl ea t xr fã g] egjk kkl
 l æ fl g ds l fã k cSsg²⁷

xq kbZuhyd. Bt h dk Lokr fp=& bl h rjg uskuy xßjsh vkQ
foDVkfj; k esyckuzds fp=ka ea l aze fl g f}rh , oaxq kbZuhyd. B
t h eaegjk kk dks døy /kch igusgq fpr fd; k gß ; g l ekjg
/khdqkegy eavk; ktr fd; kx; k ij egjk kk dkpgjkvÜ; fp=ka
vu#i T; kadk R; ka0 fDr fp= eagß l kfk ghieqkljnkj o ea-kx.k
vkn fpr gß²⁸

xa lQk dk fp=& ml l e; rkk dk [ky vR Ür ykdfiz Fkk , d
fp= eaegjk kk l aze fl g f}rh; viusMjsij jk= eaviusl jnkjka
r[rfl g th fd'kufl g] /kHbZuxt h jkfa g th i pky/hfd'kunkl |
mEen fa g jkBSM fd'kunkl pkyku] t kjoj fl g ds l kfk cßdj
xa lQk [kyrsgq fpr fd; kx; k gßbl fp= l segjk kk dsxa lQk
dsifr #fp dk ifp; feyrk gß²⁹

f'kdj n'; fp=& egjk kk l aze fl g f}rh; dks, d fp= eaf'kdj
grqt krs n'kz kx; k gß bl eaf'kdj ny ea l jnkjka ds l kfk&l kfk
l ahrdkjs dks Hh t krs gq fpr fd; kx; k gß³⁰ , d vÜ; fp= ea
egjk kk }kj k'kj dsf'kdj dk fp=.k gß³¹ , d vß fp= eaugjexjk
ea l qj dsf'kdj djrs gq egjk kk l aze fl g dks n'kz kx; k
gß³²

xkl kbZuhyd. B fxjh ds vkJe l afUkr fp=& egjk kk l aze fa g
f}rh; ds'kj dsf'kdj ds i'pkr~xkl kbZuhyd. B fxjh ds fuokl
LFku eB eaigp dj mudsvkl u grq'kj dh [ky migj ea inku
djus grql o dka }kj k ejs gq 'kj dks mBkdj yst krs gq fp= ea
n'kz kx; k gß uhyd. B fxjh 'kj dh [ky ds vkl u ij vk kßkn
inku djus dh epk eafojkt eku gß³³

bl hizkj , d vÜ; fp= ea uhyd. B fxjh o vÜ; ; kx; kadks eB
eafoko/k/kfeZl fØ; kva eajr fn[kk; kx; k gß³⁴

egjk kk l aze fl g f}rh; dkoß ukfkegno efñj ean'kz djrs
gq fp=&egjk kk l aze fl g viusl jnkjka l fgr oß ukfkegno ds
efñj eaf'ko dsn'kz djrs gq , d fp= ean'kz sx; sgßbl eaf'ko
efñj dk fp=.k , oan'kz djrs gq egjk kk dk fp= 'kß /aeZdsifr
vklFkk dk izhd gß³⁵

; sl HhijEijkr fp= oñn vldkj eaesM+ds'kl dksdhrRdkyhu
 xfrfof/k, kadsilZrqr djrsge buesfp=ladkl a kt u cMghdykRed
 <x l sfd; k gA 'k; n gh, d scMsvldkj eafdl h vU; 'kyh eaacus
 gks budh dykRedrk ds l kfk gh ijEijkr rRdkyhu okLrfod #ila
 dksfp=dkjkausft ruh mRd"V <x l siZrqr fd; k gS; sQ fDr fp=.k
 dh mRd"Vrk dsfy, fel ky dk e djrsge

l UnHZ

- 1- Of'KV vlg-ds esM+dh fp=ladu ijEijh ; fud VM Z1984] i: 27-
- 2- 'lekZjlepUe esM+dsy?kfp=kae0 fDr fp=ladk dyki {k ysk 'kik if=dh
 o"K44] val 2] i: 71-
- 3- Lkekuh jleoYH& esM+ds'kl dks dh fp= culus dh ijEijh ysk ojn
 i: 5-
- 4- ogh ysk ojn o"K 38] val 4] i: 5-
- 5- 'lekZjlepUhe esM+dsy?kfp=kae0 fd&fp=ladk dyki {k ysk 'kik if=dh
 o"K44] val 2] i: 71-
- 6- [kyhy ruolj& esM+eajfl d fizk ds vkhj ij fp=ladu ijEijh ojn
 i: 24-
- 7- , UM; wkl QHYM i SUVXl QkeZjkt LFku bu n uskuy xsyjh vkhj foDVkfj; k
 i: l a 60] fp= l d; k 55-
- 8- ogh i: l a 65] fp= l d; k 64-
- 9- ogh i: l a 62] fp= l d; k 56-
- 10- ogh i: l a 63] fp= l d; k 59-
- 11- ogh i: l a 58] fp= l d; k 52-
- 12- ogh i: l a 61] fp= l d; k 57-
- 13- l qhkyk 'kälör esM+dk l kdfird bfrgk ¼680 l s1734 bz½
- 14- vizlk'kr 'kik izUk i: l a 136-
- 15- ogh i: l a 136-
- 16- l qhkyk 'kälör esM+dk l kdfird bfrgk ¼680 l s1734 bz½vizlk'kr
 'kik izUk i: l a 136-
- 17- ogh i: l a 136-

- 18- jkt id kn l a gky; eal a ghr fp=
- 19- olj foukn Hkx&2] izlj.k 11] vls>k jkt i q lus dk bfrgkl] i: l a 122
- 20- jkt dh; l a gky;] mn; ij eal a ghr fp=
- 21- of KB vlg-ds eoM+ dh fp=kdck ijEijk i: l a 19-
- 22- 'kelzjlep l hzeoM+ dsy?fp=keea0 fDr fp=kdck dyki {k vkyqk' kskif=dk o"K44] val 2] i: l a 73-
- 23- of KB vlg-ds eoM+ dh fp=kdck ijEijk i: l a 29-
- 24- jkt id kn l a gky;] mn; ij eal a ghr fp=
- 25- 'kelzjlep l hzeoM+ dsy?fp=keea0 fDr fp=kdck dyki {k vkyqk' kskif=dk o"K44] val 2] i: l a 73-
- 26- jkt dh; l a gk] mn; ij eal a ghr fp=
- 27- l qkyk 'Drlor eoM dk l kdfrd bfrgkl] vizdk' kr 'ksk izUk i: 138-
- 28- l kkuh jleoYyH& eoM+ ds' kkl dks dsfp= cucus dh ijEijk
- 29- ,.M; wkl QHYM i SUVXl QKZjkt LFKu bu n uskuy xsyjh vKQ fodVkfj; k i: l a 79] fp= l d; k 81-
- 30- ogh i: l a 75] fp= l d; k 73] l qkyk 'Drlor eoM dk l kdfrd bfrgkl] vizdk' kr 'ksk izUk i: l a 136-
- 31- ,.M; wkl QHYM dVykx] i: 62] fp= l d; k 58-
- 32- ,.M; wkl QHYM i SUVXl QKZjkt LFKu bu n uskuy xsyjh vKQ fodVkfj; k i: l a 83] fp= l d; k 87-
- 33- ogh i: l a 66] fp= l a 67-
- 34- ogh i: l a 75] fp= l a 79-
- 35- ogh i: l a 85] fp= l d; k 92-

20

I Yrur dkyhu jkt njckj dh l kdfird Hfcedk dk
, d , frgkl d v/; ; u

MWxlrk fl g*

Hkjrh; 'kl dks ds njckj] mudh xfjek vls xls o dks ifjyf[kr
djrs FlA njckj ka l s Hkjrh; 'kl dks dh igplu gkrh FlA *euqefr*
ea 'kl d dks d hz /qjh ds: Ik ea crk; k x; k gA mngj. k dsfy,
1190 bZ ea *xgjoky oák* dk 'kl d *plhzo*] *cā oák* dk vorkj
crk; k x; k gA¹ bu 'kl dks ds njckj ka ea fo} kulq dfo; k nk kudk
dk t e?W yxk jgrk FlA ft l l s muds njckj ka dk ; 'k vls l feku
, d nwjs l sc<+p<ej Lohdkj fd; k t k A

njckj ea Hfo"; o k mn?k k d rFlk vU; Q fDr mi fLFkr jgrs FlA
t k 'kl d dh *t; gk dk mn?k k djrs FlA ckj gola 'kr k nh ds v r
rd vf/kdlák jkt oák ka ds njckj fuEufyf[kr y{k ka l s l fcfUkr
FlA

1- l Hh njckj ka dh 'ku&' k r i j k k Bk ea FlA

2- l Hh njckj l kt & l Tt k o o k l s; Q r FlA

3- l Hh njckj ka ea 'kl d dh i fr" Bk xls o dh xfjek vls l k k t;
dh 'kDr dk i h o] LFKi r djus dh pšV k dh t k r h FlA

4- l Hh njckj ka ea vuq k d u] fu; e vls ulfr Q ofLFkr : Ik ea LFKi r
dh g o Z FlA

e Q Lye n s ka ea njckj ka dk Lo: Ik mudh ifjLFkr; ka l s fufeZ
gyk FlA *bZ kul* 'kl dks us vius njckj ka dks HQ : Ik l s l q ft t r

fd; k Fkk vls bu njckjka eale; ≤ ij 'kunkj vk kt u fd; s
 t krsFls t ksjkt; dh 'kDRk vls osto inf' kZ djrsFlA 'kd d inZds
 i hNs, d mPp fl gkl u ij cgr nyv gVdj cBrk Flk t glajkt; dk
 mPpre l kar Hh ml l sQ fDrxr : lk l sHw ughadj l drk Flk t c
 rd fd ml dks [kd rls l sl eV u cyrk gka eflye jkt njckj
 rhu [k M eafoHkt r FlA i Fle [k M eal kjsvf/kdjh vls jkt dckj
 inZl srhu QW dh nyh ij fl gkl u dsnkZvls [k M jgrsFlA nwjs
 [k M ea bruh gh nyh ij mudsi hNs l wnkj vls v/kuLFk 'kd dx.k
 [k M jgrsFlA rhl js [k M eat kdj] xk; dl l xlrckj vkrFlA j {kd
 ny fl gkl u ds ckZvls [k M gkrk FlA t c 'kd d fdl h Q fDr
 dks njckj eavkus dsfy, dgrk Flk rks og viuseg ij di Mk ckak
 yrk Flk² vls inZds i hNs l s xq jrk gqk fl gkl u ds l kus > q
 t krk FlA 752 bZ ea*meS; n 'kd u* dk vUr gks x; k RFlk jkt l Uk
 *vckfl nka ds gkFk ea pyh xBZvckfl n~oak i js 500 o"lzpyk vls
 ml gkus izkd fud Q oLFk ea ekyd ; kxku fn; ka i Fle [kylQk
 us*nbku&my& [kjt* dsule l s djka dk , d foHkx xBr fd; ka³
 nwjk egBoi wZ foHkx *fot kjr* dk fufeZ fd; k x; k t k s i y h rjg
 l s* i k fl ; ka } k j k fufeZ fd; k x; k FlA fnYyh ds l Yrkul kus bgh
 eflye&jkt oaka dh izkd fud Q oLFk dk vuqj.k vls l pkyr
 djus dh i fO; k dks viuk; ka vckfl n~'kd dks dky eanjckj ea
 Q fDr; kadsizsk djusdsi' pkr~mlgat ehu viusgkBl sNwh i Mh
 FlA bl ij Eijk dks*t ehkd* dgk t krk FlA bl dk vuqkyu fnYyh
 ds l Yrkul kus Hh fd; ka⁴ bl ds vfrfjDr eflye nka ds njckj dh
 i" BHe eal eV dks njckj dk izqk Jkr vls dlnzekuk t krk FlA
 mnkgj.k dsfy, l Yrku t c miLFkr gkrk Flk rks njckj; ka dsfy,
 fo'KV fu; ekoyh dk vlpj.k djuk l quf' pr FlA⁵

fnYyh l Yrur ds l Yrku t c viusLFku ij cBrs Fls rks jkt;
 deZkjh vls egy dsvf/kdjh.k viuh Aph vlok ea**fcfLeyk**
 dgrsFlA l Yrku ds i hNs [k M] *efyd dcy* viusgFlka ea, d i q k
 fy, gkrk Flk vls l Yrku ds nwjh rjQ fl i gh viusgFlka ea < ky
 ryokj vls /kuqk fy, [k M jgrsFlA t c dkoZQ fDr viusmi glj ds
 l kFl 'kgh&egy est krk Flk rks og viuh Jsh ds vuqkj l Yrku
 dk bart kj djrk FlA l cl sigysvelj *gkt c** vkrFls ml ds i hNs

