

# 1. Nationalistic Fervoured Historical Literature Of Early Twentieth Century Assam

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In the beginning of the twentieth century a number of Assamese writers attempted to highlight on various aspects of the history of Assam. The historians were gifted with better sense of interpretation, but most of them were not acquainted with the scientific method of writing history. In their writings subjective approach and emotions usurped the place of reason and objectivity, balance perspective and detachment.

Padmanath Gohain Barua (1871-1946) the first president of AsomSahityaSabha, attempted to recreate the glorious events of Assam history by recounting the heroic deeds of such historical figures as Sadhani, Joymati, Gadadhar, Banraja and Lachit Barphukan<sup>1</sup>. While his purpose of writing the dramas, 'Sadhani' and 'Joymati' was to portray the character of Sadhani and Joymati as ideals of womanhood, the purpose of the Gadadhar', 'Ban raja' and 'LachitBarphukan' was to praise patriotism of the historical figures. His AsamarBuranji (1899) deals with the history of Assam from ancient times to the British rule in the province. A brief description of the hill tribes of the region has also been included in the work. The most outstanding feature of Gohain Barua's historical writing is his endeavor for collecting all kind of source material relevant to the study. While writing AsamarBuranji he consulted a large number of historical works like treatises, essays, journals, vamsawalis, copper plates, inscriptions, records, chronicles etc. From the treatment of the subject matter, use of source materials and conclusions arrived at, GohainBarua's work is the first one to be called 'history' in the true sense . The work is however not an objective account of events.

Lakshminath Bezbarua (1864-1938) the doyen of Assamese literature had also contributed towards the evolution of historiography of the region by his

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translation of English version of E. Marsman's History of India to Assamese<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, the ardent patriotic zeal of Bezbarua inspired him to write a few dramas on certain significant episodes in the history of Assam. While his purpose of writing the drama 'JoymatiKonwari' was to portray the character of Joymati<sup>3</sup> an ideal of Assamese woman who gladly sacrificed her life for the sake of her husband and her own country. His 'Chakradhvaj Singha'<sup>4</sup> and 'Belimar'<sup>5</sup> which means 'Sun-set' incorporate elements of historical facts, albeit colored by patriotic emotions. His 'Dhowa-Khowa',<sup>6</sup> although far short of history by any definition is nevertheless a true depiction of the lethargic nature of the Assamese people. His folk tales BurhiAair Sadhu<sup>7</sup> are like the mirrors wherein contemporary Assamese social life and culture are reflected vividly. Bezbarua's Assamese nationalism found a strong base in the traditional Vaishnava religion of Assam as propagated by Sri SriSankardeva. He was attracted by liberal and democratic Neo-Vaishnavite philosophy unburdened with rituals, ceremonies and superstitions and wanted to acquaint the new generation of Assam with this rich philosophy. With this objective in view, he published his magnum opusMahapurush Sri SankardevaAru Sri Madhavdevain1914. Though the work mainly deals with the sketch of the lives and philosophy of these two great saints, here he occasionally makes references on some aspects of the history of Assam. Chandibar settled down later at Bardowa in Nagaon District where his great grandson Srimanta Sankardev was born<sup>8</sup>.

Ananda Chandra Agarwala's (1874-1939) historical study is characterized by the glorification of ancient history of Assam and their heroes and heroines. In the Presidential address of the fifteenth session of AsomSahityaSabha held at Mangaldoi he observed: "A nation lives by the memory of its heroes.' And without their worship and memory, a nation is destined to decline."<sup>9</sup> While writing history Agarwala discarded scientific criticism in preference of imagination. He accepted the events narrated in the religious scriptures like KalikaPuran, Yogini Tantra, Brahma Puran as historical fact. His anthropological articles 'AamarDesharAdivasiManuh'<sup>10</sup>, 'Momba Vot'<sup>11</sup> and M?ManasaNandi AruBodoJati<sup>12</sup> written on the basis of these sources are full of information but not based on reason. Moreover, to glorify the history of Assam he mentions that the ancient Kamrupa was the original abode of the Aryans; Saraswati and Drisadvati, the rivers mentioned in the Vedas, flew throw Assam<sup>13</sup>, and the first sign of human existence was found in the Kamakhya hills<sup>14</sup>.

BenudharSarma (1894-1981) regarded the biographies of national heroes and heroines as the soul of historical study. He observed that the history of the freedom movement, the names of national heroes and heroines like Ningruthumunga of Singpho, Indrasingha of Jayantia, Tikendrajitsingha of Manipur, Rani Gaidalu of the Naga Hills and TularamSenapati of Cachar should get their rightful places. And without inclusion of their names the national history will remain incomplete.<sup>15</sup>

The passionate nationalistic zeal of Sarma stimulated him to write a number of biographical works related to certain significant episodes of the

history of Assam. The most prominent among his works was one on ManiramDewan.<sup>16</sup> In the work he describes how Mani ram Dewan's effort for the revival of Ahom monarchy and restoration of the Ahom nobility earned suspicion of the British Government, which ultimately led to his arrest and execution. A significant feature of BenudharSarma's biographical study is his emphasis on the positive aspects of the character of his favorite hero and indifference towards the negative aspects. It is worth mentioning that so long as his properties and privileges were protected, he was a staunch supporter of the colonial rule. It is only after the confiscation of his property that he started to conspire against the British. Sarma's 'DeshdrohiKonBadan Ne Purnananda,'<sup>17</sup> reflects similar characteristics. Sarma's sole objective of writing the article was to glorify the character of BadanBarphukan. He naturally, attempts at making PurnanandaBuragohain responsible for the Burmese oppression of Assam rather than BadanBarphukan for the Burmese invasion of Assam. His article 'BangalBairiLachit Barphukan'<sup>18</sup> depicts the heroic achievement of Lachit during the Ahom -Mughal war ; and 'YuvarajTikendrajitSinghaSenapati'<sup>19</sup> portrays the character of the Manipuri hero Tikendrajit, who fought against the British for the independence of his motherland. Moreover, Sarma immortalized the character of MomaiTamuliBarbaruua an efficient administrator during the time of Ahom king PratapSingha, through his article 'BarbaruuaMomai Tamuli'.<sup>20</sup> He describes how the perseverance and industry helped MomaiTamuli in rising to the level of Barbaruaship from a very humble position.Sarma wanted to inspire the people of Assam through the examples left by the great personalities. The biographies of some renown persons like Lakshminath Bezbarua, Kanaklal Barua, Tarunram Phukan, Nabin Chandra Bordoloi included in his work Arghawali<sup>21</sup> bears testimony to this objective. Moreover, he was successful in bringing out some of the neglected aspects of history and historical persons through his colorful prose style. His KangrecarKancialiRodot was one among his works written in this style. In the work, he includes some neglected fragmentary events of the freedom movement, such as Rayat Sabah of Salaguri and Charing,<sup>22</sup> Non Co-Operation Movement at Amguri<sup>23</sup>, author's bitter experience as a prisoner in the Sibsagar<sup>24</sup> and Jorhat jails<sup>25</sup>and the activities of some freedom fighters like Sonaram Chutia, Konak Chandra Phukan, GuliramBarua etc.<sup>26</sup>

Some events that had symbolized the socio-political unity among the people of the hills and plains of medieval Assam received Sarma's particular attention. From 15th century onwards the small states were united and from the time, socially, politically and economically the people of the hills and plains were attached to one another.<sup>27</sup>

Benudhar Sarma was the first historian of Assam, who recognized the importance of oral tradition as a source of history. He wrote "Assam is rich for

their proverbs and idiomatic expressions. Compared to the other states of India, The proper collection of these sources would be of immense help in discovering some tangled facts of history."<sup>28</sup> His description of Ahom capital Gargaon written on the basis of Assamese proverbs: 'GargaonGargaon, the name surprises'<sup>29</sup> and reference to the economic condition of the people of early colonial Assam, on the basis of ' Mani ram Dewanar Geet' : 'plums fall down plenty; after the death of ManiramDewan, tax of taxi increased rapidly',<sup>30</sup> bears the testimony to the use of these source

### Glossary of Vernacular Terms

**GohainBarua** - An Assamese Surname

**Sadhani** - An Assamese Queen

**Joymati** - do

**Gadadhar** - An Assamese King

**Banraja** - do

**LachitBarphukan** - An AssameseGeneral

**Buranji** - Chronicle

**Vamsavalis** - Genealogical Narratives

**Bezbarua** - An Assamese Surname

**Konwari** - Princes

**DhowaKhowa** - Tobacco Smoker

**BurhiAair Sadhu** - Story told by grandmother.

**EkSarania Nam Dharma** - A religion propagated by Sri Sankardeva.

**Kaystha** - An Assamese Caste

**Lengemaguri** - Name of a place in Assam

**AdivashiManuh** - Adivashi people

**MombaVot** - The people of Bhutan

**ManasaNadi** - Name of a river

**BodoJati** - Bodo (a tribe) of Assam

**ManiramDewan** - An Assamese martyr of 1857

**Deshadrohi** - Enemy of own country, malicious

**BadanBarphukan** - An Assamese Minister

**BarbaruaMomaiTamuli** - do

**KancialiRodot** - Dawn

**RayatSabha** - Peasants meeting

Garo, Jayantia, Kachari,

Manipuri, Naga - Tribes of North-East

Geet - Song.

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## **2. Indigo Peasant Movement- The Greatest Struggle Against British Colonial Power**

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The planting of Indigo and its use as a dye staff in India began at least in the time of 'Panini', the great grammarian (sixth to fifth century B.C.). Panini's *Astadyayi* furnishes the earliest known evidence of the use of indigo (Nil). That indigo had already been introduced to textile industries is well attested by Panini's explanation that nil also denoted a type of cloth (acchadana), obviously dyed blue.<sup>1</sup>

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* informs us of the export of indigo to the "West" from the port of Barbaricum situated on the Indus delta.<sup>2</sup> But the *Periplus* is not clear on whether it was a local product or brought to this from somewhere else.

In western India during medieval times, Bayana in Rajasthan attained considerable fame for the cultivation of very high quality indigo. This is clearly seen from the accounts of Pelsaert during the reign of Jahangir in the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> Medieval Gujarat particularly Sarkhej near Ahmadabad, was also well known for good quality indigo plantation.<sup>4</sup> Gujarat however, has a long tradition of producing indigo, both *chau-ju-kua* (A.D. 1225) and Marco polo (A.D. 1295) are eloquent about its indigo.<sup>5</sup>

Indigo plantation by the European began in the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>6</sup> Indigo was important from West Indies and South-American colonies and was used in the English textile and for coloring the British navel costumes. But as a result of the French revolution the emancipation of Negro slaves in the French colonies took place specially 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.<sup>7</sup> For Indigo cultivation high and un-inundated land was considered suitable. Indigo cottage industries were built mostly on the banks of the lakes because they needed

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ample water supply for the manufacture of dye.<sup>8</sup>

This was an important reason for 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 of other state of North -East part because of its geographical location.<sup>9</sup>

The Indigo plant , the original source of the dye used for bluing cotton textiles, formed the basis of a flourishing sector of commercial, agriculture in Bengal by the beginning of the nineteenth century. From the very outset , however the riots , that is the tenant cultivators were made to grow Indigo under much coercion, for the surplus appropriated by the planters, mostly Europeans and the methods they used, mod this crop most uneconomic for the producers. A slump in the London prices of Indigo between 1839 and 1847, the fall of the Union Bank of Calcutta, a consequent credit squeeze and the takeover of smaller concerns by large "Indigo signori's" increased the pressure on the ryot and his misery still further. By 1860 the regional grievances localized acts of resistance among the peasantry snow balled into a general uprising in nine Bengal districts.<sup>10</sup>

With the emergence of industrial revolution in Europe ,cotton industries were flourished in Britain tremendously. Indigo-a herbal product was the essential ingredient to allow required brightness of con products. The colonial British made India the supplier of raw materials for their mills and factories by destroying our cottage industries. They forced the planters to plant Indigo instead of paddy, tobacco and other crops. The planters faced in human oppression even worst then that was against the bonded negroes in then America. During the latter part of eighteenth century Indigo plantation was started in Bengal. By the third decade of 19th century ,forceful Indigo plantation expanded enormously and colonial oppression touched the peak.<sup>11</sup>

Under the supremacy of the British in India, the economic condition of the rural India was much affected. The peasants were ruthlessly crushed and they were forced to cultivate Indigo in their lands instead of food crops. The peasants continuously crushed, gradually organized a revolt was primarily directed against the British planters who behaved like the feudal lords in their estates.

**Indigo Revolt-** The Indigo revolt was a peasant movement and subsequent uprising of Indigo farmers against the Indigo planters that across in Bengal in (1859-1861). The Indigo revolution was one of the greatest struggle against the British colonial power in eighteenth century. The back stage of the revolt goes back half a century.<sup>12</sup> When the Indigo plantation act was established. After the courageous fight by the Sepoy independence in 1857 in February-March 1859 the farmers resolutions were dramatically stronger than anticipated from a community victimized by brutal treatment for about half a century. Most importantly is was a revolt of both the major religious group of farmers in Bengal, notable a farmer Hajimolla of Nischindipur said that we would "rather

beg than saw Indigo".<sup>13</sup> The farmers were in no possession of any types of arms, it was totally a non violent resistance.<sup>14</sup>

**Causes of the Revolt-** Indigo planting in Bengal dated back to 1777 A.D. Louis Banard was probably the first Indigo planter .With expansion of British power in the Nawabate of Bengal, Indigo planting became more and more commercially profitable due to the demand for blue dye in Europe. It was introduced in large parts of Burdwan,Bankura , Birhum,Murshidabad etc. The Indigo planters left no stones unturned to make money. They mercilessly pursued the peasant to plant Indigo instead of good crops. They provided loans, called dadon at every high interest. Once a farmer took such loans he remained in debt for whole of his life before passing it to his successors. The price paid by the planters was meagre,only 2.5% of the market price. So the farmers could make no profit by growing Indigo. The farmers totally unprotected from the brutal Indigo planters. Who resorted to mortgage or destruction of their property if they were unweiling to obey them. Government rules favored the planters. By an act in 1833, the planters were granted a few hand in oppression. Even the Zamindars ,money lenders and other influential persons sided with the planters .Out of the severe oppression unleashed on them the farmers resorted to revolt.<sup>15</sup> The Bengali middle class supported the peasants whole heartedly.

**The Revolt-** The Revolt started from Nadia where Bishnucharan Biswas and Digambar Biswas first took up arms against the planters. It spread like wildlife in Murshidabad,Birbhum,Burdhman,Pabna,Khulna,Narail etc. Indigo planters were put into public trial and executed. The Indigo depots were burned down. Many planters fixed to avoid being caught. The Zamindars were also targets of revolting peasants.<sup>16</sup>

The revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. Large forces of police and Military backed by the British Government and the Zamindars mercilessly slaughtered a number of peasants. In spite of this the revolt was fairly popular, involving almost the whole of Bengal. The Biswas brothers of Nadia, Kader Molla of Pabna,Rafique Mandal of Malda were popular leaders. Even some of the Zamindars supported the revolt, the most important of whom was Ramratan Mullick of Narai . The company is also facing competition from the Netherlands and France in international market.<sup>17</sup>

**The effect on the British Rulers in India-** The Historian Jogesh Chandra Bagel describes the revolts as a non-violent revolution and gives this as a reason why the Indigo revolt was a success compared to the Sepoy Revolt. R.C.Majumdar in "History of Bengal".<sup>18</sup> goes so far as to call it a forerunner of the non-violent passive resistance later successfully adopted by Gandhi. The revolt had a strong effect on the government immediately appoint the "Indigo commission" in 1860.<sup>19</sup> In the commission report , E.W.L. tower noted that "not a chest of Indigo reached was a without being stained with human blood." Evidently it was a major triumph of the peasants to incite such emotion in the Europeans minds even though the statement might have been an over statement.

**Cultural Effect-** Dinabandhu Mitra's <sup>20</sup> 1859 play "Nil Darpan" is based

on the revolution. It was translated into English by Michael Madhusudan Dutta and published by James Long.<sup>21</sup> It attracted much attention in England, where in people were stunned at the savagery of their countrymen. The British government sent Rev. Long to a mock trial and punished him with imprisonment and fine. Kaliprasanna Sinha paid the fine for him. The play is the first play to be staged commercially in the National Theatre in Calcutta.<sup>22</sup>

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### **3. Reflections Of Hill People Role in The Politics Of Manipur, 1946-1952 With Special Reference To Kuki Chiefs**

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Monarchy was the form of governance before 1947 in Manipur with a written Constitution "Loyumba Shilyen" or "Loyamba Shin yen" since Meidingu Loyamba (Loiyamba) who reigned in the 11th Century A.D. i.e. 1074 - 1112 A.D.<sup>1</sup>. Legacy of Manipuri Monarchy was horizontal or well as vertical according to time and situation, however, early and the pre-colonial times "Ningthou Pongba Tara as well as "Phumdou Humphumari" played a great role in maintaining stability and upholding, inter alia, the socio-cultural ties among the inhabitants who were different ethnic communities.<sup>2</sup>

The Manipuri's influenced by the Civil Disobedience Movement started by Mahatma Gandhi in British India, started agitation for the establishment Government in Manipur since 1939<sup>3</sup>. The Manipur State Congress, a branch of the INC supported the proposal and the Maharaja accepted it, and constituted a constitution - making committee<sup>4</sup> named as the Manipur State Constitution Making Committee of whose Chairman was Mr. F.F. Pearson, POS (Indian Political Service) the then President of the Darbar<sup>5</sup>. The Committee framed the Constitution known as the Manipur Constitution Act which was brought into force in 1948. Meanwhile a Council of Ministers also known as His Highness Maharaja in Council with a Chief Minister was constituted by the Maharaja Bodhchandra Singh before the conduction of elections to the Legislative Assembly after dissolving the Manipur State Durbar on 30 June, 1947<sup>6</sup> before the Indian independence. Thus, as for Manipur after 1891, she ceased to be a sovereign power and a era of colonialism continued till 1947<sup>7</sup>.

Regarding politics in Manipur Hills 1946-52, Irawat was, in fact the first person who wanted to keep the integrity of Manipur, therefore, under his

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leadership, the Praja Sangha organized a joint meeting of the representatives of the political parties of the Hills and Valley of Manipur<sup>8</sup>. The following organizations were represented in the meeting : (i) Tangkhul Long, (ii) Kuki National Assembly, (iii) Kabui Association, (iv) Khulmi Union, (v) Mizo Union, (vi) Manipur Praja Sabha, (vii) Manipuri Krishak Sabah, (viii) Meitei Mar up and (ix) Nongpok Apunba Marup<sup>9</sup>. This Conference demanded a full responsible government and decided to keep the territorial integrity of Manipur and formed a United Front of Manipur<sup>10</sup>. It was, of course, a rare historical event of its kind where nine organizations belonging to different ethnic communities from hills and plain, held at Manipur Dramatic Union, on 30th November, 1947 presided by M.K. Shim ray of Tangkhullong<sup>11</sup>. Irawat, rendering his speech, focused on the politics of the Naga National Council and its impacts on Manipur<sup>12</sup>. Thus we notice the affirmative policy in Irawat's political aspiration, i.e. to bring unity among the hill and plain peoples<sup>13</sup>. Lamphel Singh of Meitei Marup, Ibomcha Singh and Kanhai Singh of Krishak Sabah, Lunneh of Kuki National Assembly and Kakhangai Kabui of Kabui Association gave speeches on the various socio-economic problem that the people of both the plain and the hill areas had been facing<sup>14</sup>. The meeting realized genuine necessities for forming a United Front of all the parties in the hills and plain and therefore, resolved to constitute an organizing committee with Irabot Singh as the President and M.K. Shim ray as the Secretary<sup>15</sup>. The different attitude shown towards the hill as well as valley people by their socio-political leaders also could easily seen, perhaps, out of cultural arrogance<sup>16</sup>. When the Meitei's became the followers of Vaishnavism this historically given cultural arrogance, according the value system of the new faith, has been express in the framework of pollution parity relationship and has alienated the non-Hindu tribes<sup>17</sup>. The tribes who embraced Christianity, also have alienated themselves from the Meiteis<sup>18</sup>. This social gap resulted from the mutual alienation became wider and wider with the metamorphosis of the colonial subjects into free citizens of independent India because political democratization has stimulated primordial sentiments<sup>19</sup>.

It was during this period in the hills of Manipur socio-political organizations: such as the Kuki National Assembly (KNA) (which later on converted into political party and finally to secessionist group) and the Khulmi National Union (KNU) were also established<sup>20</sup>; on 24th October, 1946 and 6th July, 1947 under the leaderships of Zavum Misao and Thangkhopau Kipgen and Teba Kilong and T.C. Tiankham<sup>21</sup>. The Constituent member tribes of KNA were (i) Anal, (ii) Chiru; (iii) Gangte; (iv) Guite; (v) Hmar; (vi) Koireng; (vii) Kom; (viii) Monsang; (ix) Paite, (x) Simte; (xi) Thadou; (xii) Vaiphei and (xiii) Zou. Not pleased with the Thadou dominancy and arrogance, the non Thadou ethnic groups, searched for a more democratic pan tribal organisation as an alternative to KNA<sup>22</sup>, as an outcome of the subject matter, a parallel body - the

KNU, came into existence with its constituent tribes, namely : (i) Aimol; (ii) Anal, (iii) Baite; (iv) Chiru; (v) Dungle; (vi) Gangte; (vii) Hanghal; (viii) Khongsai (Lunkim, Changsan, Hlangum, Lengthen); (ix)Kom; (x)Manchong; (xi) Manlhun, (xii) Maring; (xiii) Mate; (xiv) Moyon; (xv) Paite; (xvi) Purum, (xvii)Saum; (xviii) Simte; (xix) Tarao; (xx) Vaiphei and (xxi) Zou. As a pan non-Naga tribal political organization KNU contested in 1948 election of Manipur State Assembly and seven of its member become victorious in the said election<sup>23</sup>. The year 1947 also witnessed the birth of another association of non-Naga tribes, called the Kom Rem Association of which Kom, Aimol, Chiru, Koireng, Purum and Kharam were the member tribes<sup>24</sup>. However, the idea of adopting this generic term did not last long as the Government of India did not recognized, creating an environment to the formation of splinter groups like the Hmar National Organization, the Tiddim Chin Union, the Baite National Government Council and the Mate Tribal Union<sup>25</sup> due to the lack of mutual trust and a common ideology and also partly of arrogant, dominant attitude of the Thadous<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, the southern part of Churachandpur District bordering Mizoram was affected by the movement of Mizo Union, formed on 11th April, 1946 at Aizawl, Mizoram<sup>27</sup>. The Mizo movement Union was the first ever Regional Political Party established in the erstwhile Lushai Hills (now Mizoram) <sup>28</sup> born on 9th April, 1946 at Lungleh in its adhoc basis uner the style of Mizo Common People's Union<sup>29</sup>. A branch of the same had opened in Manipur under the leaderships of L. Tawna and G.L. Daka as its President and Secretary<sup>30</sup>

The other regional political parties in the Hill areas of Manipur were also the Naga National League (NNL) formed in September, 1946 with its manifesto to bring all the Nagas under one Flag<sup>31</sup> and the Naga Peoples League under the leadership of Athiko Daiho Mao. It will be worth mentioning that 18 MLA's from the hills joined the coalition government on the condition that the Deputy Speaker of the Assembly should be a tribal, secondly no part of Manipur should never be merged with any other State, thirdly the individuality of the State should be maintained at any cost<sup>32</sup>. Subsequently the M.L.As from the hill areas also insisted that if any neighbouring areas desire to join Manipur, it should welcome and be permitted to do so<sup>33</sup>. Thus the political environment was in fact, smooth and healthy with all assurances and promises to, including responsible form of government with the Maharaja as its constitutional head made by the Council of Minister, was, however, did not last long.

A totally different political scenario developed in Manipur with the Maharaja signing the Merger Agreement with India on 21st September, 1949 and enforced in 15th October, 1949 along with Banaras and Tripura, Manipur became a part of the Indian Union rather under "Part-C" status by the enacted "Part-C", Act to which everyone in Manipur felt extremely regretted and insulted.

Resist and protest of all kinds erupted in the state, Joykumar<sup>34</sup> emphatically maintained :

"The most significant epoch making development in political history of Manipur was the movement for the merger of Manipur into the Indian Union."

As a consequence, during the last part of 1949, the D.O.C. and the Red Guard undertook major organizational changes of which the latter became very active in the beginning of 1950<sup>35</sup>. It will be also imperative to note the contention of Pillai (G.K. Pillai, former Union Home Secretary) on September 26, at a lecture titled "Manipur - the way forward" at Delhi,<sup>36</sup>:

"the ancient kingdom, which had a constitution even before India wrote her own, had its own proud history and was overnight turned into a C-category state in 1948".

Thus, political developments in the pre and post-merger period produced a serious psychological effect on every sensitive educated youth of the State<sup>37</sup>.

It will be interesting to know the politics developed during this transitional phase from monarchy to democracy in the domains of Kuki Chiefs also. Before administration of the entire hill territories was entrusted to a single officer (the Vice President who was already overburdened with his usual duties in the durbar<sup>38</sup>. The British employed well known policy of 'divide et impera' - a policy that played a crucial part in ensuring the stability indeed, the viability of nearly every colonial system,<sup>39</sup>. Moreover Kamei<sup>40</sup> has contended their Indirect Rule both in the valley and hills was fraught with troubles - Manipur became a part of the Dominion of India from 15th August, 1947, as a result of signing the Instrument of accession and stand-still Agreement by the Maharaja on 11 August, 1947<sup>41</sup>. Kukis who were chiefs, and not were vehemently stood against such a dare political step of whose a few names worth mentioning were: (1) Thanggoumang Sitlhou, Chief of Sangnoa; (2) Mangkhokai, Younger brother of Kilkhong Khotinthang, Chief of Jampi, (3) S. L. Lunneh, Chief of Matbung, (4) Sumkhohen Haokip, Chief of Nabil; (5) Lhukhomang Haokip, Chief of Chahsad; (6) Sumkhohao Haokip, Chief of Ukha Tampak; (7) Paokhohang Haokip of Saitol; (8) Thangkhosie Chongloi, Chief of Kheingjang; (9) Otingam Sitlhou, Chief of Khaochongbung; (10) Lhunkhopao Singsong, Chief of Lungthulien; (11) Pakang Haokip, Chief of Maokot; (12) Paolen Haokip, Chief of Saitu; (13) Demjalam Kipgen, Bunning; (14) Thangkhopao Kipgen, Bunning, (15) Lunkhopao Singsong, Chief of Songsang.<sup>42</sup> Despite their strong opposition to abolish monarchy from Manipur, Manipur was reduced to a fiefdom of the Chief Commissioner<sup>43</sup>. Bhubon<sup>44</sup> also supplemented by maintaining that tribals and their followers came in huge numbers to defend their Maharaja the thinking that along with the abolition of Maharajship.. In this connection, it is relevant to mention that Irawat the leftist leader was also strongly against the same, tried hard to preserve sovereignty of Manipur<sup>45</sup>. Based on Mr. Stewart's Report,

the Governor then advised the agitators to preserve the sanctity of the temple and the agitation frittered away slowly on the fifth day after signing a no-side-sin agreement.<sup>46</sup>

On the other side the Nagas with the Zeliangrong (1930-1949) movements led by Haiphou Zadonang and carried on by Gaidinliu made the Tamenglong hills though suppressed but it revealed impact of the powerful current of peoples movements throughout India maintained Sarojini<sup>47</sup>. The consequences of the Merger of Manipur to the Dominion of India and the Government of India's attitude towards Manipur - at one time a princely kingdom, well known and for that matter, in the south east Asia in particular and the world in general, the merger of this entity to the Indian Union, and, thereby placing her in "Part C" State. This very historical event of extremely undermining and insulting the Manipuri's is, in fact, the root cause of all sorts of movements specifically to the freedom fighters or insurgents or terrorists.

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## 4. BANGARH: A Leading Ancient And Early Medieval City Of Eastern India

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**Bangarh** is one of the leading ancient and early-medieval cities of Eastern India. At present, the ruined City is located in the Shibbari Gram Pachayet area, one and half miles to the north of Gangarampur, on the eastern bank of the River Punarbhava<sup>1</sup> and about 45 Km. from the District Headquarter of Balurghat town in the District of Dakshin Dinajpur. Dr.D.C.Sen claims that the identified ancient Kotivarsa is the synonym of present Bangarh.<sup>2</sup> Now, Kotivarsa has been identified by archaeological evidence, with the name of Bangarh, as a capital city of the legendary Daitya king Bana or Banasur. Banasur was the first Kirat king who ruled central Nepal and was killed by Lord Krishna<sup>3</sup> in the battlefield. According to R.L.Barua, during that period, Dravidians were designated as Daitya but not Demon, Danavas and Asuras etc.<sup>4</sup>

The *Bangarh Grant*<sup>5</sup> of Mahipala-I which has been recovered from Bangarh Village<sup>6</sup> and the *Belwa* Copperplate Inscriptions of Bhoja Barman, which were issued in the fifth year of his reign, i.e. in 993 A.D.,<sup>7</sup> suggest that once Bangarh was known as an important city in the name of Kotivarsa. Dr.K.G.Goswami suggests that these names i.e. Vaijayanti, Devikotta and Kotivarsa of the ancient and medieval fame were the same.<sup>8</sup> During the period of the Pala dynasty, Bangarh was known as *Visaya*<sup>9</sup> and enlarged as a local administrative centre under their Empire. Four Damodarpur Copperplate Inscriptions of Gupta period,<sup>10</sup> dating to 443 A.D., which have been discovered from Dakshin Dinajpur District,<sup>11</sup> have also mentioned that Kotivarsa was a *Visaya* and a chief administrative centre, belonging to Pundravardhana Bhukti.<sup>12</sup> The fame and importance of Kotivarsa,<sup>13</sup> were very remarkable, like other cities of ancient India, i.e. Mathura, Ujjain, Patliputra, Konauj, Koushambi etc. Certainly, Kotivarsa was a famous city, like any international city during

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the period of conquest of Bengal by Bhoja Barman, the King of “The Barman dynasty”<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, another Copperplate Inscription of Damodarapur, has mentioned that at the same time, Bangarh was a chief administrative and cultural centre of Kotivarsa *Visaya* and Mahasthangarh was its only Capital.<sup>15</sup> R.K. Gupta suggests that during the reign of the Pala dynasty, Kotivarsa *visaya* had been more flourishing as a trade center than earlier, alongside other administrative centers of ancient Bengal. However, Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyaya, a pioneer historian of ancient India, who maintains a claim that the whole northern part of Varendri or Varendra, was then recognized by the name of “Kotivarsa” from the beginning of the seventh ago. The above statements have further proved by the facts given from the “*Bangarh Grant*” of Mahipala-I<sup>16</sup> which revealed in the 9<sup>th</sup> year of his reign.<sup>17</sup>

However, the Turkish Invader named Iktiyaruddin Muhammad Bin-Bakhtiyar Khilji, who had invaded Bengal and forcibly entered into the palace of Lakshana Sena,<sup>18</sup> the king of Bengal, during the early 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D.,<sup>19</sup> conquered Nadia or Navadwip.<sup>20</sup> Md. Bin-Bakhtiyar applied his mind to arrange a new expedition with a large army towards Bhutan, Assam<sup>21</sup> and also the Tibetan regions.<sup>22</sup> In course of his so-called Tibet expedition,<sup>23</sup> he captured Kotivarsa and built there an army camp for sheltering his troops. After that, he founded the Muslim rule in Rah<sup>24</sup> and Gouda or Lakhnawati in 1205 A.D.<sup>25</sup> and established his capital at Kotivarsa within his subjugated area.<sup>26</sup> From that time, the identification of Kotivarsa has gradually been changed and recognized in the name of Devkot. Soon after the Turkish conquest of the Bengal delta in 1204, Muslim immigrants came from different places and were settled down in Kotivarsa, besides other emporia like Gouda, Pandua, Sonargaon, Deotala and Chittagong, principally as long-distance traders, administrators, soldiers and literary persons.<sup>27</sup> Medieval historian of the Sultanate period, Minhaj Siraj, visited Bengal forty years after Bakhtiyar’s “Inroads of Bengal” and personally collected some reports by oral traditions concerning it,<sup>28</sup> about where Bakhtiyar had settled himself firmly as a governor or ruler of Bengal.<sup>29</sup> Dr. Ahmed Sharif said that he was indeed the maker of the medieval history of Bengal.<sup>30</sup>

During the period of Bakhtiyar Khilji, the ancient Devkot flourished day by day as a second capital of his reign and soon it also emerged as an early urban settlement of the Muslim period in Bengal<sup>31</sup> and it maintained its continuing development up to the reign of Ali Mardan. Ali Mardan, another follower of Bakhtiyar, came to Kativarsa as the next Governor of the Muslim rule in Bengal, appointed by Qutub-ud-din after the death of Iktiyar-ud-din in A.D. 1206.<sup>32</sup> It is important that, “Ancient Devkot” or “Deokot” then flourished as the first capital city during the Muslim period in Bengal.<sup>33</sup> Subsequently, Ghyas-uddin Was transferred the capital<sup>34</sup> of Muslim Bengal from Devkot to the historic city of Gouda-Lakhnawati during the year of 1219-20<sup>35</sup> but the real

causes for transferring the capital, remains vague and unidentified even today.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, the ancient “Devkot” was then recognized as an active administrative centre of Muslim power in Bengal,<sup>37</sup> especially during the reign of Bakhtiyar Khilji and for 20 years after his death.<sup>38</sup> As per the written records of J.F. Bourdillon, Deokot or devkot was a local trade centre and also a capital city of Varendra or Varendri.<sup>39</sup> According to Dr. A. B. M. Habibullah, the same *Visaya*, i.e. Kotivarsa has been identified with the name of ancient Devkot or Devikotta,<sup>40</sup> which was locally known as Bangarh under the Pundravardhana Bhukti.