ml dk l gk d Q fDr **[kl * 1/2ius l gk d ds l kfk ml ds ckn
l S; n glft c vls ** kj Q&my&glft c* vkrs FlA

t c vf/kdkj.k k vius mi glj vls jkt; dk yxkuj , df=r djds
l Yrku dks nrs Flk rks ; g mi glj l kus vls plnh ds crZka t S s &
dVls l gkgh vls nwjh oLrykads: lk eagkrs FlA os l kus vls plnh
ds Bkl VqM bV ds vdkj dscus gkrs Flk ft udksos **f[k k** dgrs
FlA

l Yrku dh xfjek ml dk , so; Z oSlo Q fDrFl i Hho rFlk ml dh
i fr”Bk ml ds njckj l sghelyw gkch FlA l eV Lo; a*e; y&fl gkl u*
ij cBrk Flk t kLo. kZdk cuk gk k Flk rFlk ft l eavud cgeV; jRu
l q fp vls l qnj dykRedrk dsl kfk t Mgg gkrs FlA nbok& , &vle
vls nbok& , &[kl dsd{q fo’kkl dj fnYyheavi uhmRd”V i Pphdkj
l s rks n’kZls dk /; ku vld”V djrs gh Flk ml ds Aj l s Lof. kZ
dkj kchfd; sgq] js keh inZ >kyjsvkn ml dh’ kfk dks vls Hh c<k
nrs Flk k l eV~Lo; agj &ek h jRuHj. k ds i Hho l st xex&t xex
djrk FlA ml ds njckj h rFlk ea-h Hh gt kj ka: lk sdh ykr ds di M
rFlk vHk k i gu\$ ja fcj xh i xfm; k ckls vi uh vku&cku l snjckj
eamiflFlr gkrs FlA l eV ds fl gkl u ds Aj dk N= Hh Lo. kZrFlk
jRu l sl t k gk k FlA

n’lgj h nihoy h bZ] ul\$kt] l eV~ dk t Ufnu] l eV~ ds
jkt; fHkcd dh frfK vkn] fo’kkl mRl oka ds fnu Fls vls bu mRl oka
dsl e; l k/hj.k oSlo ea Hh plj pln yx t krs FlA

l eV ds fo’kkl/kdkj ⁶ fuEu Fls &

- 1- >jk k & n’kZ
- 2- plh vls rl yte plh
- 3- uDdkj
- 4- mi k/k forj.k
- 5- ryknku vknA

ik %njckj vl zdhuekt ds mi jkr gkrs FlA dH&dHh l Yrku fnu
ds i Flk Hkx ea Hh njckj djrk FlA

ut j vls ful kj] ; snks mRl o ik %njckj vls nwjs vud vk/
kdkjd dk, ØelæagkrsFlA ut j ½[merh/ft l Q fDr }kj k Hw nh
t krh Flk og oQlnkj hizlV djrk Flk vls ; g l Rrk dsifr oQlnkj
dk irhd FlA l kjs Q fDr t ksl yrku dks igyh ckj ut j Hw nrs
Fls os ml dsuklj ds : Ik eadke djrs Fls ; k l h/s gh ml l sl EcfU
kr jgrsFlA⁷ **ful kj**] vk kr dk , d vyx rjhdk Flk t ksf d 'k; n
ut j mrkjus dk , d vUkfo'okl FlA

njckj dsrks & rjhdcgr t fVy FlA fofHlu vf/kdkj; kavls 'kgh
ifjokj ds l nL; ka dk dk Zl ko/kuhdi vZl⁸ of. kZ vls fuf' pr FlA
l Hh l koZ fud vls v) Zl koZ fud vol jkaij cgr de vfrfk kadk
jkt k dh mi fLkfr eacBusdh vKk FlA t ehu dks pousdh bLykfed
ijEijk dks vCkl n ds }kj k viuk; k x; k Flk t ksf d xt ufo; kads }
kj k fnYyh njckj eaigph FlA¹⁰

dqrqahu , od g[rs ea , d ckj njckj yxkrk FlA og vius
njckj dh fof kVrk cuk sj [krk Flk og t c dHh Hh njckj yxkrk
Flk rks njckj dh 'kdk ds fy, l xhrKk l kgr; dkj k dQ eMyh
xhr eMyh l Hh dks vlefu=r djrk FlA

bYrfe'k ds njckj eacM&cMsl kgr; dkj] dfo] fo}ku] nk kZud]
fpdRl d] T; k'r"kk; Zvkn Hæ. kfd; k djrs FlA ; g bLyeh l H rk
, oal kldfr dk egRoivZ dthz FlA bYrfe'k ds njckj ea *velj
[kj jk rFlk *velj gl u ngyol] Qkl h ds izdk M if. Mr FlA

cycu us viuh e; kZk vls xls o ea of) ykus ds mis; l s vius
jkt njckj dk l xBu fo'kk <x l sfd; k¹¹ cycu ds njckj dh x. kuk
, f'k; k ds iZl) njckj k eadh t krh FlA ml us vius njckj dks bZkuh
<x vls vkn' kZ ij l xBr fd; ka cycu us vius njckj ea e/;
, f'k; k ds *l Yt q* rFlk *[okjTe* ds l yrkula ds <x dk f'kVkpj
i pfyr fd; ka ml us njckj ea vfHoknu djus ds fy, *fl t nk* vls
*iSk l dh iFlk pykZ cycu viust 'u dh l Hkvladh l t koV ds
fy, veW; dle ds Q' kZ oL= jx fcjxs [oku l kus; plnh ds crZi
tjc[r ds inZukuk izdkj ds > kM-Qkuq 'kj cr iku vkn ds, df=r
djus ij cgr t kj nrk FlA¹²

R, k, g, l, a, d, s, v, o, l, j, i, j, c, y, c, u, d, s, n, j, c, j, e, a, c, g, r, v, k, M, E, c, j, ; k, f, n, [k, k, o, k, g, l, r, k, F, l, A, l, t, o, V, h, d, k, y, h, u,] d, < k, b, z, l, j, i, n, z, m, r, e, f, d, l, e, d, s, d, i, M, l, k, u, k, v, l, s, p, l, a, n, h, n', k, z, l, a, d, s, f, n, [k, b, z, n, r, s, F, l, A, d, n, f, n, u, l, a, c, k, n, t, s, k, f, d, c, u, l, z, u, s, f, y, [k, k, g, & *y, l, k, a, u, s, n, j, c, j, d, h, l, t, o, V, d, s, c, j, s, e, a, c, r, d, j, u, k, 'l, q, d, j, f, n, ; k, a, f, o', k, s, k, v, f, r, f, k, t, c, n, j, c, j, e, a, v, k, s, r, k, o, s, d, k, z, d, k, s, n, s, l, d, j, v, k, p, ; Z, p, f, d, r, g, l, s, x, ; s, **13 t, y, k, y, m, a, h, u, f, Q, j, k, t, f, [k, y, t, h, g, f, r, s, e, a, n, k, s, ; k, r, h, u, c, j, n, j, c, j, y, x, k, k, d, j, r, k, F, l, A, *l, y, r, k, u, t, y, k, y, m, a, h, u, f, [k, y, t, l, i,] f, p', r, h, l, E, i, z, k, * d, s, l, Q, h, l, U, r, *f, u, t, k, e, m, a, h, u, v, l, s, y, ; k', l, s, f, o', k, s, k, i, H, k, f, o, r, F, l, A, v, y, k, m, a, h, u, f, [k, y, t, h, , d, e, g, l, u, ~l, a, x, r, i, z, e, h, r, F, l, k, l, a, x, r, d, j, l, a, d, k, v, k, J, ; n, r, k, F, l, A, *v, e, l, j, [k, j, k, a, m, l, d, s, n, j, c, j, d, k, e, g, l, u, ~d, f, o, r, F, l, k, l, a, x, r, K, F, l, A

*f' l, g, l, c, m, a, h, u, v, y, & m, e, j, l, f, u, s, v, i, u, h, i, d, r, d, e, l, k, y, d, & m, y, v, o, l, k, j, d, h, e, e, k, y, d, & m, y, & v, o, l, k, j, e, a, f, y, [k, k, g, s, f, d, & *e, g, f, e, n, r, a, y, d, 1200, x, k, d, k, a, d, l, s, f, t, u, d, l, s, x, k, u, k, f, l, [k, a, u, s, d, k, d, k, z, l, k, a, k, x, ; k, F, l, A, d, k, i, k, y, u, i, k, s, k, k, d, j, r, k, F, l, A, m, l, d, s, i, k, l, r, h, u, H, k, k, v, l, a, v, F, l, A, ~v, j, c, h, Q, j, l, h, v, l, s, i, z, d, r, H, k, k, d, s, 1000, d, f, o, F, l, A, *l, y, r, k, u, *e, g, f, e, n, r, a, y, d, *d, s, l, a, x, r, l, s, i, z, e, F, l, k, v, l, s, m, l, s, e, u, l, j, a, u, d, k, l, k, l, u, l, e, > r, k, F, l, A¹⁴

'k, o, l, j, d, s, f, Q, j, k, t, 'k, g, n, j, c, j, l, s, e, f, l, t, n, t, k, r, k, F, l, k, t, g, l, a, i, j, o, g, l, l, e, f, g, d, i, F, l, z, k, e, a, f, g, l, l, k, y, r, k, F, l, A, l, y, r, k, u, e, g, y, &, & 'k, g, *] *f, x, f, y, u, * e, a, l, o, g, u, l, s, c, t, s, r, d, j, g, r, k, F, l, k, v, l, s, b, l, d, s, c, k, n, o, g, *e, g, y, &, & N, t, k, b, z, p, l, s, c, u, * t, k, r, k, F, l, A, t, g, l, a, i, j,] o, g, *' k, l, k, & m, y, & b, l, y, k, e, * l, s, f, o, p, l, j, f, o, e, 'k, z, d, j, r, k, F, l, A¹⁵

l, s, ; n, o, a, k, d, k, i, F, l, e, 'k, d, d, f, [k, t, z, k, k, e, g, h, u, s, e, a, n, k, s, c, j, n, j, c, j, y, x, k, r, k, F, l, A, o, g, H, h, v, i, u, s, n, j, c, j, e, h, l, k, f, g, r, f, o, n, l, a, d, c, k, y, l, a, u, r, z, l, l, a, u, k, v, d, d, j, l, a, d, s, v, l, e, f, = r, d, j, r, k, F, l, k, v, l, s, 'k, d, d, a, d, h, H, k, r, m, l, d, s, n, j, c, j, d, s, f, u, ; e, H, h, l, e, u, g, h, F, l, A¹⁶ l, y, r, k, u, c, y, l, s, y, y, l, a, n, h, L, o, ; a, H, h, n, j, c, j, y, x, k, u, s, e, a, : f, p, y, r, k, F, l, A, ; | f, i, c, y, l, s, y, L, o, ; a, f, o, } k, u,] f, 'k, f, {k, r, O, f, D, r, ; k, a, d, s, l, j, {k, k, f, n, ; k, d, j, r, k, F, l, A, m, l, d, s, n, j, c, j, e, a, *v, g, e, n, ; k, n, x, l, j, * t, s, s, y, d, k, d, a, d, s, l, j, {k, k, f, e, y, k, f, t, U, g, l, a, s, *r, k, j, h, [k, s, l, y, k, r, h, u, v, Q, x, u, * d, h, j, p, u, k, d, h¹⁷ b, e, k, f, g, e, y, k, n, h, d, s, n, j, c, j, e, a, R, k, g, l, a, d, s, c, g, r, m, y, k, l, d, s, l, k, F, k, e, u, k, k, t, k, r, k, F, l, A¹⁸

l, Y, r, u, r, d, k, y, h, u, 'k, d, d, l, a, x, r, d, s, c, g, r, i, z, e, h, F, l, A, v, e, l, j, [k, j, k, s, u, s, *u, g, & f, l, i, g, j, * e, a, H, k, j, r, h, l, a, x, r, d, h, c, M, h, i, z, k, a, k, d, h, g, s, m, l, u, s, f, y, [k, k, g, s,

fd *ml dh l ekrkl l kj dsfdl h Hkx l sugngkl drh gS* dfo; k
xk d l l xlr Klads i gLdr fd; k t krk FkA *dnkj fe; k* us Bofj; ka
dh jpuk dh rFk mudks vf/kd ykdfiz cuk k QyLo: Ik l xlr i xh
'ML=lr &jkx&jkxfu; kads LFku ij Bofj; kads il n djustyxA vr%
'ML=lr &jkx&jkxfu; k : fp dk fo" k u jgusdsdkj.ki" BHfe eai M-
xbZFkA¹⁹

fnYyh dsl Yrku] njckj dsl kldfrd dk Ze eacMh: fp yrs FkA
bZ ds vol j ij l a; k ds l e; njckj eaxk; u] uR; | vS eukj a u
dk iwZegRo jgrk FkA dN vol j ka ij njckj dks fo' kV < a l s
l t k; k t krk FkA mu njckj kads *t' u&, &njckj* dgk t krk FkA

igyk egRo iwZ R; kSj *l c&, &jkr* FkA t k d l kou dh plng
rkjh[k dks i Mrk FkA ehj gl u vyh us viuh i Qrd ea y[kuA ea
/k&/ke l seuk; st kusokys*t' u&, &njckj* uked mRl o dk l t ho
o. kZ fd; kgSk l Yrku fQjkt' kg bZ ds vol j ksij t S s* l c&, &jkr*
rFk *ulSkt* ds fnu *t' u&, &vke* djrk FkA bZ ds fnu *dWds
Qhkt kcn* dsl krka i x. kaeavke dso{k dh i fRr; ka QSyk nh t krh
FkA mRlj ds LFku ij] ft l se/; dk i x.k dgk t krk FkA 'kg ds
vks kld kj cjxlg yxk; h t krh FkA ml LFku dks njckj&, &vke
dk LFku dgk t krk FkA²⁰

feugt dsvud kj jet ku dseghuseai frfnu rt dhjsgyk djrh
FkA bUcrvk us l Yrku egEn rxyd } kj k bZ dks eukus dk jkd
fooj.k fn; k gA l Yrku *eot mnahu dSlpkn* ulSkt dk R; kSj
eukrk FkA vS [k] jksus* fdjku l knSi* eafy [kk gSfd cl Ur _ rqvks
gh l Yrku] ulSkt dsl ehj kg eukus dh rS kj; kavkj Fk dj nrk FkA
t c l kou dk eghuk vkrk rks jkt fl gkl u } kj k *l c&, &jkr* dh ckt h
dk vks k fn; k t krk FkA t c *l c&, &jkr* fudV vk t krh FkA rks
13]14]15 rkjh[k dh jk= ea vR; f/kd ckt; kabdVBh dh t krh FkA

fnYyh l Yrur ds njckj eal Yrku Lo; afo' ksk vol j kaij , d smRl ola
dk vk kt u fd; k djrs Fk t k fd u do y njckj ea oju l Ei wZ
'kgj nYgu dh Hkr l t k fn; k t krk FkA Hkr ea eq yekula } kj k
i pfyr l Hxk B; koo l kldfrd l l Fk vka eaqk; jkadk LFku vxz

hgA *eqlk; jk*21 'kn dkrR; Zfo' ksk: Ik l svk, kft r dfo&xksh
eadfork iB dju sl sgA dfo xk'B; kadsfy, **et fyl &, &jsrk**
'kn Hh iz qrgk FkA

fnYyh l Yrur ds 'kd dlaus vius Lrj ij vyx&vyx dN , d s
dk Zfd; § ft ul s njckj ds okroj.k dh dVrk ep Ik kZr vUrj
vk kA njckj keamR olavS R; ksjk ea Q fDr; kads l kUbr gkus l s
l kdfrd , drk dk t Ue gylA l kgr; ds vku&izku l sylkadh
izfuk, kads l e>usdk iz Ru gylA 'kd dlad njckj kads dyk vS
l xhr us , d u; k : Ik fn; kA Jxkj] QSkul os kHk vHk k vkn
usu doy l kdfrd t Madset cw fd; k cYd njckj eaykka
dks , d nwjs ds iZr vfk fp; kads vku&izku dh l gu' khrk
mRi Uu djkA l kgr; dkj k bfrgk dkj k dfo; k l xhr k k urZk us
l Yrurdky ea 'kd dlad njckj dks l 'kDr tuk k fufeZ djusea
egRoi . kZ; kxnu fn; kA22

fnYyh dsl Yrku t gla, d vS l Ei wZi zkd fud Q oLFk dsfu; a.
kdrZFk oghanjh vS l kft d , oal kdfrd t hou dsl jkd , oa
eki n. M Hh ekus t krs Fk; s gh fo' ksk i fjLFkr; k Fk ft uds nk ku
njckj] l kdfrd xrfok/k k adk ep cu x; k Fk k fnYyh l Yrur ds
iZr d l Yrku ds 'kd u dky ep njckj ea, d l fuf' pr vuqkd u o
f' kVpkj dh Q oLFk LFkr Fk ft l dk l Hh oxk ds } kjk i kyu
fd; k t kuk vfuok; ZFkA

l Yrur dky eanjckj jk usrd vS izkd fud Q oLFk dsl pkyu
eagh izqk k fcdk dk fuok ughdjrs Fk cYd t hou ds gj foHk
ep mudh iZr {k vS viZr {k fu. kZ d vFok l j {k kRed vFok i j.
ki n Hfcdk vfuok; Z: Ik l sjgrh FkA l kgr;] l xhr] uR;] mRl ol
R; ksj] eukouk] f' kVpkj] QSkul os kHk vkn l Hh ij njckj
iHh vfeV : i l sfujUrj Nk; kjgrk FkA

l aHZ

- 1- bf.M; u , .VhDojh XVIII i: 15-
- 2- Ik lzl kbDl | fgLVh vkQW fl Zk [k M & 1 jkmVyt 1915 ythu i: 16-
- 3- [kpk["k] vlsj; .V v.Mj n dSyQ] 1977 i: 218-
- 4- 'kEl fl jkt vfQQ] rkjh[k&, &fQjkt 'kgh l Ei knr t kW Mml u 1953 dYkdrk i: 281] 282-
- 5- M; vkbZ, p dgSK] fn , MefuLV3 ku vkQ n l Yrur vkQ fnYYh l Ei knr egFen v'kjQ 1942] fnYyh i: 71-
- 6- vo/k fcgkjh ik M;] e/; dkyhu "kd u vlsj l ekt l SV'y cpl fMi ks bfUM; k 1965 bYkgn i: 77-
- 7- bGucrvk fdrk & my&jgyk ft yn&4 1953 vlsj, .Vy bAVH; W cMsk i: 11-
- 8- 'kEl fl jkt vfQQ] rkjh[k&, &fQjkt 'kgh l Ei knr t kW Mml u 1953 dYkdrk i: 277] 287-
- 9- ogh i: 280] 287-
- 10- ft ; kmihu cjulh rkjh[k&, &fQjkt 'kgh l Ei knr l j l \$ n vgen [k] 1862 dydrk i: 142-
- 11- ogh i: 25] 250-
- 12- ogh i: 33-
- 13- ogh i: 53-
- 14- f'kqchu vy mejh el kfyd&my&vol kj dh eekfyd & my vol kj vuoknr , MoMZ, .M Mml u val 3 i: 26-
- 15- 'kEl fl jkt vfQQ] rkjh[k&, &fQjkt 'kgh l Ei knr t kW Mml u 1953 dYkdrk i: 124-
- 16- ; kg; kfcu vgen l jfglh] rkjh[k&, &ekjd'kgh l Ei knr fgnk r gd sl] pju tfru l kl kbVh] 1931 dydrk i: 88-
- 17- , MoMZ FWH] fn Økudy vkQ n iBku fdal vkQ fnYYh 1871] ythu Vjcu , .M dEi uh i: 67-
- 18- bfy; V , .M Mml u] Hjr dkbfrgk l Ei knr f'loyky vxzky , .M dEi uh 1973, vkxjk i: 79-
- 19- f'kqchu vy mejh el kfyd&my&vol kj dh eekfyd & my vol kj

- vuokfnr , MoMZ , .M Mml u val 3 i: 30-
- 20- jleackwl Dl sil , fgLVh vM mnyVj pj , Me ifcy"kl Z2002 ubZfnYyh
i: 96-
- 21- ft ; kmlu cjulj rjh[& , &fQjkt 'kgh l Eifnr lj l \$ n vgen [k] 1862
dydrk i: 147-
- 22- bGucrwk fdrk&my&jgyk ft yn&4 vkj , .Vy bLVH; w] 1953 cMsk
i: 56] 60] 62-

21

LorU=rk l Sukuh /kyt h HbZHhol kj

¼ Q fDrRo , oadfrRo½

MWuhye dK'kd , oaMWl elj Q kl

1857 ds fonlg ds ckn bZV bf.M; k dEi uh ds LFku ij bXySM
dh l leKKh , oarkt dk 'kl u vki Ek gks x; kA i kj Ek ea fnYyh ds
jst hWV dks jkt LFku ds jt okMa dh ns kj dk dk; Zl Kk x; kA
jkt LFku ea 1857 dh OKUr dh yst yh rEk ns kh fj; kl rh 'kl dka
l sl fUk dh xbZft l usokM-i ns k Hh 'Wey FkA Lorark dh plgr
ea ckm-i ns k , d s Lorark l suk; ka us t le fy; k ft uds Q fDrRo
, oadfrRo l sckM-i ns k /kl; gks x; kA , d k gh , d Q fDrRo Fk /
kyt h HbZHhol kj A

/kyt h HbZHhol kj

Jh /kyt h HbZHhol kj dkt le 16 fnl Eej 1907 dksckl okMk ft ys
dh ijrki gj rgl hy ds vjFlwk uled xlp ea Jh Fkojplnz o Jherh
pEi knoh ds? kj eagyA Fkojplnz Hhol kj vjFlwk ea Fkunkj FkA
Fkojplnz th bZkunkj o /kfeZl izfr ds FkA ; gh /kfeZl izfrl
l okHo o bZkunkjh ds l idkj Jh /kyt h HbZHhol kj ea vkt hou
jgA¹

vjFlwk t kxjh xlp gks l s; gk ngjk 'kSk k gsk Fk vls cskj
yhtkrh FkA bl vU; k ds fojkk ea ifojk dks djlc 15 o"KZrd
ednekt h eamy>uk iMA² cky {e. knl /kyt h HbZHhol kj ds
xq cusA mlgus l R; kxg dk iB i < k k bUgus xk /kt h ds fopkj l s

iHfor gklj xk/kt h }kjl aknr i= ^uot hou^ exkuk i kjEHk dj
fn; kA ft l l snsk dh jkt ulfrd fLFkr dk Kku gkl dA³

nsk dh jkt ulfrd fLFkr dksnsko nsk HfDr dh Hkouk l si fj
gklj Jh /lyt h HbZHol kj us vius l g; ksch l sfeydj 1928 ea
gfjt u l ok dk; Zl sl kofud t hou ea i nsk fd; kA⁴

[knh/kjh gkus ds dk .k i fy l dh ut j ea [Wdrs Fla/kj & /kj s
mudsikl cMh l d; k ea gfjt u i < us vkus yx A vc mu l cdk s , d
l kfk ?kj ij i < kuk l EHo ugha Fla⁵

vr%1931 bZ ea /lyt h HbZo t xUlFk da kjk usfeydj gfjt u
dsfy, gfjt u l od l ak cuk; kA ft ueacPpladk i < kus dsfy, , d
fo |ky; [kyk x; k gfjt u l sl EkdZj [kus o i < kus l sl ekt us /
lyt h HbZdks cfg" d r dj fn; kA bUghus rfud ijolg ugha dA Jh /
lyt h HbZus vfnokl ; k gfjt u l o xjlcadh l ok dsfy, , d vU
fo |ky; 1930 bZ ea pl k l k xlp ea i j ak fd; kA bu fo |ky; k ds
ek; e l sos jkt ulfrd pruk Hh t k r fd; k djrs Fla⁶

l u~1932 bZ ea Jh Hol kj vius xq ckck y{e. knkl dh vkkk
ydj l kjerh vkJe dsfy; sjokuk gqA rhu fnu ckn vgenckn
igpusij mudsikl fl QZckjg vkus cps Fla vgenckn ea ef. k kdj
ukxj dsl g; k l sl kjerh vkJe ea i nsk fd; kA⁷

xk/kt h dks Hh Hol kj us vius i kj Eifjd Q ol k 1/2 di Mj aus
dk/2 l si Hfor fd; k vU [knh ds di Ma dks nsk ea gh cus j a l s
j aus dk mUghus xk/kt h ds vns k ij or fy; kA l kfk gh turk dks
; gh igukuk g\$; g or Hh mUghus fy; kA⁸