The place which now exists as Bangarh was, in ancient times, called Devikotta or Banapura, some “*Stone Inscriptions*”, which were recovered in the area of Kotivarsa *Visaya*.<sup>41</sup> According to the records of Abhidhanachintamani collected by Hemchandra, Dovecote or Diw-kot, Umavan, Ushaharan, Shonitpur, Banapur etc. might be synonymous of ancient Kotivarsa.<sup>42</sup> Purushottomer Trikhandashesha<sup>43</sup> suggests that Bannagara or Bangarh was then known by different names i.e. Devikot, Deokot or Diw-kot, Kotivarsa etc. The truth of the statement has been further proved after the excavations, led by the Director of Archaeological survey of India on the ruined place of Bangarh in the year of 2009.<sup>44</sup> Dr. W. W. Hunter, has clearly mentioned in his great book, “A Statistical Accounts of Bengal, Voll-V,” at the advent of the Muslim era, Devkot Pargana belonged to the north of Madnabati paragon under Pundravardhana Bhukti.<sup>45</sup> The Secret Book of Jain, “*Jaina “Prajnapana”*” has mentioned that Kotivarsa or ancient Devkot, as a city, flourished in Radha Mondale.<sup>46</sup>

Nearly two thousand years ago, F. B. Hamilton who visited the site of Bangarh in 1833,<sup>47</sup> tracing the routes of Hieun Tsang, reported that the ruins of ‘Bannogar’ occupied the east bank of the Punarbhava which at this point flew from the north-east to the south-west for about 2 miles, beginning a little above “Dum-dumah”.<sup>48</sup> The unknown Kamboja intruder expanded his territory in North Bengal<sup>49</sup> and built a temple of Lord Shiva at Bangarh,<sup>50</sup> which is now falling into decay.<sup>51</sup> The above have been learnt from “A Pillar Inscription” of Kamboja dynasty, which has now been discovered from Bangarh Village.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, the rulers of Kamboja family, led by Rajyapala, tried to expand their possession towards North Bengal,<sup>53</sup> during the reign of Pala dynasty<sup>54</sup> but soon were driven away by the local rulers.<sup>55</sup> Bana or Banasur, the king of Bangarh, himself was a great worshipper of the Lord Siva.<sup>56</sup>

Moreover, there was a beautiful Buddhist Monastery at ancient Devkot or Bangarh, which had been destroyed by the sudden attack of Turkish Soldier, Bakhtiyar Khilji, probably in 1199 A.D. He also demolished there many Hindu temples and built Mahomedan mosques, palaces, and caravanserais with the materials,<sup>57</sup> though, he was not bloodthirsty and took no delight in massacre or in flinching misery on his subjects. In the advent of the Muslims in Bengal that

the significance and numbers of the ancient deities had greatly changed. Most of them had disappeared from the popular pantheon, the importance of others had enormously varied, and a number of new ones had risen into favors.<sup>58</sup> Sandhyakara-Nandi, the biographer of Ram Pala,<sup>59</sup> Dr.R.C.Majumdar, Bangle Dasher Itihas (Prachin-Yug), General Printers & Publishers Pvt.Ltd., Kolkata, in 2002, P-87 highly praised in his book of “*Ramcharita*, the excellence of Bangarh at the same time.

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## 5. Establishment Of Sea Trade in Bengal During Mughal Period

\*Dr. Asha Shrivastava

**The Original** name of Bengal is Bang.<sup>1</sup> This subah is situated in the second clime.<sup>2</sup> Its length from Chittagong to Garhi<sup>3</sup> in four hundred kos. Its breadth from the northern range of mountains to the southern frontier of the Sarkar of Mandaran is two hundred kos, and when the country of Orissa was added to this subah, the additional length was forty-three kos and the breadth twenty three. It is bounded on the east by the sea, on the north and south by mountains and on the west by the subah of Bihar.<sup>4</sup>

Its rivers are countless and the first of them in this province is the Ganges. Rising in the mountains towards the north, it passes through the province of Delhi, and imperials Agra, and Allahabad and Bihar into the province of Bengal, and near Qazihattah in the Sarkar of Barbakabad, it divides into two streams. One of these flowing east-wards, falls into the sea at the port of Chittagong. At the parting of the waters, it takes the name of 'Padmawati' and pursues a southern course. It is divided into three streams—one, the Saraswati, second the Yamuna and the third the Ganga or Trabeni and held in high veneration. The third stream after spreading into a thousand channels, joins the sea at Satgaon (Hugli). The Saraswati and the Yamuna unite with it.<sup>5</sup>

Another river is the Brahmaputra. It flows from Khata<sup>6</sup> (China) to Kuch and thence through the Sarkar of Bazuha and fertilizing the country, falls into the sea. And again there is the sea which is here a gulf of the great ocean, extending on one side as far as Basrah and on the other to the Egyptian Qulzum<sup>7</sup> and thence it washes both Persia and Ethiopia where are Dahlak and Suakin, and is called (the Gulf of) Oman and the Persian sea.

Among all the provinces of the Mughal empire Bengal was most lavishly favoured by nature. Its numberless rivers and tanks with their abundance of fish and its fruit laden orchards richly supplement the corn-fields.<sup>8</sup> In the sixteenth century Bengal had been an unhappy scene of anarchy and desolation

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\*JRF, ICHR, New Delhi, 778, Vikas Nagar, Neemuch (M.P.)

from the decay and dismemberment of its independent provincial sultanate and the long wars of Mughal conquest. But during Akbar's reign Mughal rule in Bengal was more like an armed occupation than a settled administration.<sup>9</sup> After the accession of Jahangir his new viceroy, Islam Khan, who governed the province for six years (1608-1613) was a most ambitious, active and high-spirited noble. By a series of campaigns he crushed all the independent Zamindars of Bengal, destroyed the last remnant of Afghan power and direct imperial administration upon all the parts of Bengal.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter Bengal enjoyed profound internal peace nearly a century and a half and recovered wealth and population, trade, expended by rapid strides, industries developed. The Arrakanese, and subsequently their agents, the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong were a pest to the riverside districts of East Bengal, but this evil was removed early in Aurangzeb's reign (1666) by Shaista Khan; the trade of the English and the Dutch grew by leaps and bounds from the middle of the century onwards, and their factories and purchase-agencies stimulated production and wealth in the country.<sup>11</sup>

Trade and commerce expanded in Bengal during the seventeenth century due to a number of factors. An important factor was the political integration of the country under Mughal rule and establishment of conditions attention to roads and sarais. Taxes were levied on goods at the point their entry into the empire. Road cesses or *rahdari* was declared illegal, though it continued to be collected by some of the local *rajas*. The Mughals minted silver rupees of high purity from mints scattered all over the empire. Any trader could carry silver to the royal mint, and have coins in exchange on payment of a *batta* (discount). The Mughal rupee became a slandered coin in India and abroad and thus helped India's trade.<sup>12</sup> In India there was a number of ports and towns from which brisk trade between India and the outer world was carried on. The advent of the Portuguese into India towards the end of the fifteenth century. During the seventeenth century, many other European traders, specially the Dutch, the English and later the French came to India for purpose of trade. This enterprise was a direct result of the growth of the European economy consequent upon a rapid expansion in the field of agriculture and manufactures. The Portuguese power had begun to decline during the second half of the sixteenth century. Despite vehement Portuguese opposition, the Dutch established themselves at Masulipatam<sup>13</sup> obtaining a *Farman* from the ruler of Golconda in 1606. The Dutch had originally come to the coast for the sake of the spice trade. But they quickly realized that spices could be obtained most easily in exchange for Indian textiles. The cloth produced on the Coromandal or Bengal coast was the most acceptable in south Asia, and also cheapest to carry. Hence the Dutch spread south from Masulipatnam to the Coromandal (Bengal) coast, obtaining Pulicat from the local ruler and making it a base of their operations.<sup>14</sup>

Like the Dutch, the English also had come to the east for the spice trade, but the hostility of the Dutch who had more resources and had already established themselves in the Spice Islands forced the English to concentrate on India. After

defeating a Portuguese fleet outside Surat they were able, at last, setup a factory there in 1612.<sup>15</sup>

Thus the first quarter of the seventeenth century, both the Dutch and the English were well set in the India trade. The Dutch joined the English in their new venture, exporting both calico and indigo from the Coromandal.<sup>16</sup>

Most important were their efforts to develop the trade of Bengal and Orissa. The activities of the Portuguese and the Magh pirates in east Bengal made this development slow. However, by 1651 the English had set themselves up at Hooghly<sup>17</sup> and at Balasore<sup>18</sup> in Orissa, exporting from their raw silk and sugar in addition to textiles. Another item which was developed was the export of salt peters which supplemented the European source for gun powder. It was also used as a ballast for ships going to Europe. The quality salt peters was found in Bihar. Exports from the eastern areas grew rapidly, and were equal in value to the exports from the Coromandal by the end of the century.

Thus, the English and the Dutch companies opened up new markets and articles of export for India.<sup>19</sup> There is long chain of events behind the arrival of British in Bengal.<sup>20</sup> European traders arrived late in the fifteenth century, their influence grew until the British East India company gained taxation in Bengal subah or provinces. The agents of East India company first visited the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, for trade during the period of Islam Khan<sup>21</sup>(1608-1624), the subahdar (governor) of Bengal at the time of Delhi Emperor Jahangir. The first factory was established in Surat in 1620 and later in Agra, and agents were further sent from these places to the eastern provinces to see the possibility of opening factories there. However the transportation costs and logistics weighed against them and the plan was abandoned. In 1634, a firman was obtained from the Emperor Shah Jahan which allowed them to make factory in Bengal and the company agents to reside at Pipili, Orissa and for the time the English ships arrived at an eastern port. During 1638 Shah Jahan appointed his son Shah Shuja<sup>22</sup> as the subahdar of Bengal, and Mr. Boughton visited the capital at Rajmahal and in return the company was allowed to establish factory in Balasore and Hooghly in addition Pipili. Shaista Khan was appointed as the Governor of Bengal in ca-1664 by Delhi, Emperor Aurangzeb and was relieved upon the request in ca-1677.<sup>23</sup> While he was returning to Delhi, an Englishman sent with him a request to the Emperor to obtain a special firman to do business forever in Bengal. The Emperor was pleased to provide them the firman and the occasion was celebrated with 300 gun salutes at Hooghly. The investment in Bengal soared, the Bengal residency was separated from Madras and Mr. Hedges was appointed as the chief officer to oversee trade in Bengal. His residency in Hooghly was secured with a bunch of soldiers come on the soil of Bengal, however the firman was vague in many aspects and soon disputes to grow between the English and the governor.<sup>24</sup>

Thus Bengal has played an important role in the history of India. Under the Mughal rule, west Bengal became a commercial hub where industry and trade thrived. These kingdoms contributed greatly to the economic and cultural landscape of Bengal. Extensive land reclamations in forested and marshy areas were carried out and trade as well as commerce were highly encouraged. However the downfall of the Mughal Empire led to the oppressive British rule when India became an establishment trade colony of the east India company. Following the battle of Plassy in 1757, when Siraj-ud-Daulah, the last independent Nawab was defeated by the British.<sup>25</sup>

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## 6. The Rise Of Satnami Cult in Chhatisgarh Region Of South Kosala

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Like the Mahimas of Orissa, the Satnamis represent the poor lower class community in area bordering Western Orissa. The area of their habitation is confined to Chhatisgarh with which the people of Western Orissa have close social association. The tradition of the Satnami faith came from Oudh region. Guru Ghasidas is regarded as proponent of this sect in between 1820-1830 A.D. There are many legends and miracles centering around to influence the people's mind. He was a great social reformer.

The Satnami movement was a social revolt on the part of the low class Chamars. The fundamental tenet of the gospel of Ghasidas appears to have been abolition of caste and, with it, the authority of the Brahmanas. It provoked a bitter and permanent antagonism between the two Hindu classes - the caste Hindu landlords and the Chamar cultivators. The spread of Christianity among the Chamars was in one respect aided by the Satnami movement, as a Chamar hoped also to throw off the social stigma attached to him by caste Hindus by embracing Christianity.

The Satnamis, a religious group in the Central Provinces, are a dissenting sect founded by a Chamar reformer in the Chhatisgarh area. The Satnami movement in Chhatisgarh was started by one Ghasi Das, a native of Bilaspur District between A.D. 1820 and 1830. Ghasi Das got his inspiration from a follower of the older Satnami sect of northern India founded by Jagjiwan Das in Bara Banki district of Uttar Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the Satnami movement was carried from Oudh into the Central Provinces by Ghasi Das, a Chamar.<sup>2</sup> He was the propounder of the Satnami cult in the Chhatisgarh region. Chislom, an

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English officer, regarded Sant Ghasi as an incarnation of a divine being in human form.<sup>3</sup> Ghasi Das was born on 18 December 1756 in Girod, a small village formerly in Bilaspur and now in Raipur district near Sonakhan forest.<sup>4</sup> He was a poor farm servant in Girod. His childhood days were spent in a miserable condition. In spite of his poverty he visited many sacred places. On one occasion he and his brother started on a pilgrimage to the Puri, but only got as far as Sarangarh from which they returned ejaculating 'Satnami' 'Satnam'.<sup>5</sup> Then he abandoned pilgrimage and began an ascetic life. Ghasi Das next retired to the forest for a season and emerged with what he called a new revelation for the Camars. Ghasi Das gave up all worldly cares and dedicated himself to the propagation of the Satnami cult. He became a great social reformer.

**Message of Guru Ghasi Das :**

The all-round development which took place during the last half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century in Chhattisgarh region was mainly due to Baba Ghasi Das who was a follower of truth and non-violence. He was well-known to the whole community, having travelled much among them, had the reputation of being exceptionally sagacious and was worship of the name of the seven precepts of Ghasi Das included the worship of the name of the solitary Supreme God, abstinence from meat, liquor and certain vegetables like lentils, chillies and tomatoes because they resembled the colour of blood, the abolition of idol worship, the prohibition of employment of cows for cultivation and of ploughing after midday or taking food to the fields.<sup>7</sup> Casteism was abolished and all men were to be socially equal except the family of Ghasi Das, in which the priesthood of the cult was to remain hereditary.<sup>8</sup> The Satnamis worship the Sun, morning and evening, as representing the deity, crying out 'Lord Protect Us'.<sup>9</sup> They have no visible sign or representation of the Supreme Being. They are opposed to idolatry, and are enjoined to cast all idols from their homes. Theoretically, they have no temples, public religious services, creed and form of devotion. The Satnamis profess to adore the so-called True Name alone, the one God, the cause and creator of all things, the nirguna or He who is void of all sensible qualities, without beginning or without end. They recognize the absolute Hindu pantheon, and although they profess to worship but one God, they pay reverence to his manifestations as revealed in incarnations, particularly those of Rama and Krsna.<sup>10</sup> Their moral code enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasure and its pain, devotion to the guru or spiritual guide, clemency or gentleness, rigid adherence to truth, the discharge of all social and religious obligations and the hope of final absorption into the Supreme.<sup>11</sup>

### **Social and Religious Customs of The Satnamis :**

Regarding the social and religious customs of Satnamis, it is observed that idolatry of every form is eschewed and the Supreme Being is worshipped without any visible sign or representation. All worshippers are socially equal. The religious act simply consists of muttering the name of God and asking for his blessings. A Satnami protagonist himself before the Sun, morning and evening, crying Satnami, the True Name or the True One.<sup>12</sup> Their social customs generally resemble those of other Camars. They admit into their community all except members of impure castes, such as dhobis (washerman), ghasi as (grass-cutter) and mehtar (sweeper) whom they regard as inferior to themselves. Their women social order, as this ornament was formerly forbidden to the lower caste. Another method by which the Satnamis show their contempt for Hinduism is by throwing milk and curd at each other in sport and trampling it under foot. This is a parody of Hindu celebration of the Janamastami or Krsna's birthday, when vessels of milk and curd are broken over the heads of the worshipers. The milk and curd are eaten by all castes indiscriminately in token of family.<sup>13</sup>

The creed enunciated by Ghasi Das was of creditable simplicity and purity, of too elevated a nature for the Camars. The religion was originally of a high order of morality. But it rapidly got degraded to its own level, when adopted by a people who were incapable of living up to it. The crude of living up to it. The crude myths associated with the story of Ghasi Das made the religion obscure. Ghasi Das lived up to eighty years and died in AD 1850.<sup>14</sup> The number of disciples then were more than a quarter of a million. He was succeeded in the office of high priest by his eldest son Balak Das.<sup>15</sup> Balak Das managed things badly. He outraged the feelings of the Hindus and was finally assassinated by a party of Rajputs in AD 1860.<sup>16</sup> Since the later gurus were extravagant the Satnami movement felt a great setback. The Camars who has raised their social status by adopting the Satnam-panth preached by Ghasi Das felt the need for a dignified leadership and divisions started among themselves.

However, the origin of the Satnami cult may be attributed to a reaction against Hinduism and the despised position to which the lower classes were relegated by the caste system. The unconscious genesis is of the revolt may be taken to be social rather than religious. The Satnami movement represents the efforts of the lower and impure castes to free themselves from the tyranny of the caste system and the Brahmanas who stand at the head of the system. So the Satnamis are always in conflict with orthodox Hinduism and Brahmanas. Ghasi Das himself had been deeply impressed by the misery and debasement of the Camar community.

The spread of Christianity among the Camars in Chhattisgarh is in one respect a replica of the Satnami movement. by becoming a Christian the Camar

hopes to throw off the social bondage of Hinduism. However Ghasi Das created self-confidence amongst the depressed sections of the society for their right against injustice and untouchability. They started establishing their own identity and courage to fight against injustice. Hence, the Satnamis originated as a religious sect but were successful in getting the status of a caste by the end of the twenties.<sup>17</sup>

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## 7. British Land Revenue Policies in India With Special Reference To Bengal

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As land revenue was the main source of income, the East India Company tried to make maximum out of it. In 1762 the Company started with the new experiment in the districts of Burdawan and Midnapore in Bengal. Land was sold for a period of three years. With the objective of getting maximum revenue from those territories, the Company sold the estates by public auction. Though this system was profitable to the state, it harmed the interests of the peasants. Since the grant of Diwani for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, the major concern of the East India Company's administration in India was to maximize revenue extraction. Consequently they began with the temporary settlement of land in 1772. Introduced by *Warren Hastings* in Bengal, this system known as the farming system was based on the assumption that all land belonged to the sovereign. He started the system of auctioning the land to the highest bidders.. The net result of this whole period of rash experimentation was the ruination of the agricultural population.<sup>1</sup> As experienced revenue servant put it: "The fluctuations of the revenue since the English...have opened the largest field of abuses."<sup>2</sup>

So in order to streamline the revenue administration the British government sent *Lord Cornwallis* to India in 1784. In 1786 the East India Company Court of Directors first proposed a permanent settlement for Bengal, changing the policy being pursued at that time by Calcutta, which was attempting to increase taxation of zamindars. Between 1786 and 1790 the new Governor-General *Lord Cornwallis* and *Sir John Shore* (later Governor-General himself) entered a heated debate over whether or not to introduce a permanent settlement with the zamindars.

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### Permanent Settlement or the Zamindari System

When *Lord Cornwallis* came to India he realized that the existing land revenue system could not come up to the expectations of the Company. The Company hoped that by implementing this system of assessment, corruption would be minimized, the landlords will invest more money in land improvement and the Company would get its taxes regularly.

The Permanent Settlement was introduced in 1793 in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Varanasi and Northern Karnataka, which roughly covered 19 percent of the total area of British India. It was so called because it set the land revenue assessment forever.<sup>3</sup> Under this system, a new class of zamindars was declared to be the owners of the land and they had to collect the land revenue out of which one-tenth to one-eleventh was retained by them as their remuneration, and the rest was handed over to the Company. If the zamindar did so, then he was the proprietor or owner of the land, he could sell, mortgage and transfer it; land could also be inherited by heirs. The revenue had to be deposited by them with rigid punctuality before sunset of the appointed day.

The Permanent Settlement vested the ownership right in the zamindars, who previously enjoyed only revenue collecting right. The provision of *patta*, or written agreement between the peasant and the zamindar providing a record of the amount of rent to be paid, was seldom followed by the zamindars. The regulations of 1799 and 1812 gave the zamindars the right to confiscate property of the tenants in case of non-payment of rent without any permission of a court of law.<sup>4</sup>

The British zamindar under the Permanent Settlement was a petty capitalist. On account of the right of sub-infeudation of estates and holdings by the zamindars, the competition for land increased and there emerged a chain of middlemen and intermediary rent receiving interests between the original landlord and the cultivator, whose position was that of a mere tenant at the mercy of the zamindar. Since the zamindars appropriated a good portion of the income from the land, the economic condition of the mass of tenants in the zamindari zones gradually worsened.

Though the settlement was pro-zamindar, they too had to face a number of difficulties. *Daniel Thorner* had opined that the creation of private property in land was a misnomer, as the absolute ownership was retained by the imperial government. From the point of view of zamindars, the worst feature of this system of settlement was the rigid system of collection of revenue by the government. As a result of the high revenue demand, the zamindars found it difficult to collect taxes and there were also the uncertainties of nature. The outcome was the frequent sale of zamindari estates. In this regard, *B.R Mishra* remarks: "Government, entirely for political consideration, subordinated and

sacrificed the interests of the millions to the interests of the few.”<sup>5</sup>

Diametrically opposed views have been expressed about Permanent Settlement. Those who support it regard it as a solution for all the agrarian and economic ills which were causing problems in Bengal. *R.C Dutt* opines that this measure “has done more to secure the prosperity and happiness of British subjects in India than any other single measure of the British government”. *Marshman* remarks that, “it was a bold, brave and wise measure”. It gave the state fixed and stable revenue without expenses and problem involved in fixing the land revenue intermittently.

Opponents of the settlement point out that it was a sad blunder. It was believed that the new class of landlords would initiate modern farming practices and regenerate agriculture. In actual practice, the landlords (*Bhadralok*) impoverished the cultivators through excessive rents and lived a luxurious life in the towns.<sup>6</sup> Arbitrary fixation of revenue threw a huge financial burden on the zamindars and in many cases it led to the ruination of big landlords.

### **Ryotwari Settlement**

The Ryotwari System of assessment of land revenue was started by *Alexander Reed* and *Thomas Munro* in Madras, Berar, Bombay and Assam which covered about 52 percent of the cultivable land. Under this system, the ryots were given the ownership and occupancy rights in land and they were directly and individually responsible for the payment of land revenue to the state. They could use, sell, mortgage, bequeath, and lease the land as long as they paid their taxes. Thus a system of individual proprietorship in land was created, but it was vested in the peasants, rather than the zamindars. The main features of this settlement were: assessment upon individual cultivators, measurement of field and estimate of produce and fixing of government demand at 55 percent of the produce. This system, in order to be successful, required a comprehensive survey of all the land: the quality of soil, the area of the field and the average produce of every piece of land had to be assessed and on the basis of that the amount of revenue was to be fixed.<sup>7</sup>

But the actual working of the system, according to *Venkatsubbiah*, was a chronicle of frustration. Although the peasant became the proprietor of land, this right failed to improve his condition. The revenue estimates were often speculative and the revenue demand was often so high that they could only be collected with great difficulty or could not be collected at all. “The zamindari system had revolutionized the relationship between the landlords and tenants; the ryotwari system revolutionized the relations between the creditors and the debtors and thus introduced another grasping and exploiting element into the rural society.” Rates of interest were so high that the cultivator at best was able

to pay only the interest on the loan. So the ryotwari system was almost abandoned soon after *Munro's* departure for London in 1807.

The situation however began to change in 1820 as *Thomas Munro* returned to India as the governor of Madras. The Madras government was persistently short of funds and so it decided to introduce the Ryotwari Settlement in most parts of the presidency. In many areas no surveys were carried out and the tax of a ryot was assessed on an arbitrary basis, based on village accounts. In those areas where the survey was carried out it was often ill conceived and hastily executed, resulting in over assessment.<sup>8</sup>

### **Mahalwari System or Village Settlement System**

When the permanent settlement as well as the ryotwari settlement failed to come up to the expectations of the British, they decided to introduce a third system known as the Mahalwari settlement. In the agrarian system of North-Western Provinces, there was on one hand, a small group of magnates known as the taluqdars. *Nurul Hassan* has described them as the intermediary zamindars, which contracted with the state to realize the revenue of a given territory. There were on the other hand, a large group of primary zamindars, who were the holders of proprietary rights over agricultural as well as habitational lands. Many of the big taluqdars who resisted the new regime and its high revenue demand and were liquidated with utter brutality. As a result by 1820 many of the undeveloped magnate class of upper India either lost their position entirely or were left in shrunken condition.<sup>9</sup>

The revised system was worked out by *R.M. Bird* and *James Thomson* between 1833 and 1853 in Punjab, the Central Provinces and parts of north-western provinces (present U.P). It covered about 29 percent of the total cultivable land. It provided for an extensive survey of the land to assess the revenue of an entire *mahal* (estate) or fiscal unit, based on the net value of potential produce of the field. Under this system settlement was not made with the individual landlords, but with the village as such. But the settlements initiated by *Bird* and completed by *Thomson*, were also based on imperfect survey, inaccurate calculations and therefore over-assessment.

### **Conclusion**

To sum up we can say that by the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the British introduced three systems of land revenue, creating private property in land and granting the proprietary right on three different groups. The Permanent Settlement was made with the zamindars, the Ryotwari Settlement was made with the riots or peasant proprietors and the Mahawari Settlement with the village

community. Whereas the Permanent and the Ryotwari Settlements were inferior adoptions respectively of the English and the French systems, the Mahalwari Settlement was an improvisation of the traditional Indian systems of an economic community. A common feature of all these settlements was over-assessment, as the primary aim of the Company's government was to maximize revenue income. In their consequence, all the three systems led to the gradual impoverishment of the Indian farmers. But contrary to these views modern research in this field has revealed that the effects of changes in land tenure were less impressive than once imagined. The agrarian society proved to be more resilient than once it was thought to be.

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## 8. Historical Geography And River System Of Cooch-Behar State

\*Binay Barman

Cooch-Behar is, at present, one of the Districts of West-Bengal. But present North-Bengal (including six Districts of North-Bengal such as Cooch-Behar, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Two Dinajpurs and Maldah, Districts of Bangladesh such as Rangpur, Dinajpur, and Bogra.) with the whole of North-Eastern Region was known as Pragjyotisha. The Pragjyotisha, we came across the name first in the Ramayana where Pragjyotisha had been described as a city was built with gold and was ruled over by a Danava known as Naraka.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand the Mahabharata describes Naraka as a great Danava, the son of Danu.<sup>2</sup> The name Pragjyotisha is also mentioned in the Kalhana's "Rajtarangini", Raghuvamsam, Mahapuranas and Bishnupuranas.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that this Pragjyotisha was known as Kamarupa in later times. Kamarupa, which also appears under the name of Kamrud, Kamru and kanwru is often mentioned together with Kamata.<sup>4</sup> The Kamata kingdom later became Kamatapur with its separate political entity. This Kamata or Kamatapur was known as Kamata-KuchBehar (present Cooch-Behar). During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the District Rangpur (in undivided Bengal now in Bangladesh) was in the hands of the Rajah of Kamata. The European traveler Ralph Fitch visited Cooch-Behar State and mentioned Chechakhata and Duars as a realm of Cooch-Behar State.<sup>5</sup> It is to be noted that this Cooch-Behar State did not belong to Bengal.<sup>6</sup> Geographical boundary of Kamata-Cooch-Behar and Cooch-Behar State is not the same.

The penetrating effect of geography on history is comprehensible in the following utterance: History would be meaningless without the knowledge of geography.<sup>7</sup> According to B. N. Mukherjee, Annals of a country of a given period cannot be correctly evaluated without having an idea of its geopolitical conditions during the relevant age," A knowledge of space, no less that of time," is particularly necessary for following the course of history in an area.<sup>8</sup>

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**Geographical boundary of Cooch-Bihar State:** Cooch-Bihar lies between  $25^{\circ}57' \times 40''$  and  $26^{\circ}32' \times 20''$  North latitude, and between  $88^{\circ}47' \times 40''$  and  $89^{\circ}54' \times 35''$  East longitude. Cooch-Bihar State is bounded on the north by the foot hills of Bhutan, on the east Pargana Ghurla of Goalpara district of Assam, on the south Kakina and Kazirhat in the District of Rangpur (Now in Bangladesh), and on the west the District of Jalpaiguri.

**Derivatives of Cooch-Bihar:** In course of historical study of present Cooch-Bihar District, it is found that it belonged to Kamarupa. Hsuan Tsang mentioned it in his book "Si-Yu-Ki". "Tabaqat-i-Naciri" also reads it. In 1586 one of English trade man called it 'Couch'<sup>9</sup> Stephen Casila named it "Cocho"<sup>10</sup> In the maps of Bleaves (1650) it is mentioned as "Comotay" state.<sup>11</sup> During the Mughal period Nawab Mirzumla's co-passenger called it "Cooch-Bihar"<sup>12</sup> (after a long march, we entered into "Kosiba", a country lying between the kingdom of Bengala and Azo, of which the general easily became master<sup>13</sup>). Finally, it can be said that Cooch-Bihar gets its name through different changes. Most of the dynasties of ancient Bengal were founded by the people from the present geographical area of North-Bengal.<sup>14</sup>

The geography of Cooch-Bihar State has been conditioned by its river system. The rivers of Cooch-Bihar State flow downwards from the north to south. Cooch-Bihar is a river-based country through which so many rivers, smaller or larger, flow. The most prominent of its rivers is the Tista. It has been found in the Rennels map in which it flowed through three channels such as the Punarbhava, Atreyi and Karatoya. The word Tista is derived from the Sanskrit word "Trisrota" meaning three streams.<sup>15</sup> The Kalika Puranas gives the following account of its origin: The goddess Parvati, wife of Siva, was fighting with an infidel (Asur) whose crime was that he would only worship her husband and not herself. The monster becoming thirsty during the combat, prayed to his patron deity for water to drink, and, in consequence, Siva caused the river Tista to flow from the breast of the goddess in three streams, and thus it has ever since continued to flow.<sup>16</sup> The river Tista rises from Chalamu lake in Tibet. The river Tista first flows in Sikkim then it enters Darjeeling in the north-east corner, and flows through Darjeeling to northern part of Jalpaiguri and it flows through Mekhiliganj Sub-Division of Cooch-Bihar State. Tista finally flows south-east part of Rangpur District (now in Bangladesh) and meets with Brahmaputra. Tista has three channels such as Dadai, Bura Tista, and Karatoya, Atreyig, Punarbhava. It is to be noted that Karatoya played an important role in hydrographical situation of present North-Bengal in ancient times. We find mention of Karatoya in the description of foreign traveler Al-Biruni.<sup>17</sup> In ancient times it was very large and wide flowing through the western part of Cooch-Bihar State which had watered into Brahmaputra.. Hsuan Tsang also crossed the river karatoya (Kalatu). In ancient times it was the Ganges of present North-Bengal.

Torsha is the main river of Cooch-Bihar State which flows down touching the present Cooch-Bihar city. The word "Torsha" is derived from the word "Toyarasha"<sup>18</sup> meaning angry water. 'Navatoya'<sup>19</sup> was the ancient name of the Torsha River. It originated from south Tibet and in Bhutan it is called "Am-

Muchu. It was shown in the Rennells map. Torsha is also known as Bura Torsha, Shil Torsha, and Mulingi and so on, in different places of its course<sup>20</sup>

Kaljani is another important river of Cooch-Bihar State. The river Kaljani rises from the Bhutan hills. According to Sunder, "this Kaljani is the combined waters of the Alaikuri and Dima rivers, which first take the name of Kaljani after their junction at Alipur, the present head quarters of the Buxa Sub-Division. The Alaikuri, which supplies the greater portion of the water to the Kaljani, is a river of some size which takes its rise in the Bhutan hills and after flowing in a southerly and south easterly course through the western Duars, joins its waters with the Dima, as stated Kaljani above, and becomes the Kaljani."<sup>21</sup> The Dima which forms the course affluent of the Kaljani is also a considerable stream, rising in the lower Bhutan Hills near Buxa, and flowing southward to its confluence with the Alaikuri.<sup>22</sup> The Kaljani, Gadadhar and Raidak made a great confluence at Balabhat and entered into Rangpur (Now in Bangladesh) and falls down into the Brahmaputra. In the Rennells map the river Kaljani is shown and called it Saradinga which was the eastern boundary of Cooch-Bihar State. But it was evidently a mistake. On the other hand Dr. Buchanan Hamilton noticed this mistake in 1809 and commented the following words: To former (Kaljani), being the larger river of the two, Major Rennells, as usual with European geographers, seems to have considered as the proper Chhannakosh, which probably induced him to curtail the territory of the Vihar Raja by about 200 square miles. He probably was informed, that the boundary extended along the Chhannakosh, and therefore made it terminate on the Kaljani, where as it goes along the Chhannakosh to the Gadadhar, and ascends the right bank of that river until it reaches the same parallel of latitude as the other northern frontier of his territory.<sup>23</sup>

The river Jaldhaka is another important river of Cooch-Bihar State. It was also known as Manshai, Singimari and Dharla, in different parts of its course flowing through Cooch-Bihar State. It rises in the Bhutan Hill and hill men called it "De-Chu". It is to be noted that the Bhutan foot hills and the plain of Jalpaiguri District it is called "Dharla". In Jalpaiguri and Duars area where the river Shutanga, Mujnai, the Dolong, Dina, and Duduya meet with river Jaldhaka. Once the river Dharla was the longest and most important river of Cooch-Bihar or Kamata.

Raidak is one of the most important rivers in the eastern part of Cooch-Bihar State. It rises in the Bhutan Hills. In Bhutan the river Raidak was known as Chin-chu. The Raidak has two courses. The new course which is now wider in size bifurcating at Bhutan flows through Barabisha and falls into Sankosh or Swarnakosh at Falimari of Tufanganj subdivision and bears the name Gangadhar while flowing through western part of present Kokrajhar and Dhubri district of Assam and falls into Brahmaputra. The older course of the main course flows through Bhutan, Hatipota and Turturi and enters into Tufanganj Sub-division of Cooch Bihar. This main course is also called 'Buranadi'. This Raidak has two different names from Dorko down to Devgram it is known as Raidak. Gadadhar is a small stream which enters the Cooch-Bihar State at Chhat Rampur. On the other

hand river Raidak at the place of Dhal pal (Near Tufanganj) is known as Dipa-Raidak and it meets with Brahmaputra. The river Sankosh or Swarnakosh was the eastern boundary of the Cooch-Behar State during the period of king Naranaraya.