; gk ij /lyt h HbZus [knh dh drkZcukbZo j akbZ Ni kbZ dk
dk; Zl h [kA mUghus i wZfu" Bk dsl kfk vkJe eavkJe dh fu; ekoyh
ds vuq kj [knh cukbZdk; Z l QkbZdk; Z, oaxl & l ok vkn dk dk; Z
fd; kA vkJe d sea h mudh dk; Z l qyrkl si Hfor gqA mudsvkJe
dk [kpkZekQ dj fn; k x; kA⁹

Jh /lyt h HbZHol kj vius [kpl svgenckn l s 20 i v h p [kzo
, d drkZe' ku ijrki j yk A ogk ds yk k dks [knh mRi knu dk

i f' k k k fn; kA mlglus x t jkr fo | ki B l si zrfnu , d ?k Vki f' k k k
y us dsl fFk Lo; adk m | l s i kj Fk fd; kA os x h eokl ; k v kfnokl ; k
o v k t urk d k t k x l j n k j o l j d k j dh ulfr; k dh t kud k j h n s r s Fk
r Fk l j d k j dh x y r ulfr; k dh v k y k p u k d j r s Fk¹⁰

Jh /lyt h HbZvius Q Lr dk; Øe l si zrfnu l k a l ?k Vsdk l e;
fudky dj vgen k c n j k i j e a f l Fk r x h r k e f n j e a g k u s o k y s i n p u
e a j k e k . k o x h r k d k i B l q r s Fk e n j e a , d l i k l h i n p u d j r s
Fk f t l dh fo / k o k H k h f o t ; k n o h F h t k M a x j i g dh j g u s o k y h F k A
l i k l h u s / l y t h H b Z d s c k j s e a d k Q h l q j [k F k A m l g l u s / l y t h
H b Z d s l e u s v i u h c y H k h f o t ; k d o j d s f o o k g d k i z r k o j [k A
f t l s / l y t h H b Z u s f c u k f d l h f g p d d s L o h d k j d j f y ; k A m l l e ;
v l r t k z h f o o k g d k l f e k u u g h a f n ; k t k r k F k A f Q j H h / l y t h H b Z
u s Ø k r d k j h d n e m B k ; k¹¹ 1936 b Z e a f o o k g v k ; Z l e k t d s e f u n j e a
l E i U g y k A c k y f o / k o k l s v l r t k z h f o o k g g k u s d s d k j . k H k o l k j
d k t k r l s c f g " d r d j f n ; k x ; k A f o t ; k n o h H h Ø k r d k j h F k A
n k u s i f r & i R u h f e y d j t u r k d k s j k V t r p r u k l s v k r & i k r d j u s
y x s¹²

Hol kj nEi fr x k / l t h d s f u n z k u i j 1942 b Z e a i j r k i g v k x ; A
m l g l u s v k n o k l ; k d k s j k V t r f o p k j k a o n s k e a L o r U = r k l a z e dh
f l F k r l s v o x r d j k ; k A 1942 b Z e a x k / l t h u s H k j r N l s M s v k n s y u
i k j F k f d ; k A m l h l e ; c k l o k M k e a v d k y dh f l F k r F k A¹³ v u k t dh
m i y C / k r k f n u & i z r f n u ? k V r h t k j g h F k A f Q j H h j k t k o t k x l j n k j k a
d s ' k k k d k d k b Z v a r u g l a g y k A v d k y d s l e ; / l y t h H b Z u s
? k j & ? k j l s v u k t e k x u k f o d y l a k d k s n s k d j m u d s f y ; s r h u i f g ; k
d h x k M h y k n s i k v l s b l g a p j [k n s i k r F k p y k u k f l [k u k v k n l s
l e k t l o k d k d k ; Z f d ; k A¹⁴

v d k y d s d k j . k i f M r { k = k a l s x k ; a c k l o k M k f t y s e a v k b Z g p Z
F k A m l g l u s i ' k l u d k s c p k u s d s f y ; s p k j s d k i z U k f d ; k v l s p l j k
x k ; k a r d i g p k u s e a Q L r g l s x ; A t c r d x k ; k a d k > q M c k l o k M k
f t y s e a j g k H o l k j c j k j m u d s p k j s d s f y , f d l h u f d l h i z k j
l s i z R u d j r s j g A y l s k a u s H j i y l g ; l s f n ; k A¹⁵

LorU=rk vlnsyo o vU; xrfof/k dsl pkyu grqvc , d l aBu dh vlo'; drkegl w gksyxhA ckl okMk eavdky dh fLFfr] cB&cskj] euq; dksfxjohj [kuk] vlnokl h o fdl ku ij 'kSk k c<rk t k jgk FkA , d h fcxMrh fLFfr dsl qkj dsfy, /lyt h HbZust kkiq ds it kl od^ dsl Eiknd vpysoj iz kn dks vlef=r fd; kA¹⁶

27 ebZ 1945 dh jkr eait kl od t kkiq dsl aind Jh vpysoj iz kn 'keZ dsl kU/; ea /kukko dh vle l Hk ea ef. k k j t kuh iz ke. My ds v/; {k o /lyt h HbZi Fk ea h cusA ifyl ds H; l s /lyt h HbZus viuk dk ky; ?kj ij j [kA¹⁷

turk eajkt usrd pruk ds dkj. k iz ke. My dk dk; Zvks c<us yxk ft l l s dk; ZlrZ dh vlo'; drk egl w gksyxhA vr% dk; Zea l g; ks dsfy, /lyt h HbZus Jh Hwzhz k f=onh dks i= fy [kdj cEcbZl scl okMk cyk; kA Jh f=onh /lyt h HbZdk vle a. k Vky ugha ik , oaegroi wZ fLFfr dks ns krs gq , d ckj ckl okMk vk; sij Urq iq% cEcbZ pys x; a¹⁸

ckl okMk eait ke. My dh LFki uk ds ckn jkt usrd pruk o LorU=rk l ake dk dk; Zrt h l s c<us yxhA iz ke. My us l j dkj dh neu ulfr dk foj k k fd; kA vU l adV dsl ekku eal j dkj ds vf/ k dkj; kA o ulfr; kA dk foj k k] cB&cskj o l keUr' hgh 'kd u dk foj k k xeh kA } kj k cskj u nus dk fu. kZ mlyjnk; h 'kd u dh ekx ds fu. kZ dsfy, turk dks tkx' gksyxhA iz ke. My dh iofr dks dpyus dsfy, l j dkj us ifyl jkt dks t le fn; kA iz ke. My dks fonh gh dj kj fn; k rFk turk dks 'kjhd u gks dsfy, Mjk k x; kA¹⁹

jkt; eavukt dh fLFfr fnu&irfnu fodV gkrh t k jgh FkA 24 Qojh 1946 bz dks iz ke. My dk; ZlrZ dsl puk feyh fd fry] vj. Mj Mj h o l ky dsvylok puk Hh jkt; l scl gj t k jgk gA vr% fu'p; fd; k x; k fd jkt; ds nboku ds ik vukt dh fudkl h dks jklus dsfy, , d f' kVe. My l j dkj l s feyA nboku ds tok l s vl arV gklj mxzHM-usi Rfj vS jr Qadhar Hh ifyl ds? Mj okj vkx; sij iz ke. My ds dk; ZlrZ kausbl fLFfr dks fu; U= k ead j fy; kA²⁰

uoEcj 1945 bZ ea/kyt h HbZHhol kj dksokM-i z ke. My dsurk Jh ekf. kD; yky oelZdk i= i Hr gylA ft l eamlgkusfnl Ecj elg ea mn; ig eavf[ky Hkjrh; nshjkt; dsykd ifj"kn-dsvf/lošku ea Hkx yus dsfy; sckl okMk {s= l si fruf/k ds ule eazok; s FkA bl ij iz ke. My dk; Zlkj. kh usru l nL; ¼1½/kyt h HbZ½½fpeuyky ekylr ½½l wZlj. k nš h dks Ht us dk i Zrko ikfjr fd; kA mn; ig eavf[ky Hkjrh; nshjkt; ykd ifj"kn-dk vf/lošku ia t olg jyk yug: dh v/; {krk eagkusokyk FkA vf/lošku eai a ug: dksnš k; g vk p; Zgok fd ckl okMk ds vknok h {s= ds; qdla dk dk; Zvxzkh , oal jgubr gš²¹

m/kj ckl okMk ea Hhol kj ds fuokl LFku ij flFkr iz ke. My dk; kzy; ij fi Nysru elg l sjkV^a/ot frjæk Qgjk jgk FkA i qyl iz ke. My dk; ZlrZ dks >. Mk mrkjus ds l kfk ; g Hh dgrh FkH fd dks d ; k iz ke. My dk >. Mk yxkus dh ct k ; gk ds jkt k dk >. Mk iz ke. My dk; kzy; ea Qgjk k t los bl dk iz ke. My usfojšk fd; kA²²

23 tuojh 1946 bZ dks ckl okMk jkt; iz ke. My }kj k uskt h l Hk k ckl dh t; Urh eukbZxbZ i tr%dky i Hr Qjh fudkyh x; kA 'ke dks , d vle fojkV l Hk dk vk; kt u fd; k x; k ft l ea uskt h ds t hou ij iz k k Mkyk x; kA Ldy Hou ij frjæk >. Mk Qgjk k x; kA 23 tuojh 1946 bZ dks iz ke. My us 26 tuojh 1946 bZ dks LorU=rk fnol eukusdk fu'p; fd; kA bl eai wZLojkt; o LorU=rk l ake t kjh j [kus dk i Zrko j [kA²³

m/kj vukt l EcUkh l eL; k fodV gkrh t kjgh FkA iz ke. My }kj k fd; sx; svlksy u dk l jdkj ij dks Zvl j ughai MA 27 Qjojh 1946 bZ dks l jdkj }kj k l Hh l Hk vlat yw l ao vlnksy u ij jkd yxk nA iz ke. My l jdkj dk fojšk djrh jghA²⁴

l jdkj }kj k uxj i kydk l hek eafdl h Hh izdkj dh 'kcd l Hk o t yw vkn ij jkd yxkus ds ch o iz ke. My }kj k 4 ekpZ 1946 bZ dks Hškoky esku ea5 ct sfojkV l Hk dk vk; kt u fd; k x; kA bl l Hk dsnwjsfnu 5 ekpZ 1946 bZ dks l qg Hwshz kfk f=onh /kyt h HbZ

Hkol kj] Jh 'kdjns o l wZlj.k dks fxj¶rkjh dkl ekplj ijs n'ska
 ea QSy x; kA gMrkys?k'kr dh xbA fpeuyky ekylr o ef.k'kdj
 t kuh us144 dh/kjk rkdj t qw fudkyA ifyl usykBlpkt Zdj
 /kjk 56 dkuw Hæ djus dsfy, dbZyls k dks fxj¶rkj fd; kA²⁵; gh
 ugh efgyk v d st qw dk us Ro fot; k cu dj jgh FkA og t qw
 ea l cl svks >. Mk ysdj py jgh FkA ifyl usykBlpkt Zdj 10
 t uk dks?k; y dj fn; kA l jdkjh neu vls rt gksx; kA fxj¶rkjh
 ds rhl jsfnu 7 ekpZ1946 bZ dks l e>k'k gqk rFk us'k v k dks fjk
 dj k fn; k x; kA 'lgj eafot; t qw fudkyk x; kA²⁶

9 vxLr] 1946 bZ dks iz le. My ds }kjk ckl okMk dsvkt kn esku
 ea, d vle l Hk dk vk; kt u fd; k x; k ft l ea iz le. My }kjk Lok/
 kurk fnol dh i frKk l EcfUkr i Zrko ikjr fd; k x; kA buea ^d¶
 jpuke d; Zt S 'kjk cclh [knhk] l Qk bZ cfu; knh rkye] i k +
 f'k k l fl=; k dh mlifr] vj k; vkn ij ppZ dh xbA 1946 bZ ea
 /kyt h Hk bZ ckl okMk ft yk d x d de v h ds i Fle l a kt d eukh
 gqA²⁷

t uojh 1947 bZ ea iz le. My dk vf/ko'sku gqk bl dk LFky fe'ku
 vLi rky FkA bl ea ykdfiz usrk Jh t; ukjk .k Q kl o ghjkyky
 'kL=h vle=r fd; s x; s A bl gms mljnk; h 'kd u dh ekx ds ukjs
 yxok A 18 viy 1948 bZ dks ckl okMk uj'sk plnzlj fl g usykdfiz
 'kd u dh LFki uk dh ft l ea Hk v h z k f=onh eq; ea-h cuA²⁸

i n'sk d x d de v h ds fu. k'ku d kj ckl okMk jkt; iz le. My dk
 d x d eafoy; dj fn; k x; kA d x d ds ft yk v/; {k in ds fy,
 Jh /kyt h Hk bZ Hkol kj o uVojyky Hk V mElnokj FkA ernku ea
 Jh /kyt h Hk bZ fot; h jgA ckl okMk ft yk de v h ds l a kt d o i Fle
 v/; {k ds : i ea /kyt h Hk bZ dk ckl okMk fj; kl r ds jkt LFku ea
 foy; dj l use avr q u h ; k nku jgk gA²⁹

/kyt h Hk bZ 1952 l s 1957 bZ rd fo/ku l Hk ds l nL; jgA 1957
 bZ l sjkt fufr l sl i; kl yus ds ch osjpuk d; k z ea yx x; A³⁰
 ft l ea [knh] x k s [k] x k nku] Hk ku] l ok;] 'kjk cclh vknok h
 mFku] l kelt d d jifr; k adk foj k o l ekt l ok dk; Zl st q x; A

xk/h t; ah ij 1954 bZ ea /lyt h HbZ us [knh xzels| s l febr
chl oMk dh LFki uk dhA bl dk mn?Wu Jh t; ukjk .k Q kl us
fd; kA [knh iSh o pj [k kyk so ylska dks bl dk i f' k k k fn; k³¹

xk/h t h dsije vuq k h /lyt h HbZ us vknokl ; k ea 'kj k cah
dk i z kj fd; k o l Ei wZ t h udky eavknokl ; k dks 'kj k u i hus
dh i frKk fnyok bA 14 uoEj 1988 bZ dksvk; k t r mDr fo'ky l Hk
eavknokl ; k dsfo'ky l eg dks 'kj k u i hus dh i frKk fnykrsgg
mi fLFkr tu l eg l sulj scyok aep ij mi fLFkr ukj syok rsgg Jh
/lyt h HbZ vius nku ag Fk Aj mBk gg Fk bl izlkj [kM& [kMs
gh ukj syok rsgg og HbZ rd t xr l segk z k k dj x; s³²

l nHZ

- 1- 'kelZjledqkj %okxM+eaLorU=rk l xke dh Hfedkj i: 2-
- 2- oS; bZojyky %deZ l sxh Hkol kj nEi R /lyt h HbZ Hol kj
i: 31-
- 3- 'kelZjledqkj %okxM+eaLorU=rk l xke dh Hfedkj i: 2-
- 4- bl l e; eamudsl g; kx; k eat xUkFk da kj k i z q k Fk
- 5- 'kelZjledqkj %okxM+eaLorU=rk l xke dh Hfedkj i: 3-
- 6- mijkDr] i: 4-
- 7- 'kelZjledqkj %okxM+eaLorU=rk l xke dh Hfedkj i: 5-
- 8- MVk 'WU=Lo: i %deZ l sxh Hkol kj nEi fYk l efi Z' tul od]
i: 5-
- 9- 'kelZjledqkj %okxM+eaLorU=rk l xke dh Hfedkj i: 5-
- 10- mijkDr] i: 6-
- 11- mijkDr] i: 7-
- 12- mijkDr] i: 7-
- 13- mijkDr] i: 8-
- 14- l leonh l R or %deZ l sxh Hkol kj nEi fr fLFkri K /lyt h HbZ
i: 52-

- 15- t si x.ki ryky %deZ lsh Hkol kj nEi fr d: .ke; h efrZck o
cki wt h i` 74-
- 16- f=onhfgEeryky %ckl okMk dkjkt uSrd &l lekt d o l k.dfrd
bfrgk | i` 28-
- 17- 'keZjledqj %okM+eaLorU=rk l xze dh Hfedk i` 10-
- 18- f=onhfgEeryky %ckl okMk dkjkt uSrd&l lekt d o l k.dfrd
bfrgk | i` 30-
- 19- 'keZjledqj %okM+eaLorU=rk l xze dh Hfedk i` 12-
- 20- mijkDr] i` 13-
- 21- f=onhfgEeryky %ckl okMk dkjkt uSrd&l lekt d o l k.dfrd
bfrgk | i` 9-
- 22- 'keZjledqj %okM+eaLorU=rk l xze dh Hfedk i` 14-
- 23- mijkDr] i` 16-
- 24- f=onhfgEeryky %ckl okMk dkjkt uSrd&l lekt d o l k.dfrd
bfrgk | i` 14-
- 25- 'keZjledqj %okM+eaLorU=rk l xze dh Hfedk i` 18-
- 26- mijkDr] i` 19-
- 27- mijkDr] i` 20-
- 28- f=onhfgEeryky %ckl okMk dkjkt uSrd&l lekt d o l k.dfrd
bfrgk | i` 24-
- 29- 'keZjledqj %okM+eaLorU=rk l xze dh Hfedk i` 22-
- 30- f=onhfgEeryky %ckl okMk dkjkt uSrd&l lekt d o l k.dfrd
bfrgk | i` 28-
- 31- xzels l fevr ck| okMk Øekd 710] ifj'KV l q; k&1 o 2-

½½ft yk/ki k dk k; ea l qf{kr i=kyh ea ck l okMk l si Hr
i=] l d; k&3-

½½/kyt h HbZ} kj k vukt yoh ol yh ij fojW i=]

32- 'keZjledqj %okM+ea LorU=rk l xte dh Hfedkj i` 29

½½xk/kt h } kj k /kyt h HbZ dks fy [kk x; k i=] fut h l xg ea
l qf{kr

22

Jh N=i fr f' lakt h egjkt dh /æZ fg". kulfir dk
egjkt^a ij i Hko

MWeqjd djsk

l =gola 'krknh dsmtjk/Zæ egjkt^a eajkt ulfrd , oal lakt d
dhr dsuk d N=i fr f' lakt h egjkt usfgthoh Lojkt; dh LFki uk
dh f' lakt h egjkt ds 'fgthoh Lojkt; ¹ eafgthoh 'kn fdl h t kfr
fo'kk dsl akku dsfy, iz Or ughafd; kx; ka eaydky eafgthoh
'kn 'Hjrh ^ bl vFZæiz k fd; k t krk FkA eaykadh jkt Hk'k
Qjl h Fh rFk vU; l Hh Hk'k; a fgthoh FkA f' lakt h ds Lojkt; dk
vFZ Fk bl nsk dh t urk grq LFki r fd; k x; k jkt; A² f' lakt h
ekurs Fk fd jkt k i gys jkt k gSch eafgthw; k eq yekA

f' lakt h egjkt usjkt ulfrd , drk fuelzk djusdk vHwi vZdk; Z
fd; ka f' lakt h egjkt dk ; g vfOrh; ijkdæ l äwZfgthoh Fku ds
l lakt d , oajkt dh dhr ea, d J3B vkn'Zds: i eabfrgl ea
LFku cuk pdk g³

f' lakt h dh /æZl fg". kulfir

f' lakt h dh /æZl ulfr cgr mnkj FkA fgthw/æZ dh j{k djrs
gg Hh f' lakt h ds eu ea eq yekA ds /æZ ds i fr vFok l Eizk
fo'kk ds: i eamuds i fr] fdl h izlkj dh ?k k u FkA mudsjkt;
dk vkn'Z Q ogkj : i eal cdsfy, iwZ/æZl Lorark FkA⁴

mudsvfHk kuladsnk ku og i R d er ds /æZl LFku adk vknj
djrs FkA fgthwefhj vS eflye Qdjh dsedcj k rFk eflT nkd ds
/æZnku nrs FkA eq yekA ds i h k dh njxgk o eflT n eafpjkh

dh Q oLFk os Lo; a djrs FkA dyl h ds cck ; kdw l n' k eq yeku l Urka dk f'lokt h l Eeku djrs FkA iVxk , oal ar eksh Onjk jkt 1000 ylxk dks [kuk f[kyus dh Q oLFk Lo; af'lokt h djrs FkA⁵

f'lokt h ds ikl cgr l seq yeku LokfeHDr l od vls vuqj Fk t k syh rjg mlgal g; sx nrs FkA mudh ukS uk dk eq; deklj nkyr [kvwls fl nah fel= dsjguokys eq yeku FkA muds? ml okja eavf/kdre eq yeku FkA⁶ mudk l od enjh egrj , d QjZk Fk t k l nk muds ikl jgrk Fk vls ml h usv xjk l sf'lokt h ds iyk u eamudh l gk rk dh FkA f'lokt h vQ t y [kwd sfeyuokrZ ds l e; f'lokt h dk vxj {kd bckge [ku , d eq yeku FkA t; jke fiM; s fyf[kr l edkyu l idr xFk ^i. kzi oZ xg. kq; ku^ ds l nHkd kj ^l u-1669 ea exyla ds njckj ea Hk k x; k f'lokt h dk nw dkt h gsj eqLye FkA⁷

beke [ku] 'kek [ku] bckge] fl nah feljh fl nah fnyky b- eq yeku dks mPp in laij Hh f'lokt h usfu; Or fd; k A⁸

rEdkyu bfrgk dj [kQh [k us Hh f'lokt h dh eOr dB l s izk k djrs gq dgk Fk ^f'lokt h us fdUgh /kfeZl LFkuk efLt nka vkn dks dHh vifo= ughafd; k mlgat gkWHh /leZi urd ^djk^ yw ea iDr gqZ mlgas l Eeku l fgr ml soki l dj fn; k mudk viuh l uk ea; g dBkj vns k Fk fd] geys ea fl=; k cPpka vls / kfeZl iq "kads dkdZd"V u igqk k tk A gkFk eavk t kus ij Hh eq yeku fl=; k ds l rhd dh j {k vls cPpka dks l jf[kr j [kus ds ifr og l ns l tx jgk⁹ f'lokt h ds Lojkt; ea fgUhwls eq yeku] xS eq yeku bl bZ csn] t si /kelZyfc; kads /kfeZl Lorark FkA 1 1/2 kdfrd iZko

l idfr , d l okh kjpuk gSrFki ; g , d l lekt d l LFk gA¹⁰ egkjKV^a ea 'kkl dka dh l eb; onh Hfcdk , oabLye ds izsk gkus ij lgt ghfgUhw eqLyeka opkj d ys & ns 'kq gya¹¹ u doy fgUhw dyk fgUhw /leZ fgUhw l fgr , oafokku ea eqLye l ekov V gkus yxs oju- fgUhw dh l idfr dk Hh fuos k blykfed rRok dks

vRel kr djus yxA fgUhw, oa eġLye k ds vġkj & fopkj] l ġdfr dk vku&izku gkus yxA¹²

v^{1/2}vġkj & fopkj] oš kġk , oaeuġt u

eġ yekula ds l Ei dZl sfgUhw k ds nSġnu vġkj & fopkj eai fjorZi gkus yxA eġ yekula ds i kġk] ġ dġrk bR, kfn dk Lohdġ fgUhw djus yxA xkġ & [kM eaj gus okys eġ yekula us 'i kxk' h' i guuk 'kġ dj fn; k r k eġLye fL=; kM kMh i guus yxA¹³

eġLye 'kġ udr kZ k ds bt kj] p<k] nk h eġLye i ġj k o egkj k^{Va} ds 'kġ d k us viuk fy, A fgUhw eġLye l ġdfr d l eġ; l soš kġgd j l fr fjokt Hh vNws u j ġ l dA gYnġ cjkr] o/kw d k fn; s t kus okys : [k o r dk o. kġ egkj k^{Va} ds l ū , duk Fk Ųkj k j fpr xġk ^: fDe. kġ Lo; oġ ^ l s kkr g k r k gA vkr' l kt h, oa 'kġk, k=k dk i pyu eġLye l Ei dZ} kj k gh l ekt eavkus yxA¹⁴

b= , oa 'kj cr dk 'kġl fgUhw l ekt ea c<us yxA e | eku o / kġi ku 1/2 kM xM] ġ d k 1/2 i fr f" Br l ġ H t hou dk y {k k eku t kus yxA i ku [kus dk 'kġl fgUhw vġ eġLye / kġ eal eku : i l s fuekZk gk x; kA

foVh&nġMw pMġGh] yxkj] l ġ d k Mh i Vi V l koyġ] yi Mlo] o k Mh] , d cġh] ġ r r w [kġ k dk i pyu nkula l ekt ea gkus yxA yMfd; k d k s fi xġ QġMh] fVijh [kġ fiz FlA 'krjġ] j k x n kj] l x hr mġrj Hġr l snf {k k eavk; sA¹⁵

eġkj k dh ct kġk esxlr] nf {k k l sfoVh&nġMw d k [kġ r Fk ^ p k M d n k e M w ' k n iz k e gkj k^{Va} eavk; A

bl ds vfr fjDr fgUhw eġ yeku , d n w j s ds l eku uke Hh j [kus yxA l t ġ k] n k s r j k] Hġ d j j k t S eġLye uke k ds fgUhw j [kus yxsrks valġk [ku] HxM [kġ k j unġ yġ [ku] j ru 'kġ k l ġ ku [ku] fcfpuj [ku] HġZ [ku] fHye [ku fgUhw l ġdfr l s l a / k r uke eġ yekula us / kġ . k fd; A fejkt ġ eġykt h ea ^ t h' i k ; yxkus dh i Fk t k s ej k Bh eai ġ phu dky l s Fh] eġ yekula us viuk yh¹⁶

c^{1/2}ejk^{Bh} ij Qkjl h Hk'k dk iZko

; | fi ejk^{Bh} l kgr; ea Qkjl h 'kna dh vlod rjgola 'krknh l s gh 'kq gks x; h Fk rFkfi N=i fr f'lokt h egjkt ds mn; gks ij jkt uSrd Lrj ij Qkjl h Hk'k dk iZkY; fuekZk gks x; k FkA¹⁷