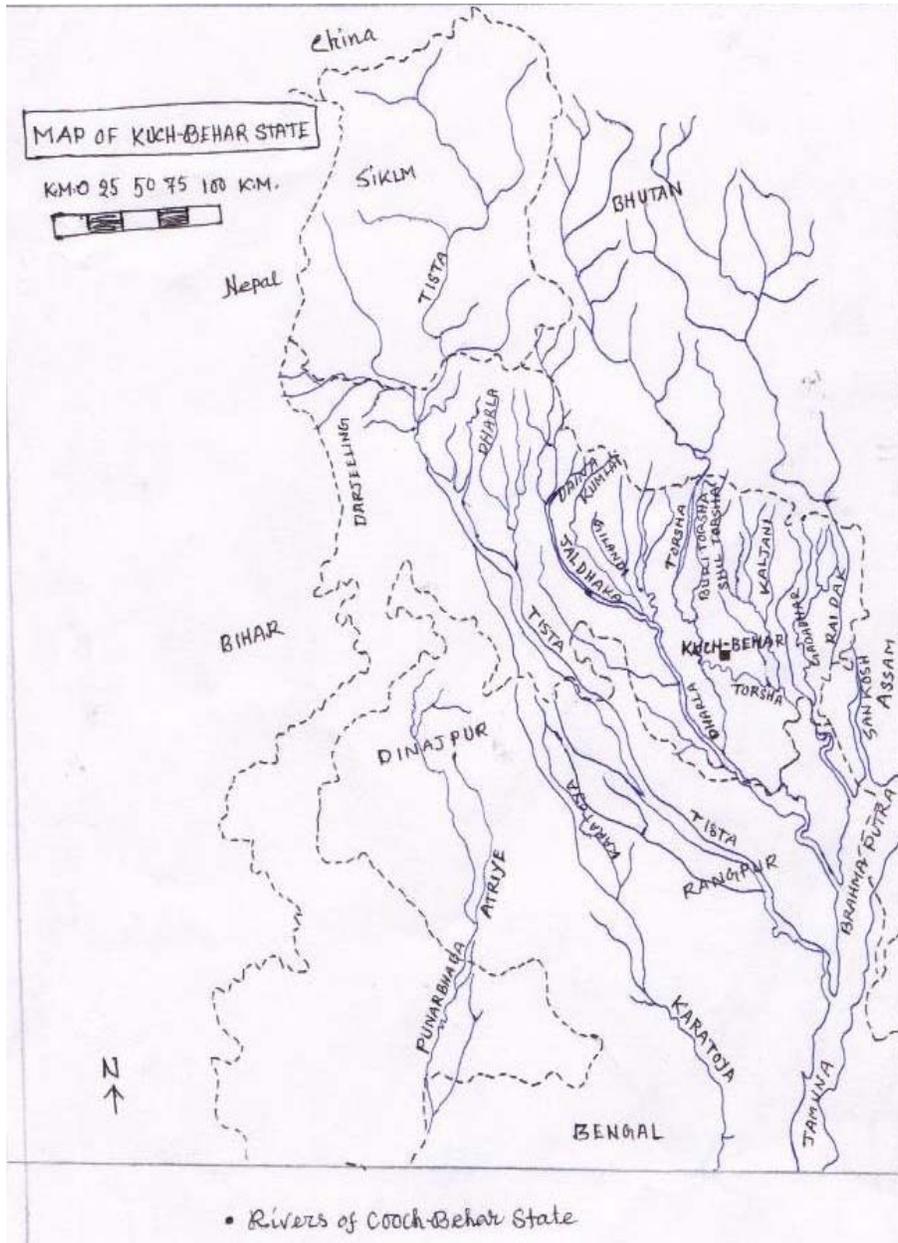


Figure: Geographical Boundary and Rivers of Cooch-Behar State

In conclusion we can say that except these rivers mentioned above there are so many small rivers flowing through Cooch-Bihar State, such as Saniajan, Chenakata, Gridari, Chhoto Manshai, Sansyasikata, Baniadaha etc. Finally, it should be borne in mind that the natural calamities-such as, over flood, earth quack has changed the hydrographic system of the rivers, severely, those flows through Cooch-Bihar State, now and then.

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## 9. An Aspect Of Tamang Tribe

### Part II

Contd. from volume I, No. 4

**\*Sudash Lama**

The most important aspect of Tamang rites and customs is the marriage ceremony; it is social recognition of men and women as husband and wife. This is the basis of social life and relation into the framework of society making, leading to the right of sexual inter personal relation in order to continue clan lineage. The marriage system represents the exchange and unity among the families and also a stepping stone for making a nucleus family.

The Tamang society is formed on the basis of cross cousin marriage, which results for the most part not in extensive alliances across a large population but in intensive alliances among a small set of patricians residing in neighboring village. (Holmberg 2005:30). According to the Tamang tradition they are in favor of knotting the couples among the people whom they know, and there is also a system of exchange, among the clan group for the marriage. Holmberg (2005:77) has stated the theoretical explanation of exchange of women as "to describe a social system as a system of exchange (Levi-strauss:1969) implies nothing directly about the status of men or women as actors. Such kind of ritual polarities of inter exchange of women within the segments of patricians retained the cultural virginity of Tamang. Generally, marriages took place within the limited geographical area, and most of the time within the same village. The Tamang may marry anytime after the first legar (puberty) has passed although there is clearly tension between the conflicting desires to retain women in the household when they reach their full labor potential and the usefulness of marriage for extending reciprocity with other household. (Fricke1993:134).

As I have already mentioned that basis of Tamang society is cross-cousin marriage or Mama-Fupu Chela-Cheli Biwaha padhati which directed the whole ritual and its process. Tamang insist the marriage within the marriageable clan

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group and much emphasis is given to the cross cousin marriage system. The marriage outside this system is not restricted, but marriage within the same clan (Thar) is totally prohibited. Widow Remarriage is socially recognized, but she can not marry to the elder brother of her husband.

According to the Buddhist text "Chi" (Tibetan book of birth and death ritual), which extensively discussed the nature and character of every human kind. This decides the Lho and Kham of particular person by following the Tibetan calendar. According to the calendar there are twelve Lho and five kham, which match and mismatch the coeval for the marriage. These twelve Lho and five kham are;

(1). Myung or Chiwa (Mouse), (2). Mey or Lang (Ox), (3). Chyan (Tiger), (4). Tawar (Hare/Cat), (5). Drug (Dragon), (6). Pukhi (Serpent), (7). Ta (Horse), (8). Gyu or Luk (Sheep), (9). Makar (Monkey), (10). Jiwa or Namyang (Bird), (11). Nagi or Khi (Dog), (12). Fak (Pig) . This calendar of year is revolves around the animals which determine the age of a person with certain formula. The five elements which makes a human body called Kham are; (1). Mey (fire: male and female), (2). Sha (Earth: male and female), (3). Cha (Iron: male and female), (4). Kui (Water: male and female), (5). Shi (Wood: male and female), in this way year is counted, by evaluating all the elements e.g. Female-Wood-Bird-Year-2005. This is the cardinal properties of a particular person which have to match before going into the ties of marriage.

**Chiri:-** if a Tamang men married to the women of higher caste of Hindu caste system like Chettri, Bahun then socially they are not acceptable in the society neither their Childs is accepted in the clan system of the Tamang. These childes are called Chiri and they are subject to purify themselves automatically after three consecutive generation.

**Chuhi or Nharba:-** the offspring of Tamang men and Newer women are called Nharba in Tamang society. They are regarded impure for three generation, and after they are accepted in the domain of Tamang clan system.

**Jhari:-** The Tamang are totally against of marriage within same clan or Thar, this system is called Jhari in Tamang society. The children out of such marriage are regarded as Shangri and they can not be included into the Tamang clan system.

The marriage in Tamang community is a compulsory rite like other social community of the world. However there is some fundamental difference in the marriage rite of Tamang and of the others. They give much importance to cross cousin marriage system. The Tamang use to marry within the marriageable clan of their community and some time within inter village boundary.

Tamang are follower of Lamaist form of Buddhism, and they have deep rooted influence of the Buddhism and its tradition. In Buddhism the Lho and Kham has great value and it is mandatory to match the lho and kham of the both

the boy and girl before marriage. If there is any contradiction either in lho and kham then marriage can not be finalized. The Tamang community is closely related with the maternal uncle and he has great role in almost all of the ceremony. In marriage ceremony too the necessary items of decoration and dress is the responsibility of maternal uncle. The system of using vermillion in the part of the hair is not the custom to Tamang but due to the influence of Hindu culture some Tamang prefer this custom. Considering the marriage system of Tamang, Tamang are very different forms of rite and customs which is totally different from other community, there are some rite which reflects the closed relation between wife giver and wife receiver. The rite of 'kanyadan' is not prevailed in Tamang people, according to their 'sacred promising mantra' of marriage.

The marriage ceremony is one of most important ritual of Tamang as well as it connects one group of Tamang to other group. This is very long and complex ritual, and to conclude the marriage it needs various social institution of the community. The involvement of Temba, Lama, and maternal uncle and brothers of bride is very important. The Lama works as religious priest,

### **2.3 Death Ritual:-**

Tamang are practically multi-religious, but their religious ceremony reflects the believer of Tibetan Lamaist Buddhism.

## 10. Women in Manipur

**\*Dr. Madhu Rajput**

Manipur like all north-east Indian states has a rich and varied socio-cultural heritage. It is predominantly a tribal society which wants to preserve its cultural and traditional uniqueness, but it cannot completely ignore the effects of globalisation and liberalisation taking place across the globe. In history Manipuri women are portrayed as brave, courageous and always standing for a common cause. Compared to women in other parts of India they enjoy better freedom, higher social status and economic independence. The conditions are quite encouraging in the health, economic and socio-political field but literacy level still needs improvement.

In this paper, an attempt is made to study their involvement in the women's movements in Manipur and the important role they play in the socio-economic and political spheres.

### **Women Movements in Manipur**

In 1904, the first Anti-British Movement was launched by womenfolk of Manipur in Imphal. It started on July 06, 1904 when some unidentified person burnt down the market of Khwairamband- an all women's market founded in 1580. Again on July 15<sup>th</sup>, official residences of two British officers were destroyed by fire. On September 30, 1904, Mr. Maxwell the Superintendent of State issues an order that local members should rebuild the residencies. Women of Manipur reacted against the order by coming out in large number on October 3<sup>rd</sup>, and marched to the official residence of the Political Agent and Superintendent of the State. The agitation continued for several days and the Khwayi Bazar was closed for many days. Expecting deterioration in the situation the order was withdrawn and the houses had to be built by the British on their

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own expense.

In 1925, water tax was increased by the State authorities. Confrontation between the British and the business women of Manipur further escalated after this. In 1939 women of Manipur protested against the British and the Maharaja of Manipur due to acute scarcity of rice. Before the induction of motor vehicles, rice was carried in bullock and hand carts. With the facilities of transportation improving, the rice export trade was captured by immigrant *Marwari* entrepreneurs. It gave them a monopoly on cart tax and the Lal Pass. The former allowed free movement of rice, the exporters merely paying the levy known as the Cart Tax, the second category rice was exported under a contract between the Manipur State and the Government of Assam.<sup>1</sup>

In 1939, World War II broke out, and also excessive rain continued well beyond the monsoon season till October which affected the harvest to a great extent. Again, in mid November hailstorm destroyed most of the standing crops ready for harvesting. The state faced a severe shortage of food. On 13<sup>th</sup> September, the state Darbar, in apprehension of the food shortage, passed a resolution to ban rice export by denying license for export to any individual. But they still had to commit the export of rice to Kohima civil station in Assam as per agreement to the supply for the battalions of British soldiers. This reopening of rice export was directly responsible for creating additional shortage of rice and hence for the outbreak of Nupi Lan, 1939-41.<sup>2</sup>

Women's agitation against scarcity of rice on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1939 is a well recorded movement. It was natural that they could not sit quietly at home when their children were crying of hunger. They demanded a ban on the export of rice from Manipur. The number of the agitators was around four thousand. As they encircled the President of the *Darbar*, civil surgeon and some other officers in the Telegraph Office, they were warned to clear the route but it didn't deter the agitators. In the process of firing, around 21 women got injured. The boycott continued for more than one a half years. The movement was a great success. Women showed that they were convinced of their purpose and wanted rice not to be exported at the expense of the local loss. They demanded that economic policies of maharaja and Marwari businessmen should be changed. Later this movement became a focal point for constitutional and administrative reforms in Manipur.

Below is a table depicting the rice export figures from 1922-1939 in Manipur:

Year	Area under Rice Cultivation (acres)	Quantity of Rice Exported (maunds)	Remarks
1922-23	1,69,537	80,000	Amount exported from 31.3.22 to December 1922. Export banned in December 1922. Embargo lifted on April 1, 1923
1924-25	1,74,215	1,81,370	
1925-26	1,75,537	1,55,014	Quantity exported up to February 1926, banned subsequently
1926-27	1,77,058	40,729	Export restricted to Kohima Civil Station and Sibsagar.
1927-28	1,77,670	47,499	Embargo lifted.
1928-29	1,78,118	1,65,983	
1929-30	1,78,473	1,64,510	
1930-31	1,78,291	1,51,725	
1932-33	1,79,648	2,77,389	
1933-34	1,79,841	2,23,523	
1934-35	1,79,346	2,54,619	
1935-36	Report not available		
1936-37	1,83,486	2,40,625	
1937-38	-	2,61,716	
1938-39	1,85,213	3,72,174	
1939-40	1,85,859	46,359	Banned on 13.12. 1939

Source: Administration Reports for the State of Manipur from 1922 to 1940

Another renowned movement is 'Meira Paibi' (Torch Bearer) where elderly women

take lead in solving day-to-day social problems. Every married woman is a member of local Meira Paibi Association. During day time, they work to meet the requirements of their family either by selling vegetable, fish or clothes or by weaving clothes and farming. Even after their full day's hard work they volunteer to vigil their locality from different forms of socio-political evils.

Meira Paibi has been an active agent in the establishment of public health clinics for detoxification and rehabilitation for the widespread problem of substance abuse. It is also extremely active against human rights abuse by the state security forces.<sup>3</sup> Every locality in Manipur has a 'Meira Paibi' organization which stays up late into the night to prevent any untoward incident in the locality.<sup>4</sup>

They persuade the armed rebels to refrain from attacking state security forces and to stop fratricide. The disturbing feature about women's response to the ongoing conflict is their perpetual engagement in fighting against conflict and the multiple roles they take up. Both features affect their well-being and disturb the contours of social capital.

All Manipur Nupi Marup is the oldest women organization working as a pressure group to ensure that independent, indigenous communities should exist harmoniously without any differentiation of caste, colour, race, sex and business etc. They participated in the movement for inculcation of Manipuri language in the eighth schedule of the Indian constitution in 1980s. They also fight for basic human rights for the people in the state.

There are some other organizations such as All Manipur Social Reformation and Development Samaj, Manipur University Working Women Association, Ushoipokpi, The Kukis Women Human Right Network, Kuki Mother's Association, Kuki Women's Union and All Tribal Women's Organization, Chandel. These organizations have actively advocated the interest of Manipuri women and have pressed for demands which further their position socially, economically and politically.<sup>5</sup>

### **Gender Issues**

Socially women of Manipur enjoy considerable freedom, liberty and rights in many respects, despite Manipuri society being patriarchal. The practise of child marriage, female infanticide or *Sati* is alien to Manipuri society. There is no social taboo linked to widow re-marriage. However, discriminatory customary laws and practices are strictly adhered to in many areas. In some communities the laws sanction polygamy and child marriage; in others, land, property rights and custody of children are given only to the males. Sometimes, women are debarred from taking part in political decision making. In addition to it, the inherent gender biases of the traditional systems, greater contact and exposure to other cultures have also resulted in acculturation and dilution of some of the positive and women friendly aspects of the indigenous cultures.<sup>6</sup>

Earlier there was no formal education for women in Manipur. The constitutional provision of free and compulsory education for all children gave

an impetus to female education in the state, raising female literacy rates from 0-4% in 1901 to 2.75% in 1951, and further to 18.87%, 22.87%, 47.6%, and 59.7% in 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 respectively. However, the male-female differential of literacy is high at 24.03% (1991 census). The drop-out rate of female students is much higher than that of their male counterparts.

### **Effects of Armed Conflict on Women**

The insurgency movement has had adverse effects on the social fabric of Manipuri society and women and children have borne the brunt of it. Insurgency and subsequent clamp down by security forces has brought in many related problems in the region. The problems which women face due to it are as follows:

- Widows of insurgent are forced to earn for their livelihood and survival of their children.
- More families are being managed by single women, either by choice or by chance, with concomitant problem.
- Increasing responsibility within and outside household has resulted into deteriorating health of women.
- Fear psychosis, sleepless nights are the common features among Manipuri women.
- Torture and rape of women by armed forces are common phenomena in the state.
- Women are also being recruited in armed militant groups and also as helpers.
- Women organizations and many NGOs are trying to bring peace in the state. They are playing the role of mediator because they don't want to lose any of them.
- Many women have entered into the flesh trade. An interview with prostitute women revealed that they have chosen this path as means of their earning and to support family requirement.
- There are reports of women being trapped in smuggling of arms and narcotic drugs.

Points noted here are just the tip of the iceberg. There are many more unreported cases which directly or indirectly affect the women of Manipur. Little study has been done to analyse how women, constituting half of the community, are affected by insurgency and ethnic clashes.<sup>7</sup>

### **Development Process**

Since Manipur became part of the Indian Union, efforts have been to

streamline the process of development so that the benefits reach the society. A sample random survey was conducted by me in 2011 to see how urban educated Manipuri women cope up with the changes occurring in the society. Below are given their responses to various questions asked:

To the question “Up to what level education is considered necessary for girls”, 57.9% women said that it was necessary till Higher Level, 31.5% said it was required till professional level, 10.5% chose secondary level.

As reasons for girls to drop out from school, 42% said it was due to lack of financial support, 21% said it was because of lack of proper infrastructure, 21% opined that they left school out of their own choice, 10.5% held parental pressure responsible for it, 5.3% said both parental pressure and lack of financial support was responsible for it.

73.68% women felt that education was directly linked with employment for women while 26.31% did not agree with it.

89.47% women in Manipur preferred government jobs above any other field, while 10.5% preferred business.

In Manipur, 89.47% women said that they were free to choose a profession of their choice, while 10.5% said they had to consider others’ opinion on it.

When asked whether their parents gave dowry in their marriage despite their being educated, 42% replied in negative, 21% said yes, rest 36% did not comment.

57.9% reported working for six hours every day at work place, 21% said there working hours at office were eight hours, 21% did not reply.

Similarly, at home, 21% reported working for two hours, another 21% said they worked at home every day for four hours, 10.5% said that they had to devote one hour per day for household duties, 5.2% said it was five hours, 42% did not comment.

73.68% Manipuri women said that they were paid equal salary as that of their male counterparts, 26.3% refrained from making a comment.

When asked whether urbanization had changed their role in the family, 73.68% Manipuri women responded in affirmative, 26.3% did not respond.

To the question whether modernization has helped in more employment opportunities, 84.2% women replied in affirmative, 15.8% did not reply.

63.15% women were well versed with modern technology such as computer, 31.5% responded in negative, 5.2% did not comment.

73.68% Manipuri women said that they had never faced sexual harassment at work place, 5.2% said ‘yes’, 5.2% said they had to face it occasionally, 15.78% gave no reply.

42% working women in Manipur said that there was no helpline at work place to deal with the cases of sexual harassment, 42% said they were not aware of its existence, 15.7% replied that such a helpline did exist at their work place.

On the question of domestic violence, 68.42% women reported that it seldom happened in society, 21.5% reported it often happened, 10.5% it never occurred.

When asked whether they knew about the law against domestic violence, 57.9% said ‘Yes’, 26.3% were unaware of it, 15.7% had no idea at all about it.

42% Manipuri women were aware of the women NGOs active in the State,

42% were not aware, 15.7% had no idea at all about them.

47.36% Manipuri women feel that the maternity leave granted to them is insufficient, 31.57% were satisfied with the duration of maternity leave, 21% were not married.

When asked what stops women from coming in to politics, 31.5% said it was attitude of the political parties that prevented them, 31.5% said there were not many opportunities, 15.78% said that it was due to family opposition, 21% were not interested in the field.

### **Conclusion**

Manipuri women have always actively participated in development process in organized as well as unorganised sector. In their quest to improve quality of life for themselves and their families they have worked hard at business front, as entrepreneurs and in offices. They are aware of the facilities and their rights given by the constitution. Meira Paibis organisation can take up a very important role of mother and mediator. On political front they do lag behind in number in the state legislature but of course they participate in the political process as the voters. Women voters always outnumber the men voters. With modernisation they face some new challenges such as the HIV/AIDS and health concerns. The armed conflicts and insurgency related problems are the main factors for the rise in number of mental diseases. The upbringing of violence affected children is also a cause of concern.

The problems may be manifold but as in past Manipuri women have risen to the challenges posed, with immense potential for development the hurdles of insurgency could also be overcome.

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## 11. Economic Development Of The Bhuiyan Tribes Of Keonjhar

**\*Dr. jagnyaseni Chhatria**

### Introduction

Changes are bound to be there in economic life. The influence of the new age of knowledge has a great impact on economic life of the Bhuiyan tribes of Keonjhar district of Orissa receiving a new dimension.<sup>1</sup>In the historical interpretation changes are noticed in the economic life of the Bhuiyan tribes of Keonjhar.<sup>2</sup> For assessment of such changing pattern of the economic life of the tribal of Orissa particularly the Bhuiyans history is not considered enough, as an interdisciplinary method in Indian context.

### Objectives

- To analyzes the economic problems of the tribal shortly.
- To analyze the economic development of the Bhuiyan tribe.
- Government plans and programmes for tribal development.

In context of the Bhuiyan villages of Keonjhar are found different types of economic organizations and economic problems. The typical Bhuiyan tribes have preserved their economic characteristics an age old traditions. However, with accelerating impact of urbanization and industrialization, agro based economy is gradually deteriorated. These changes are found in their traditional activities, participation in the dance and other cultural activities, dress and food habits, etc.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the Bhuiyans of Keonjhar are dependent on agricultural products and use the traditional equipments, scattered and uneconomic, that is why they are not able to improve their economic standard. The income from such primitive type of agriculture is meager. As a result they are kept below poverty line.<sup>4</sup> To carry out a smooth economic life, the tribes, like the Bhuiyan have adopted the method of shifting cultivation known as *podu* or *dangara chasa*. They select a patch of the hilly

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region every year, clean the forest slopes, burn the fallen trees and bushes, prepare the field in broad ash-covered solid for cultivation. All the forest goods are collected by the businessmen at a very cheap rate. As a result they fail to acquire sufficient necessities of life in term of the product they sell. So they look for economic relief, from other sources.<sup>5</sup>

### **Keonjhar about their economic condition.**

The Paudi Bhuiynas have stubbornly stuck to shifting cultivation. They practice shifting and settled cultivation. In the shifting cultivation they used different types of land; they are *Biringa, Kaman, Guda, Nala, Bakadi and Bila or Jami*. Rice is their staple food and considered superior to all other types. This economy does not provide subsistence for the whole year. That is why the Bhuiyan people of Keonjhar are very fond of collecting different kinds of edible roots, shrubs, fruits and leaves, etc. from the forest. Moreover, to avoid such critical situation a group of people come forward and engage themselves in mining, industries or specialized in some professions.<sup>6</sup> They have sow *biri, kolatha, jutang, maka*, castor-seeds and cotton and plant pumpkins, bottle gourd, brinjals, black-gram and sweet potatoes.

### **Bhuiyan, Kusumita, Keonjhar.**

Among the alcoholic drinks, the Bhuiyans take *Mahua* liquor, rice-beer called *pachhi, toddy* extracted from date-palms, *salap* drink extracted from *sago-palms* and liquor prepared out of cereals. The Bhuyan's are habituated to both chewing and smoking.

In Orissa 21 Integrated Tribal Development Agencies have been set up for the all-round development of Scheduled Tribes. Keonjhar district also include this agencies.<sup>7</sup> Mohapatra,D., "Tribal Sub-Plan: An Effective Approach for Tribal Development", ed.,

Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, the chief architect of the Indian Planning and Development, was very much in favour of the integration of tribal's with the mainstream of the nation. Though the foundation and basic approach of the tribal development of Scheduled tribes in the line of the constitutional framework was laid down by Nehru (1961), it was further evolved by the Dhabar Commission (1961). This Commission recommended an integrated approach based on the minimum basic items like food, drinking water, employment, education, health and village roads. In the community development blocks various programmes for the rural upliftment are in operation. Tribal sub-plan made for development of STs. Main objectives of Tribal sub-plan are-(a) Socio-economic development of the Scheduled Tribes and their habitats,(b)protection of tribal's against exploitation. Towards the end of the Fifth Plan period,

Modified Area Development Approach was adopted to cover smaller areas of concentration of tribal population. The areas having 10,000 or more population, of which 50% or more were tribal's, were earmarked as MADA pockets. In several villages, Govt. has dug tube wells. Still then the Bhuiyans of Keonjhar prefer to use the water of the well and stream.

In the economic field the establishment of the tribal development co-operative corporation of Orissa is considered as an important step. But the society is not able to compete with the globalised traders and middlemen. The tribal themselves find that the cumbersome procedure adopted by the society for granting loan is not suitable. So the problem of tribal indebtedness becomes acute.<sup>8</sup> As far as the remedy is concerned, the economic upliftment needs rapid spread of education in the tribal areas. But the education will be such as, will in calculate in the mind of the tribal, a sense of inspiration, confidence and benefit.<sup>9</sup> The people's involvement in such educational agency should render duties under a special programme.<sup>10</sup>

### **Suggestions**

In implementing the government programme, adequate attention is required to the anti-exploitation measures by elimination of indebtedness. There should be demonstration to improve agricultural practices in Bhuiyans areas and efforts made to persuade them to take advantage of modern agricultural benefit, so that the primitive system of agriculture will be gradually replaced by the technology based agriculture.

The best way for having free cultural inters use between the tribal and non-tribal is to provide an adequate transportation and communication facility; roads should be constructed in the inaccessible tribal regions. This will not only bring educative value, but also improve the commercial and economic base of the tribal areas particularly Bhuiyan populated area of Keonjhar and others area of Orissa. But at the same time, adequate precautions should be taken against the exploitation of the tribal from the hands of the unscrupulous, businessmen.<sup>11</sup>

With the abolition of restrictions and infiltration of old types of traders there is scope for the tribal people for entering into larger market economy.<sup>12</sup> In the present context extension of market is not an unmixed blessing.<sup>13</sup> Through marketing, there is large scale exploitation and pauperization of tribal areas. But it is inevitable and the Bhuiyan people should learn how to adjust with the new economy, after the introduction of science and technology, in the field of agriculture as well as in the transporting system. With planning, new economic opportunities are possible at the doors of Bhuiyan people.

No doubt the economic development has taken peace among the Bhuiyan in Orissa. Not only the hereditary right of Bhuiyan people over their land should be safeguarded but also the Bhuiyan youths should be trained in new types of skills and they should engage themselves in local developmental works.

**Conclusion:**

From the survey of the economic life of the Bhuiyan tribe it may thus be concluded that they are slowly progressing upward in economic life. Though most of them continuing to cling to their age old primitive agricultural practices, the modern methods of agriculture, use of chemicals, fertilizer and compost, adoption of improved seeds and high yielding crops are in use in some Bhuiyan villages. With the advent of the time and the development of new thoughts of science and technology and the process of industrialization, the economic life pattern of the Tribes of Orissa has been changed particularly the Bhuiyan tribe to a great extent. Since 19<sup>th</sup> century, the process of acculturation has been accelerated in the life pattern of the tribal communities in Orissa with certain ideas and thoughts. After the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and 1<sup>st</sup> part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the tribal particularly the Bhuiyan have been proved their multifacets talents in the field of education, economy, social customs, rituals, mode of worship, religious pursuits, food habits, shelters, etc. These changes provide a new socio-economic and cultural life in the Bhuiyans tribe of Keonjhar district of Odisha.

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## **12. Khanikar Puthi Of Assam And its Relevance in Recent Days: A Historical Study**

**\*Debo prasad Gogoi**  
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The Mighty Ahoms who had ruled in Assam for more than six hundred years (1228-1826A.D. )contributed in every aspect of the society. And literatures were one of the important parts in which the role of the Monarchs was praiseworthy.<sup>1</sup> In Assam, the efflorescence of the vernacular literature came with the Vaishnava reformers, the most distinguished among them being Sankardeva and Madhavadeva themselves who were the leaders of the Vaishnava movement.<sup>2</sup> Sankardeva's Kirtan Ghosa is the Bible of the Vaishnavas. His main disciples Madhavadeva's Namghosa supplemented the works of his teacher and exercised tremendous influence on the minds of the people. With the passage of time the Vaishnava movement became one of the most important religion of the state and many times created more problem for the Ahom kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

It was during the reign of Ahom King Chandrakanta Singha (1811-1817A.D. ) That the Burmese had invaded Assam in the year 1817 and another two in the year 1819 and 1821. It was during their invasion that they had completely destroyed the power of the mighty Ahom kingdom and shattered the economy as well as the society. Although the Burmese Army destroyed almost everything in Assam they left alone a famous book in Assamese language known as "Khanikar Puthi".<sup>4</sup> Khanikar Puthi is a combination of Kirtan Ghosa written by Mahapurush Srimanta Sankardeva and Namgosa written by Mahapurush Madhavadeva. This khanikar Puthi was copied by some anonymous copier in 1690 A.D. This Puthi is called Khanikar Puthi because the Puthi has been being kept by the khanikar family in Khanikar village in Golaghat District.

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The people of the area believe that a super power exists within the puthi. Many people all over the state invite the Puthi to their families. The Puthi is always taken to different places on foot with respect from the Khanikar village. It is believed that the desired can be achieved if we pray the puthi. This is a legacy that is going on.<sup>5</sup> In this article we are trying to highlight the Historical process of the Puthi and how it has become the property and organization for the Assamese people.

**Introduction-**Khanikar Puthi is written in a particular paper Known as the “*Hasi pat*” (Hasi Bark) that was used during the Medieval period of Assam to write down anything important. Khanikar Puthi is a combination of “*Kirtan Ghosa*” written by Mahapurush Srimanta Sankardeva and “*Namghosa*” written by Mahapurush Madhavadeva. It is preserved by the Khanikar family in Khanikar village of Misamora , 25 K.M.away from the Golaghat District of Assam.<sup>6</sup> Although the present Assamese society and culture is the mixture of many ideas from other culture but still this two Historical Puthi composed by the Two Mahapurush of Assam is getting more importance and influence the Assamese society culturally . It is written in “*Hasi pat*” by using an ink named *Hengul* (Ink). with Haital pen. In the whole of Assam this two Historical puthi is attracting the attention from more and more people because of its legacy that whatever we pray can be achieved if we pray the puthi that is rare to find anywhere in Assam .<sup>7</sup> In This article our effort will be to find out the Historical process of the development of the two puthis and how it has become the property and organization of the Assamese people.

**Aims and objectives-** We have designed this study with the following objectives:

- (i) To find out the Historical process of the two puthis how it has become a property and organization of the Assamese people.
- (ii) Examine why these two puthis can attract large number of Assamese people
- (iii)How it can become an important place for tourist to visit the place for earning knowledge.

**Methods-**We have visited several times the Khanikar village of Misamora and other parts of Assam where these two Puthis are invited by various people .Information’s are collected from primary as well as the secondary sources. The family (lineage) associated with the two Puthis has been traced and interviewed for primary sources. Interview is also conducted to the local community of the Puthi Namghar of Misamora village where the two puthis used to be kept for the local people.

**Historical process of the Khanikar puthi-**Though there is no any proper

History about the author of these two puthi yet there are some sources with the family (lineage) of Khanikar Gaon of Misamora village and some written articles which help us to know the History of these two Puthis.

The original men of the Baruah family were Nara Hari and his son and grandson Krishna Hari and Moni Baruah respectively. Moni Baruah had a son named chadi and chadi had three sons named Kothi, Naram and Bogai. During their time a gurugriha was constructed and this two puthis kept over there. More so during their time it was realized that these two Puthis should be preserved and hence a carpenter named late Lila ram Bora constructed two wooden boxes to keep these two Puthis.<sup>8</sup> It was during the time of late Rameswar Baruah that a new system was introduced of inviting the two Puthis by people to their Home for showing their respect to these great Puthis.<sup>9</sup> It is learned that during the Burmese invasion in Assam in the year 1819 A.D. AND 1821 A.D. perhaps these two puthis came into the village of Khanikar gaon of Misamora. At this time Late Moni Baruah was so old that he could not move anywhere from his house. Burmese army looted his house and left a packet advising him to keep it properly.<sup>10</sup>

After Burmese army had left Moni Baruah's house he opened the packet and found four Historically prestigious books which were written in hasi pat and they were 'kirtan', 'Dasam', 'Namghosa' and 'Bhakti Rantawali'. Gradually these two Great Puthis became popular among common peoples because of some miracles. Slowly it becomes the important way of salvation the "bhakatas" (Disciples of Sankardeva and madhavadeva) and peace for the common people.<sup>11</sup> It is worth mentioning that from the Ancient time this Misamora region was an important place of the Vaisnava culture. Even the manners of the people of this place and in their religious behavior were influenced by new vaisnava tradition. And the house of late Moni Baruah became an important place of Vaisnava culture and this way also this two great Puthis known as 'Khanikar Puthi' perhaps created.<sup>12</sup>

**Subject matter of the Khanikar Puthis-** Actually Khanaikar puthi of Misamora is the collection of the Mahapurush Sankardeva's 'Kirtan' and Mahapurush Madhevadeva's creation 'Namghosa'. Since these great Puthis are preserved by the Khanikar Village of Misamora for a long period and hence these two puthis came to be known as the "Khanikar Puthis". Both of the Puthis are written in *Hasipat* in Assamese script that was known as "BROJAWALI" (language use in Assam during the medieval period). This two Puthi are kept in a separate wooden box covered with *Gamosa*. (traditional piece of cloth use by the Assamese people to show respect others)<sup>13</sup>

Kirtan Puthi is consisted of 105 pages and two pages are cover pages which is known in the Assamese language as "Bakala" (cover page). It is written in the last part of the Kirtan Puthi is as "1690 sakar 5 mah, 4 bar, 1 tithi samapta"

.It means that Kirtans was completed by the end of August 1768A.D.Mahapurush Srimanta Sankardeva was died in the year 1568A.D. And this Kirtan Puthi was written 200 years after the death of Mahapurush Srimanta Sankardeva.<sup>14</sup> “Kirtan Ghosa” is the main book of the Vaisnavas of Assam. Here Srimanta sankardeva Kirtana Ghosa included 28<sup>th</sup> chapters and all of them were for the spread of the religion. In every chapter Sri Krishna is the Principal Figure and sraban-Kirtan is the only way in the path of religion.<sup>15</sup> ‘Namghosa’ has total 53 pages. One page of this Puthi is Called ‘Bakala’. It becomes clear that this Puthi Nanghosa was completed in the month of may year 1768 A.D. Mahapurush Madhevadeva was died in the year 1596 A.D. And ‘Namghosa’ was written after 172 years of the death of Mahapurush Madhavdeva.<sup>16</sup>“Namghosa” of Madhavdeva’s is one of the basic for Bhaktimarg for the Bhakatas (Disciples). In the words of DR.Banikanta kakati ”Namghosa has three basic features”. i) glory of Gurus Sankardeva or punyasloka sankar smrti, ii) self criticizing or madhavdeva’s atama Loghima or Daishya Bhava, iii) Krishna Bhakti Mahatmaya.<sup>17</sup>

**Its relevance:**-For last one hundred years these two puthis were popular because of its liberal character among the local people of the Misamora region. Gradually it has attracted a large number of Assamese people and this way became a centre of attraction for every class, caste and religion. <sup>18</sup> There is a register maintain by the local committee of the Khabikar Namghor where anyone who would like to invite this two Puthi can mention their name, address and the particular date on which they are going to invite this two puthis. It has come to our notice this time that these two puthis are reserved till the end of December 2013 that shows its importance among the people.<sup>19</sup> There is a tradition that these two puthi can be carried everywhere on foot. No other medium of transportation is followed till today.<sup>20</sup>

**Conclusion-** Among the archaeological monuments of Assam “Charaidew “ (Moidams of the Ahom Kings ) and some temples are getting importance but very few work has been done to preserve this two Historical Puthi and the Khanilar Village of Misamara of Golaghat District which has been attracting a large number of Assamese people of Assam. Every day this two puthi is getting importance among the people because of its secular nature but neither the State government nor the central government is giving importance to preserve these two puthis for the future generation. Thus from the above discussion it can be conclude that this two puthis are creating a good relation among the people of Assam without any distinction of class, caste and religion. There is no other reprint version of these two puthis. Hence the State government as well the Archaeological survey of Assam should come forward to preserve these two puthis for the future generation.