^ejk^{Bh} l s vjch , oa Qkjl h 'kna ds ifjp; dk vR; k/kd l ak Hk oLFk iZkd u vS y' dj l s FkA mnk orunkj 1/2 udsikl oru gks Fk nS kq k rFk nS ki kna dh rjg^{1/2} ekdk k ; k eqkl k 1/2 edkrk paxh dj iHr djus dk ukdk eqnne 1/4; 3B^{1/2} orunkj la ds fy, bLreky fd; k t krk Fk dlj dw 1/2 k l j ; k dle djuoky^{1/2} vFlok nyky] [k 1/2 k pok Hk^{1/2} & Q ol k; dsl siHr fd; k t kusoky Hk vFlok dj 1/2 mnk egt ul ygj] l qj b- l 3/2 j; r vFlok turk gd 1/2 f/kdj 1/2 vFlok uke A¹⁸

iZkd u ea bLreky fd; s t kusokys; g r k = d 'kn 'kq : i l s vjch & Qkjl h Fk f'lokt h us i jekun] t ; j k r Fk Hk k dls Qkjl h & l d r 'kndk jpus grq fu; q r fd; k Fk f'lokt h ds v"Viz ku ea teMy ds e f ; k ds Qkjl h uke Fk mnk i s lok et onk] okd; kuohl] 'kyuohl] Mchj] j & , & u k r l n z d k t h e my d t k r A

i s lok v la ds mn; l s gh ejk^{Bk} dk k y ; g t y n [r j ds dk k z dk fujh k k , d m ppre vf/kdj h djrk Fk t k QM uohl Fk t k ckn ea QM kohl] Qjuohl] Qjuohl vS QMuhl ds uke l s t kuk t krk FkA buel s d n vf/kdj ; k us Qkjl h uke t k uohl ^ y s ku l s va gks Fk d k cnydj ^ uhl ^ dj fn; k t k egjKV^a ea dbZfgUqy la ds mi uke cu x; A mnk fpVuhl 1/2 pVBhuohl 1/2 gkt juhl 1/2 gkt jh uohl 1/2 l cuhl 1/2 gl kuhl 1/2 okduhl 1/2 kd; k uohl 1/2 t cfd Qk rnkj 1/2 S sl Hkyusoky^{1/2} i k rnkj cu x; k ekyrnkj 1/2 ki kj LFkfi r djus oky k ft Ygk vf/kdj h ekyrnkj cu x; k¹⁹ f'lokt h egjkt ds i = k ea Hh Qkjl h 'kna dk iz kx gqk djrk FkA mnk vt j [r [kus fcnun] [k z k n A d n Qkjl h 'kn f'loi = k ea fuj l r j vk sgq gS & dlj dw] t ehul l k t k & r k t ; k r j h [k n k n s y r g h ct kuh] l ng l ky] l q] g t y 'kna dk iz kx vucl 'krdard gkrkjgk²⁰

^vt Zkj k dk 'Q; kZ h' ^dkt h' cu x; k rFlk mudk Q\$ yk vFlk
 bU lQ gkus yxhA xM ds ulbZl i kVy budh t xg 'fdYynkj^ o
 ^gokynkj k us ys yhA os vius 'Qk nkj^ ^t eknkj^ ds l kfk 'Qk ^
 ys dj t kus yxhA jkt ulfr l sl a/k' ylska ds ?kj k ea ^et okul' ds
 l e; ^vfr' lct h' gkus yxhA ^xq' kch vRj^ Hh mlgayxusyxhA i gys
 foolg vol jkij i kol fVedh ok; æ ct k st krs Fls vc mudh t xg
 ^rkAl ^ ^ky^ ^rk k us ys yhA²¹

ejk Bh old; jpuk ij Hh Qkj l h i Hko fn [kZ n s us yxhA o\$ fDrd
 i = k ij Hh rkjh [k h eR h / fy [kus ds fgt jh p n z vFlk rkjh [k fy [kus
 dh e [ye i) fr : < gkus yxhA ^vt Znkrk' ph l q okr 'ek uk /
 ^vt Zkr vt Zkj cans uokt vycdl yk] fy [kus dh i) fr : < gks
 x; h²²

u d o y jkt ulfr ea oju~l ekt ea Hh Qkj l h Hk'k dk i Hko FkA
 ukSjh ds fy, fgthv k ds Hh Qkj l h Hk'k l h [kuh i MA mlgA ; g
 Hk'k l h [kus ds fy, dkt h' ekyoh] e [kh ds ikl t kuk i Mrk FkA os
 fgthv k ds Qkj l h Hk'k eflT n vFlk njxlg ea vkuni wZl fl [krs
 jgs gksA²³

ukl d] i S. k v [x k c n] i q k t [u j] d & g M i z d k u x j k e a Bhd
 ml hizkj Nw s x k w t S s f n a [s h] u a g c j] j f g e r i y] [k M] o k b z o k x u h
 [k u k i y] u k n M ds i k l d a k j] e k o y k e a u o y k [k m a j s r F k d k d . k
 esn k k G] d G l h j k t k i y] f o t ; n a z p p] e k k x k w] f u t k e i g] f h o M h
 , d s l S l M a e d y e k u a u s e f l T n o n j x l g c u k d j o g k Q k j l h o v j c h
 Hk'k e d y e k u y M d e y M f d ; k a d s f l [k u k v k j a k d j f n ; k A²⁴

l = g o h a v l s v B k j o l a ' k r k n h d s e k ; e l s v u d f g t h v k a u s v i u s /
 k f e Z l x z k a d s H h Q k j l h d s } k j k g h i < k v l s m u e a l s d n r k s b l g h
 d k f u R ; i k B d j r s F k A x z e h k y l s H h Q k j l h d s i H k o l s v N w s u g h
 j g A m n k d s f y , d k u w l a k h Q k j l h ' k n k o y h t S s f d n L r f o t]
 e m a b z e m a k y g] c ; u k e k j g u e k e b - ' k n k a d k x k M a e a f g t h w v l s
 e d y e k u v k t r d i z k s d j r s g A²⁵

2½l lekt d i Hko

egkjKV^a eal Qhl Urka, oafHDrdkyhu l Urkaus' Wd d rFk 'Wfl rka dse/; ds Hn dks iVuseacMk; sx fn; ka fghw eflYe l eB; dh Hkouk iz r djusdsvfrfj Dr egkjKV^a dks l lekt d , drk dk eyea- Hh bu l Urkaus fn; ka²⁶

fghwo eflYe l ekt , d nqj s dks i Hkfor djus yx^A fghw ka dh t kfrQ, oLFk Hh eflYe l ekt dks i Hkfor fd; scuk u jg l dH muea Hh rqlZ i Blu l \$ n] 'k k viuh ulph t kfr vFlok dks l ds ckgj foolg l cak dh ckr ughal kp l drk Fk²⁷

fghw ka ds vU'fo'okl , oavufHkrk eflYe l ekt eat M t elus yx^A eq yeku Hh cjs 'k dka dks ekuus yx^A²⁸

fghw ka ds l Ei dZea jgrsgq eflYe Hh T; kr" k ij fo'okl djus yx^A fghw ka ea ij Eijkr enka muds l k k l Urka vls muds f'K; ka dh t k i Fk Fh eq yekus ml svi us l Urka ds fy, viuk fy; k vls ml gaus bl ds v k k ij ij ; k 'k k vls muds oakt ka dh iz k yk dk fodkl dj fy; ka²⁹

nwjh vls fghw ka ij Hh eflYe jx p<us yx^A fghw l ekt ea Hh cgg Ruli Fk dk vj k g l x; ka f'lokt h ds fi rk 'lgt h dh nls i fr; ka Fk³⁰ fghw ka ea i q h t le dks v' k k ekuk t k r k Fk³¹ ej k Bk fl =; ka ea x k k vFlok ink i Fk eflYe ka ds gh vuqj. k Onk k i k k g p³² bl iz k j fghw, oae flYe l ekt ij , d & nwj s dk i Hko fn [k b Z n s yx^A

f'lokt h us vius l Ei wZ dky lof/k ea jkt fufrd , drk cuk sj [H] ft l dk ifj. ka Fk egkjKV^a eal lekt d o l k d frd , drk dk fodkl A

fu" d" k % ; g dgk t k l drk gS fd] l qh? k Z k yhu l Ei dZ , oa f' lo dkyhu jkt gulfrd , drk rFk l k l Urka Onk k fd; sx; siz Rula l segkjKV^a eank s Hhu l d fr; ka ehi vkx; ka ft l ds ifj. ka Lo: i v k j & fopkj] os k Hw l lekt d r k s & r j h d s Hk k ij , d & nwj s dk foy { k k r i Hko fn [k b Z n s yx^A f'lokt h dh bl / k e Z l fg".

lǵk l seǵkjKV^a ea vaxt ladh Haulfr i kjǵk ghs rd /leZHn l ekr
gkdj l lekft d] l lǵdfrd , dlǵrk dk uohu v/; k i kjǵk ghs x; k
A³³

l aHǵ

- 1- d". lǵt h vuar&l Hkd n fojfr N=i fr Jh f' lǵkt h jkt s; lǵh c [kj ½ Hkd n
c [kj ½ ½ á k ½ 'ka uk t k lǵ] i qǵ 1960] iˆ 28-
2. Cosme de Guarda : "Foreign Biographies of Shivaji" Book Company
Ltd. Calcutta, 1931, pp. 1-2.
- 3- cǵhǵ okl h % Jh N=i fr f' lǵkt h eǵkjkt] mǵrjkǵ. Jh okl h cǵhǵ ½ zlk ½
eǵbǵ. 1972 iˆ 721-
- 4- ixMh l seǵkǵojk % eǵkjKV^a vǵ. k ejǵBǵ t k lǵ vǵ. k yǵ lǵs izlk ku i qǵ
i Flǵkǵfǵr] 1963] iˆ 40-
- 5- l kǵr ch, l - t kǵoj chds ejǵB; lǵk izkǵ fd; vǵ. k l lekft d] vǵfǵZl
bǵrgǵ] fo | k izlk ku ulxij] i Flǵ vǵlǵrǵ] 1997] iˆ 84-
6. Fryer, John : A new Account of East India & Persia Being Nine years
Travels 1672-1681, Crooke, W.(Ed.) Kraus Reprint Ltd. Nendle In/
Liechaten Stein, 1967 Vol. I, pp. 307-30.
- 7- l jnd lǵǵ xǵfǵh l [ǵjǵ % ejǵBǵ dk uohu bǵrgǵ] i Flǵ [k M] f' lǵkt h
vǵǵ mudsoákt ½ 1600&1707 bǵǵf' lǵyky vxǵky , UM dá uh i k fyfeVM
vǵxjǵ fǵhrǵ l lǵdj. k 1963] iˆ 278-
- 8- l kǵr] cǵG % f' lǵdY; k kǵkt k ijpǵs izlk ku eǵnj] eǵbǵvǵlǵrǵ i fǵyǵ
1998] iˆ 200&201-
- 9- , D; k lǵo dyehc [kj] fo-l-okdl dj] ½ á k ½ qǵhul izlk ku i qǵ 1962] i fǵPNn
30] [ǵQh [ǵW2] 272-
- 10- 'lǵkǵyǵdj] izc- nǵ ki lǵM i zu- % eǵkjKV^a l lǵdrh ?ǵM. k vǵ. k foǵkl] eǵǵs
izlk ku dlǵgǵkǵ] 1972] iˆ 195-
- 11- i vǵDr iˆ 188-
- 12- i vǵDr iˆ 223-
- 13- i vǵDr iˆ 222-
- 14- i vǵDr iˆ 223-
- 15- i vǵDr