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## **13. Bodoland Movement: First Phase Of Struggle For Separation (1986-1993)**

**\*Dr. Vikram Singh Amarawat**

Historically and culturally speaking, the North-East India can be located in Indic and Mongoloid tradition. Politically, the British had merged entire region under their administration for the first time and after that the region came to be associated with India.<sup>1</sup> Ethnically, it is diverse and heterogeneous like the rest of the country. The primary inhabitants of the region are tribal ethnic groups with 213 tribes and 400 dialects. Some 5,633 communities have been listed by the “People of India”<sup>2</sup>

Assam is situated in the north-east frontier of India and it touches the international border of Bhutan and Bangladesh and the state borders of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Manipur, Nagaland, Tripura and Mizoram. Waves of people belonging to different ethnic groups poured into this region from time immemorial. In the process of assimilation of these diverse elements, a composite culture grew up and that culture is the Assamese culture.<sup>3</sup> Assam is full of the castes and tribes like, Bodo’s, Santhals, Kalitas, Keots, Bariyas, Yogis, Nadiyals, Jaluas, Kaivartas, Koches, Marans, Khamtis, Phakials, Aitonias, Turungs, Naras, Khamjangs, Miris, Manipuris, Singphos, Adis, Mikirs, Nagas, Kukis, and many more. In this paper I will discuss the first phase of separatist movement of Assam known as Bodoland movement. Bodo is one of Assam-Burmese branch of Tibeto-Burman linguistic group.<sup>4</sup> Historically the Bodo race later disintegrated into different groups such as Bodo, Garo, Toto, Naga, Tripuri, Manipuri, Bhutia, Rai., Limbu, Lepcha, Dheemal, Koch, Rajbanshi, etc. So differences are now noticed in the cultures, languages and social behavior of these tribes.<sup>5</sup> Presently Bodo, which is one of the largest tribes of India, has a glorious past.<sup>6</sup>

In 1950 apart from Manipur and Tripura the whole north-east of India

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was administratively attached with Assam. In the meantime, four new states came into existence. In 1963 Naga Hills along with Tuensang hill district became new state named Nagaland, Khasi, Garo and Jaintiya hills separated as Meghalaya. In 1987 the Mizo hills and north east frontier agency became complete states of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh.<sup>7</sup> These all are the hilly region and their tribes wanted a separate region for themselves. In this scenario, Bodoland movement came into picture. Bodos were raising the voice for separate Bodoland.

The political consciousness of Bodos can be traced way back in 1927, when the demand of a separate electorate for Bodo tribals in Assam was put before Simon Commission.<sup>8</sup> Just before independence, the different Mongoloid tribes of the plains areas formed the All Assam Plains Tribals League and fielded its own candidate in the election of 1946.<sup>9</sup> On 13th January 1967 Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi gave statement on Central Government's policy about the reorganization of the state of Assam on the basis of Federal Structure.<sup>10</sup> The All Bodo Student Union which was formed on 9th February 1966<sup>11</sup> welcomed the statement and since then they have been making the demand of separate state for plain tribal of Assam. To serve that purpose, the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) was founded on 26th February 1967.<sup>12</sup> The PTCA with the help of ABSU raised the demand for the creation of a separate Union Territory for the plains tribals of Assam. This was to be called 'Udayachal'.<sup>13</sup>

The year 1986 proved a turning point for the movement. Upendra Nath Brahma was made the 8th president of ABSU on 31st May 1986 in the conference of ABSU held in Derange district.<sup>14</sup> In the long history of Bodos in Assam or in north-east, this was the first time when Bodos launched the movement demanding equality, economic and social justice, rights to land, language and culture, political rights etc. in the decade of eighties. The task of political movement for a separate state has been taken over by ABSU from the political party. Upendra Nath Brahma submitted 92 point charter of demand to the Chief Minister of Assam Shri Prafulla Kumar Mahanta on 1st January 1987. In these 92 demands, three demands were political and for creation of separate state and other 89 demands were related to socio-economic, educational and others.<sup>15</sup> In 1987 these demands were placed before the then Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi, Home Minister Shri Buta Singh and President Shri Gyani Jail Singh. This was the first time when the demand of separate state was raised in the Capital. The Bodo People Action Committee (BPAC) was formed by Upendra Nath Brahma at Dotma in a conference on 8th November 1988.<sup>16</sup> The 20th annual conference of ABSU was held at Bansbari village in Dhubri district from 18th to 22nd December 1988. In this conference a decision was taken to demand a separate Bodo state called 'Bodoland' for the Bodos.<sup>17</sup> The other

important decision was to drop the 89 points of demands related to socio-economic problems out of 92 point charter and to focus on the three following political demands-<sup>18</sup>

1. A separate state for the Bodos on the northern bank of the Brahmaputra.
2. Creation of Karbi Anglong Regional Council within the District Autonomous Council for the nor-Karbi tribal population.
3. Formation of an Autonomous Council for the Bodos on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra.

After posting these demands the movement accelerated and became bloody. A total of 955 hours and a 14-day long Bandh was observed on five occasions between the February to July 1989.<sup>19</sup> The then Chief Minister of Assam Shri Prafulla Kumar Mahanta called the armed forces to handle the situation.<sup>20</sup> A large number of Bodos were killed in ethnic clashes, thousands of them became homeless as their properties and houses were destroyed. More than 60 thousand Bodos were forced to take refuge in refugee camps at Kakila in Arunachal Pradesh.<sup>21</sup> On the other side the Bodos reacted militantly. They targeted the public property like railway property and public servants. This rift between the Bodos and others heightened the antagonism and Bodos became more determined to secure a separate state. This first tripartite meeting was held on 28th August 1989 in the presidency of Dr. Rajendra Kumari Vajpayee between the representatives of union and state government and the representatives of ABSU and BPAC. Unfortunately this meeting ended with more resentment.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile All Bodo Employees Federation (ABEF) was formed on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1989 which played a vital role in the movement.<sup>23</sup> Along with this meeting total nine tripartite meetings were held in the duration of 28th August 1989 to 7th January 1992. Mostly these tripartite meetings failed to come to any solution except the eighth meeting which was held on 11<sup>th</sup> September 1990. In this meeting Central Government accepted the proposal of constituting a committee to study the Bodoland issue. After this meeting Union Labour Minister Shri Ramvilas Paswan visited Kokrajhar on 21<sup>st</sup> October 1990. On this occasion more than one million people gathered to welcome him and show solidarity for movement.<sup>24</sup> On 31<sup>st</sup> September 1990 and 3<sup>rd</sup> January 1991 ABSU and BPAC staged demonstration in New Delhi to resolve the issue of Bodoland quickly. According to ABSU and BPAC these recommendations failed to evolve a formula as to how the Bodoland problem was to be solved, so they rejected the recommendations.<sup>25</sup> After failure of this trial the movement accelerated vigorously. There were Bandhs, hunger strikes, peace rallies, and demonstrations in Assam and New Delhi. But government gave only verbal assurances whereas the movement wanted speedy resolution of the problem. Finally ABSU and BPAC called a 1001 hour total Assam-Bandh on 21<sup>st</sup> November 1992 which

caused extensive annihilation and actions of disruption. In the month of January and February 1993, the then Home Minister Shri Rajesh Pilot held a private discussion with ABSU president S.K.Bwiswmuthiary and the then chief minister of Assam Shri Hiteswar Saikia. These talks proved very fruitful. 20<sup>th</sup> February 1993 has become an important day in the history of Bodoland movement, because an agreement known as Bodo Accord was signed by representatives of central government and state government with ABSU-BPAC.<sup>26</sup>

The accord brought out many changes in the political agenda of Bodoland movement. Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) was created through this accord. According to the accord Bodoland Autonomous Council was formed on 20<sup>th</sup> February 1993 including 2570 villages of seven districts of Assam.<sup>27</sup> The central and state governments made declaration that with this accord the Bodo issue had been resolved but this was the end of only first phase of Bodoland movement because still the government has not conceded to the demand of separate state and for this reason the issue has remained alive. So it can be said that with doubts as well as aspirations the first phase of six year long Bodoland movement formally came to an end.

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## 14. Sawmi Vivekananda Chicago Dharma Parishad

**\*Dr. Mahananda Gondi**

The Parliament of Religions which was held in connection with the world Columbian Exposition in the city of Chicago from September 11, to 27, 1893 was undoubtedly one of the great epoch-making events of the world marking as it did an era in the history of religions especially in that of Hinduism. From all parts of the world delegates, came representing every form of organized religious belief. It was not only a Parliament of Religions, it was a parliament of humanity. To unify the world of Religions it was vision of mankind and the motive of the workers who made possible this assembly of by religious ideas and creeds, and if the Parliament had done nothing more than make the whole of human society aware of the “Unity in diversity” “and the diversity in Unity,” of the religious outlook of man it would still have been unequalled among ecumenical conventions in character and importance. It roused a wave of new awareness in the Western world, causing it to be conscious of the Honorable Merwin Marie Snell President of the Scientific Section of the Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Vivekananda visited Mysore Court and stayed there as a guest for some days and with the help of Maharaja Jaya Chamaraja wader Dr. Palpu and Divan K. Sheshadri Ayer and Ketri Maharaja Swami reached the Chicago Parliament<sup>2</sup>

One of its chief advantages has been in the great lesson which it has taught the Christian World, especially to the People of the United States, namely that there are other religions, more venerable than Christianity, which Surpass it in philosophical depth, in Spiritual intensity, in independent vigor of thought and breadth sincerity breadth and sincerity of human sympathy, while not yielding to it a single hair's breadth in ethical beauty and efficiency. eight great non-Christian religious groups were represented in its deliberations – Hinduism Jainism Buddhism Judaism, Confucianism Shintiosim Mohammedanism and

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Mazdaism..<sup>3</sup>

Some of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in America had preached the necessity and the advantages of such a Parliament for some time: and when the Chicago World Fair was being planned, it seemed to be the proper medium and opportunity, In the words of the Parliament and Chairman of the principal organizers of the Parliament Committee “ Since faith in Divine Power to whom men believe they owe service and worship has been like the sun a life – giving and fructifying potency in man s intellectual and moral development .

News that the parliament was to be held was heralded to all parts of the globe, Committees of various kinds were formed to organize it on a proper basis, and invitations were sent out to the heads or executive bodies of all acknowledged religious organizations the world over, stipulations were made and instructions given, and the process of sending delegates was mapped out, Every religious creed was to send its own delegate or delegates as the case might be, and reception Comities were to receive them on there arrival in Chicago. There were many necessary formalities to be observed in order to systematize the movement. They had Simply recognized the worth of the man and his ideas and they felt sure that he could introduce himself, as, in one sense he did.

The historic and unprecedented Parliament of Religions was held in Chicago’s newly – constructed and imposing Art Institute on Michigan Avenue, Here, during the seventeen days of the parliament proper, assembled a great concourse of humanity, which included in its midst many of the most distinguished people of the world: the audience was sprinkled liberally with eminent men of every profession, many of the greatest philosophers of the West were in daily attendance, and among the delegates were high ecclesiastics of various faiths. The main sessions of the parliament were held morning, afternoon and evening in the large hall of Columns whose floor and gallery had combined seating capacity of 4,000/-. And also Hall of washing an took for to delver main sessions. .

Prior to the convention of the Parliament of Religions adjunct to the World Columbian Exposition in 1893, which was convened in Chicago, little was known of Vivekananda in this country, on that auspicious occasion, however, he appeared in all his magnificent grandeur, It was Monday, September 11<sup>th</sup>, at 10 A.M. On that memorable ... morning there sat upon the platform of the great Hall of Columbus representatives of the religions hopes and beliefs of twelve hundred millions of the human race.

Robes in brilliancy Conspicuous among the followers of Braham Buddha and Mohammed was an eloquent monk from India. Vivekananda by name. He was clad in the gorgeous red apparel and word a large turban, his re- markedly fine features and bronze complexion standing out promi- nently in the great

throng . Beside him sat Nagarkar of the Brahma Samaj, representative of the Hindu Theists; next was Dharmapala, 'Ceylon's Buddhist representative; next came Mazoomdar, leader of the Theists (Brahmo Samaj) in From India were Mazoomdar of the Brahma Samaj and Nagarkar of Bombay, Mr. Gandhi representing the jains, and we were Mr. Chakravarti representing Theosophy with Mrs. Amine Besant, of these men, Mazoomdar and Vivekananda were of course old friends.

Among arch-bishops, bishops, priests and theologians, the people singled him out by reason of both his apparel and his commanding presence. He himself was alternately rapt in Silent prayer and stirred by the eloquence of the speakers who had preceded him. Several times he had been called upon to Speak, but he had said, "No, not now", until the Chairman was puzzled and wondered if he would speak at all. At length, in the late afternoon the Chairman insisted, and the Swami arose. <sup>4</sup>

His face glowed like fire. His eyes surveyed in a sweep the huge assembly before him. The whole audience grew intent; a pin could have been heard to fall. Then he addressed his audience as "Sisters and brothers of America". And with that before he had uttered another word, the whole Parliament was caught up in great wave of enthusiasm. Hundreds rose to their feet with Shouts of applause. The Parliament had gone mad; every one was cheering, cheering, cheering. The Parliament Swami was bewildered. For full two minutes he attempted to speak, but the wild enthusiasm of the audience prevented it. When silence was restored, the Swami began his address by thinking the youngest of nations in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world, the Vedic Order of sannyasins, and introducing Hinduism as "The Mother of Religions, a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance". He quoted two beautiful illustrative passages, taken from the scriptures of Hinduism : " As the different streams having their sources in different places all mingle their water in the sea, So, O Lord, the different paths all which men take through different tendencies, various though they may appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee"! And the other : " Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling through paths which in the end lead to Me." <sup>5</sup>

The swami announced the universality of religions truths and the sameness of the goal of all religious realization. And that he did so, was because he had sat at the feet of a Man of Realization, in far-off Dakshineswar and had learnt from his Master, through both his teachings and his life, the truth that all religions were one, that they were all paths leading to the selfsame goal, the selfsame God. When the Swami sat down almost exhausted as he wrote, with emotion, the Parliament gave him a great ovation significant of his approval. <sup>6</sup>

The other Hindu delegates stood for Societies or churches or sects, but

the Swami stood for Hinduism in its universal aspect. He gave forth the ideas of the Hindus concerning the soul and its destiny; he expounded the doctrines Vedanta philosophy, which harmonizes all religious ideals and all forms of worship, viewing them as various presentations of truth and as various paths to its realization. He preached the religious Philosophy of Hinduism, which declares the soul to be eternally pure, eternally free, only appearing under the bondage of matter as limited and manifold. He spoke of the attainment of the goal – the perception of Oneness – as the result of innumerable efforts of many lives. He asserted that soul was never created. And he went on to say that death meant only change of centre from one body to another, and one's present was determined by one's past action and one's future by the present. He said that in order to realize Divinity the self that says "I" and "mine" must vanish. This however did not mean of the denial of true individuality; it meant, rather, its utmost fulfillment. By over coming the small egoistical self, centered in selfless, one attained to infinite, universal individuality. "Science has proved to me that physical individuality is a delusion, that really my body is one continuously changing mass in an unbroken ocean of matter: and Advaita (Unity) is the necessary conclusion with my other counterpart, the soul". The pervasive spirit of his address was the sense of Oneness. And he insisted that of the realization of the self- that is becoming and being Divinity-led inevitably – led to seeing Divinity Manifest everywhere. And inspired with this vision like another Vedic sage, he Addressed the vast mass of humanity before him as "heirs of Immortal Bliss" and exclaimed with apostolic power : <sup>7</sup>

His Mission of the Vedanta - On the occasion of his visit to Kumbhakoham Swamiji was presented with the following address by the local Hindu community.

The conviction that the cause of Truth is always safe in the hands of Him who is the life and soul of the universe has been for thousands of years part of our living faith; and if today we rejoice at the results of your holy work in Christian lands, it is because the eyes of men in and outside of India are thereby being opened to the inestimable value of the spiritual heritage of the pre-eminently religions Hindu nation. May the God of the universe who is also the great God Of all nations bestow on you health and long life, and make you increasingly strong and wise in the discharge of your high and noble function as a worthy teacher of Hindu religion and Philosophy. <sup>8</sup>

**His Meseage about Bhakti-** IN response to invitations from the Punjab and Kashmir swami Vivekananda traveled through those parts. He Stayed in Kashmir for over a month and his work there was very much appreciated by the Maharaja and his brothers. Subsequently he visited Sialkot and lectured twice, once in English, and once in Hindi. The subject of the Swamaji's Hindi lecture was Bhakti, the Summary is as, the various religions that exist in the world,

although they differ in the form of worship they take, are really one. All are true, for if you, look to the real spirit, the real religion, and the truths in each of them, they are all alike. In some religions god is not worshiped, may, His existence is not believed in, but good and worthy men are worshipped as if they were Gods. Upasana in the form of Bhakti is every where supreme, and Bhakti is more easily attained than Jnana. The latter requires favourable circumstances and strenuous practice Yoga cannot be properly practiced unless a man is physically very healthy and free from all worldly attachments. But Bhakti can be more easily practiced by persons in every condition of life. It is extreme love for God is Bhakti. <sup>9</sup>

**Conclusion:-** He will discover that hand inn hand with giving the message of Hinduism to the West the Swami was constantly, observing, and trying to turn to advantage, every new experience in seeking to solve the problems of his country. The deep and spontaneous love that welled in his heart for the poor, the distressed and the despised, was the inexhaustible spring of all his activities.

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## **15. Vocalizing Silence : Subaltern Protest Movement in North Odishan State Of Keonjhar in 1868**

**\*Ashok Priyadarshi**

The modern district of Keonjhar was one of the Garjats or feudatory princely states and Tributary Mahals of British Orissa.<sup>1</sup> It is situated between 20° 1' and 22° 15' north latitude and 85° 15' and 86° 21' east longitude.<sup>2</sup> The total area of this feudatory state was 3,450 sq.miles.<sup>3</sup> According to 1869 census its total population was 1,51,295.<sup>4</sup> The tribal subjects like Bhuyans had established close relation with the Bhanja rulers of Keonjhar and formed a tradition to play a vital role during the coronation of a new king.<sup>5</sup>

After the establishment of colonial rule in India Raja Janardan Bhanja of Keonjhar concluded an agreement (sanand) with the British to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 2,976.<sup>6</sup> In 1821 he opposed the movement of the British troops through his territory against the insurrectory Kolas of Singhbhum.<sup>7</sup> On 22nd March 1861 he died without a male heir which created a serious dispute in succession to the Gadi or throne of Keonjhar.<sup>8</sup> Under the leadership of Ratna Naik of Bhuyan community the discontented subjects of the Keonjhar started a terrible revolt against the British authorities and the local chiefs in 1868.<sup>9</sup> Therefore this rebellion is called as Ratna Meli.

Political Causes of Rebellion- Maharaja Gadadhara Narayan Bhanja breathed his last at Tribeni near Calcutta (presently known as Kolkata) on the 22nd March 1861.<sup>10</sup> His chief queen or Pata Rani Bishnupriya Patta-Mahadei had no issue (child) while the younger Rani, who was a phul-bibahi or a common-law-wife (concubine), had two sons named Dhanurjay Narayan and Chandrasekhara.<sup>11</sup> When Raja Gadadhara Narayan Bhanja died the question of succession became a vital issue in the state of Keonjhar. Following the death of the Raja the Bebartha (prime minister) of the state announced on the 3rd April 1861 that Dhanurjay Narayan Bhanja had been placed on the gadi with the

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consent of the Rani.<sup>12</sup> But on 9th April Brundaban Chandra Bhanja, the grandson of the Raja of Mayurbhanj, was sent to Keonjhar for installation there. He claimed that he had been adopted as son by the Raja Gadadhara Bhanja.<sup>13</sup> R.N. Shone, the Superintendent of Orissa tributary mahals, closely examined the claims in accordance with the established rules as laid down by Regulation XI of 1816 and decided in favour of Dhanurjay Narayan Bhanja. Thus discontentment grew among them against the newly recognized king.<sup>14</sup>

Since Dhanurjay Narayan was minor and since he continued his study at Cuttack at that time the management of the state was entrusted to one Tahsildar and one Dewan.<sup>15</sup> When the Raja attained majority in September 1867, Mr. T.E. Ravenshaw, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, handed him over the charge of the state and made arrangements for his installation on the throne of Keonjhar. This act was also opposed by the Rani who carried on secret communication with the hill tribes in order to induce them against the coronation and opposed the installation of Dhanurjay actively.<sup>16</sup> Her effort became fruitful when Ratna Naik, the leader of the Bhayans and his fellow-Sardars strongly opposed the nature of British action.<sup>17</sup>

**Administrative and Economic Causes :** The Bhuyans were the most important community in Keonjhar. They believed that the first Raja Jyoti Bhanja (1128-1158) was installed on the Gadi of the estate with certain terms and conditions. Sardar appointed two assistants, namely Karan and Amin. This was a corrupt practice which led to discontentment.<sup>18</sup> The Bhuyans were ordered to pay double tribute. Beheading, killing, heavy tax collection and oppression continued by the succeeding kings in the Bhuyan pirs of Keonjhar.<sup>19</sup> After the occupation of East India Company in 1804 also Raja Janardana Bhanja collected various taxes like plough tax, house tax etc. Magan and bethi were retained.<sup>20</sup> In 1825 and 1844 the people resisted against the oppression of the Raja and his amalas.<sup>21</sup> Again in 1849 the Bhuyans and other tribes resisted against the authority under the leadership of Ratna Naik who was arrested for three days.<sup>22</sup>

The Dak runners were extorted by the moharirs (mutsuddis). Similar complaints were lodged against the post office employees in Keonjhar.<sup>23</sup> After the death of Raja Gadadhara Bhanja in 1861, the estate of Keonjhar came under the British management. Two Bhuyan Gurmanjis or agents were appointed to induce the Bhuyans to pay tribute in cash instead of grain.<sup>24</sup> During British rule the economic condition of the people was generally unsatisfactory and unfavourable.<sup>25</sup>

**External Cause :** The Sambalpur Rising under Surendra Sai and the Sareikala Movement under Arjun Singh during the Great Revolt of 1857 naturally have some impact in these states due to their proximity to the disturbed areas. These developments consequently led to the growth of ill-feeling between the rulers and the subjects of these states.<sup>26</sup>

**Leadership of Ratna Naik -** The Bhuyans were extremely conscious of their rights. They had resisted against the royal injustice in 18th and 19th centuries. In 1868, under the able leadership of Ratna Naik, the tribal's of Keonjhar started meli.

**Course of The Rebellion-** Ratna Naik organized an assembly of the Bhuyans, Juangas and Kolas. He declared open revolt against the authority of Raja Dhanurjay Narayan Bhanja on the 21st April, 1868.<sup>27</sup> The rebellious tribal raided the markets of Keonjhar and captured the Chief-Minister of Raja named Nanda Dhal. They killed another supporter of the king named Beher Jal.<sup>28</sup> They burnt many villages and induced the dissatisfied royts to join with them. The rebels looted the police weapons. Their number was twenty thousand who burnt houses, sacked the government daks and disobeyed the authorities.<sup>29</sup> Civil disobedience started. Armed with bows, arrows, axes and swords the rebels attacked the palace.<sup>30</sup> Rani Bishnupriya Pattamahadevi, who had agreed to accept the pension of the British government and supported the authority of Dhanurjay, once again championed the cause of adopted son Brundaban Bhanja. The Raja Dhanurjay Bhanja sought the military help of the British government.<sup>31</sup>

The Commissioners of Cuttack and Chhotnagpur immediately came forward to take measures against the rebellion. Police force was stationed at Bal sore to move to Keonjhar. T.E. Ravenshaw, Commissioner of Cuttack, issued prawns to Ratna Naik and the Rani Bishnupriya.<sup>32</sup> Dr. Hayes reached Jayantigarh on 1st May, 1868 and then Keonjhargarh on 7th May, 1868 with a small guard. On 9th May 1868 he made an expedition with Chaibasa Police when the rebels did not respond.<sup>33</sup> Dr. Hayes moved towards Bethiapara and Tarpur, the residence of Ratna Naik, where he got no result.<sup>34</sup> At Janardanpur and Keonjhargarh he was able to disarm large number of insurgents. But as Bhuyan chief Ratna Naik, Nanda Naik, Nanda Pradhan, Babu Naik, Dasarathi Kuanr, Padu Naik and Tuni Pradhan did not surrender and were prepared for an offensive encounter, Dr. Hayes collected more police force and marched towards Keonjhar.<sup>35</sup> Babu Hare Krishna Das, Assistant Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, was also deputed to Keonjhargarh for helping the Raja in the suppression of rebellion.<sup>36</sup> With a total strength of 1134 armed men Dr. Hayes proceeded from Keonjhargarh to the hill Ghats where the insurgents were staying. But bad weather, sickness and weak supply of food prevented him to undertake serious operation.<sup>37</sup> T.E. Ravenshaw notified on 19th May, 1868 that the Governor General of India was determined to bestow the authority of Raja Dhanurjay Bhanja in Keonjhar and to support him at all cost. Therefore, anybody supporting or aiding the rebels would be liable to severe punishment.<sup>38</sup>

The Government of Bengal gave serious attention to suppress the rebellion. More and more troops and armed police were requisitioned from the tributary chiefs of Orissa and also from Chhotnagpur and Burdwan. Colonel E.T. Dalton,

the Commissioner of Chhotnagpur came forward to control the problem. Two thousand British troops stationed at Keonjhar by 13th June 1868.<sup>39</sup> T.E. Ravenshaw also marched personally from Cuttack and reached Keonjhar on 7th July, 1868.<sup>40</sup>

Lt. R. Hunter, the Assistant Superintendent of Garjat Police attacked the village of Ratna Naik and rescued a party of constables confined by the rebels and many plundered mails. However he captured some insurgents and restored peace in one part of Keonjhar.<sup>41</sup> Many villages of insurgents were burnt, many British captives were rescued and many insurgents surrendered.<sup>42</sup> Tuni Pradhan, Ranaiya Kol etc. Gradually the inaccessible hill tracts of Keonjhar were perpetrated and several rebellious leaders were captured.<sup>43</sup> Many Bhuyan and Juang leaders surrendered to the Raja of Bonai on 1st August 1868.<sup>44</sup> Ratna Naik was, it would be an infamous victory."<sup>48</sup> Actually this victory was short lived. This tribal movement, though suppressed, was a prelude to the nationalist movement and freedom struggle captured by the Raja of Pal- Lahara and Nanda Naik was captured by the Dewan of Bonai on 15th August, 1868. By the end of August all the rebel chiefs were captured and "the country was entirely subjugated".<sup>45</sup>

**Consequence of the Rebellion-** The captured rebels, numbered 183, were sent for trial. Among them Ratna Naik and six others were sentenced to death, twenty seven to transportation for life, and the rest to different periods of imprisonment.<sup>46</sup> On 30th November, 1868 Ravenshaw ordered the execution of Ratna Naik, Dasarathi Kuanr, Baikuntha Kol, Padu Naik, Tuni Pradhan, Margasiri Kol and Bairagi Kol. C.E Buckland, wrote, "A severe but necessary example was thus made, as a warning against similar outbreak in future."<sup>47</sup>

**Conclusion :** However, to conclude, the Bhuyan uprising was natural and spontaneous. It was a subaltern agitation where the main actors were downtrodden indigenous tribal people of the backward region of Odisha. Since the king of Keonjhar was supported by the British the uprising was targeted indirectly against the British through the king. So it was both anti-Colonial and anti-feudal in nature. Utkal Dipika quoted the statement of Indian Daily News, "If the British won victory against the British."<sup>48</sup>

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## 16. Translated Literature Of Koch Behar in Medieval Age

\*Abhijit Barman

The Bengali literature of medieval age was mainly based on destiny. Different types of religious epics were written on the basis of this literature – such as Mangal Kabya, Translated Literature, Nath Sahitya etc. There was a historical reason behind the creation of translated Literature. A great revelation of social atmosphere of Bengal was affected due to attack of Turkic in 1202. It was spread up to Bihar in North-East.<sup>1</sup> As a result an atmosphere of unrest was seen among the people of Bengal. There was no sign of safety in the life of common people. So the creation of basic literature was not possible.

Brahma culture and ancient culture were already deep-rooted in the age of Gupta in Bangladesh. The kings of Pal were also lover of ancient epic. The defeated Hindus tried to recover this status. The language of the ruler becomes Arabic and Persian because the power of Hindu King has been transferred in the hands of Muslim ruler. Not merely the language a huge number of people of Brahma culture realized that their power and language were being over looked. So they tried to save their own culture by mixing between the culture of high-born and low-born people. After the creation of translated literature - Ramayana, Mahabharata, Bhagabata and other ancient epics in Sanskrit are included in this translated Literature.<sup>2</sup> To deal with the History of Koch Behar Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumder opined that almost all Bengal were dominated by Muslim King except Koch Behar and Tripura. They tried to keep the liberty intact against the powerful Muslim king.<sup>3</sup> Gradually the state become Hindu state and naturally literature was based on purana.

Infect the dynasty of Koch was started under the reign of Koch-King Biswa Singa. But the written form of literature was handed down from 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century. We came to know this literature in the practice of puran of Kamta Raj Durlav Narayan and Indra Narayan. The Kings of Koch were particularly worshiper of shiv but they had sympathy towards the other religion.<sup>4</sup> However

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there were many erudite person who wrote many literature in the royal court. Most of them were translation of Sanskrit, Ramayans, Mahabharata and Purana.<sup>5</sup>

The literature of kamata was mainly two types: 1) Translated literature. 2) Basic literature. But Translated literature is the best literature. It has three types 1) Translation of Bhagabata, 2) Translation of Ramayana, 3) Translation of Mahabharata. Beside some Sanskrit and other translated books was less important.<sup>6</sup>

### **Purana:**

The beginning of literature in Koch Behar was started through the practice of reading purana in medieval age. Hem Saraswati, Harihar Bipra and Kabi Ratna were three distinguished court poet in 14<sup>th</sup> century. Kabi Hem Saraswati wrote 'Prohllad charita' and 'Horogouri Sambad on the basis of Baman purana and Narosingha purana.<sup>7</sup>

From 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century the number of translated purana and sub-purana of Kamata State was eleven. e.g. Markandeya purana, Bhagabata purana, Narodiya purana, Bishnu purana, skandha purana, Brahma-Baibarta purana, Shiv purana, Gorur purana, Dharma purana, Brihat Dharma purana, Nrisingha purana. Among them Markandeya purana and Bhagabata 10<sup>th</sup> chapter were edited under the reign of King Biswasingha. Narodiya purana was composed during the period of King Upendra Narayan and the rest of the purana were composed under the reign of Harendra Narayan and Shibendra Narayan.<sup>8</sup>

Among the puranas Bhagabata purana was the most popular purana. Pitamber Das Composed 10<sup>th</sup> chapter of Bhagbata and Markendeya purana during the period of Biswasingha. All chapters of Bhagabata were translated by Sankar Deb and his followers. Manuscripts of ancient books are preserved in North Bengal. Some Manuscripts were of 450 years old. The following manuscripts of purana and Bhagabata are stated below:

Manuscript No.- 2) Brihat Dharma Purana (Middle Part) - Maharaja Harendra Narayan (1783) 3) Gorur Purana, 7) Nrisingha purana – Dwija Ramananda (1777). 8) Markendeya purana – Pit amber (1602). 10) Bhagabata 6<sup>th</sup> chapter – Dwija Jagannath (19<sup>th</sup> century). 12) Brahmabaibarta purana – Baidhya Nath (19<sup>th</sup> century). 13) Markendeya purana – Pitambar (1777). 14) Markendeya chandi – Mahinath Sarma (19<sup>th</sup> century). 16) Shiv Sanghita or Shiva Sangkritana - Rameswar. 18) Padma purana – Baidyanath. 19) Padma purana – Baidyanath. 21) Vishnu purana – Madhab ch. Sharma (1783). 22) Brihat Dharma purana (Uttar khanda) – Maharaja Harendra Narayan (1783). 23) Skandha purana – Raja Harendra Narayan (1783). 28) Naradiya purana – Dwija Narayan (1714-1764). 29) Chandikar Bratakatha – Madhab Chandra (1839). 30) Chaitannya Bhagabata (Adi khanda) – Brindaban Das. 31) Chaitannya Bhagabata (Madhya khanda) – Brindaban Das. 32) Sri Chaitannya Bhagabata (Anta khanda) – Brindaban Das. 33) Sri Bhagabata Baishnab Charita.

34) ,Baishnab bandana – Brindaban Das. 35) Chaitannya Gita – Kali Das. 36) Hari Nam Kabaj – Krishna Das. 54) Shiv purana – Dwija Baidhya Nath(19<sup>th</sup> century). 56) Brahmabaibarta purana (Brahma Kanda) – Ripunjay(19<sup>th</sup> century). 57) Dharma purana – Ramananda(1719). 57) (A) Dharma purana – Ramanada(1719). 58) Bhagabata (10<sup>th</sup> chapter) – Pitambar (1522-1554).<sup>9</sup>

In medieval age there was no difference of regional languages between Koch Behar and Assam. But it is interesting to note that there was a separate book-house of Assam's in Koch Behar State library. The followings are the books of purana and Bhagabata of Koch Behar library.

Manuscript No.- 1) Gorur purana – Mahapurashankar Deb. 2) Gopi Utbhab Sambad–Sankar Deb. 3) Gita – Gobinda Mishra. 4) Bhagabata – Sankar Deb. 5) Bhagabata(Harish Chandra Upakhyan) – Sankar Deb(16<sup>th</sup> century). 7) Gopi Tuba Sambad–Sankar Deb (16<sup>th</sup> century) 8) Gita. 9) Bhakti Ratnabali – Madhab Deb(17<sup>th</sup> century). 13) Bhagabata (1<sup>st</sup> Chapter) – Sankar Deb(16<sup>th</sup> Century) 14) Bhagabata (2<sup>nd</sup> Skandhya) – Anirudhya. 15) Sri Krishna Janma Rahashya – Madhab Deb (17<sup>th</sup> Century). 16) Bhagabata (Eleven Scandh Shankar Deb(16<sup>th</sup> Century). 19) Bhagabata – (10<sup>th</sup> Chapter) – Ananta Kandali.<sup>10</sup>

Through the translation of the purana we came to know Indian eternal thinking and clear conception of the king of the period. At present if we analyses this translated literature we find the patronage of the king of that period, the aesthetic Sentiment of the poet, collection of words, rhetoric and prosody, and poetic genius of the poet and over all the social awareness of the people.<sup>11</sup>

### **Ramayana:**

Ramayana was not read in entire Koch State as purana and Mahabharata. After 16<sup>th</sup> century it has been stopped for about two hundred years. Next, at the patronage and behest of the king Harendra Narayan the reading of Ramayana started. He himself took the responsibility of translating it. The poet of the Ramayana of 15<sup>th</sup> century was Madhab Kandali, Ananta Kandali and Kabi Durgabar. It is mentionable that there was no trace of ancient books in Koch Behar Sava Sahitaya bhandar .<sup>12</sup>The books which are found in Koch Behar puthishala are state below Manuscript No.- 59) Ramayana – Adbhutacharjya. 60) Ramayana (Sunder kanda) – Maharaja Harendra Narayan. 61) Ram–Narayana – Raghunath(19<sup>th</sup> century). 62) Ramayana (Lanka Kanda) – Braja Sunder Dwija (19<sup>th</sup> century). 63) Ramayana (Utter khanda) – Saradananda, Shatananda and Raghuram (1729). 64) Ramayana (Aranya Kanda) – Maharaja Harendra Narayan. 66) Ramayana (Ajodhya Kanda) – Raghuram(1783). 67) Ramayana (Kiskindhya Kanda) – Debananda, Srinath Dwija and Dwija Raghunath. 68) Ramayana (Lanka Kanda) – dwija Braja Sunder (19<sup>th</sup> century). The books of Ramayana which are found in Assamise manuscript are:Manuscript No. 12) Ramayana (Adi Kanda) – Madhab Deb(17<sup>th</sup> century). 17) Ramayana (Bal Kanda) – Dwija Madhab.<sup>13</sup>

**Mahabharata:**

From 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century the manner of writing literature prevailed in the whole kamata Koch Behar was translation of Mahabharata. In this respect Koch-King was sympathizes and patronage of this manner of writing, spread, diversity and popularity of this literature. In 16<sup>th</sup> century Mahabharata was translated into four chapters (Sava, Udyog, Visma and Dron) in the kindness of Koch-King. In 17<sup>th</sup> century it has been translated into six chapters - for example – Kirat, Dron, Adi, udyog, Visma, and goda. In 18<sup>th</sup> century only one part of Mahabharata has been translated. But in 19<sup>th</sup> century the translation of Mahabharata has been done widely in the reign of Maharaja Harendra Narayyan. In this time the part of Mahabharata which are translated are as follows – Adi parba, Sava, Bana, Visma, Karna, Salya, Santi, Aswamedh, prasthanic, Aishik, Mousad, Goda, Aswamedh, and sargarohan parba. Some parbas are translated by many poets. Perhaps the practice of reading Mahabharata with great enthusiasm will not be found in any dynasty of world history.<sup>14</sup> The Manuscript of Mahabharata which are found in the North Bengal State library are stated below :-

Manuscript No.- 69) Mahabharata, Nal Damayanti , Upakhyan, Bana Parba. 70) Mahabharata, Prasthanic parba – Mahinath(19<sup>th</sup> century). 71) Mahabharata, Masual parba- Dwija Baidhyanath (19<sup>th</sup> century). 72) Mahabharata, Swargarohan parba- Madhab Chandra.(1754). 73) Mahabharata, Aishik parba – Maharaja Harendra Narayan (1783). 74) Mahabharata, Karna parba- Manahar Das. 75) Mahabharata, Goda parba – Dwija Ramananda. 76) Mahabharata, Sava parba – Jay Dey, Maharaja Harendra Narayan and Dwija Braja Sundar. 77) Mahabharata, Adi paraba – Srinath Brahman(1718). 78) Mahabharata, Droupadi Swayambar – Srinath Brahman. 79) Mahabharata, Karna parba – Laxi Ram (1771). 80) Mahabharata, Shalya parba – Maharaja Harendra Narayan. 81) Mahabharata, Visma parba – Dwija Raghuram. 82) Mahabharata, Karna parba – Laxmi Ram. 83) Mahabharata, Shakti parba – Dwija Raghuram (1496). 84) Mahabharata, Ashramik parba – Dwija Kriti Chandra (1783). 85) Mahabharata, Dron parba – Srinatha Brahman and Dwija Kabiraj (17<sup>th</sup> century). 86) Mahabharata, Droupadi Swayambar – Srinath Brahman (17<sup>th</sup> century). 87) Mahabharata, Droupadi Swayambar – Srinath Brahman (17<sup>th</sup> century). 88) Mahabharata, Salya parba – Dwija Ramanada. 89) Mahabharata, Visma parba Dwija Kabiraj. 90) Mahabharata, Kirat parba – Kabi Shekhar(1754). 91) Mahabharata, Aswamedh parba - Dwija Mahinath(1754). 92) Mahabharata, Adi parba – Dwija Rudra Deb. 93) Mahabharata, Visma parba – Raghuram. 94) Mahabharata, Visma parba – Dwija Ram Saraswati(1682-1693). 95) Mahabharata, Visma parba – Dwija Raghunath and Ram Sarwati. 96) Mahabharata, Santi parba – Dwija Baidhanath(1774). 97) Mahabharata, Dron parba – Srinath Brahman and Dwija Kabiraj(1680). 98) Mahabharata, Bana parba – Dwija Paramananda. 99) Mahabharata, Bana parba – Dwija Baidhyanath and Mahinath. 100) Mahabharata, Bana parba –

Dwija Balaram(1783). 101) Mahabharata, Bana parba – Dwija Baidhyanath (1783). 102) Mahabharata, Bana parba – Ananta Kandali. 103) Ganga Bhakti Tarangini – Durga Prasad. 112) Mahabharata, Khandab Dahana.

The Manuscript of Mahabharata found in Assam in pandulipi are as follows :-

Manuscript No.– 6) Mahabharata, – Kangshari. 10) Mahabharata, Shamba parba – Dwija Gopinath. 11) Mahabharata, Karna parba – Baidhya Panchanan. 20) Mahabharata, Sova parba – Dwija Gopinath.

Finally we may conclude that as the medieval literature is based on religion the literature of Koch Behar Rajsava has become destiny based. So most of the literatures of North Bengal depend on purana and Mahabharata. As the branch of translated literatures has been flourished at the time of the king, Harendra Narayan so we discussed it briefly. This part of literature was not merely an imitation even it based on translation. Agreeing with Dr. Shashi Bhusan Das Gupta I would like to conclude my article that the literature based on Bhagabata – purana, Ramayana and Mahabharata and backed by Koch Raj-Bansha is not only the literature of Koch Behar but it enriched the entire Bengali literature also.

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## 17. Genesis Of The Kshatriya Movement Of The Rajvansis in North-Bengal And its Impact

\*Dipak Roy

The Kamta-Koch kingdom founded by Viswasimha in the 16th century established their supremacy over North-Bengal, northern parts of Bangladesh and Western Assam by the prominent Koch kings<sup>1</sup>. Viswasimha among the Koch Kings embraced Brahmanical religion and brought Brahmans from Kanauj, Kasi and from other places in this kingdom<sup>2</sup>. *The Rajopakhyana* stated Viswasimha, the founder of the Kamata-Koch kingdom was the son of Lord Siva and his mother was Hira, the wife of Haridasa (Haria Mondol). Hira was a woman of Koch tribe of Chikna hill of Goalpara district in Assam<sup>3</sup>. Before the adoption of Hinduism by the Kamata-Koch kings, the Koch's and the Meches freely intermarried<sup>4</sup>.

During the reign of Maharaja Naranarayana (1534-1587) the process of Hinduisation continued in the form of fourfold caste system introduced in Kamrupa by Sidhantaragisha<sup>5</sup>. On the contrary the introduction of Hinduism led to the struggle between the old religious tribal belief and Hinduism. For this reason Maharaja Naranarayana had to issue an edict by which the tribal form of worship prevalent among the Koch's, Meches and Kacharis were legalized<sup>6</sup>. Yet the struggle between the local priests named Kolitas, Deosis and Rojas and the Brahmans for religious supremacy continued for a long time<sup>7</sup>. The anthropologists and historian put forward different opinions regarding the origin of the Koches. Risley opined that the Koch's were a large Dravidian tribe of North East and eastern Bengal with some admixture of Mongolian blood<sup>8</sup>. Dalton considered the Koch's belonging to the Dravidian stock<sup>9</sup>. Oldham has also expressed the same view<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand Waddle<sup>11</sup>, Hodgson<sup>12</sup>, Gait<sup>13</sup>, S.K.Chatterji<sup>14</sup>, D.C. Sircar<sup>15</sup> opined that the Koch's belonged to the

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Mongolians race. B.N.Das, the noted anthropologist of North East India, accepted the view that the Koch's were of Mongolian origin<sup>16</sup>. It should be noted here that from the post mutiny period the basic motive of the colonial historiographers and ethnographers was to know the custom and social division of India in order to identify its caste allies. So that the Raj could use its caste allies as a counter force against the nationalist movement<sup>17</sup>. Even the Raj wanted to reorganize the native army in such a way that it should be composed of different nationalists and castes as a general rule mixed promiscuously through each regiment<sup>18</sup>.

Since post mutiny period the Raj devoted extraordinary emphasis on the ethnological enquiries for its own purpose. Gait opined that after Hinduisation, the Koch's adopted the appellation Rajbangsi.<sup>19</sup> S.N. Bhattacharya has expressed that after the introduction of Hinduism the Koch's adopted Rajbangsi appellation<sup>20</sup>. But neither the Persian records nor the foreign travellers have mentioned the Koch's as Rajbangsi<sup>21</sup>. Even *Darrang Rajvamsabali*, the genealogical account of Koch royal family, has not mentioned the term Rajbangsi. Here, Haria-Mondol the father of Viswa Simha has been mentioned as Mach<sup>22</sup>. Buchanan also described the Koch tribe as non-Aryan and non-Hindu<sup>23</sup>. Probably efforts on the part of the Koch kings to promote Hinduism were revived later on. The major portion of such grants bore dates between 1770 and 1815. We may tentatively suppose that assumption of title of Rajbangsi by the common tribesmen, as opposed to the tribal elites, commenced sometime in the latter half of the 18th century<sup>24</sup>. Historian D.Nath also believes that the appellation adopted by the Koch's later on<sup>25</sup>.

In the opinion of Sekhar Bandyopadhyay the spread of Western liberal ideas and commercialisation of agriculture and the growth of urban industrial culture had shaken the traditional social structure and opened new avenue for social upliftment of the lower castes<sup>26</sup>. At the same time the British Census policy from 1891 to 1931 encouraged the different lower community for higher social status which were denied by the superior castes<sup>27</sup>. These Rajvansis have become rich by taking advantage of reclamation of jungle area i.e. north Bengal in the 19th century<sup>28</sup>. In the middle half of the 18th century Rajbangsi poet Ratiram Das first claimed that the Rajvansis are of Kshatriya origin in his *Jaggan*. Probably his claim for Kshatriya origin came as a reaction against the oppression of Devi Singh<sup>29</sup>. Sri Hari Kishore Adhikari of Goalpara district in his book "Rajbangsi Kulu Pradip" book claimed that Rajvansis are Bratya Kshatriya and they are separate Caste from the Koches<sup>30</sup>. It is interesting to note that the Rajvansis in the Census of 1891 recorded them as Bratya Kshatriyas<sup>31</sup>.

In B.S. 1318 Sri Moniram Kabbya Bhusan in his book "Rajbangsi Kshatriya Dipak" claimed first that the Rajvansis are Kshatriyas<sup>32</sup>. In a memorandum to the Indian Statutory Commission the Rajvansis claimed that

they were the descendants of Raja Kamateswar<sup>33</sup>. Krishna Das Bairagi in *Gosani Mongol Kabhya* described Niladwaj as a cowherd of a Brahman. Later on with the help of this Brahman Niladwaj became King of Kamatapur<sup>34</sup>. The *Kamruper Brandi* mentioned Niladwaj as Koch origin<sup>35</sup>. According to Kalyan Barua the first step of conversion Koch from tribal to non-tribal stage is self-imposed taboo on certain food items (i.e. beef, pork, chicken, rice beer etc). In this stage they identify themselves as Khenas.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand Sri Ghanashyam Dalui has described the Koch Kings as Kshatriya origin<sup>37</sup>. In the Census of 1901 the Kshatriya Rajvansis were enumerated as only Rajvansis. This caused strong resentment among the Rajbangsi Community. In February 1912 several thousands of Rajvansis from different parts of North Bengal and Assam assembled on the bank of the sacred river Karotoya at Debiganj for wearing sacred threads in presence of the Brahmans.<sup>38</sup> The Samity also claimed that the representation in the Council of Government must be thorough and from every community high or low, and every interest should be represented by members of their Community<sup>39</sup>. The samity also distanced away from the ongoing national movement and sought opportunity for more jobs, education and political favour from the government<sup>40</sup>.

Historian Ranjit Das Gupta explaining the socio-economic background of the Kshatriyan movement in the Jalpaiguri District mentioned that with the coming of the British there occurred major dislocation of the socio-economic life of rural population. This contrary process of development generated social tension among the Rajbangsi Community, which founded expression in the Kshatriyan movement<sup>41</sup>. At the same time administrative posts were occupied by the immigrant upper caste Bengalis<sup>42</sup>. There were also differences of opinion on different issues among the samity leaders<sup>43</sup>. To substantiate his observation Swaraj Basu mentioned that regarding the inclusion of the Rajbangsi Kshatriyas in the schedule caste list a section of the Kshatriya samity leaders thought that it would be inconsistent with the Kshatriya status.<sup>44</sup> s Prasanna Deb Raikat of Jalpaiguri was one of the leading members of the Kshatriya Samity. The Jotedar association was formed with the Jotedars of all communities<sup>45</sup>. The landholders association sent a memorandum to the Eastern State Agency Resident, Col. Robinson on 22nd May 1934 to retain the Khas collection system.<sup>46</sup> Not only the Kshatriya samity disapproved the hattola movement by the Adhiyars<sup>47</sup>, under leadership of the communist party.

Prof. Tapas Kumar Ray Choudhury observed that the introduction of the practice of untouchability by immigrant Bengalis was one of the reason for the growth of the Kshatriyan movement. Jotedars were at the same time cultivators. Although there was economic division there was no caste division.<sup>48</sup> Upendranath Barman who was one of the prominent leaders of the Kshatriya samity had lodged a complain to the Kochbehar State Superintendent E.L.L.D.

Hammonds against the decision of the Victoria college authority to separate the dining hall of the Rajbangsi students from the upper caste students<sup>49</sup>. Even in Rangpur court Panchanan Barma received ill treatment from the upper caste lawyers.<sup>50</sup> Tapas Kumar Ray Chudhury has rightly observed “Varna or caste caused no upliftment or degradation to any member of the traditional Rajbangsi Society. This was known as Kshatriya movement of the Rajbangsi community”.<sup>51</sup>

The reason for Barman’s opposition to the bill was that the bill would have created division and dissensions within the Hindu community.<sup>52</sup> B.Roy Choudhury opined that the Rajbangsi kshatriya samity not only distanced themselves from the Koch’s but they did not support the Rabhas social upward mobility in the 1930 and 1940, when they claimed the Shudra status within the Hindu fold. Because it was the practice in North Bengal that Rabhas would rear fowls on behalf of Rajvansis who used to get their shares from them.<sup>53</sup>

Most of the historians remained silent why Kochbehar State resisted the penetration of the Kshatriyan movement in the princely state. In spite of the opposition of the upper caste Hindus in Rangpur<sup>54</sup>, the Kshatriya movement received patronage from the Raj. Panchanan Barma was honoured with the title Rai Saheb for helping the Raj during the 1st World War.<sup>55</sup> But in the Kochbehar State Panchanan Barma was ordered not to enter the Kochbehar State without prior permission of the Regent council<sup>56</sup>. On the contrary Maharaja Harendranarayana and the indigenous officials of the state began to express their anti British feeling.<sup>57</sup>

In 1878 the modernization of Kochbehar began. The process included the introduction of western philosophy, western way of thinking and western value system.<sup>58</sup> In 1872, *izaradari* system was replaced by *jotedari* system which produced an opulent and progressive middle class.<sup>59</sup> On the other hand the princely Kochbehar state remained free from all sorts of ongoing national movements<sup>60</sup>. On the other hand, the administrative officers of the state were not in a mood to allow the rise of any other leadership from the indigenous people of the state. Even the state officials suppressed the Kshatriyan movement with the state force.<sup>61</sup> On the contrary, the samity explained that the outsiders opposed the movement out of their fear that any kind of social regeneration among the local community would have undermined their dominance.<sup>62</sup>

In this way, a feeling of anti immigrants was developed among the ‘sons of the soil’ of Kochbehar State. It was during the reign of Maharaja Jagadipendranarayana (1922-1970) Kochbehar Hitasadhani Sabha was formed to curb the dominance of the immigrants in the state. The main slogan of the Hitasadhani Sabha was “Kochbehar for Kochbeharis”. Maharaja Jagadipendranarayana himself patronized the Hitasadhani Sabha.<sup>63</sup> We can also say that the present Uttarkhand, Kamatapuri and Greater Kochbehar movement has its roots in the Kshatriyan movement<sup>64</sup>

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## **18. Undiscussed Aspects On Contribution Of Royal Houses Of Odisha in Freedom Movement A Theoretical Discourse**

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### **Introduction**

India is a largest democracy country in the world at present. This Country is not in a present form what today is before independence in 1947. Though geographically it was in the same location but politically it was dismembered into so many smaller and bigger administrative units ruled by Rajas, Maharajas and Feudal lords. Politically India was scattered into numbers of territory where there was no unanimity form of government. But in most of territory kingship rule was there having different ideological system of administrations. Upto 1947 not only in Odisha but throughout India situation was same. From the last Hindu rule in 1568 to India's independence in 1947, Odisha had been ruled by the Afghans, Mughals, Marathas and Britishers but major parts of Odisha states were under the rule of local Chiefs. During this time so called Odisha was exploited and humiliated by the respective rulers. The peoples of Odisha politically dismembered, economically exploited and socially humiliated by the above rules of Odisha.

In 1803, Odisha was conquered by the Britishers. Britishers became the master of this land till Indian independence in 1947. They ruled India roughly two hundred years and during this period they have been exploited till to crackdown the legs of this land. British administration became blessing in disguise to Indians. In the course of time, Indians started to revolt against Britishers and that revolution became the mass movement which is known as Indian Independence Movement in Indian history. In these mass movement peoples of all sections participated for Indian independence. In this paper an

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attempt has been made to highlight the character and nature of participation of Royal Houses of Odisha in freedom movement.

### **Sources of the Topic**

For the purpose of the present study an effort has been made to study the background, origin, evolution and participation of Royal Houses of Odisha in freedom movement. Important books on the freedom movement in Odisha have been written which are given in references has consulted to evaluate the participation of royal houses in freedom movement. But least books reveal anything about contribution of Royal Houses of Odisha towards freedom movement. But some families contributed a little bit to this cause. It could be more authentic to pledge that some of figures of royal family's have contributed a lot for the integration of Odisha Province in 1936. To establish the contributions of royal houses on freedom movement in Odisha, we have to collect source materials. It is says that history based on the foundation of truth and evidences. Unless it historians never be able to establish events as history. We can collect that information or evidences or proves from different points. These are archaeological proves, Archival records and literary works. In archaeological proves we consult archaeological remains, monuments, inscriptions and coins. The archival sources also one of the most important wings to finish the project work accumulating evidences from library and record rooms. In literary evidences we can consult religious literature of all concern religion and from secular literary works along with records of foreign travelers. These are the major points from where materials or sources could have been collect to establish history on the above argument.

So far as our topic is concerned the contribution of royal houses of Odisha in freedom movement. To write any aspects on this theme is to collect data from above mentioned sources. But none availability of archaeological materials as primary sources to establish the events is in darkness. Only archival records are there to consult for this purpose. The records of royal houses are in different archives such as Odisha State Archive -Bhubaneswar, Tamilnadu State Archive-Chennai, and Bengal State Archive-Kolkata. But there is a big question on the authenticity of sources which have been maintained by the royal houses. Sometimes record keepers have written in favour of rulers with fear or getting an extra benefit. Sometimes court poets have exaggerated excess in their writing out of reality. Dispatches, letters communicated by the local Kings to the British Officials now in London Archive. When we are going to discuss the research problem regarding the contributions of royal houses of Odisha in freedom movement, we have to locate the availability of data from different sources of different places and it has to be interpreted properly by the historians.

### **3. Meaning and definition of Royal Houses**

Royal house indicates the king's family or families or the members of royal family. King or family members of king are the rulers of local territory which define them as the members of royal house upper of the social strata. The rulers of local territories are known as King or Raja or Feudal Lords. Before British occupation Odisha was scattered into so many territories and ruled by the local royal houses but under the British some territories were completely under their administration and some were independently ruled under their shadow. Accordingly, there were Princely states which were latter category and British Odisha states which were the first category. But above all, all ruling families are known as royal houses so far as our discussion is concern.

### **4. Royal Houses of Odisha**

Royal houses of Odisha which is known as ruling class families who had been ruling territories of Odisha since long back to Independence of India. From early times to 1568 local chiefs were the rulers of local territories. After 1568 the so called Odisha region was occupied by the outsiders till to 1803. During this period Afghans, Mughal and Marathas ruled Odisha region. But from 1803 to independence of India in 1947, Odisha region had been ruled by the Britishers. Above all, all territories of Odisha State hadn't been ruled by the above mentioned rulers but rest of territories of Odisha state being ruled by the concerned local kings who are known as royal houses of Odisha. In the time of Mughal rule, Mughal occupied Odisha territories were known as Mughal Bandi and the rest regions which had been ruled by the local chiefs known as Garjats. It is seen that in the British period, British occupied Odisha state and Princely states. There were 26 princely states in Odisha state grouped 11 in 'A' class states as such Dhenkanal, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Bamanda, Boudh, Gangapur, Patna, Kalahandi, Sonapur, Sareikala and Nayagarh ; 12 in 'B' class states like Athagarh, Baramba, Narsinghpur, Athamallik, Hindol, Daspalla, Khandapara, Kharasuan, Rairakhol, Talcher, Bolangir and Nilgiri and 3 in 'C' class states as Pallahara, Ranpur and Tigiria. Except these territories, some of the territories were there in south part of Odisha such as Paralakhemundi, Khallikote, Dharakote, Chikiti, Sanakhemundi, Sheragarh, and Athagarh. These estates are also known as royal houses of Odisha state.

### **5. Freedom Movement in Odisha**

So far as our classification of Indian history is concerned, freedom movement starts after formation of Indian National Congress in 1885 and it

continues through different stages up to independence of India in 1947. It is the all India scenario of freedom movement but this process hadn't been developed in Odisha till 1920. Freedom movement in Odisha from 1885 to 1920 was not in a mainstream rather it was based on regionalism. In 1803 so called Odisha state was occupied by the Britishers. The different parts of Odisha state was being ruled by the respective administrative units like Cuttack, Puri and Balasore under Bengal Province, Ganjam region was under Madras Presidency and Sambalpur region was under Central Province. The Odia Speaking tracts had been divided and ruled by the numbers of provincial administration. From 1803 to 1947 Odisha was under the administration of British Government. The concept of freedom movement was not seen during 1885 to 1920 but during 1803 to 1920 some most important rebellions were taken place in different places of Odisha such as Paik Rebellion in 1817 at Khurda, Revolt of Surendra Sai (1828-1862) in Sambalpur regions and Ghumsur Rebellion (1836 – 1857) in Ghumsur and Kandhamal regions. But these movements are not considering at all as a freedom movement rather it is called as resistance movement or rebellion. In the Calcutta session of 1920, Gandhi proposed non-cooperation and it was accepted by the congress members in large and in the Nagpur session this proposal was passed by the majority congress men. After coming from Calcutta session, Gopabandhu Das spread the non-cooperation throughout Odisha by forming Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee. By the end of the First World War, **Utkalmani Pundit Gopabandhu Das** had taken on the role of promoting the Congress Movement in Odisha along with a group of young patriots. They were responsible for carrying in the spirit of the struggle to the people at large. Among them were men like Harekrushna Mahtab, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Nabakrushna Choudhury, Bagirathi Mahapatra, Jagabandhu Singh, Mukunda Prasad Das, Nityananda Kanungo, Jadumani Mangaraj, Niranjan Patnaik, Dibakar Patnaik, Chandra Sekhar Behera, Nanda Kishore Das, Raj Krushna Bose and others. Pundit Gopabandhu Das was later elected as the President of the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee.

Gandhiji gave on the call for the Non-Co-operation Movement and subsequently toured Odisha in March 1921. There was a huge response to his call from all sections of the people. Though the Mahatma visited a few places only, the message touched the hearts of the rural mass as well as the elite of Odisha. Visit of other nationalistic leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, Motilal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, among others, in 1922, gave a further impetus to the **national movement in Odisha**.

Gandhi's call for the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 aroused the entire nation and Odisha came forward for the most vigorous struggle of independence. Breaking of Salt Law which was became the symbolic feature of the disobedience. Odisha's long coastal belt was once a thriving region for

salt production. However the Britishers had completely destroyed the industry by enacting special laws. People thus took to breaking of salt law with vigour. At Inchudi in Baleswar district, Salt Satyagraha under Surender Natha Das became only second to Gandhi's Satyagraha in Gujarat in importance and impact. Other notable places that attracted people for breaking salt law included Kujang in Cuttack district, Kuhudi, Singeshwar and Latra in Puri district; and Huma in Ganjam district (at that time in Madras Presidency) . Smt. Rama Devi, Smt. Malati Choudhury, Acharya Harihar Das, Gopabandhu Choudhury, Atal Bihari Acharya, Govind Misra, Raj Krushna Bose, Smt. Sarala Devi, Smt. Annapurna Devi, Narayan Birabar Samantha, Birakishore Das, Lakshmi Narayan Misra, Smt. Binapani Devi, and Surendra Nath Patnaik, among many others, became the leading spirits of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Apart from these nationalistic uprisings in **Odisha** proper, there were revolutions elsewhere in the Princely states or the Garhjat satates. There were five such risings in Bamra, (Bamanda) three in Talcher, one in Mayurbhanj, one in Dhenkanal, and one in Nilagiri, besides a dangerous rising of the Kondha in Dashapalla during the period above mentioned. It is with much brutality, that the respective authorities could manage to restore order in their areas.

During the Quit India Movement in August 1942, Odisha shot into prominence with uprisings led by people in the absence of its leaders who had been arrested and put in jail. At many such places, the British administration almost vanished for some time. It was during this time that the famous **massacre of Eram in the district of Baleswar took place. It was here that the largest number of people died in a single police action as compared to any such action in whole of India.** Eram also proved how the revolution in Odisha was an affair of the poor and common people in far-away villages who required no leadership to rise, but possessed a spontaneous will to take part in revolution .Similarly in the district of Koraput; the revolution was carried on under the leadership of Lakshman Nayak. He had taken the revolution to the grass root level and the tribal inhabitants had risen spectacularly in defiance of the British rule. At a place named Maathili several people fall victim to the police firing and Nayak was injured, arrested and subsequently hanged to death.

#### **6. Participation of Royal Houses of Odisha in Freedom Movement:**

Odisha was fully involved during Gandhian phase (1920-1947) of freedom movement. Peoples of Odisha actively participated in non-cooperation, civil-disobedience and quit India movement. Though the percentage of people's involvement in freedom movement was not so high but the participation of peoples of all sections was there. In this connection, the involvement and participation of royal families were so meager with the comparison of other

parts of India. Most of the royal houses of Odisha were not in favour of movement rather they had been supported British Authority for long run kingship rule with their help. Participation of freedom fighters can be in term of Active and Non-active. In the terms of active participation we can evaluate the involvement of freedom fighters their involved in the activities like demonstration, rally, dialogue, slogan and protestation in front of British Officials and offices and by this being tortured with British boot, lathi and kept in jails are the front line freedom fighters. Non-active freedom fighters are also involved not in active form but in silent character like giving moral support and inspiring through writings in different dailies and platform speech before the mass gathering of peoples in different feast and festivals having staying outside of mainstream of movement. But the royal family members of Odisha neither actively nor silently participated in the movement in high scale. Some of the Kings like Maharaja Krishna Chandra Gajapati,

**Conclusion-** Though the freedom fighters struggled for independence throughout Gandhian Era in Odisha composing peoples of all sections including royal family members may not place in equal status as freedom fighters. Though emotionally we never grade them but in fact with the analysis of their involvement in movement it may consider as active and non-active participants.

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## 19. History And Historical Sources Of North Bengal At A Glance

\*Mithun Das

To the northern part of the river Ganges there are six districts such as Coochbehar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, Malda, Uttar Dinajpur, and Dakshin Dinajpur. These areas are called 'North Bengal'. But from the historical point of view there is no existence of any such terms. This territory was known by different names in different times. In ancient times South-Western part of this territory attained the name of Paundra or Paundra-Bardhana which comprised Rajshahi, part of Bagura, Maldaha, Purnia, and Dinajpur . Later this Pundrwardhan got merged to 'Prag-Jyotishpura'. And Pragjyotisha it assumed the name of 'Kamarupa'. The western part of the Kamarupa comprised the Kamata state which again turned into 'Kamata-Coochbehar' later on. It may be mentioned here that during the reign of Kamaruparaja Vaskaravarman 'Gour' achieved the status of a state

I want to focus on the sources of historical studies of ancient North Bengal in this article in the light of historical sources from Assam.

While discussing the history of ancient North Bengal lack of written documents is left again and again and is the same case for the accounts for paucity of written documents of ancient Indian history as India produced no Herodotus or Thucydides.

We need to discuss the history of Prag-Jyotisha Kamarupa in order to deal with the history of existing North Bengal. To know and realize the history of this region we should study the history of Prag-Jyotisha Kamarupa. Later in Vedic period civilization had flourished in this region keeping Prag-Jyotishapur Kamarupa in the centre which is now in Assam. The Ahoms came to Kamrupa in 1228 AD, and managed to establish a kingdom in Saumar Pitha. Gradually

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this Ahom kingdom became powerful during the later Kamtapura reign. And in the British India the Assam state was formed. Thus ancient history left far back from this present name of Assam and North Bengal. Ancient scenario of Assam and North Bengal thus made an identical histo-politico cultural entity keeping close socio-cultural resemblance with Mithila.

North Bengal felt the brunt of great Indians hero Raghu's conquests towards Prag-Jyotisha Kamarupa and vast adjoining Himalayan regions<sup>1</sup>. The Digvijaya of the Pandavas also helped North Bengal greatly in its task of adopting the programme of aryanisation. Bhima proceeded to the East and conquered the countries East of the Kuru including Bengal and adjoining lower Assam valley<sup>2</sup>. In primitive age this North Bengal came to be known as 'Paundra'<sup>3</sup> and its king Paundraka who had the title of 'Vasudeva' and who was known as Vasudeva Krishna as well killed Narakasur<sup>4</sup>. There is a reference of the city of Paundra in Kalhan's 'Rajatarangini' which was once the capital of 'Gour'<sup>5</sup>.

In ancient literature, too, names of different places and races of North Bengal such as Kirat, Rajbanshi etc are found<sup>6</sup>. They played an important role to compose the history and culture of North Bengal. It is to be noted that there are references of 23 princes of Vagadatta in 'Ain-i-Akbari' and he participated in the battle of Kurukshetra<sup>7</sup>. Vagadatta was killed in this battle and thereafter his princes ruled Bengal. We should also mention the reign of Sangaldiv who also helped to compose the history of North Bengal. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. this Rajbanshi ruler not only possessed the present North Bengal but also occupied up to Gour in Bengal. It is to be noted that the city 'Gour' was founded by Sangaldiv<sup>8</sup>. The name of this great Rajbanshi Kshatriya warrior is also found in 'Riyaz-us- Salatin'.<sup>9</sup>

We get the name of one of the greatest pala ruler, Dharmapala in Kamarupa Buranji. He set up his own rule in the Brahmaputra valley. The other two great ruler of that period were Manickchandra and Mynamati is also found.<sup>10</sup>

At about 11<sup>th</sup> century the Ghosh dynasty is said to be existed. An important Copper Plate regarding this dynasty has been found in Dinajpur District<sup>11</sup>. It can be mention that Jitari was the king of Varendrabhumi and Mahipala, one of the pala kings was his contemporary. He was able to rule upto Jalpaiguri.

On the basis of above discussion we can say that the Asamiya tribals contributed a lot in composing the ancient history of North Bengal as this region was under the rule of Kamarupa as Prag- Jyotishpura for a long time. Resemblance from the cultural aspect is also found between Mithila, Kamarupa and the present North Bengal. The past history of this region is closely connected with the culture of Mithila.