- 16- plglu nolfl g 0 adVfl g % nfd[lu fgthrlhy bfrgkl o brj yd[h bfrgkl l akku eMG ¼zlk½eqbz 1973] iˆ 131-
- 17- okGaš MWjk'k xxZ MWnkfo- iBš MWe-i-vki Vš izi k ijpgš MWfp-uk ¼ á k l ferh½%Hjrh bfrgkl vk.kl ádfr i; kypul fp-uk ijpgš ¼zlk½ iqls 1907] iˆ 188-
18. Sherwani, H.K. Cultural Trends in Medieval India, Architecture, Painting, Heritage & Language, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1968, p. 72.
- 19- iwšDr iˆ 73-
- 20- okGaš xxZ iBš 189-
- 21- Hkoš fo-y- % egkjKV^a l kjLor vk 6 oh eqbz 1983] iˆ 166-
- 22- 'skshydj] nš ki šš 227-
- 23- Hkoš okdˆ % f'lokt hjo o f'loky ¼' lockyhu egkjKV^aukjk .k okl qno Hkos ¼zlk½ iqls 1957] iˆ 343&44-
- 24- iwšDr
- 25- MWi rki fl gl eqydkyhu Hjrh ¼526 & 1656 bZ -½jl pZi fcydšku] t ; ijl 1994] iˆ 582-
- 26- fnudj] MWjle/kjh fl g % l ádfr dspkj v/; k | jkt iky , UM l U] fnYyh i Fle l ádj. h 1956-
- 27- JhokLro] vk'kolžhyky % fnYyh l Yrur] f'loky vxžky] (Book Bank Collection) vxkj h 1971] iˆ 608-
28. Rashid, A. : Society & Culture in Medieval India, 1969, p. 82.
- 29- vk'kolžhyky] 250-
- 30- vki Vš nfo- fnoxdj] l-e- ¼ á k½f'lopj= inli] Hkb-l aea xFlekyh iqlš 'kds 1847 iˆ 72-
- 31- yfu; h ch, u- % Hjrh l H rkrFkl ádfr dkfodkl | y{ehuljk .k vxžky] vxkj h i Fle l ádj. h 1951] iˆ 329-
- 32- 'kt oydj] «; ad 'kaj % Jh N=ifr] l adfir f'lopj=kph iZrkouk vjk[kMk o l kluš ejkK eñj izkku] ifgyh vkoRrh 1964] iˆ 18-
- 33- <šš jkfp- % eq yeku ejkK l r dol] v' kcd eglnš t kš h ¼zlk½ Klujkt izkku] iqlš 'kds 1889] iˆ 168-

23

fujkyk&dkQ eaHkjrh; bfrgkl dsvk, k

MW t; 'kaj 'kgh

egldfo l wZkUr f=i k Bh 'fujkyk* ¼899&1961½fglñh l kgr; ds Nk, loknh dkQ &vkñhkyu l sl Ec) vfr'k; egRoi wZdfo gA fujkyk dk dkQ, Hkjrh; bfrgkl ds i hpu] e/; dkyhu vls vk/kfud dky[k. Ma ds foHku vlorZ&foorZi dks l ekgr djus okyk , d fojkV dSyMk dki gSft l dsek; e l sbfrgkl ds foHku vk, k adk mn?WVu gkrk gA jkV dfo MW jk/kjh fl g fnudj usfy [k&^fujkyk i z frokn vls iz kxokn ds fir k ekust k, xA**1 MW i jekuh Jb kLro usfy [k g&^fujkyk Nk, lokn ds i j a fjd dky[k M ea g krs gq Hh Nk, lokn ea ugh g\$ D; kcd l edkyhu fgñh dfork ds os egRoi wZi LFku gA ft ul sl kjh ubZ j kga QWrh gA² MW j k efoykl 'k eZ fujkyk dks ^u; s ekuor lokn ds i fr" Bki d* ekurs gA³

fujkyk&dkQ ea fl U l q?WVh dh l H rk ¼2300 bZi v&1750 bZi wþ _ Xo fnd l H rk ¼600 bZi v&1000 bZi wþ mUkj & o fnd dky ¼4000 bZi v&600 bZi wþ jlek . k egkHkj r] NBh 'krkñh bZi w dh ck\$ d ØkUr&egkRk cò | o) Zku egk h j] ex/k l k e k; | x q r dky] e/; dky& f' lokt h ¼627 bZ&1680 bZþ N=l ky] xq xkfoñ fl g dsl kFk&l kFk Hkjrh; Lorark l a z e ¼757 bZ&1947 bZ½ vls Lokra; krj Hkjrh; bfrgkl ds j s k f p = feyrs gA fujkyk Hkj r ds x l s o' k y h v r h r ea v k L F k j [k r s g A mudk ekuuk gSfd fons h i j k h u r k ds d k j . k H k j r v k i u h r t f l o r k v l s e f g e k l s o f p r g k s x ; k g A ^ [k M g j ds i f r * ¼923½ dfork ea dfo Hkj r : i h [k M g j l s i z u d j r k g &

^[Mgj! [Mglsrę vkt Hh@vnHq vKkr ml igkru dsefyu
l kt !**

orZku ea [Mgj cu ppsHjir dfo dsizu dk mUkj bl izlkj
nsrk g&

^vrZHjir! tud gwe@t sefu&irt fy&Q kl _fk ladl@ejh gh xln
ij 'lko foulm dj rjk gSc<k keku@jle&d". k Hekt q&Hie uj
nolaus⁴

dfo fujkyki zphu Hjirh bfrgkl dsegki q "Wadseglu Q fDrRo
vls dfrRo l svR, Ur i Hkor gA fczV'k vkf/ki R; dsv/khu Hjir dh
nqZkl l sdfon q h gA viuh dfork 'fnYylf' 1/2 1924 1/2 eafujkyk Hjir
dsl k dfrd xls o dsv/l%iru ij i'prki djrs gq i Wrs g&

^D; k ; g ogh nsk g&@Hekt q vkn dk dfrZk=|@fpj dekj Hie
dh irkd k cgep; ZHr|@Jhed k l sd". k ds l qk Flk t gk Hjir us@
xlr&xlr fl gunk&@eeZk kh t hou&l xte dh@l kFZl l eib;
Klu&deZkHfDr&; kx dk \⁵

bu dforkv adsek; e l s fujkyk usHjir ds i zphu bfrgkl dk
fl gloykdu rFlk i wj k bsk k fd; k gA ^; eqk ds i tr* 1/2 1924 1/2 dfork
eadfo fujkyk xls oe; o h kou dks ; m djrs gq orZku eaml dh
ghu n'kk dsfy, ; eqk unh l si Wrs g&

^crkj dgk vc og oalkoV@dgk x, uVukxj ' ; le@py pj. ka dk
Q kdq iu?kV@dgk vkt og o h k/ke \^{**6}

dfo fujkyk ds eu ea Hjir jkVa 1/2 Nation-State 1/2 dh euljel
vfHuo efrZLFwfi r gSt k mudh bl dfork ea i f j y f {kr gkr h g&

^Hjifr] t ;] fot ; djs@dud&'kL; &dey /kjA@yalk in ry
'krny@xft ZkfeZl kxj ty@/kkrk 'kjp pj.k ; qy@Lro dj
cgy FZ H j A @r: &r`.k&ou&yrkol u@vpy ea [kpr l q u]@xak
T; krZ y&d.k@/loy&/kj gj xya@edq 'kz fge rUkj]@ik k
izko vldkj]@/ofur fn'kk ; mnkj @'krej k&'krjo&edq kjs^{**7}

MW jlefoykl 'kZ fy[krs g& ^fujkyk ds fy, iwZ Kku dk vf/kBku gSHkr] ân; dh l Ei wZJ) k vS HfDr dk vk/kj gSHkr] t hou ds l eLr dekd dk y{; gS HkrA Hkr vius 'kNkFZ l sgh Kkue; gA 'Hk* vFkz~izk k Hkr vFkz~izk kokuA onkr Kku dk vf/kBku gSHkrA**8

fujkyk us viuh dfork ^t kxks fQj , d ckj* 1926½ ea fcfV' k nkl rk eat dM Hkr rokfl ; k dks t xkus dk iz kl fd; k gA os Hkr dsmTtoy vrhr] ij kOeh pOorizjkt kvadh; 'kxkFk dks; kn djrs gq Hkr rokfl ; k dks Hkr hr Lorark l aze eadw i Mus dk vlgolu djrs gA mlgous bl dfork ea fl ak?kWh dh l H rk dh pplZ dh g&

^t kxks fQj , d ckj!@l ej eavej dj ik k@xku xks
egfl Ukl @fl Uklun&rhjokl h&**9

; g /; krQ gSfd 1921&22&23 bZ ean; kje l kguh t kW ek ky ds urTo ea gMik&elgut kMa ea gq mR[kuu l s fl Ukl?kWh dh l H rk dk irk pyk FkA

bl h dfork eadfo xq xkfoh fl g dsijkOe dks Hkr rokfl ; k dks ; kn fnykrs g&

^l ok&l ok yk[k ij@, d dks p<kAxl@xkfoh fl g fut @ule
t c dgkAxl**10

bl dfork eadfo Hxorxrk dsl ns k dks iz kjr djrk g&
^fl gh dh xkn l @Nhurk jsf' k kq dks \@ekH Hh D; k jgrh og@ jgrs ik k jsvt ku!@, d ešlekrk gh@jgrh gSfufuZš&@nqZy og&@fNurh l Urku t c --@fdUrqD; k@; k; tu t hrk g\$@ if' pe dh mfDr ugh&@xrk g\$ xrk g&@Lej.k djks ckj&ckj&@ t kxks fQj , d ckj!**11

dfo fujkyk ekurs gA fd 'kDr' kyh dh gh t hr gk-h gA dfo Hkr rokfl ; k dks 'kDr&l Ei lu cuus dh ij.k nrs gAft l l snsk dks Lorark i hr gsl dA fujkyk egRek c) ds; kxnu dks Hh Lej.k djrs g&

^l R; &ok kh ds efnj]@t \$ s mrjs Fls rø] mrj jgs gks fQj&fQj@
ekuo dseu e& t \$ st hou eafuf"pr@foedk Hks l \$ jkt døj]
R; kxdj LkoZLFr@, dek= l R; dsfy,] : f<+l sfoedk jr@dfBu
riL; ke ð igpsy{; dk\$ rFlkr! **12

dfo dhyEchdfork ^ryl mkl * 1/934 1/2e/; dkyhu Hkjrh; bfrgk
dh i fBdk ij vk/Hjr gA ckj dsvk Øe.k vls i kuh r dh yMbZ
1/526 bZ/2ea Hkjrh; jkt kvla dh i jkt; ds ckn exy l Ûk LFKi r
gøA dfo dk ekuuk gSfd bl l s Hkjrh; l dfr dk l wZvLr gkus
yxk g\$ fons kh 'kl u dsvkr d l splj larjQ H; vls valdkj Q kr
g&

^Hjr dsuHk dk i Hki wZ' kr yPNk; l dfrd l wZvLrfer
vkt j&reLrwZfn³ e.My; @mj dsvkl u ij f'kjL=k k@' kl u
djrsgækyeku; @gSmfeZ t y] fu'pyRi k k ij 'krnyA **13

bl dfork ea dfo us edkya dh l uk ds yxkrkj c<rs pys vku\$
i t kc] dk ky] fcgkj dsl Fk&l Fk l Hh i Hh dsexy 'kl u dsv/
ku gkrspyst kus dk ekeZl o. kZ fd; k g&

^vk; k igys i t kc i Hh]@dk ky&fcgkj rnuUr Økr]@Øe'k% i nsk
l c gq Hh] f'kj&f'kj djA@Hksy&ny cy dstyn&; ku]@
nfi Z&in mlèn&un i Blu**