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## **20. Role Of Students Of The Brahmaputra Valley Of Assam in The Freedom Struggle (A Case Study On Civil Disobedience And Quit India Movement)**

**\*Dr. Anjan Saikia**

**\*\*Basanta Kr. Borah**

The student community has occupied a very significant place in discussion on any type of social movement. Even in the developed countries like France, England, U.S.A. and Germany or the Scandinavian countries, students had participated in anti-authoritarian movements at various levels and this participation had taken various forms ranging from simple anti-authoritarianism to more complex forms of radicalism.<sup>1</sup>

Assam Students' Literary conference, one of the oldest students' organizations of India came into existence in 1916.<sup>2</sup> The origin of this organization can be traced to the socio-political condition, prevailing at the time in the province, following the British Government's introduction of Bengali, in 1836, replacing Assamese as the language of the schools and courts of Assam. Therefore, in the first session of the Assam Students' Literary Conference, renamed *Assam Chatra Sanmilan*, held at Guwahati on 25<sup>th</sup> December, 1916 under the president ship of Lakshminath Bezbaruah<sup>3</sup> it was clearly stated that the conference would have nothing to do with any political propaganda or with political movement.<sup>4</sup> Presidents of various sessions of the *Assam Chatra Sanmilan* often advocated the idea of active participation of students in politics'.<sup>5</sup> Gradually, the importance of political awareness of students together with the prevailing conditions of the time, resulted in the student community taking an active part in politics. In fact, it was the students who began the movement in Assam.<sup>6</sup>

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In the meantime, the nature of political developments in Assam as elsewhere substantially changed as a result of the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi in the field of Indian politics.<sup>7</sup> Pointing out the influence of M.K. Gandhi in Indian politics, Judith Brown wrote, 'with the arrival of Gandhi in Indian politics, the doors of modern politics were opened not only to the masses or even to all those who had participated in Non Co-operation, but to the western educated of the once backward areas and to some vernacular literates from town and countryside who had acted as sub-contractors for Non Co-operation.'<sup>8</sup> In fact, it is true that the emergence of M.K. Gandhi paved the way of radicalization of anti-imperialist struggle in India. In the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam also mentioned above, the emergence of Assam *Chatra Sanmilian* (Students' Organization) in 1916 was one of the remarkable development in the history of radical politics in Assam.<sup>9</sup> The students worked with great enthusiasm at the Tezpur session of the Assam Association held in 1920, where it was proposed that the decision to launch the Non-Co-operation in the state was to be publicized. The reception committee erected four welcome gates in the name of Tilok, Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and *Swaraj*.<sup>10</sup> These gates brought a new impetus during the session. On the importance of Tapir session, Krishna Nath Sarmah outlines, "as the sudden political movement in India clasped Assam, Assamese people now can't think of starting political movement separately.... young Assam is all agog to make thunderous participation. I was fascinated at the blessed spirit of young Assam".<sup>11</sup> It is an admitted fact during the beginning of the Non Co-operation Movement, the demand of the formation of the Assam Provincial Congress on the lines of the Nagpur proposal was gaining popular support and very soon Assam Provincial Congress Committee (APCC) came into existence in 1921.<sup>12</sup> Gradually, on behalf of the APCC, M.K. Gandhi was invited to propagate the message of Non Co-operation among the Assamese people. In fact, under the leadership of students' community, peasantry became a dynamic force and came into the path of socio-economic exploitation against the colonial government.<sup>13</sup> Against this background, the Non Co-operation Movement had generated a tremendous revolutionary spirit in the rural places of Brahmaputra Valley of Assam and here the peasantry spontaneously played a vital role under the leadership of *Chatra Sanmilian*. Accordingly, vigorous no-tax campaign was started at Boko, Luki, Bongaon, Chamaria, Jorhat, Golaghat, Sipajhar, Patharughat and the like which resulted in heavy fall in government revenue collection.<sup>14</sup> Needless to say, the visit of Gandhi in 1921 and his associates brought a new impetus. The importance of this historic movement lies to the fact that many promising and devoted student leaders were the product of this movement to lead the future movements under the banner of the freedom struggle in Assam. For instances, Gandhar Borkotoky, Murulidhar Baruah, Ratnadhar Baruah, Sarbeswar Borchetia, Bidyadhar Baruah, Biswanath Borpujari, Lila

Borah, Chandra Kanta Baruah, Dhodhi Mahanta, Sosodhar Malia Baruah, Babula Phukon, Rohinikanta Hatibaruah, Krishna Nath Sharma, Kuladhar Chaliha, Gong ram Bormedhi, Maheswar Baruah, Trihi ram Bairagi, Padmanath Borthakur and so forth were the emerging student leaders from the Brahmaputra Valley during the course of Non Co-operation Movement.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, Gandhi's historic march to *Dandi* on 12<sup>th</sup> March in 1930 had ushered in a new phase of the national movement. Immediately afterwards, guidelines were sent to all the Provincial Congress Committees, to spread up preparations for launching the Civil Disobedience Movement. They argued that the Salt Law could not be enforced in Assam, as Assam, being remote from the sea, had no salt mines, and consequently, therefore, there should be no Civil Disobedience in Assam.<sup>16</sup> But the youth of Assam refused to remain mere spectators in this saga of national resurgence. In the meantime, J.R. Cunningham, the Director of Public Instructions of Assam issued the notorious Cunningham Circular on 9<sup>th</sup> May, 1930, proclaiming that after the summer vacation, boys would not be readmitted in the Government schools unless the parents, and in the case of the higher classes, the boys themselves also, gave a written undertaking that they would abstain from political activities.<sup>17</sup> Young Congress leaders, like Hemchandra Baruah and Omeo Kumar Das, who were eager to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement in Assam, took advantage of the issue of this circular and inspired the students to oppose it vehemently. Interesting enough, the rural peasants also supported this movement and came forward with a demand for the 50% reduction of land revenue and thus turning the movement into an anti-imperialistic mass movement under the sole leadership of student origination of the Brahmaputra Valley of Assam.<sup>18</sup> During the phase of Disobedience Movement, we have seen two interesting aspects also. As a matter of fact, many peasant organizations began to emerge under the leadership of the students. Among these *Riot Sabah* under the right wing student and *Krishkak Sabah* under the left wing student leadership were to be emerged.<sup>19</sup> Here, discussion regarding the role of peasant organizations is not pertinent theme. In fact, it is true that peasants cannot represent themselves, they must be represented.<sup>20</sup> Hence, it is seen that the local Congress leaders overcame their initial reluctance to start Civil Disobedience, the student leaders decided to extend their picketing against the liquor, *bhang* and opium shops. For instances, while Bijoychandra Bhagawati and Robin Kakotis went to Tezpur and Sibsagar respectively, Narayan Choudhury took charge of Palashbari and Rampur areas of the Kamrup District.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Tirthanath Sarma went to Korora, Sepoti and Rangia in the North Bank and Rajanikanta Goswami took charge of the Nalbari area.<sup>22</sup> Simultaneously, Debeswar Sharma, Krishna Nath Sharma, Harinarayan Baruah, Rameswar Battacharjee, Rajendra Nath Baruah, Shankar Chandra Baruah, Darakanath Goswami, Bolo ram Chaliha, Surjakanta Phukon

and the large number of emerging students from undivided Sibsagar District successfully led the movement to popularize among the rural masses.<sup>23</sup>

The Quit India struggle was one of the important phases of the student movement in Assam. The students succeeded in forcing the closure of the schools and Colleges in Assam, for extended periods, and in bringing the whole community of students into the struggle. Unfortunately, the Congress call for the Quit India movement on 8<sup>th</sup> August, 1942, drove a wedge between the nationalist students who believed in whole hearted co-operation with the Congress programmes and the Communist-minded students who believed that this resolution would not result in Congress League unity, necessary for the formation of a national Government.<sup>24</sup> However, as fierce nationalist feelings swept the country, it had an electrifying effect inspiring the students to assume the leadership of the national movement. As a matter of fact the direction of affairs in many places soon passed out of the hands of the Congressmen.<sup>25</sup>

However, even amongst the nationalist group of students inspired by war cry of 'do or die', there were two distinct groups with divergent views regarding the strategy to be adopted for achieving their goal. One group included ardent followers of Gandhi, not prepared to depart from the principles of non-violence, under any circumstances. The second group included students like Ajit Barua, Gopal Goswami, Nilmani Das, Robin Goswami, Shankar Chandra Baruah and the like.<sup>26</sup> This group known as the 'Augusteers', was inspired by the revolutionary ideas of Jayaprakash Narayan.<sup>27</sup> In the meantime, at the news of the mass arrest of the leaders, the first group of students organized numerous processions of unarmed people. The second group of students, firm in their conviction that the sequence of meetings and processions had become tedious and fruitless, resorted to a series of underground activities which included the disruption of communication involving the cutting of telegraph and telephone lines and sometimes even road and railways in addition to the burning down of government buildings.<sup>28</sup> Here we are not going to trace the course of this historic movement launched by the leadership of the students. Hence, the heroic role played by the students was acknowledged even by the British Prime Minister who told the House of Commons very grudgingly that it was a 'Children's Uprising.'<sup>29</sup>

Thus, it is evident from the above analysis that students of the Brahmaputra Valley played a dynamic participation through their leadership in the freedom struggle. It is reflected through the analysis that when *Assam Chatra Sanmilon* adopted a formal resolution in order to join the Non-Co-operation movement in 1920 and since then the *Sanmilon* continued to take an active part in the movements launched by the Indian National Congress and thus it gained momentum as an active students organization of the state.<sup>30</sup> Another accepted fact is also proved that the student movements of Assam, not only of the colonial

period but even of the recent times, were dominantly rural-based and therefore were able to gather considerable support for their movements for a long time, which has not been the case elsewhere in the country.<sup>31</sup>

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## 21. Namghar- The Epicentre Of Socio-Cultural Identity Of Assam

\*Gouri Dey

The history of Satras or Namghars is 500 hundred years old. **Namghars** literally means '*The House of Names*'. It is a simple structure where the Vaishnavite Hindus of Assam recite the name of God. The Satras and Namghars owe its origin to the Vaishnavite saint SankarDev (1449-1569) in Kshatriya style of architecture which is still in practice. The first ever Satra of Borodowa at Nagaon district was actually built by him and the subsequent Satras all over the sate of Assam follows more or less the same style of architecture. <sup>1</sup> The '*Kirtan Ghar*' or the Satra building is primarily divided into three parts though look like a single structure. The front is imagined as the foot of the God, the middle as the body and upper part, 'the Bhaj Ghar' (arch house) as the head of the God. The Bhaj Ghar is slightly bent to give the illusion of a rainbow.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the main building, a Matha Griha, on the right hand side of the Kirtan Ghar, is found in the Ahom style of architecture. The walls of the Namghar exhibit exquisite and sophisticate work of art and culture. The life of Lord Krishna and his various avatars or incarnations are depicted through the scenes on the walls. Even the Shlokas from the Gita and the Bhagavatha could be found in some of the Namghars. To humbly say, it can be said that it reflects the cultural tour of Assam through the ages and as such are of historical as well as of artistic interest.<sup>3</sup> Aside from religious and memorial services, Namghars serve as theaters for the performance of the indigenous art-form, the *Bhawna* (a folk opera). Spectators almost always overflowed the halls. Since this usually happens in the evening, rural Namghars without electricity use lanterns for illumination.<sup>4</sup>

Namghars primarily have two major spaces, the Monikut (the sanctuary) and the assembly space. The direction of the principal axis of the Namghars is always in the East-West direction. The Shinghashon or the altar is placed at the

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East facing the West. Devotees sit facing the shinghashon towards East. The Monikut shelters the shinghashon. The devotees pray in the assembly space of the Namghar. The Namghar's architecture reflects its usage pattern, Assam's climatic conditions, and the indigenous building materials. Sometimes there is an added assembly space, particularly when it is attached to the residence of the Shotradhikar, the spiritual leader of the community.

The public Namghars design is unique in that the assembly space is always very open, large, bright and airy, unlike temple assembly halls elsewhere in India. It is a response to the extremely humid, relatively mild temperature and infrequent breeze during the most oppressive days. The roof is the primary feature, walls often being a bamboo screen, and sometimes even non-existent. It was an elegant, cool, environmentally friendly, and economically sustainable solution. In the late twentieth century, most Namghars have shed their thatches for tin roofs. Thatch roofing provided unusually high heat penetration resistance, even today, aside from its beauty and appropriateness in the pastoral and lush green settings of Assam. In earlier days, the roof used to be supported by timber columns or bamboo poles although reinforced cement pillars are becoming common recently.

In earlier days, the floors almost always were of mud. It used to be wiped before and after an event by hand with a rag mop and clay punning. Today's cement floors are an improvement. However, even today, a central longitudinal area in a Namghar is kept unpaved with cement. This is the area where actors assemble during the performance of a *Bhawna*. The Monikut is a small structure with hipped or gabled roof and has either no windows or very little ones. This is the mysterious space. Children and those who are not privy are not allowed to venture into one. It was a space to be entered only by the Shotradhikar.

It is usually an oversized column in the assembly hall. It is the second left facing North. East from the floor, around this pillar, the ground is raised a little. It is usually identified by a *Gamocho* (an ubiquitous hand-woven piece of cotton cloth that resembles a light towel or scarf that has distinctive borders all around—usually red in color and is also embroidered with various flowery patterns, large or small at the two ends along the length) tied around it. No one is allowed to sit near this pillar as that is considered as the place of Burha-Dangoria (a holy spirit). When in the Namghar any "Maha-prasad" or offerings are distributed after a service, the first offering is made to that pillar as a custom. The pillar is also called *Lai Khuta*. There were distinct advantages to the thatched roof in the acoustical quality of the assembly hall. The underside of the roof, which was the exposed thatched roof soffit (bottom surface), is one of the best acoustical ceilings one could think of.<sup>5</sup>

The Namghars rarely have food service in the manner one sees in temples elsewhere in India. The *maha-chaul*, or the fruits and soaked green lentil

offerings that are distributed after a service are almost always prepared at several homes, who are eligible to participate in food-serving. Those who serve food are called *deus or deuris* and are selected based on their standing in the community and religious knowledge and competence. This too is a privileged position. Therefore there never were kitchens or pantries associated with Namghars. Public facilities such as restrooms were not seen around rural Namghars, except for a screened facility for the ladies. These were rarely required, because of the short duration of events taking place there. Namghars were always at the banks of a pond, the water supply source. This was essential, for ritual cleansing as well as all other water requirements.<sup>6</sup>

Namghar is primarily used as a prayer hall according to the Ekasarana traditions. Devotees sit in rows not facing the east but north and south facing each other that emphasizes the bhakat (the worshiper, or the congregation) which is one of the four realms of the religion. The region between the two north and south group is highly sanctimonious and is never treaded on, except for cleaning. The prayers are led by the leader called naamloguwa, who sits at the end of the central region facing the sanctum sanctorum.<sup>7</sup>

It is the blissful lady-vision of the rich Indian culture in its diversity which has enriched itself through the weary path of time. Simplicity its forte, we have a great visionary aspect of the bhakti movement driving the inhabitants through the literary, socio-cultural and aesthetic value of the land.

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## 22. Birth Of Darjeeling As A Hill Station (Part II)

contd. from vol. 1 no. 4

\*Bhawna Rai

Lloyd knew that he had crossed his limit and as an explanation sent a letter with a number of recommendations on 23<sup>rd</sup> March: 'With respect to giving Dab gong in exchange for Darjeeling I beg to observe that the extent of the hills comprised within the boundaries. Supposing Darjeeling be ceded to us, the first object would be the formation of a road within the hills; this could scarcely be commenced before the middle of November next, and would require the superintendence of an Engineer Officer, assisted by some of the sappers and Miners, as there will no doubt be many rocks to remove by blasting, and various obstacles which without their assistance would be difficult to overcome; .....

'<sup>11</sup> With these conditions it appears to the Governor-General- in-Council to be impracticable to comply. Darjeeling is an uninhabited tract and it would have been unobjectionable to make over to Sikkim a similar tract in the plains in exchange for it, but Dab gong is a fertile and populous district which was settled with (?) inhabitants with the Rajah of Julpye Gooree in the year 1828 in compensation of injuries sustained by him. Its transfer to Sikkim is therefore out of the question. It is doubtful how we should be justified in compelling a settlement of accounts between Rummo Purdhan and the Rajah of Sikkim, and admitting but the measure be free from objection, it does not appear to be practicable as the said Purdhan is reported to have absconded....'<sup>12</sup>

Lloyd once again put forward his reasons for giving Dab gong, but the Council insisted on 'the inexpediency of transferring that tract of country to the Rajah of Sikkim'.<sup>13</sup> On 15<sup>th</sup> June the Council sent a peremptory order which could not possibly be misunderstood: 'Sir, In reply to your letter dated 25<sup>th</sup> ultimo I am directed to inform you that the Hon'ble, the Governor -General of India in Council judges from your letter that the Rajah of Sikkim is not to cede

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Darjeeling. You are therefore desired to abstain from urging any further negotiation having that object in view.<sup>14</sup> But on 9<sup>th</sup> November 1835 the Secretary to Government in the Political Department received a surprising letter from Major Lloyd. "Sir, I beg leave to report that in August last the Sikkim Rajah's officers forwarded to me the grant of Darjeeling in the form which I had requested him to draw it out, in fact, the very paper I had forwarded to him was returned with his seal affixed as I had requested he would do and is now in my possession....."<sup>15</sup>

There was a boundary dispute between Sikkim and Nepal Major Lloyd was about to investigate and settle it. The Rajah's reply was as follows. 'your letter and present of a box has reached me,.....and you have also many times written about Darjeeling; but last year the grant of Darjeeling under my red seal was delivered to you through my vakeels, and there never can be any departure from that by my Government. If you have understood it differently, I cannot help.'<sup>16</sup> Major Lloyd immediately forwarded the precious document with an accompanying letter on 5<sup>th</sup> January 1836. The Government of India replied to Major Lloyd (Mr. Macnaghten to Major Lloyd 8<sup>th</sup> February 1836) in the following notable terms: 'As it now appears that the transfer has been unconditionally made by the Rajah, it only remains to consider the best means of turning it to the advantage of the British Government...Annexed is a copy of the letter written to the Rajah of Sikkim for your information.'<sup>17</sup> General Lloyd and Dr. Chapman were sent in 1836 to explore the country, to ascertain the nature of its climate and to investigate the potentialities of the place. Here they spent the winter in 1836 and partly in 1837. On receipt of their report it was finally decided to build a sanatorium at Darjeeling. The strip of territory contained about 138 square miles of land.<sup>18</sup> Lloyd was appointed as Local Agent with power to deal with the applications for land which soon began to pour in from the residents of Calcutta, and the new settlement progressed rapidly. Both the morphological patterns of the hill stations and the social practices of their British inhabitants furthered this nostalgic intent.<sup>19</sup>

A. Lamb says, 'The cession of Darjeeling was an event of the greatest importance in the history of northern frontier of India. Not only did it place the British in close contact with the hill states, their peoples and their politics, but also it provided a constant reminder of the possibilities of trade with Tibet.'<sup>20</sup> He further suggests that what the hill station of Simla was destined to play a part in the history of Anglo-Tibetan relations, comparable to that played later by another hill station, Darjeeling. From 1860 onwards, with rapid increase of the tea industry, the growth and development of Darjeeling had been spectacular.<sup>21</sup> In this long episode, the role played by Lloyd was very significant, to note it was he who happened to be the first European to visit the place, was the man chosen for dealing with the Rajah of Sikkim and it was he who did not

communicate the orders of the Government (Letter dated 15 June) to stop further negotiation with the Rajah of Sikkim.

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## **23. Growth Of Press And Journalism In Nineteenth Century Orissa And it's Role In Making Oriss A Separate Province**

\* **Krushna Chandra Das**

The introduction of newspapers and journals one of the most powerful weapons for creation and building up of public opinion, started an era which was full of modernist appeals and values. Orissa was not a separate province then Orissa of the ancient period which for a better part of the period extended from the Ganges to the Godavari.<sup>1</sup> Covering a vast territory got squeezed during the medieval period.

Christian Missionaries introduced modern technique of printing Presses hand written newspaper was already inaugurated in Orissa long before the coming of these missionaries here. This newspaper was Kujibur edited by Sadhu Sunder Das in the early part of the nineteenth century. He was the founder and editor of this journal long before the first publication of the Utkal Dipika in 1866 by Gouri Shankar Roy, who is generally regarded as the father of journalism in Orissa. He drew the attention of many Christian Missionaries towards him by his powerful personality and knowledge. A. Suttan visited this place Kujibar Math in 1822 and was very much impressed by the place and simple personality of Sadhu Sunder Das<sup>2</sup> He had more than five hundred disciples and taught them Vedantic knowledge which attracted John Brown Maris, the Secretary of the Baptist Mission of London who held Sadhu Sunder Das as the living God, spiritual leader and mentor in his centenary book A Book from 1792-1892.<sup>3</sup>

Sadhu Sunder Das founded the Kujibar journal with Gangadhar Sarangi and Rama Chandra Jachak two of his most obedient disciples as the

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Assistant Editors of the journal. He used to write on palm leaves.<sup>4</sup> Besides, other reasons responsible for the degrading position of different sections of the society were also discussed in his journal.<sup>5</sup>

The Christian Missionaries also translated some topics of this journal into English and sent them to Britain where these were published in the Baptist journal. Further, these were also sent to the kings and distributed among the people who gathered at different fairs and festivals.<sup>6</sup> Sadhu Sunder Das for the first time realized the necessity of an Oriya newspaper in Orissa. Accordingly to Lecce a Missionary he died on 16th April, 1838.<sup>7</sup> A contemporary of Raja Rammohan Roy, Sadhu Sunder Das provided a proper nourishment to Orissa which then very much followed superstitions and blind beliefs. For the first time he developed the political and religious consciousness of the people of Orissa.<sup>8</sup>

The first Oriya book to appear in print was the Oriya version of the Bible New Testament. This was printed in Bengal by the Baptist Missionary Society in 1809<sup>9</sup>. Till 1837 there was no press in Orissa. In that year the missionaries installed a press at Cuttack. This is famous as the Cuttack Mission Press<sup>10</sup>. From this press apart from the Bible and the propaganda literature the missionaries brought out three periodicals in Oriya Language - Jnanaruna in 1849. Prabodh Chandrika in 1856 and Arunoday in 1861<sup>11</sup> In the pages of these journals we find some information about the day-to-day affairs of the then Orissa<sup>12</sup>. In 1869 the famous antiquarian scholar of Bengal Rajendra Lal Mitra paid visit to Orissa and in a meeting addressed by him at Cuttack he put forth the reasons in favor of the abolition of the Oriya medium of instruction in the School of Orissa.<sup>13</sup>

Gaurishankar Roy, who was a clerk in the Cuttack Collectorate was the first native of Orissa to establish a printing press. integrity and courage. Gourishankar Roy was the first editor of the journal. It was not only the first journal to be edited by a native of Orissa but also the most lasting of all the journals of the nineteenth century of Orissa. In fact it is a mirror of the Orissa of the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Although the Utkal Dipika was a weekly journal initially it had four pages. The size was doubled in 1883 and again doubled in 1911.<sup>15</sup>

What Gourishankar Roy did at Cuttack Fakirmohan Senapati did at Balasore. He found as he points out in his autobiography for this reason the Oriyas were being humiliated by the Bengalis who had a fairly developed press and literature in their language.<sup>16</sup> It would not be necessary to call for special scripture-readers. The boys can easily acquire learning. No outsider can abuse the Oriyas as fools".<sup>17</sup> With utmost persuasion Rs.1200/- was collected as the capital and a press company called P. M. Company and Co. was formed. Out of this capital a second-hand machine was purchased from the Midnapore

Mission Press. It had two parts. The Bodhdayini part contained literary writings while the other part captioned Balaswar Sambad bahika contained news items.<sup>18</sup> Published in July 1869 as a monthly journal it was made fortnightly 3 years later and lastly weekly in June 1872. To this journal patronage was subsequently accorded by the Samanta Zamindar family of Balasore.<sup>19</sup> During the last thirty years of the nineteenth century thirteen more presses were established in Orissa.<sup>20</sup> After the publication of the Bodhdayini O Baleswar Sambadbahika another journal called Utkal Darpan appeared at Bal sore in 1873 through the patronage of the local Zamindar Baikunthanath Dey.<sup>21</sup> Initially a weekly it was made Fortnightly in 1877. His courageous writings in which he held the British Government responsible for the educational backwardness of Orissa impressed the educated people of the time.<sup>22</sup>

In 1883 from the Cuttack Mission Press two journals-one monthly called "Sevak" and a weekly called "Sanskaraks" were published.<sup>23</sup> In 1889 through the initiative of the Maharaja of Bamanda a journal called "Sambalpur Hitaisini"<sup>24</sup> was published from the Jagannath Ballav Press of Deogarh the Capital of Bamanda. In 1889 another journal "Sahitya-Sammilani Samalochana Patrika" was published at Cuttack.<sup>25</sup> Its main objective was to review the text books in Oriya language. A new era in Oriya literature began when through the initiative of Sriramchandras Bhanjdeo the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj 'Utkal Prabha' was published in 1891.<sup>26</sup> The critics of Bhanja literature soon published at Bamanda a journal entitled Bijuli. The controversy between the Indradhanu and Bijuli ushered in literary criticism in Oriya literature.<sup>27</sup> In 1897 a literary journal called 'Utkal Sahityas' appeared at Cuttack.<sup>28</sup>

Utkal Dipika various types of news local national and international were published. Some journals were purely literary. The Cuttack Printing Company's press and the Utkal Press at Bal sore were visited by the Commissioner of Orissa division. T. E. Ravenshaw<sup>29</sup>. In general all through the nineteenth century the educated middle class in Orissa was profusely loyal to the British Government. But loyalty to the Government did not make them entirely blind to the flaws in the administrative set up.<sup>30</sup> In 1869 the Baleswar Sam bad Bahika protested against the forcible dragging of people to the police station without any cause being told for the purpose of census survey.<sup>31</sup> Utkal Dipika protested against the compulsory provision of Rasad to the Amalas (the land revenue officials) during their tour in the rural areas.<sup>32</sup> In 1878 during the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton when the licensing press Act was passed the Utkal Dipika took strong exception to it. Regarding the act the journal wrote. This Act is very fatal to us (the vernacular journals and newspapers) Let the readers go through it and consider if we (the

vernacular journals and newspapers) have any chance of survival.<sup>33</sup>

We have reposed too much reliance upon the rulers. The commercial policy of the British Government is day by day leading us to the economic ruin.<sup>34</sup> Regarding the harmful effects of import of foreign goods upon the economy of India the Utkal Sahitya wrote "We are purchasing foreign good and pouring money into foreigners coffers almost in a spell-bound manner. Some of them say that if Indians stop using foreign goods and use the indigenous goods the money of the country will not be drained out and the indigenous artisans and laborers will be benefited."<sup>35</sup> Analyzing the public opinion of Orissa in 1893-94 the Commissioner of Orissa division therefore stated that in Orissa the people kept aloof from the politics of the country as a whole and were only interested in solving the local problems and had firm belief in the government and that the educated people in Orissa.<sup>36</sup>

Most of the journals were short-lived. Although till 1880 altogether twenty-six journals had been published only four journals were actually carrying on their publication in 1881-82.<sup>37</sup> From the middle of the nineteenth century till 1890 forty-eight journals had been published in Toto, but in 1890-91 only eight journals were existent.<sup>38</sup> Financial stringency mainly accounts for the short tenure of the journals. The number of persons who actually read it ranged between twenty and twenty-five.<sup>39</sup> "It is universally acknowledged that the journals are the best means of developing a language. But why there is so much distaste for them in Orissa".<sup>40</sup> The history of any advanced country's literature reveals that time to time there appear on the literary scene some dedicated literati who infuse vigor and new life in to literature.<sup>41</sup>

Mrutyunjay Ratha thus seems up under five heads the causes of the backwardness of press and journalism: (1) want of proper management (2) want of money (3) the editor's lack of qualification patience's and sagacity (4) lack of responsible writers capable of writing worthy articles and (5) the readers inability to subscribe.<sup>42</sup> Whatever social and political awakening can be traced among the nineteenth century educated elite of Orissa is due to the press because journals and books were the main medium of communication. Such social reform measure like the preservation of the religion of the Hindu boys who had taken their meal in the free kitchen during the famine of 1866,<sup>43</sup> female education and emancipation<sup>44</sup> and abolition of casteism etc. were advocated in the pages of the journals.

The most distinctive contribution of the press was the promotion of sense of unity among the Oriya-speaking people. It was through the press that the educated elite in Orissa tried to safeguard the Oriya language and promote its development protest against the alleged discrimination against the Oriyas specially in the matter of appointment to the government posts<sup>45</sup>

in different administrative divisions and put forth the legitimate grievances of the people of Orissa. As a result by the end of the nineteenth century a congenial atmosphere had been created for starting a movement for the integration of all Oriya-speaking areas into a single province.

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## **24. The Epilogue Of The Contai Salt Satyagraha**

**\*Sankar Kumar Das**

The title of my paper ‘The Epilogue of the Contai Salt Satyagraha’ seems to be striking to the distinguished scholars and historians who have graced the assemblage with their valued presence. The title signifies two things: one, the glorious victory of the movement in compelling the colonial government to submit to most of the demands of the people and the other, the piteous plight of the people caused by the stern demoniac repressive measures of the government. The very significant success of the movement is that the Gandhi- Irwin Pact (March 5, 1931) raised the political prestige of the Congress and so also the political morale of the people. At the same time the Pact undermined and lowered the British prestige as the Pact was concluded as if between two equal powers. Besides this time it became evident to the government that without the participation of the Congress no constitutional solution could be attained. In respect of the arch-enemy the Congress as well as of Gandhi Lord Willington in this connection expressed thus his grave dissatisfaction: “There seemed to be two kings in Brentford”. Winston Churchill was also very much averse to any sort of negotiation with the ‘seditious fakir’ Gandhi on terms of equality.

The Congress in general could not take the Pact whole heartedly though it agreed that it would participate in the Second Round Table Conference. But there was every anxiety within the Congress and also of the people as to what would come out of the Round Table Conference when the higher British officials were in favour of no truce, no pact and ‘no quarter for the enemy’. On the contrary they apprehended that something unimaginable and something detrimental to the nation might come out of the Round Table Conference. This same thing was sounded by the Gujarati poet Meghani when he, addressing Gandhi on the eve of his departure for London, sang; *chchello katoro jerno aa: pi jayo, bapu*, which means “Even this last cup of poison, you must drink,

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Bapu". It is also to be noted that Gandhiji himself said: "When I think of the prospects in London, when I know that all is not well in India . . . . There is every chance of my returning empty handed"<sup>1</sup>.

Gandhiji had sailed for London on August 29, 1931 and he landed in Bombay on December 28, 1931. This is how the first phase of the Civil Disobedience was over. In T. S. Eliot's words:

"This is how the world ends, Not with a bang but a whimper".

Gandhiji's call to the nation to renew the battle was a great call: so the people fluctuating between 'blind hope and blind despairs' responded to the call in the way as they did in the earlier movements. There started relentless repression. The promulgation of harsh and hard ordinances and their stern application created a sort of Reign of Terror.<sup>2</sup> Men and women, young and old were barbarously treated. Prisoners in jails were not spared from severe corporal punishment<sup>3</sup>. Civil liberties were wiped away;<sup>4</sup> and confiscation of personal property became a regular feature.<sup>5</sup> As a result of this rule of lawless law the movement crushed within a few months barring some coastal regions like Kumilla and Noakhali in East Bengal, Contai and Tamluk in West Bengal and some Gujarat regions.

In this connection it is to be noted that the people of the coastal regions of the country particularly those of Bengal and Gujarat remained always adhered to the Gandhi- ideal of *Purna Swaraj* attainable by following constructive programme. In this respect Pichhabani of the Contai subdivision which made a name in the history of the Salt Law Violation Movement as the second Dandi is an exemplary instance.

During the second phase of the Civil Disobedience Movement the Contai people followed the Congress directives relating to the organization of the movement. No's-tax campaign to a great extent united them, but the local landlords played a some what different role. "...the introduction of the Union Boards would disrupt the rural order by intruding in to the village through its agents" — this idea acted in favour of heightening anti- British mobilization<sup>6</sup>. Again the anti- *chowkidari* tax issue played a very effective role in creating a solid anti- British organization. Since the Non-Co-operation *Samgram* days they were following as far as practicable the boycott of foreign goods, government offices and courts and so on. During the second phase of the Civil Disobedience they put much importance to boycotting government courts. It is learnt from the *Nihar* and other local journals that 31 parallel courts were in operation in various places in the district of Midnapore.<sup>7</sup> This time some agrarian issues particularly the *bhagchasi* issue i.e. the share-cropper issue became to a certain extent critical as it was heading towards a rift between the peasants on the one hand and the zamindars and *jotedars* on the other, and threatening the

multi-class Mahishya dominated platform. Bidyut Chakrabarti writes, "... the authority preferred to recruit Muslim officers to strengthen its attack on the Congress which was essentially a Hindu organization ...".<sup>8</sup> Besides one Rahamat Bux, a Bhagawanpur daroga, was reported to have organized the Muslims to loot the Hindu villages and terrorize the people.<sup>9</sup>

Gandhiji was aware of the situation and also of the angry consternations of the people. Yet he was not disturbed a little. This time he in a letter to Nehru he wrote that he had then no sense of defeat in him, rather he had the hope that the country was marching fast towards its goal of attaining *Purna Swaraj*, and this his hope then was as bright as it was in 1920

The Contai- people are always religion- minded. So their each and every movement got tuned with their religiosity. They learnt it from the '*puran- katha asars*' that every demon has his fall. It was this their realization that prompted the Contai Village- Congress Committee to organise the villages anew expunging the prevalent ills and abuses of the village people, settling the land disputes relating to agriculture disputes, encouraging cottage industries and setting- up of village co- operatives. As a result in the next few months Contai was made a solid unit for facing any national problem. True, there were weakness in the work of the village- committees. Yet it is the wonder that Contai thus kept all along the fire of fight alive in their each and every walk against the British government till the days of the Quit India Movement.

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## **25. Political Change in Kulu and Lahaul - Spiti With Special Reference To The Economic Impact**

**\*Vinay Sharma**

### **Historical and Political Background of Kulu**

The Kulu Sub-Division of Kangra District situated towards the north-east was demarcated by a ridge running in northern southern direction. The sub-division was bordered on the north by Ladakh in Kashmir. Mandy District confined it on the south-west, and its boundary continued towards the south right up to its junction with Sutlej River.<sup>1</sup> For administrative purposes there were two tehsils called Kulu and Saraj.<sup>2</sup> The period of the political decline of the Mughal Empire in India is marked by a reordering of the power centres in the Indian subcontinent. This was accompanied by the rise of two important powers who played a crucial role in the political history of Himachal. These two powers were the Gorkhas and Sikhs. The late 18th and early 19th century saw the Gorkha armies capture large parts of the Himalayan region. For a short time during this period the Kulu region was subordinate to two superior powers. They paid tribute to the Gorkha conquerors for Shangri, and to Sansar Chand for Kulu.<sup>3</sup>

The defeat of the Gorkha army at the hand of the Sikhs and the gradual supremacy of Ranjit Singh over the mountain area has already been referred to earlier. The Sikh ruler demanded a tribute of Rs 40,000. Subsequently, another demand was made but could not fulfilled by the Kulu Raja. As a result an army under Divan Mokam Chand crossed the Bajaura pass and encamped in the Kulu Valley. It was only after collecting and paying a huge amount of money

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that the raja was able to bribe the Sikhs to leave the country.<sup>4</sup>

A second Sikh force was sent into the hills in 1839 under General Ventura. Kulu was attacked which has offered no resistance and with the intention of protecting Sultanpur and his place from plunder, the raja allowed himself to be taken prisoner.<sup>5</sup> The Sikh army then moved to the waziri of Saraj but found that the people had abandoned the village and fled to the forests. After plundering whatever they could, the Sikh handed over the waziri on ijara (revenue farming) for an annual amount of 32,000 to the raja of Mandi.<sup>6</sup> The new dispensation in Saraj now discarded the old system of revenue assessment in favour of cash collection. In Kulu Proper, however, the Sikhs had retained an armed force and placed a kardar to look after the revenue administration.<sup>7</sup> The revenue from upper Kulu was collected in grain. In March 1846, the hill territories between the Sutlej and the Ravi and the Jalandhar Doab were ceded to the British.<sup>8</sup>

### **Historical and Political Background of Lahaul**

It appears very likely that Lahaul was at an early time part of Ladakh.<sup>9</sup> The isolated nature of area ensured that Lahaul enjoyed a great degree of political freedom, and the only indicator of subjection was the yearly tribute that its rulers paid to Ladakh, Chamba or Kulu at different points of time.<sup>10</sup>

In 1700 A.D. Raja Man Singh of Kulu strengthened his grip over the country. He built the fort at Gondla and also married a daughter of the Gondla family. Later during the reign of Raja Pritam Singh we learn that a Lahaul contingent assisted Kulu in the war against Mandy at Bajaura though ostensibly they fought under the banner of Gyephang Lha-the, the spirit of the great peak that looks down upon the Kulu Valley. Despite this association of Lahaul people with Kulu however, we learn that when Moorcroft passed through Lahaul in 1820, he still found four villages in the Chandra Valley that continued to pay tribute to Ladakh.. In Moorcroft's time the Kulu revenue headquarters in Lahaul were located at Tandy. There was a storehouse, called kothi where grain was deposited as revenue. It was at Key long that Moorcroft met Dharma Singh, the Thakur of that place, and the principal man in Lahaul.<sup>11</sup> With the annexation of Kulu by the Sikhs in 1840-41, Lahaul too was annexed and ruled by them in their usual extortionate manner. With the cession of most of the hill areas in 1846 to the British, both Kulu and Lahaul came under direct British rule.

### **Historical and Political Background of Spiti**

From 1720 onwards Spiti appears to have remained a province of Ladakh. Its remote location, however, meant that the inhabitants were largely to govern themselves.<sup>12</sup> This did not mean that Spiti was entirely free from external intervention or invasion. Lyell tells us that Gerard mentions that in 1776 the

Bushahris held the fort of Danker for two years. He further says that, Moorcroft's and Trebeck mention a foray that had been made just prior to his visit by a large body of armed men from Kulu. Lyell again says, that the people of the Spiti area were not warlike and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding states by way of blackmail to escape being plundered.<sup>13</sup> Spiti was therefore, always at the mercy of its neighbors, especially Ladakh, Bushier and Kulu. Wherever their country was invaded, the inhabitants abandoned the villages and fled to the higher mountains that were difficult to reach. They remained there till the danger had passed.<sup>14</sup>

In 1846 the boundary between Spiti, Ladakh and Tibet was drawn up by Cunningham. For the first three years after 1846 the task of revenue collection was farmed out to Mansukh Das who was the wazir of the raja of Bushier. In 1849, Major Hay the Assistant Commissioner of Kulu took charge of Spiti and submitted a detailed report.<sup>15</sup>

### **Land Revenue System of Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti**

Each large village in the valley of Kulu had a kothi or granary, where the produce of the area was carried and stored. The main crop of the valley was a fine variety of rice that was not to be found elsewhere in Punjab. Profits made in this enterprise were considerable and the kardars speculated in this business at a personal level. Rice was exported from the valley and the Punjabi traders on their return brought back rock salt from the Pind Dadan mines in Punjab.<sup>16</sup> The process of assessing the revenue was in keeping with the method previously followed by the Mughal state. Officials visited each village to assess the value of the crops. The assessed demand was converted into a cash demand according to existing prices, and this represented the amount that the village was expected to pay to the state as revenue.<sup>17</sup> In addition to this the kardar claimed 6½ per cent in the form of contingencies or Khurch. It was noted by Barnes that under the Sikhs, the revenue collection was done before the harvest.<sup>18</sup>

The Lahore kingdom ruled over Kulu between 1839 and 1846. The governor who directly administered Kulu was stationed at Sultanpur and it was only after the First Sikh War that the area came into British control.<sup>19</sup> The first Sikh force was sent under Ventura in 1839 initially against the neighboring state of Mandy. Thereafter, the opportunity of possessing Kulu seemed exceedingly attractive. The Sindhanwala Sardar was assigned the task. Kulu offered no resistance and passed quickly into Sikh control.<sup>20</sup> The wazir of Mandy abolished the old revenue assessment in this part of Kulu and converted it entirely into a cash demand.

As far as Lahaul was concerned, the Sikhs followed the same system as the Rajas, with an additional levy of Rs.6 per jeola or holding. The reason Sikhs gave for the additional demand was that the new government did not

claim any service or labour ( beggar) from either the Thakur or the peasant. The Spiti revenue annually was paid to the Sikh officer (thanedar) in charge of Ladakh. Between 1839 and 1842 this amounted to 'a sum of Rs.2,000 with two ponies and 25 sheep, and from that year till 1846 a reduced sum of Rs.1,031 but with 60 sheep instead of 25 and 100 iron crowbars added.<sup>21</sup> Besides these extractions, they plundered the country mercilessly taking whatever they could think of.<sup>22</sup>

### Conclusion

The political events occurred in the earlier 19th and mid 19th century bred many fold political changes. The Sikhs demanded annual tribute of Rs. 50,000 in reward to help the Raja and he did not comply the same and fled away to the higher hill areas. In nut shell, the political changes in the Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti area were influenced by the Sikhs rulers and local Raja was under constant threat from Gorkhas and Sikhs as well.

We see that the Sikh administration, by and large, built their revenue system on the foundations of the system that had existed earlier. Some commodities, like rice, nevertheless could yield a good profit and were therefore exported. It is possible that because the large majority of Sikh administrators were not given a regular cash salary, they attempted to extract as much as possible from the area through exploitation or profiteering. One of the remarkable aspects of the Sikh revenue administration was that it was able to penetrate even to the relatively remote regions of the mountains.

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## **26. Cotton Textile Industry:**

### **A Case Study Of The 17<sup>th</sup> Century Northern India**

**\*Ram Kumar**

The textile tradition of India opens in the third millennium B.C. Archeologists have found cloth fragments in Indus valley. Excavations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have proved that textile was woven in India from the very beginning.<sup>1</sup> The discovery of a madder dyed cloth fragment sticking to a silver jar at Mohenjo-Daro is the earliest datable evidence of a true cotton fabric with ornamentation.<sup>2</sup> In 1500 BC, cotton was referred in several hymns of Rig-Veda. This Vedic text specifically mentions that the region through which river Purusni (Ravi) flowed produced dyed or bleached woolen stuffs.<sup>3</sup> The technical terms related to weaving like otu, wool, Tantu, yarn, Tantra, wrap of loom, shuttle etc. are frequently used in Rigve.<sup>4</sup> The contemporary Buddhist literature such Jatakas mentioned a lot about different stuffs manufactured at that times.<sup>5</sup> The excellence of Indian textile was glorified by even the Greeks in ancient times.<sup>6</sup> In this context Megasthenese records India's love for fine ornamental and flowered garments.<sup>7</sup> Kautilya in his creation Arthashastra mentions about different varieties of textile manufactured in Maurya period.<sup>8</sup> He also mentions that Sutradhyaksh (superintendent of yarns) was responsible for the appointment of skilled artisans to make finest cloths.<sup>9</sup> The standard of Indian textile got retained continuously. Banabhatta in 7th century AD. recorded the ornamentation of fabrics through tie and die process.<sup>10</sup> The Jain Canon and commentaries also give lot of information regarding the textile weaving in ancient and medieval India.<sup>11</sup> Ksemendra, an eleventh century writer from Kashmir also provides us some important information about textile patrons and dyes extracted from different articles.<sup>12</sup> This craft of cotton textile derived considerable impetus from the sultans of Delhi.

This craft got flourished throughout the Mughal Period. Chronologically,

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this industry was growing steadily during the reign of Emperor Akbar, but its real boom begins with the turn of the seventeenth century and four factors seems to have been the most determining factors in this direction; first, continual peace and stability stretching over a long period; secondly, extension of cultivation of cotton crops; thirdly, freedom of commercial intercourse; and finally, relative safety and conveniences of the main commercial highway.<sup>13</sup> The beginning of the seventeenth century in India opened a new chapter in the commercial history. There was an apparent growth of commercial interests and commercial morality among the upper section of society including the mughal emperors and members of the royal family during the century.<sup>14</sup> It was an age of merchant capitalism. At that time the activities of the Europeans helped in expanding the demand for certain types of goods which included a considerable proportion of handicrafts and manufactures.<sup>15</sup>

Cotton was a widely grown crop during the period under study. It was cultivated throughout the northern India.<sup>16</sup> It was grown extensively in Lahore, Multan, Thatta, Byana-Medta track, Ajmer to Mandu, Malwa, Agra, Sirsa, Allahabad and Patna.<sup>17</sup> Bernier mentions it as the major crop of Bengal.<sup>18</sup> It is significant that industries or crafts became localized in the areas where raw material could be had in abundance and at cheap rate.<sup>19</sup>

In this sense the cotton textile industry was the most expended industry during the period under study. No city, town, Paraganah, Kasbah or village of north India seems to have been devoid of this Industry.<sup>20</sup> Delhi, Agra, Lahore, Machhiwara, Sir hind, Samana, Lucknow, Banaras, Darybad, Khairabad, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Patna, Dacca, Murshidabad, Surat, Broach, Burhanpur were some of the important centers of the cotton textile industry.

The process of cotton textile production was based on manual labour. Cotton with seeds was known as binaulay dar ruyi and was considered the inferior kind of cotton.<sup>21</sup> Seeds (binaulay) were separated from the cotton by using the Charkhi,<sup>22</sup> an apparatus which consisted upon two wooden or iron rollers, made to revolve towards each other by hand or foot labour communicated by a crank or wheel. Seed-cotton was put at one side against the roller, the lint passed through and the seeds fell down in front.<sup>23</sup> Even after the seeds were cleaned, cotton remained full of dirt and knots. The bow was put in contact with a heap of cotton and the ginner struck the strings with a heavy wooden mallet, the vibrations opened the knots of the cotton, shacked off the dirt and raised it to a down fleece.<sup>24</sup> Cotton was carded by a special class of itinerant laborers called dhuniyas.<sup>25</sup> Thevenot mentions that cotton carders moved from village to village to offer their service.<sup>26</sup>

The next step in the process of manufacturing was the spinning of yarn. Spinning was a popular domestic industry.<sup>27</sup> Yet the spread of professional spinning in India in 16th-18th centuries, linked with the growth of the weaving

trade led to the further developments of the productive forces in spinning.<sup>28</sup> The spinning equipment consisted of two sets, one a spindle for finer yarns, the other the spinning wheel used for coarse yarns.<sup>29</sup> The spindle was made of metal, bone, ivory or wood.<sup>30</sup> Spindle was a rod with a bulge of clay at the end; the spinner turned it with the right, sometimes the lower end of the spindle was placed on a special support.<sup>31</sup> While spinning the women used a chalky powder as a measure against perspiration.<sup>32</sup> The woman working on spindle had to have quickness of sight as well as very nimble fingers to spin the finer thread like muslin.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand charkha was used to spin the coarser sorts of thread.<sup>34</sup> Charkha as a wooden wheel rotated by handle is mentioned by Amir Khusrau<sup>35</sup> and Isami.<sup>36</sup> Spinning being comparatively a lighter and less technical job was quite often done by women and almost every house in the village used to have its spinning wheel.<sup>37</sup> They produced thread even for the market.<sup>38</sup> The women spinning cotton in Bengal often sold their thread to the merchants or weavers.<sup>39</sup> Spinning of Yarn was considered a respectable profession for widows of even higher caste to earn their livelihood.<sup>40</sup>

After spinning the next process was weaving. Weaving was done by a skilled professional class. Hindu weavers were known as Kohri while Muslims as jolaha.<sup>41</sup> Weaving was the leading trade in all the main regions of India in 16th- 17th centuries as regards the number of people employed and its role in the economy of the feudal society of that period.<sup>42</sup> Palsert also testifies that the population of Bengal town's shahbaspur and Sonargaon including their surrounding villages... all live by the weaving industry and their produce has the highest reputation and quality.<sup>43</sup>

After weaving the cloth was sent for bleaching. The unbleached cloth brought from the professional weavers was delivered for washing and bleaching to the professional bleachers known as dhobi in vernacular.<sup>44</sup> Then the cloth was washed and dried in the Sun. To give the pure whiteness to the cloth some ingredients like lemon, soap, khar, or Soda carbonate and sulphur were used by the bleachers.<sup>45</sup> According to Tavernier lemon was an important ingredient in bleaching.<sup>46</sup> A special variety of soap called Iraqi was considered the most effective in washing.<sup>47</sup> Abraq or Mica was also used to give the cloth a glossy touch.<sup>48</sup> Baroda, Barouche, Ahmadabad, Surat, Dacca, Sonarganj, Patna were some popular centers for bleaching.<sup>49</sup>

Dyeing was a specialized profession and dyers were known as ragrez, rang bal or magari.<sup>50</sup> Medieval dyers used coloring substances extracted from different vegetables, leaves, herbs, roots, barks, flowers and fruits. Makers of dyestuffs or dealers of dyestuffs were called nil gars, Ach-farosh or gulalsaz.<sup>51</sup> Nuskha Khulastul Mujarreat describes forty eight shades and seventy seven processes of dyeing.<sup>52</sup> Different shades were obtained from boiling the different parts of plants and herbs like Indigo<sup>53</sup>, Rose, Turmeric, bark of Babul, Saffron,

Henna, Majetha or Madder, Kachnar etc. Several ingredients such lemon, flower of Kapuas, lime, alum and sulphate of iron were used as mordants.<sup>54</sup>

After dyeing different designs were printed on the cloth. Printing by wooden blocks was known as Chhapa and the printers as Chapkar or Chippis.<sup>55</sup> In block printing different designs were engraved on the surface of the small wooden blocks which were then dipped into a paint and applied to the cloth.<sup>56</sup> This printed cloth was called Chintz.<sup>57</sup> The cloth painted by a hand brush was known as Qalamdar and this art was called Qalamkari which was only done over the cotton fabrics. Tie and dye was also a popular technique used by the dyers.<sup>58</sup>

Sabhasrveera a literary work of sixteenth and seventeenth century mentions as much as 130 Kinds of textile varieties.<sup>59</sup> English factory records mentions about 150 kinds of cotton textile.<sup>60</sup> Calico was the popular term used for the cotton clothes and it was known by different names at different places. For an instance, Semianoes (Punjab); Amberty (Bihar); Eckbaries (Awadh); Marco lees (Western Awadh).<sup>61</sup> Amberty was a superior kind of white cotton and it was chiefly woven in Bihar at Patna and its adjoining areas. Gujarat produced the best kind of Bafta.<sup>62</sup> The 'Chint' is derived from Sanskrit word 'chitra',<sup>63</sup> the term was used for printed or spotted cotton cloth. The dyers of the pieces of Chintz were called Chitsaz or Chitgar.<sup>64</sup> Agra and Delhi manufactured an export quality of Chintz which was sent to England.<sup>65</sup> Doria was also a popular cotton stuff and Chiefly produced in Benares, Bajwara and Machhiwara.<sup>66</sup>

Price of the cloth was decided by its fineness and quality. Following list contains the prices of some popular stuffs.<sup>67</sup>

Type of the Cloth	Price in Mahmudi
<i>Khasa</i>	Rs. 3-15 Mahmudi
<i>Chatlar</i>	Rs. 2-9 "
<i>Malmal</i>	Rs.4 "
<i>Tanskh</i>	Rs. 4-5 "
<i>Serisaf</i>	Rs. 2-5 "
<i>Gangajal</i>	Rs. 4-5 "
<i>Jhona</i>	Rs. 1-1 "
<i>Bafta</i>	Rs.1/1/2.-5 "
<i>Salu</i>	Rs. 3.-2 "
<i>Doriya</i>	Rs. 6-2 "
<i>Mihircool</i>	Rs. 3-2 "
<i>Dupatta</i>	Rs.1.-1 "
<i>Fotaha</i>	Rs. 1/3-6 "

Thus cotton textile industry during the seventeenth Century was the most expanded industry in northern India. It played a vital role in the economic growth of the country. Several varieties of cotton stuffs was produced by the Indian weaver which had a great demand in the foreign markets. These cotton varieties were so fine that were given some symbolic titles like Aab-i- Rwan, Shabnami

and Sharbati. Bleaching, Dying, Printing (Block printing and Qalamkari) were all become specialized professions of particular skilled classes. With the help of his indigenous traditional tools and techniques the Indian weaver had been contribution to the world economy and had established a unique identity in the world of weaving.

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## **27. The Encounter Between The East And The West In Bhabani Bhattacharya's Novel "A Dream In Hawaii"**

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In the present post colonialism as well as globalization era, the East-West encounter is a formidable, recurrent and thought-provoking study. In such dynamic and swift changing literary world, the East-West encounter in human relationship pre-dominates every essential aspects of human life like love, marriage and religion. It may not be a wrong matter to mention Bhabani Bhattacharya's *A Dream in Hawaii* as adding a fuel to the fire of this East-West encounter.

Bhabani Bhattacharya's *A Dream in Hawaii* is novel of the clash of the cultural and moral values of the East and West. A novel full of diverse thoughts takes a searching look at the wide gulf between the cultural patterns of the East and those of the West. The novel depicts in clear terms the contrast between the life way of two different socio-cultural units and collision of ideas governing those two life ways. While a man enters into an alien culture, the process of socio-cultural encounter takes place between him and his new, almost imposed surroundings. In this connection. *A Dream in Hawaii* examines the philosophical and cultural duality of the East and West. Bhabani Bhattacharya establishes the fact that cultural inter-relations are possible between two real human beings. These relationships are inter-related with the main theme of the novel. On this Basis of feeling, Stella Greg son thought that the Swami was eminently suited to be the interpreter of philosophical and cultural identity of the East to the people of the west. In India it's self-denial. So it is in India Twenty five centuries ago when the Buddha give up his royal in heritage. ...."<sup>1</sup>. Bhabani Bhattacharya's theme, in its pervasive concern with the clashes of values represented by the East and West, incorporates and dilates upon the relationship between religion and art, " Religion and art have the same intend: to go beneath the surface

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froms ; to seek, to find the basic truths and ignite them" <sup>2</sup> Stella Greg son, musing on Swami Yogananda's religious quest wonders: "the swami's relentless quest was directed to the core of reality behind the appearances which were 'Maya', the stuff of illusion . What if he could consume with Neil Weinberger's she, hide under the rich tones of abundant place? The body's contortions- they could well be a symbolic expression of something deep within" <sup>3</sup>.

Dream in Hawaii is the fictional equivalent of "A passage to America" for within its structural framework it encompasses the period that begins with the celebration of Swami Yogananda's ' hundredth' birthday in Hawaii, when he leaves his ashram Sadhana in Risikesh to accompany Stella Greg son, his American disciple and his return trip to India on a JAL flight, when he disassociates himself from Dr. Vincent Swift's mercenary dream of a World Yoga Centre at Hawaii. The garb of an ascetic is meant to help achieve the union between the Vedanta thought that he teaches and his practical working out in his life. Handsome and spiritual as he is, he remains thoroughly human throughout, playing his roles of a teacher and ascetic with a verve and gusto that never let him lapse into a banal and incredible mediocrity. A right balance of the sensuous and the sublime makes him a fascinating character indeed. The East and West encounter becomes prominent when we find the several attempts to divert Devjani's steadfast attitudes and motives hold out herself as a separate character from other western style loving characters : 'Happiness, Devi, is a steady date like me.<sup>4</sup>. The rock never melt. Devjani knows that 'we in India interest somewhat higher in value'<sup>5</sup>. The American are known for their excessive indulgence and spending time in sexual affairs. Devjani avoids several immoral advances during her stay in Hawaii. Nishi says, 'Let a mouth pass and you'll be as Americanized as I!'<sup>6</sup>. Walter Greg son asks Devjani to make herself flexible, 'you are in America and you've got to know this society.. You to Understand its values'<sup>7</sup>.

The twentieth chapters of the novels fall into a neat thematic and structural pattern : almost half of them are concerned with the depiction of the surfeit of sex as a symptom of the sick society, that 's this concept of western society while the other half explores the true nature of spiritualism and salvation which the author believes, are not reached through self-denial but only through self fulfillment. Virtually all the characters in the novels are either sexually timid or sexually frustrated or sexually inhibited or sexually sublimated. Neeloy Mukherjee turned Yogananda and Devjani represent sexual sublimation. Stella Greg son feels revulsion for the kind of completely uninhibited four letters, orgiastic sex demanded by her husband, Walt Greg son, and so she turns to the India Yogi to seek fulfillment of her spiritual needs.

Walt Greg son, the professor of literature, seeks correlations between the portrayal of sex in contemporary American fiction and the real-life situations

in which he himself is a participant, his quest for sexual thrills and she exudes sex at the level of sheer animality without a single redeeming trace of human feeling or scruple. And then there is Frieda who believes that Kama sutra is the new gospel for America. Naturally therefore, the psychic barrier separating the Indian from the American mind acts as a deterrent factor to the intimacy of initiation into the secrets of the soul and super-consciousness. That's the reason Stella, Jennifer and Walt in spite of their great need of Yogananda, can at best touch his thoughts at the mere periphery. Swami Yogananda was also tormented within himself between two pools - on one side there was his innermost desire to be the 'Yogi' and on the other side his genuine love for Devjani. In this connection it may be referred here that when on one night Swami Yogananda was fast asleep in his bedroom, Syhia Koo, in the disguise of Devjani, wanted to ascertain whether Swami had really overcome his weakness for the former fiancé and had become the Yogi in the truest term. At least for a few seconds Swami Yogananda was thrilled with the sudden and unexpected midnight visit of Devjani, as if, in a dream but Syhia Koo in disguise of Devjani. This incident finally convinced Swami Yogananda that he would never be able to overcome his love for Devjani and so it is better to give up a self imposed sainthood and get united with his beloved Devjani. So Yogananda must return to India and wait for Devjani to accept him only as Neeloy and to wonder whether a 'firely' is in any way less glorious than a 'star'.

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## 28. Quantitative Revolution And Methodological Development in Geography

\*TARUN BARMAN

The geographers have been using quantitative methods for identification, explanation and decision making. The quantitative revolution occurred during the 1950s and 1960s and marked a rapid change in the method behind geographical research, from regional geography into a spatial science.<sup>1</sup>

**Quantitative Revolution in Geography:-** Quantitative means expression of geographical values in precise terms as a set of figure rather than description. **Kelvin** has said-”If you do not measure what you say or express them in number of your knowledge about what you are speaking is unsatisfactory”. Ex- Rainfall in Siliguri 2012-Very heavy, Heavy, Medium, Light. /Yearly average 250cms and monthly average 25cms. The Quantitative Revolution was one of the major turning points in the history of Geography. As a consequence of a long methodological debate upon its scope and content an apparently new perspective has been opened up under the impact of the so-called Quantitative Revolution during the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Statistical methods were first introduced into geography in the early 1950s (Burton, 1963). Geography or any other subject comes under knowledge system. Knowledge system can be classified into two-  
\*Physical science/Natural science \*Social Science/Human science<sup>3</sup>

The place of geography is virtually in between physical and social science. Geography links humanities with physical or natural sciences. Some scholars said geography is physical science, some said it is a social science, yet some other said it under humanities.<sup>4</sup> The word ‘Geography’ was first used by the Greek scholars Eratosthenes in 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. It is derived from two Greek words ‘Geo’ (means the earth) and ‘graph’ (means the description) .So, Geography is the description of the Earth.<sup>5</sup>

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According to Pitter Hogget-(1981 'The study of the earth's surface as the space within which the human population lives' <sup>6</sup> Traditionally geography was considered to be a description of the earth surface, but in due course of time its definition and nature changed. Now it is concerned with providing accurate, orderly and rational descriptions and interpretations of the variable character of the earth surface. In order to achieve this objective of geography and to ascertain the real picture of a region, geographers started the use and application of quantitative tools and techniques in geographical ideas since 1960, s.<sup>7</sup> That is called 'Quantitative revolution'. After the quantitative revolution the content, scope, method, methodology, approach and techniques in geographical studies largely changed. <sup>8</sup> In contemporary period(1950's onwards) geographers are concentrating more on field studies, generating primary data, utilizing secondary data and applying the sampling techniques. But in recent period geographer used –general system theory, more sophisticated models and techniques in geographical studies. Some of the techniques that epitomize the Quantitative Revolution include :<sup>9</sup>

- \* Descriptive to Analytical- Frequency distribution, Arithmetic means, Median, Mode, Standard Deviation etc.
- \* Inferential statistics-Used to make statement about a defined population from a selected random sample of that population use of probability and application of significance test etc.
- \* Basic mathematical equations and models, such as Gravity model of social Physics or the Coulomb equation;

### **Methodological development in geography: -**

Methodology may be termed as a device or a way through which an explanation to any phenomena can be made. It is a technique to study any event or phenomena or a problems.<sup>10</sup> A branch of knowledge can be call science only on condition that it can be studied through scientific Method. <sup>11</sup> A lot of methodological development have occurred to geography in the present day .But the development is quite recent – early geographer were concerned with traditional gazetteers with description of location, geology, land form, climate, soil, vegetation, population and their primary and secondary activities.

Introduction of statistical methodology has made geographical analysis more scientific and logical. The use of quantitative methodology has revolutionized the new geography. Now a day's geographers are taking more cores to formalize to theories and models. <sup>12</sup> Research activities adopt scientific methods-i.e. passes step by step-observation, data collection, data analysis, result obtained. Each discipline always has its own fundamental method and its

methodological basis. The methodology used in geography may be categorized into-

1. (A) deductive approach (general to particular) (B) Inductive approach (particular to general)
2. (A) Qualitative- regression, co –relation, variance, co-variance, graphic space, model simulation, probability.  
(B) Quantitative method- quantification means expression of geographical values, in precise term usually as a set of figure rather than description.

The period (1950-1960) during which the character of geography witnessed a fundamental change over from ideographic to homothetic approach.

Geography research addressed both the questions of where, as well why phenomena occur in particular places, geography draws upon and contributes to numerous other knowledge discipline. Though the qualitative approach in geography remains important with ethnography and other methodologies used to investigate theories of spatial phenomena.

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## **29. Kashmir Accession : Impact On India - Pakistan Relations**

**\*Chandra Kanta**

After a few months of becoming two separate Nations, India and Pakistan relations have been at Cross Roads. These relations were not totally always Hostile, but the issue of Kashmir has always been contentious, due to the fact that Pakistan has all along not accepted the Kashmir issue as settled. It is worthwhile to mention that both these countries have succeeded in sorting out their other outstanding issues concerning evacuee properties, Minority rights to the mutual satisfaction of both the countries, during the summit meetings held in 1950 between Nehru- Liakat Ali Pact of 1950 and Nehru - Noon Pact of 1958, including the border between the two countries.

However regarding the Kashmir Problem, although numerous efforts were made for bilateral settlement on various occasions no worthwhile results could be achieved on this front, in fact during the whole period of the Fifties, Kashmir remained a thorn in India -Pakistan relations due to unwillingness of both the countries to compromise on the issue.

General Ayub Khan, in 1958 on assuming the control of Pakistan , had expressed the desire of having a joint defense between both the countries in view of the fact, in his opinion , that the subcontinent was vulnerable on the North and North- western region<sup>1</sup>. This point was further stressed by him in a press conference held by him in October for a need of better understanding between the two countries , in view of recent developments in Tibet and Afghanistan<sup>2</sup>

However some signs of Pakistan looking forward of coming closer to China , taking advantage of the Sino-Indian conflict ,was also seen, form Pakistani's view to put pressure on India to get concessions in the Kashmir issue. Therefore in the same Press Conference where he spoke of understanding

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between India and Pakistan, General Ayub Khan, said that Pakistan wanted to approach China for a peaceful settlement of the Sino-Indian undemarcated<sup>3</sup> border between China and Pakistan.

General Ayub Khan, on 27 November 1959, in an interview in London said that Pakistan considered itself a party to the Sino-Indian dispute because according to him Kashmir was a disputed territory and therefore Pakistan, was not willing to accept any arrangement which India might enter with China on Ladakh.<sup>4</sup>

These feelings were also echoed in the Security Council by the Pakistan representative Prince Aly Khan, where he said that pending a settlement on Kashmir issue, "no position taken or adjustment made by either India or China on the present controversy in the future shall be valid..."<sup>5</sup>

Pakistan also circulated a note on the question of Ladakh at the United Nations in which it was pointed out that Pakistan being anxious to ease the mounting pressures in the sub-continent had refrained from doing anything which would aggravate India's difficulties. He stressed that a definite settlement of the Kashmir issue in accordance with the wishes of the people alone could consolidate peace in the area.<sup>6</sup>

During this period Pakistan taking the advantage of the Sino-India conflict started coming closer to China and supporting it in the United Nations. At this stage it may be noted that Pakistan and China had always had similar objectives and apprehensions as regards India and therefore their long range policies have always run parallel. Both of them have precisely appreciated the area of coincidence in their objectives and policies. They have done this in spite of the fact that one of them is a militant communist country and the other a professed ally of the West.<sup>7</sup>

In the year 1956, Chou En lay, The Chinese Premier, during his visit to Pakistan went as far as to appeal to both India and Pakistan to settle their border problems bilaterally.<sup>8</sup> In 1958, the then President of Pakistan, General Ayub Khan, came out with a proposal to India to form a "joint defense alliance". It was conceivable that the Pakistani ruling clique was playing a vicious role, in its role of being in Pacts with the Western Powers and as well with China.<sup>9</sup>

Here it is worthwhile to mention that Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, had rejected General Ayub's proposal regarding Joint Defense ostensibly wondering, as to, against whom common defense was intended. He made it a point to explain that a common defense policy implied membership to a Military alliance.<sup>10</sup>

The suggestions of a Joint Defense arrangement between India and Pakistan should therefore be partly assessed in the light of Ayub's ideological predilections. If on the other hand we resolve our problems and disengage our armed forces from facing inwards ...and make them face outwards..., we shall

have a good chance of preventing the history of the past being repeated.<sup>11</sup>

It is evident that the overriding consideration of Pakistan's alignment with the United States was India. At that time the main concern for the USA was containment of communism, and that of Pakistan, was motivated to contain India,<sup>12</sup> because in Pakistanis view communism poses a threat to all and is not likely to make Pakistan its exclusive target whereas Indians were one enemy number one.<sup>13</sup>

In October 1959, Pakistan had offered to negotiate with China on Border Demarcation, with a hope of reducing the area of tension with China. Since the area under question was also a part of Kashmir, which was held by Pakistan, it is non maintainable that that Pakistan was unaware of the implications of such a move. However the Chinese did not respond to this Pakistan offer for a long time.<sup>14</sup>

Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mansur Qadir, inquired from the Chinese ambassador for the delay by China on this issue and if it was in any way connected with the fact that it was the disputed territory of Kashmir. In June 1962, at the first session of the newly constituted National Assembly, of Pakistan, there was a unanimous criticism of the United States for its unwillingness to pressurize India for a solution to the Kashmir Dispute.

It was held that in the context of American offer of Military aid to India, the government of Pakistan should reformulate .Its foreign policy and try to improve its relations with China.<sup>15</sup>

During the period of its military engagement with China, India had invoked the support of Pakistan. Nehru had written to President Ayub On 12 November 1962, assuring him that the military aid to India by "friendly countries, "would be solely used to defend the country against the Chinese and that India would never initiate any conflict with Pakistan.<sup>16</sup> In pursuance of its objective of courting Pakistan at this juncture India even played down the virulent criticism of its policies in the Pakistani press by maintaining that the later did not reflect the opinion of either the public or the authorities. This was claimed by Nehru on 14 November 1962 in the Loksabha.<sup>17</sup>

A day earlier, Home Minister Shastri had spoken in a similar manner in the Rajya Sabha when he said:"It sometimes hurt us to read some of the comments made in the newspapers in Pakistan; they have been very harsh indeed..... Yet it is not the papers which really place the governments point of view."<sup>18</sup>

Pakistanis reaction to the Sino- Indian conflict was three fold:

1. It held India responsible for the conflict.
2. It sharply disagreed with its Western allies that the Chinese attack constitute a major threat to the entire sub-continent.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. Pakistan was highly critical of western Military aid to India.

And this factor had turned into the highest concern for Pakistan.<sup>20</sup>

The massive invasion of India by China was dismissed as Nehru's version of the Sino- Indian conflict in a Dawn editorial of 27 October 1962. By rejecting the Chinese offer, Mr. Nehru has let his country in for a long drawn conflict, the ultimate consequences of which may well be to the disadvantage of India, despite the Anglo-American military aid....<sup>21</sup>

In Pakistan the United States and Great Britton had become special targets of criticism because it was regretted that instead of promoting peace settlement they were providing weapons to India.<sup>22</sup>

An editorial in Pakistan Times, argued that India had been Pakistan's number one enemy, not merely of being a big neighboring power but profounder still for ideological motivations,<sup>23</sup> and pointed out that instead of treating Pakistan as an ally the western powers were treating it as a satellite nation .It further said that the western aid being given to India due to the Chinese aggression, was much more than required and Pakistan feels that the Chinese conflict was being used by India to get more weapons to be used against Pakistan.<sup>24</sup>

These views were echoed, by the Political Parties. Compared to such strong criticism at home, the Pakistan President, Ayub Khan expressed his bitter disappointment, in a statement of 5 November 1962 he expressed the desire of Pakistan to reduce its participation with the western pacts like CENTO and SEATO, and on Sino-Indian war commented that, "Broadly speaking , we in Pakistan are seriously disturbed that the differences between China and India have erupted in to an armed conflict. He further said that an amicable settlement of the Kashmir issue could not be arrived at due to India's unwillingness. He was equally hurt with the outside help that India was getting and said this is for sure that such a help will help in enlarging and prolonging the conflict between India and China and add to the serious concern in the minds of the people of Pakistan, that these weapons may well be used against them in the absence of an overall settlement with India.<sup>25</sup>

Despite assurances from the President of the United States , John. F. Kennedy, that the American aid to India was designed solely to help India to resist China, Pakistan took the position that the United States, besides being unmindful of Pakistan's sincere contribution to the western cause, would prejudice its case on Kashmir. President Ayub, was therefore not disposed to give any assurances either to India or the United States. This factor emerges in a most revealing manner in President Ayub's response to the American President's letter of 28 October 1962.. In his view the developments in the sub-continent were the direct outcome of distorted and fallacious thinking of Nehru and " a consequence of a baseless foreign policy that he has been following.,"<sup>26</sup>

Here it will be observed that during and immediately, after the Indo- Sino conflict, Pakistan through all its resources, tried its best to undermine the foreign Policy of India and also to justify its actions in attempting to befriend China although it was a member of a couple of Pacts with the western powers, and using them to ensure that the Western powers pressurize India to settle the Kashmir issue which was in the Security council, in its favor.