^egkjkt f'lokt h dki=* 1/926 1/2dfork ea ckj] 'kg t gkj vls at c
1/618 bZ&1707 bZk ohj N=l ky] vQ t y [ku] 'kkLrk [ku vkn
dh ppZ gA dfo fujkyk us bl ea crk; k gSfd N=i fr f'lokt h us
fet kZjkt kt; fl g dki= fy [kk Flk ft l ea vugl k fd; k x; k Flk fd
Hjr ds l eLr jkt k, d gkdj exy 'kl d vls at c dk eqkyk
dj&^vls Hh dQ fnulard@t kj hjgk, l k; fn vR; k kj] egkjkt]@
fu'p; g\$ fglnv la dh@dfrZmB t k xl&@fplg~Hh u fgln&l H rk
dk jg t k xk **14

dfo fujkyk dh yEchdfork ^jle dh 'kDr&i w k* ea jle&jko.k
ds; q dk t hUr o. kZ fd; k x; k g\$ l Fk gh l nsk fn; k x; k gSfd
cjkZij vPNkZdh gesk t lr gkrh gA

^jkt susviuhj [lkyh dlf ¼946½dfork bfrgkl dsfoffku dkylaea
; k=k djrh gph bl dhfoMek bl dsfojkkkk] jkt ra=&l leUrokn&
/leZl idfr&jkt ulfr&dyk&l kgr; dsvl yhpgjcdsmt kxj djrh
g&

^jkt susviuhj [lkyh dh @fdyk cukdj jgk @cM&cMh Qk a
j [kA@pklyw fdrus l eUr vk A@eryc dh ydMh idMs gqA@
fdrus cge.k vk @i kfk laeat urk dks clks gqA@dfo; laus
ml dh cglng ds xhr x; \$@y\$ kdaus y\$ k fy [k@, srgfl dlaus
bfrgkl la ds i Uus Hj\$@ukV; dyk djk laus fdrus ukVd jps@t urk
ij t knwpyk jkt s ds l ekt dA@ykd&ukj; la ds fy, jku; k
vkn' kZghA/leZdk c<lok jgk /k\$ k l s Hj k g y k A@y k g ct k /
leZij] l H rk dsuke ijA@ [k dh unh cghA@vk [k&dku endj
t urk us Mafd; k yhA@vk [k [kyl&jkt susviuhj [lkyh dha**15

; g dfork bl ckr dks izk.kr djrh gSfd dfo fujkyk Hkjr h
bfrgkl ds vUrfoZkk l leUrokn&dyhura=&jkt ra=&/leZjkt ulfr
ds i k k M dks igpkurs Fk ^nxk dlf dfork eadfo dgrk g&

^pgjk i hyk i MA@jhm>qlh gfk t MA@vk [k dk valjk c<A@
l s l Mal fn; k xt jhA@cM&cM+ f'k vk \$ efu vk \$ dfo vk \$@
rjg&rjg dh ok k t urk dks nsx; @nxk dh bl l H rk usnxk
dha**16

^p [kZ pyk* dfork eadfo us Hkjr ds i kphu vls e/; dkyhu
bfrgkl dks l eV fy; k g&

^onla dk p [kZpyk@l fn; k xt jhA@y k &ckx cl us yx\$@xQk v l
l s?kj mBk @Aps l sulps mrjs@HMal s xk; aj [kA@t xy l sckx
vls miou r\$ kj fd; @onla ds ckn t kfr plj Hkx laeacVh@; gh
jlejt gA@okVelfd us igys onla dh yld NkMh@/kjr rh dh I; kj h
yMelh l hrk ds xkus xk; @d". k us Hk t eha idMh@bhz dh i v k
dh t xg@xk/kz dks i q k k; @ekuok d\$ xk; la vls c\$ la dks eku
fn; kA@gy dks cyno us gfFk kj cuk k@dals ij MysfQjA@ [k rh
gjh&Hjh gphA**17

egkldfo fujkyk dh dforkvka ea 19oh&20oh 'krh ds Hkjrh; i qrt lzj.k dh ifr/ofu Hh l qubZiMrh gSl kfk gh Hkjrh; Lora-rk l aze dk 'kukun HhA bl cgyk lehLora-rk&vkhlyu dh l kfgR; d vfHQ fDr fujky&dlQ gA dfo fujkyk chny l s Økürdljh cuus dk vuqk k djrs gA vls dgrs gA fd og vR kplj vls vukplj ds x<+ dls /oLr dj&^>w&>w enq xjt &xjt ?ku?kqA jlx vej vEcj eaHj fut jlsA** fclV' knl rk l sefDr dsfy, fujkyk gdlj Hjrs g&^t kxk t kxk vk k i Hkr]@chrh og| chrh valjr**18 'jle dh 'kDr i w' dfork ea fujkyk us^ kDr dh djks ekyd dYi uk*19 dk l nsk ndj nsk dh vkt knh vls uo fueZk dh l dYi uk dh gA MW jkefoykl 'keZ ds vuq kj] ^fujkyk ds fpuru dh fo' ksrk ; g Fkh fd mlglus fclV' k l kekt; okn dh vkfkl ulfr] ml ds jkt ulfrd nlp&i;p] l kldfrd eleyka eaml ds gLr{ki dks igpkuk xgjbZl s ml dk fo'yšk k fd; k**20

fujkyk dlQ eaHkjrh; Lora-rk l aze ds nls ku fufeZ gkrs gq uuu jkVa 1/2 Nation-In-The-Making 1/2 & Hkjrh; jkVa jkt; dk fclV gSt k mudh dfork ^t leHfe* 1/2 920 1/2 rFlk ^Hkjfr] t;] fot; djst* eaifjyf{kr gkrk gA vk/kud Hkjrh ds vuclud bfrgkl dljka t s s MW fciu plnz] MW l fer ljdj 23] jtuh ile nUk 24] MW jke y[ku 'kpy 25 vkn uscrk k gSfd l kekt; oknh fclV' k vk/ki R; 1/2 Hegemony 1/2 ds fo:) l pkfyr Hkjrh; Lora-rk l aze ds nls ku Hkjrh; jkV&jkt; 1/2 Nation State 1/2 dh vk/kud l dYi uk dk mnHo vls fodkl gylA

bl izlj fujkyk dh dfork; Hkjrh; bfrgkl ds fofo/k i {kdk doy 'i ls V3 y* gh ugha djrha cYd buds vurfZkka 1/2 Inherent Contradiction 1/2 dk fo'yšk k 1/2 Analysis 1/2 l ehkk vls vkykpk 1/2 Criticism 1/2 i Lrq djrh gqZ ^History from below*26 rFlk 'Subaltern History' ds egroi wZl kfgR; d nLrkt 1/2 Document 1/2 vls l k; 1/2 Evidence 1/2 cu t krh gA

I aHZ

- 1- Mw jle/kjh fl g fnudj&^l lej.k vls J) kt fy; k* uskuy ifcyf kx gml]
fnYyh i: 49&50-
- 2- Mw ijekuñ Jhoklro&^dfork dk ikB vls dkQ &eeZ i: 11] 17-
- 3- Mw jlefoykl 'le&fujkyk dh l kgr l k'kuk' f}rht [k M] jkt dey
izk'ku] fnYyh i: 162-
- 4- Mw uñfd' ksj uoy ¼ Ei knd½!2006!&fujkyk jpuoÿh [k M 1] jkt dey
izk'ku i k fy- ubZfnYyh i: 81-
- 5- ogh i: 99&100-
- 6- ogh i: 115-
- 7- ogh i: 246-
- 8- Mw jlefoykl 'le&fujkyk dh l kgr l k'kuk' f}rht [k M] jkt dey
izk'ku] fnYyh i: 149-
- 9- Mw uñfd' ksj uoy ¼ Ei knd½!2006!&fujkyk jpuoÿh [k M 1] jkt dey
izk'ku i k fy- ubZfnYyh i: 152-
- 10- ogh i: 152-
- 11- ogh i: 153-
- 12- Mw uñfd' ksj uoy ¼ Ei knd½!2006!&fujkyk jpuoÿh [k M 2] jkt dey
izk'ku i k fy- ubZfnYyh i: 41-
- 13- Mw uñfd' ksj uoy ¼ Ei knd½!2006!&fujkyk jpuoÿh [k M 1] jkt dey
izk'ku i k fy- ubZfnYyh i: 281-
- 14- ogh i: 165-
- 15- Mw uñfd' ksj uoy ¼ Ei knd½!2006!&fujkyk jpuoÿh [k M 2] jkt dey
izk'ku i k fy- ubZfnYyh i: 184-
- 16- ogh i: 185-
- 17- ogh i: 185&186-
- 18- Mw uñfd' ksj uoy ¼ Ei knd½!2006!&fujkyk jpuoÿh [k M 1] jkt dey
izk'ku i k fy- ubZfnYyh i: 305-
- 19- ogh i: 335-
- 20- Mw jlefoykl 'le&fujkyk dh l kgr l k'kuk' f}rht [k M] jkt dey
izk'ku] fnYyh i: 14&29&44-

- 21- MW fci u pñh ènyk eqkt l'z vknR; eqkt l'z ds, u- i fludj] l p'sk egkt u
¼ Ei kncl¼ India's Struggle for Independence (1989) Penguin Book India
Ltd. Delhi, p. 74-
- 22- MW fci u pñh¼ Modern India (1990) NCERT Delhi, pp. 153] 168-
- 23- MW l fer l j dkl¼ Modern India (1983) Macmillan India Ltd., Delhi,
pp. 71] 86-
- 24- jt uh ile n¼¼ vkt dk Hjr ¼1985½ Macmillan India Ltd., Delhi, pp.
312] 313-
- 25- MW jle y[ku 'l'oy ¼ Ei kncl¼¼ vk¼¼ud Hjr dk bfrgk ¼1987½ fgñh
ek; e dk k¼; u funs¼ky;] fnYyh fo' ofo | ky;] fnYyh i` 189&192&371-
- 26- MW l fer l j dkl¼ Modern India (1983) Macmillan India Ltd., Delhi p.
9-

Contributors

Omprakash Srivastav-Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh-1

Prof. P. K. Srivastava-Ex-Head, Department of Western History, University of Lucknow, Lucknow-226007

Dr. Naveen Vashishta-Assistant Professor of History, Govt. College, Israna (Panipat)

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava-Professor of History, Chhatarsal Govt. Post Graduate College, Panna (M.P.)

Dr. Aparna Sharma, Faculty-History, ICFAI University, Dehradun (Uttaranchal)

Dr. Shalini Awasthi-Delhi Institute of Heritage Research and Management

Dr. Amit Kumar Singh-Assistant Professor, R.S.M. (P.G.) College, Dhampur, Bijnor (U.P.)

Namita Sethi-Associate Professor, Janki Devi College, Delhi University, Delhi

Binay Barman-Assistant Professor, Dept, of History, Saldiha College, Po-Saldiha- 722173, Dist- Bankura, W.B.

Dr. Asha Shrivastava-778, Vikas Nagar, Neemuch (M.P.)

Dr S. Mujahid Khan-Assistant Professor, Department of History, Government First Grade College, Bangalore Rural Hosakote, Karnataka

Nand Kishor Singh-Research Scholar, Dept. of History, M. U. Bodh Gaya

Dr. K.N.Sethi, Reader- P.G. Department of History, Sambalpur University, Orissa

Dr. Vishal Kumar Sharma-Head Department of History, Hindu College, Sonapat- 131001 (Haryana)

Dr. Subhash Balhara, Senior Asst. Prof. of History, Govt., College, Meham, Rohtak (Haryana)

Dr Rinku Singh, Lecturer History, UP Autonomous P.G. College, Varanasi (U.P.)

Annu Bala-Ph.D Scholar, Department of History, University of Jammu,
Jammu

Dr. Gangamma H.A.-Asst. professor Department of History,
Manasagangothri, Mysore, Karnataka

Mk jf'e dējh 58&dV jM mn; xā] y[kuÅ&226001

MWl qkyk 'kälör] foHkk'; {k %bfrgkl ½ xq ukud dU k LukrdkRj]
egfo|ky;] mn; iġ ½kt -½

MWxrk fl g] l gk d iQd j] ekufodh foHkk] T; kfr fo|kiB efgyk
fo'of o|ky;] t; iġ 303007 ½kt LFku½

MWuhye dk'kd] l g&vlpk Z, oaf oHkk'; {h t uknZ jk ukxj jkt LFku
fo|kiB fo'of o|ky;] mn; iġ

MWl ehj Q kl] Q k[; krh bfrgkl foHkk] ijrkiġ

MWdq eqjd dġSH bfrgkl foHkk i zq h Jherh xki dckbZHġs efgyk
egfo|ky;] rēl j] ft- HAMj h egjKV^a

MW t; 'kāj 'hgh iQd j] 'kd dh dyk egfo|ky;] vyoj
½kt LFku½