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23 मार्च 1931 ई. को भगत सिंह, सुखदेव, राजगुरु को फांसी की घटना ने देश के राजनैतिक वातावरण को क्षुब्ध कर दिया था। देश भर की पत्र पत्रिकाओं ने इस घटना से सम्बन्धित लेख और कवितायें प्रकाशित की। दूसरी तरफ ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन का रुख ऐसे प्रकाशनों के प्रति अत्यन्त कठोर एवं दमनकारी था। कोई भी ऐसा प्रकाशन जो क्रान्तिकारी वैचारिक एवं जीवन दर्शन को महिमामंडित करता, वह निश्चित तौर पर प्रशासनिक कोप का शिकार होता था।

ऐसे में, संयुक्त प्रान्त के मुख्य सचिव कुंवर जगदीश प्रसाद को बिहार सरकार द्वारा रांची से 3 सितम्बर 1931 ई. को प्रेषित एक गोपनीय पत्र प्राप्त हुआ। इस पत्र में उनका ध्यान लखनऊ से प्रकाशित होने वाली पत्रिका "सुधा" के जुलाई अंक की ओर आकर्षित किया गया था। पत्र में विशेष तौर पर जुलाई 1931 ई. के अंक में पृष्ठ संख्या 695-696 पर प्रकाशित "भगत सिंह के लिए" को आपत्तिजनक बताया गया था। यही नहीं, यह पत्र इस अंक में पृष्ठ संख्या 666-670 व 708 पर प्रकाशित लेखों के बारे में टिप्पणी करते हुए कहता है कि, "ये लेख बड़े ही छलपूर्ण ढंग से क्रान्तिकारी दलों के प्रति सहानुभूति व्यक्त करते हुये दिखते हैं।"<sup>1</sup>

वैसे तो घोषित तौर पर "सुधा" एक शैक्षिक, सामाजिक पत्रिका थी, जिसे इसके मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक बाबू दुलारे लाल भार्गव लाटूश रोड लखनऊ स्थित गंगा फाइन आर्ट प्रेस से मुद्रित एवं प्रकाशित करते थे। 1930 ई. में इन्होंने गंगा फाइन आर्ट प्रेस से "राष्ट्रीय डंका या स्वदेशी खादी" शीर्षक से एक पुस्तिका प्रकाशित की थी, जिस कारण प्रेस अध्यादेश के अंतर्गत उनसे 1000 रुपये की जमानत राशि मांगी गई थी, जिसे भार्गव जी ने जमा भी किया था। यही नहीं, जून 1930ई. में "सुधा" में "भारतीय रक्त का सर्वोत्तम उपयोग" शीर्षक से एक कार्टून प्रकाशित किया गया, जिसे प्रशासन ने आपत्तिजनक करार दिया।<sup>2</sup> इन प्रकाशनों के परिप्रेक्ष्य में सुधा के जुलाई अंक की सामग्री

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\*कनिष्ठ अध्येता, नेहरू मेमोरियल संग्रहालय एवं पुस्तकालय, नई दिल्ली।

बेहद संवेदनशील मानी गयी।

सुधा में प्रकाशित जिस कविता “भगत सिंह के लिए” को बेहद आपत्तिजनक माना जा रहा था उसके लेखक “ब्रम्हचारी सत्यपाल उन्मुख” थे। पंडित दुलारे लाल भार्गव ने यह कविता गुरुकुल कांगड़ी के वार्षिकोत्सव में आयोजित कवि सम्मेलन में सुनी थी, जिसकी अध्यक्षता वे स्वयं कर रहे थे। इस कविता में कवि ने भगत सिंह की शहादत को महिमा मंडित करते हुए विश्वास व्यक्त किया था कि, वह दिन दूर नहीं जब इस शहादत से राख में दबी चिंगारियां ज्वाला का रूप ले लेंगी। एक ऐसा कोलाहल उत्पन्न होगा जो दुश्मन के दिलों को दहला देगा।<sup>9</sup>

रांची से प्रेषित गोपनीय पत्र में सुधा के जुलाई अंक के पृष्ठ संख्या 708 पर प्रकाशित जिस लेख को आपत्तिजनक करार दिया गया था, वह गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी की जीवनी पर आधारित था। गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी के वैचारिक दर्शन की व्याख्या करते हुए लेखक एक स्थान पर कहता है कि, “वह (गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी) हिंसा के रास्ते से असहमत थे, किन्तु इसके बावजूद वे क्रांतिकारियों की देशभक्ति एवं बलिदान के प्रति उनके हृदय में अत्यन्त श्रद्धा का भाव था।”

इसी प्रकार जुलाई अंक के पृष्ठ संख्या 666 से 670 पर प्रकाशित एक कहानी को भी क्रांतिकारी गतिविधियों को महिमामंडित करने वाला बताया गया। यह कहानी एक क्रान्तिकारी महिला पर केन्द्रित थी जो अपनी दिल्ली से मेरठ तक की यात्रा में न केवल अपनी बुद्धिमानी से पुलिस से बचती है बल्कि सफलता पूर्वक मेरठ षडयंत्र मुकदमें में गिरफ्तार आन्दोलनकारी के वकील तक मुकदमा लड़ने के लिए 15000 रूपए का शुल्क भी पहुंचाती है। बाद में पता चलता है कि पुलिस और सी.आई.डी. उस महिला का पीछा एक अन्य क्रान्तिकारी भगवती चरण को खोज निकालने के लिए कर रहे होते हैं।<sup>10</sup> ६ यातातव्य है कि भगवती चरण वोहरा अपने समय के बड़े क्रान्तिकारी और भगत सिंह के साथी थे और जिस प्रकार दुर्गा भाभी ने सांडर्स हत्या कांड के समय भगत सिंह को बचाया था उसकी स्मृतियाँ भी अभी धुंधली नहीं पड़ी थीं।

परोक्ष रूप से ये दोनों ही प्रकाशन क्रान्तिकारी गतिविधियों को आदरपूर्ण स्थान देते हुए दिखते हैं। चूंकि इनमें सीधे सीधे क्रांतिकारी गतिविधियों का समर्थन नहीं किया गया था, इसलिए रांची वाले पत्र में इसके लिए “छलपूर्वक क्रांतिकारी दल के प्रति सहानुभूति व्यक्त करने का प्रयास” जैसे शब्दों से अभिहित किया गया था।<sup>11</sup>

12 सितम्बर 1931 ई. को सुधा के जुलाई अंक को इस प्रश्न के सथ कि, “ क्या इस अंक को प्रतिबंधित किया जा सकता है?”, ‘लीगल रिमेम्बरेंसर’ के पास सलाह के लिए भेज दिया गया। 13 सितम्बर 1931ई. को ‘लीगल रिमेम्बरेंसर’ ने अपना विचार देते हुए कहा कि, “कम से कम पृष्ठ संख्या 666 से 670 पर प्रकाशित कहानी और गणेश शंकर विद्यार्थी के लेख में मुझे प्रतिबंध का आधार नहीं दिखता किन्तु कविता “भगत सिंह के लिए” की अंतिम पंक्तियाँ, निश्चित तौर पर न केवल क्रांतिकारी गतिविधियों के लिए प्रोत्साहित करती हैं बल्कि सरकार के विरुद्ध घृणा का भी प्रसार करती है। इसलिए मेरे

विचार से इस पर प्रतिबन्ध लगाया जा सकता है।<sup>6</sup>

लीगल रिमेम्बरेंसर की सलाह पर अमल करते हुए संयुक्त प्रान्त की सरकार ने, 16 सितम्बर 1931 ई. को, दंड प्रक्रिया संहिता 1898 (1898 के एक्ट V) के अनुच्छेद 99 ए का प्रयोग करते हुए हुए, सपरिषद गवर्नर जनरल के आदेश से भारतीय दंड संहिता की धारा 124 ए के अन्तर्गत दण्डित होने योग्य सामग्री प्रकाशित करने के आरोप में, पत्रिका सुधा के जुलाई अंक की समस्त प्रतियाँ जब्त करने से सम्बन्धित अधिसूचना, अधिसूचना संख्या 2758/ अपपप. 1573 द्वारा अधिसूचित कर दिया।<sup>7</sup> 16 सितम्बर को ही मुख्य सचिव कुंवर जगदीश प्रसाद ने सुधा के जुलाई अंक के, डाक द्वारा प्रसार पर प्रतिबन्ध के लिए संयुक्त प्रान्त के पोस्ट मास्टर जनरल को आदेशित कर दिया।<sup>8</sup>

इस प्रतिबन्ध के बावजूद सुधा के तेवर कमजारे नहीं पड़े। सुधा के नवम्बर 1931 के अंक में एक बार पुनः ऐसे प्रकाशन किये गये जो प्रशासन की दृष्टि में आपत्तिजनक थे। ये दोनों ही प्रकाशन कहानियाँ थीं। पहली कहानी “मरते दम तक” दो भाइयों की प्रेम कथा थी। इसी में एक स्थान पर जहाँ इनमें से एक प्रेमी युगल, त्रिलोचन एवं सरला के परस्पर संवाद का प्रसंग है, जिसमें राजद्रोह विषय पर परस्पर विचारों का आदान प्रदान होता है। यही त्रिलोचन, सरला से कहता है,

“सच में सरला! राजद्रोह एक खतरनाक वस्तु है, किन्तु इस समय जनता के प्रति सरकार का रवैया जिस प्रकार विद्वेषपूर्ण है उसे देखते हुए भारत में यह कोई घणित समझी जाने वाली वस्तु नहीं रही। अब यह हमारा कर्तव्य बन चुका है।”

“क्या मुझे भी इस कर्तव्य का पालन करना चाहिए? सरला ने जिज्ञासा से पूँछा।”

“बिल्कुल, तुम्हें करना ही चाहिए। क्या देश के प्रति हमारा कोई कर्तव्य नहीं। माता के प्रति, मातृभूमि के प्रति, यहाँ के जल के प्रति, वायु के प्रति, जो हमारे शरीर को पोषित करता है, जिसमें अंततः हम मिल जाने वाले हैं.....।”

“.....और विशेषकर आज जब असहाय मां विदेशी व्यापारियों के चुंगल में जकड़ी हुई है और व्यथित आवाज में हमें, अपने बच्चों को बुला रही है ....ऐसे में उस पर ध्यान न देना कायरता होगीकृकृ। त्रिलोचन ने उत्तर दिया।”

“ठीक है, आज से मैं भी सदैव, यहाँ तक कि “मरते दम तक” राजद्रोही विचारों का स्वागत करूँगी। ...यह कहकर अलविदा कि मुद्रा में हाथ हिलाते हुए सरला चली जाती है।”<sup>9</sup>

सुधा के नवम्बर 1931 ई. के अंक की आपत्तिजनक करार दी जाने वाली दूसरी कहानी सुरजीत सरूज मल शर्मा द्वारा लिखित, “परिवर्तन” थी। यह एक क्रांतिकारी के अहिंसक आन्दोलनकारी के रूप में परिवर्तन की कथा थी।<sup>10</sup>

सुधा को इन कहानियों को प्रकाशित करने का खामियाजा “काली सूची” में शामिल होकर चुकाना पड़ा।<sup>11</sup> ध्यातव्य है कि, प्रेस, समाचार पत्रों व अन्य प्रकाशनों हेतु “काली सूची” का विधान सर्वप्रथम पंजाब सरकार द्वारा बीसवीं सदी के दूसरे दशक में किया गया था। जिन प्रेस, पत्र, पत्रिकाओं को इनमें शामिल किया जाता था वे किसी भी

सरकारी विज्ञापन अथवा सरकारी सहायता के योग्य नहीं समझे जाते थे।<sup>12</sup> इतना ही नहीं लखनऊ संभाग के डिप्टी कमिश्नर जी. एल. विवियन को आदेश दिया गया कि, वे व्यक्तिगत रूप से पत्रिका के मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक को इस सम्बन्ध में चेतावनी प्रेषित करें कि, यदि भविष्य में पुनः इस प्रकार का साहित्य प्रकाशित किया गया तब प्रकाशक, मुद्रक से जमानत राशि मांगने की कार्यवाही की जा सकती है।<sup>13</sup> डिप्टी कमिश्नर मि. विवियन द्वारा बिलकुल इन्हीं शब्दों में सुधा के मुद्रक एवं प्रकाशक पंडित दुलारे लाल भार्गव को चेतावनी दी गयी।<sup>14</sup> यह वह समय था जब सुधा की प्रसार संख्या 5000 के साथ अपने चरम पर थी। पता नहीं यह चेतावनी का असर था या तत्कालीन राजनैतिक वातावरण की स्थिरता, अगले तीन वर्ष तक सुधा के भीतर छपने वाली सामग्री काफी संतुलित रही। इस दौरान एक बार भी उसे अपने प्रकाशनों के कारण किसी भी प्रशासनिक समस्या का सामना नहीं करना पड़ा। किन्तु अक्टूबर 1935 ई. के अंक में एक बार पुनः सुधा को चर्चा में ला दिया। सबसे महत्वपूर्ण लेख परिपूर्णानंद वर्मा द्वारा लिखित “किसान समस्या के ऐतिहासिक परिप्रेक्ष्य” था। इस लेख में लेखक ने स्थापित करने का प्रयास किया था कि, “पूर्व में हिन्दू और मुस्लिम दोनों ही शासनकालों में किसानों की स्थिति उतनी खराब नहीं थी जितनी कि समकालीन ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन के अंतर्गत थी। प्रशासन का मानना था कि लेखक के ये विचार सरकार विरोधी और उकसाने वाले हैं। प्रशासन की लगभग यही मान्यता अगस्त 1936 ई. अंक के दो अन्य लेखों “फिलिस्तीन विद्रोह “तथा” श्रीमती सुखदा देवी की पवित्र स्मृति में “के बारे में भी थी। प्रशासन का मानना था कि सुधा अपने लेखों द्वारा लोगों को सविनय अवज्ञा आन्दोलन से जुड़ने के लिए प्रेरित करती है। हालांकि सरकार ने इन लेखों के लिए पत्रिका पर कोई कार्यवाही नहीं की।<sup>15</sup>

भारतीय स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन में निर्भीक पत्रकारिता का एक लम्बा इतिहास रहा है। स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन के समर्थक विचारकों द्वारा समाज तक आन्दोलन की रीति नीति को पहुँचाने के लिए बड़ी संख्या में प्रेस, पत्र, पत्रिकाओं, पर्चे एवं अन्य मुद्रित साहित्य का प्रयोग किया जाता रहा था। पंडित दुलारे लाल भार्गव द्वारा लखनऊ से मुद्रित एवं प्रकाशित की जाने वाली पत्रिका सुधा एक ऐसी ही पत्रिका रही जो लगातार, प्रतिबन्ध और चेतावनियों के साथ “प्रशासनिक रडार” पर रहने के बावजूद, आम जनमानस को स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष के साथ जोड़ने का प्रयास करती रही।

## I UnHkZ

1. राजकीय अभिलेखागार लखनऊ ( आगे से रा.अ.ल.)। रांची से सयुक्त प्रान्त के मुख्य सचिव को प्रेषित अर्धसरकारी पत्र संख्या 4234, होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-1
2. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-17
3. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-2
4. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-3
5. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-1
6. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-5,6
7. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-47
8. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-49
9. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-7 ,8
10. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-9
11. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-10
12. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 449
13. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-13
14. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-17
15. रा.अ.ल.। होम पुलिस, पत्रावली संख्या 1573, पृष्ठ संख्या-19 से 29

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## 31- वल ग; क्ख वकलुनस्यु एा ओस क्क्यह ध I केकftd i "Bhkfe

\*डॉ. रेणु कुमारी

1920 के दशक में बिहार का वैशाली जिला तिरहुल प्रमण्डल का एक भाग था, जिसका मुख्यालय मुजफ्फरपुर में था। इस कारण असहयोग आन्दोलन के कालखंड में वैशाली मुजफ्फरपुर में होने वाले राजनैतिक एवं समाजिक गतिविधियों से संचालित होता रहा। पूर्णिया और चम्पारण की भाँति मुजफ्फरपुर में भी लिलहों का प्रभुत्व था और उनके अत्याचारों से किसान त्रस्त थे। मुजफ्फरपुर में ही लिलहों संघ का मुख्यालय था। इस क्षेत्र के किसान नायक स्वामी विद्यानन्द थे। इन्होंने इस क्षेत्र के किसानों को न केवल संगठित किया, वरन् उनमें लिलहों के खिलाफ आवाज़ उठाने का साहस पैदा किया। जागरण की यह लहर किसानों में इस तरह फैली कि उन्होंने लिलहे के साथ-साथ उनके संरक्षण में फलने-फूलनेवाले स्थानीय ज़मींदारों के खिलाफ भी आवाज़ उठानी आरम्भ कर दी। 1920 के प्रारम्भ में ही गाँधी जी ने घोषणा कर दी थी कि यदि ब्रिटेन तुर्की के साथ सन्धि के द्वारा भारतीय मुसलमानों को संतुष्ट नहीं करेगा तो वे सरकार के विरुद्ध असहयोग आन्दोलन छेड़ देंगे।<sup>1</sup> 9 जून 1920 को इलाहाबाद में खिलाफत कमिटी ने सर्व-सम्मति से असहयोग का प्रस्ताव स्वीकार कर लिया और आन्दोलन के नेतृत्व का दायित्व गाँधी जी को सौंप दिया।<sup>2</sup> गाँधी जी ने जालियाँवाला बाग की घटना, खिलाफत का प्रश्न और स्वराज के मुद्दे पर इसी प्रकार का आन्दोलन चलाने के लिये काँग्रेस पर दबाव बनाया।<sup>3</sup> अतः उन्होंने खिलाफत के प्रश्न को असहयोग का प्रश्न बनाया। इससे काँग्रेस का जनाधार विस्तृत एवं मजबूत हुआ।

काँग्रेस के नागपुर अधिवेशन (दिसम्बर 1920) के पूर्व ही बिहार प्रदेश काँग्रेस कमिटी ने 31 जुलाई 1920 को असहयोग आन्दोलन के प्रस्ताव को मंजूर कर लिया था। काँग्रेस के कई बड़े-बड़े नेता अभी भी इस आन्दोलन को संदेह की दृष्टि से देख रहे थे।

\* , I kfl , V i kQd j] bfrgkl foHkx] teqñ yky dKlyst] gkthij %oS kkyh%  
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अगस्त 1920 में डॉ. राजेंद्र प्रसाद की अध्यक्षता में बिहार प्रान्तीय राजनीतिक सम्मेलन भागलपुर में हुआ।<sup>4</sup> यद्यपि इस सम्मेलन में बाबू ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद, बाबू धरणीधर, मजहरूल हक, शाह मुहम्मद जुबैर, मौलवी मुहम्मद शफी, मौलाना नुरुह हसन, इत्यादि असहयोग के समर्थक थे, किन्तु अभी भी बहुत सारे नेता असहयोग के विरोधी थे। इस सम्मेलन में विद्यानन्द के नेतृत्व में किसानों ने पहली बार काफी तादाद में हिस्सा लिया और उन्हीं के सहयोग से असहयोग का प्रस्ताव भारी बहुमत से पारित हो गया।<sup>5</sup> इन किसानों ने इस सभा को एक बड़े मंच के रूप में देखा, जहाँ से उनकी समस्याओं का समाधान हो सकता था।<sup>6</sup> इस प्रकार गुजरात के बाद बिहार दूसरा प्रदेश था जहाँ असहयोग का प्रस्ताव कलकत्ता काँग्रेस के विशेष अधिवेशन के पूर्व पारित हुआ था।<sup>7</sup> दिसम्बर 1920 में गाँधी जी ने बिहार का दौरा किया। यद्यपि ये दौरा अल्पकालिक था फिर भी उससे असहयोग आन्दोलन को काफी बल मिला और इससे संपूर्ण प्रांत में जागरण की लहर फैल गई।<sup>8</sup> मुजफ्फरपुर में गाँधी जी ने तिलक मैदान में बहुत बड़ी उपस्थित भीड़ को सम्बोधित किया। सभा में बाबू मनोरंजन प्रसाद सिन्हा रचित "फिरंगिया" का गाना राजेन्द्र कॉलेज छपरा के भूतपूर्व प्राचार्य द्वारा किया गया।<sup>9</sup> मुजफ्फरपुर के प्रमुख राष्ट्रीय नेता मौलवी शफी दाउदी, विन्धेश्वरी प्रसाद वर्मा, नजीर अहमद और जनकधारी प्रसाद नवीन राष्ट्रीय कार्यक्रम का संदेश देते हुए जिला की यात्रा कर रहे थे। अक्टूबर के प्रारम्भ में उन्होंने भगवानपुर के स्थानीय मिडिल स्कूल में सभा बुलाई।<sup>10</sup> वहाँ से विददूपुर, देसरी, महनार, महुआ होते हुए वे मुजफ्फरपुर पहुँचे और मुजफ्फरपुर के तिलक मैदान में सभा का आयोजन किया गया, जिसमें जनता से आन्दोलन में बढ़-चढ़कर हिस्सा लेने की अपील की गयी।<sup>11</sup>

गाँधी जी ने अपने बिहार दौरे के समय विद्यार्थियों से भी आन्दोलन में अपनी भागीदारी निभाने की अपील की थी। इस अपील का व्यापक असर देखा गया। बिहार के अन्य जिलों के छात्रों की तरह मुजफ्फरपुर के छात्रों ने भी शिक्षण संस्थाओं का परित्याग कर दिया। बी. एन. कौलेजिएट स्कूल, भूमिहार ब्राह्मण कौलेज और मुजफ्फरपुर जिला स्कूल के छात्रों में काफी उत्तेजना देखी गई। इन संस्थाओं के 80% से अधिक विद्यार्थियों ने शिक्षण संस्थाओं का बहिष्कार कर दिया था।<sup>12</sup> सरकारी रिपोर्ट के अनुसार गाँधी के आह्वान पर जी. वी. कॉलेज के लगभग 30 छात्रों ने महाविद्यालय का परित्याग कर दिया था। बगहा मिडिल स्कूल के प्रधानाध्यापक ने भी आन्दोलन में भाग लिया था तथा हाजीपुर स्कूल के एक शिक्षक ने भी 34 छात्रों सहित स्कूल का परित्याग कर दिया था।<sup>13</sup> हाजीपुर स्कूल के शिक्षक विन्देश्वर प्रसाद और बाबू जयनन्दन झा भी इनमें शामिल थे।<sup>14</sup> इसहाकपुर महनार के पं. मदन झा, शारदाकान्त झा आदि ने भी स्कूल का परित्याग कर दिया। भटौलिया के विश्वेश्वर प्रसाद ने वकालत छोड़ दी। हाजीपुर के गणेश सिंह ने मेडिकल की पढ़ाई छोड़ दी। ऐसे देशभक्त और नौजवान क्रांतिकारियों के लिये हाजीपुर में गाँधी आश्रम में भारतीय विद्यापीठ की स्थापना की गई। पं. जयनन्दन झा, गणेश सिंह

एवं पौहियार के चन्द्रदीप नारायण सिंह के सत्य प्रयास से महात्मा गाँधी ने स्वयं हाजीपुर में विद्यापीठ की आधारशिला रखी (7.12.1920) जो गाँधी आश्रम के नाम से आज भी प्रतिष्ठित है। इस प्रकार स्कूल, कॉलेज, अदालत, छावनी आदि छोड़कर राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन से जुड़ने वाले देशभक्तों को शिक्षित-प्रशिक्षित करने के लिये राष्ट्रीय विद्यापीठ की स्थापना एक रचनात्मक कदम था।<sup>15</sup> काँग्रेस का मानना था कि नगरपालिकाओं, जिला अभिषदों एवं स्थानीय अभिषदों में काँग्रेस के सदस्यों के हाथों में शक्ति आने से राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का आधार विस्तृत होगा और इन संस्थाओं का राष्ट्रीयकरण हो जाएगा। अप्रिल 1921 में मुजफ्फरपुर नगरपालिका चुनाव में काँग्रेस को उल्लेखनीय सफलता मिली। 12 सीटों में से 7 सीटों पर असहयोग आन्दोलनकारियों की विजय हुई। 3 सीट जिला काँग्रेस कमिटी के आदेश वाले प्रतिज्ञापत्र पर हस्ताक्षर करने वाले सदस्यों को मिली और शेष 2 सीट वैसे लोगों को मिली जिन्हें दोनों दल अपना मानते थे।<sup>16</sup>

वार्ड-1 से गया प्रसाद सिंह, विन्देश्वरी प्रसाद, भवानी सोनार, वार्ड-2 से श्यामनन्दन सहाय, जनकधारी प्रसाद, वार्ड-3 से हरिश्चन्द्र भादुड़ी, वार्ड-4 से मुहम्मद शफी, बैजनाथ सिंह (एम. एल. सी.), वार्ड-5 से गजाधर प्रसाद, अब्दुल मजीद, वार्ड-6 से शिववक्श मारवाड़ी वसुदेव नारायण विजयी हुए। बैजनाथ प्रसाद सिंह, शिववक्श मारवाड़ी और श्यामनन्दन सहाय को वोट तब तक नहीं मिला जब तक उन्होंने असहयोग के प्रस्ताव सम्बन्धी प्रतिज्ञा-पत्र पर हस्ताक्षर नहीं किया। उन्होंने मौलवी मुहम्मद शफी को प्रतिज्ञापत्र पर हस्ताक्षर करके सौंप दिया, जिसका आशय था कि यदि वे म्युनिसिपैलिटी के चुनाव में विजयी होते हैं तो उन्हें जिला काँग्रेस कमिटी के आदेश के अनुसार काम करना होगा और स्वराज प्राप्ति को अपना धार्मिक कर्तव्य समझेंगे।<sup>17</sup> इसके पश्चात् उनके विरोध में खड़ा होने वाले असहयोगियों ने अपना नाम वापस ले लिया है। अन्य दो गजाधर प्रसाद और अब्दुल मजीद को यद्यपि दोनों दलों का समर्थन प्राप्त था फिर भी अब्दुल मजीद का झुकाव असहयोगियों की तरफ ही था।<sup>18</sup> असहयोग आन्दोलन का काफी प्रभाव किसानों पर था। वे स्थानीय जमींदारों तथा लिलहे दोनों के खिलाफ थे। लिलहे और किसानों के बीच मतभेद का सबसे बड़ा कारण था चारागाह की भूमि। कई स्थानों पर लिलहों के बाजारों का परित्याग कर समानान्तर बाजार स्थापित कर दिया गया।<sup>19</sup>

लिलहे के फैक्ट्रियों में भी श्रमिकों ने काम करने से मना कर दिया। कुछ ने तो स्वेच्छा से ऐसा किया और कुछ ने असहयोगियों के भय से। बेलवा, मोतीपुर, बरियारपुर इत्यादि फैक्ट्रियों में हड़ताल हो गई। आन्दोलनकारियों ने फैक्ट्री के कर्मचारियों और मजदूरों को फैक्ट्री में काम नहीं करने की सलाह दी। ऐसा नहीं करने पर उनका सामाजिक बहिष्कार किया जाता था। आन्दोलनकारी लिलहे के विरुद्ध प्रदर्शन कर रहे थे और गाँधी जी का जयघोष कर रहे थे। इसी प्रकार करनौल के नील फैक्ट्री को वहाँ के स्थानीय नेताओं और किसानों ने घेर लिया और फैक्ट्री के अमला को पीटने की धमकी दी।<sup>20</sup>

मुजफ्फरपुर के पातेपुर थाना के मिया छपरा फैक्ट्री को लगभग 1000 आन्दोलनकारियों

ने घेर लिया। फैक्ट्री के मालिक को अपने परिवार के साथ जान बचाने के लिये बंगले में शरण लेनी पड़ी। आन्दोलनकारियों ने फैक्ट्री के ईख के गोदामों को नष्ट कर दिया। आन्दोलन के प्रमुख नेताओं पर आई. पी. सी. की धारा 143 और 379 के तहत सज़ा सुनाई गई। इस सज़ा के विरोध में आन्दोलनकारियों ने फैक्ट्री पर धरना दिया, मैनेजर का बहिष्कार किया और कर्मचारियों को काम करने से रोका।<sup>21</sup> काफी संख्या में फैक्ट्री के कर्मचारियों और मजदूरों ने, जो मुख्यतः समाज के निम्न वर्ग के थे, काम छोड़कर आन्दोलन में शामिल हो गए। महिलाओं ने भी इस आन्दोलन में हिस्सा लिया। शफी दाउदी की पत्नी जुबैदा दाउदी ने इस आन्दोलन में अहम् भूमिका निभाई थी। उनके इस प्रयास से मुस्लिम महिलाओं ने बढ़-चढ़कर हिस्सा लिया। शफी दाउदी के गिरफ्तार कर लिये जाने पर उन्होंने अली बन्धुओं की माँ बाई अमन के साथ जन सभाओं को भी सम्बोधित किया।

शराब-बन्दी के प्रचार से शराब की बिक्री कम होती जा रही थी। सरकार को डर हो गया कि आमदनी का एक बड़ा जरिया खतरे में पड़ गया। मुजफ्फरपुर के कई जगहों पर हाटों की लूट हो गयी। कई मुकदमे में लोगों ने जमानत देने से इंकार कर दिया। वे जेल चले गये। कहीं-कहीं मुकदमा अन्त में खारिज करना पड़ा, क्योंकि कोई सबूत नहीं मिला। सरकार आन्दोलन को रोकना चाहती थी। इसलिए उसने लुटेरों के बदले काँग्रेसी कार्यकर्ताओं को गिरफ्तार करना शुरू किया।<sup>22</sup>

गाँधी जी के आह्वान पर विद्यार्थियों ने सकूलों, कॉलेजों, वकीलों ने कचहरियों तथा सरकारी सेवकों ने अपने-अपने पदों का परित्याग कर दिया। पर कुछ ऐसे देशभक्त भी थे जिन्हें सरकारी सेवा में रहते हुए अपनी मातृभूमि का कर्ज चुकाना पड़ रहा था। हाजीपुर थाना के सब-इंस्पेक्टर रामानन्द सिंह ऐसे ही व्यक्ति थे जिन्होंने पं. जयनन्दन झा को बचाने के लिये मजिस्ट्रेट के इजलास में झूठे सबूत पेश किये। सबूत पेश करने के तरीकों के लिये नेशनल स्कूल के विद्यार्थियों और शिक्षकों के एक बड़े समूह ने न केवल उन्हें धन्यवाद दिया वरन् कुछ लोगों ने उनके चरणों का स्पर्श करते हुए महात्मा रामानन्द की संज्ञा से अभिहित किया। सूचना यह थी कि रामानन्द नौकरी से त्याग-पत्र देकर आन्दोलन में शामिल होना चाहते थे, किंतु मौलवी शफी ने रामविनोद सिंह के माध्यम से उन्हें सरकारी सेवा में रहकर सजायापता के बचाव में सबूत पेश करने की सलाह दी थी।<sup>23</sup>

निष्कर्षतः यह कहा जा सकता है कि असहयोग आन्दोलन में वैशाली जिले के हर तबके के लोगों ने अपनी-अपनी भागीदारी निभाई। इनमें बच्चे भी थे, महिलायें भी थीं और बुजुर्ग भी थे। किंतु समाज का एक तबका अभी भी ऐसा था जिसे ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के बने रहने में ही अपने अस्तित्व की रक्षा दिखाई दे रही थी। यह वर्ग था बड़े जमींदारों का जिनका गठजोड़ ब्रिटिश प्रशासन के साथ था। इस वर्ग ने गाँधी जी के मना करने के बावजूद कौंसिल के चुनाव में भाग लिया। इन्होंने न केवल अपने आपको इस आन्दोलन से अलग-थलग रखा वरन् शान्ति बनाये रखने के लिये ब्रिटिश सरकार के साथ सहयोग की अपील भी की।

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## 32- mÜkj h e/; i ns'k ea uxjhdj .k , oa 0; ki kfj d ekxZ

\*डॉ० सुरेन्द्र कुमार विमल

नगर, प्राचीन काल से ही सभ्यता के सभी आयामों का नाभिक रहे हैं। प्रारंभिक बस्तियां प्रायः नदियों की घाटियों में होती थी, सिंचाई के स्रोत के साथ ही ये विभिन्न बस्तियों को आपस में जोड़ती थी। इस तरह समाज की उत्पादक शक्तियां तथा माल विनिमय के विकास के साथ ही वे कालांतर में नगरों में बदलती गईं।<sup>1</sup> भारत में नगरीकरण के इतिहास का प्रारंभ तीसरी शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व में हड़प्पा की अनुपम नगर सभ्यता से होता है।<sup>2</sup> वैदिक काल के बाद का समय नगरों के निर्माण का समय था, इन नगरों में परिवहन एवं संचार का प्रारंभ हुआ जिससे कई नवीन मार्गों की खोज हुई। अतः बस्तियों के बीच सम्पर्क स्थापना तथा नगरों के बीच क्षेत्रीय विस्तार नें भी प्रमुख भूमिका निभाई।<sup>3</sup> नगरों का सर्वप्रथम स्थापन और विकास पश्चिमोत्तर प्रांत में ही हुआ, पाणिनी के काल तक आकर प्रतीच्य अंचलो में भी अनेक नगर बस गये। बौद्धयुगीन भारत में अनेक नगरों का विकास हुआ और व्यापार का भी विस्तार हुआ।<sup>4</sup>

वर्तमान उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश का क्षेत्र प्राचीन समय से ही ऐतिहासिक वैभव का क्षेत्र रहा है। इसमें ग्वालियर, भिण्ड, मुरैना एवं शिवपुरी तथा दतिया के कुछ भाग सम्मिलित है।<sup>5</sup> इसमें उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश का भिण्ड क्षेत्र सम्मिलित था। छठी शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व तक इस क्षेत्र में चेदि एवं वत्स महाजनपदों के विस्तार के प्रमाण मिलते हैं।<sup>6</sup> इस समय तक भारत के अधिकांश भागों में प्रतिष्ठित व्यापारिक मार्ग फैले हुए थे और मौर्य काल में उन्हीं मार्गों ने समीपस्थ क्षेत्रों के साथ स्वयं का भी विकास किया। मौर्यकाल में एक प्रधानमार्ग था, जो कलकत्ता के समीप गंगा तट के एक बंदरगाह ताम्रलिप्ति से प्रारंभ होता था और गंगा के उद्गम की ओर प्राचीन नगर चंपा तक और तब वहाँ से पाटलिपुत्र और बनारस होता हुआ कौशाम्बी तक जाता था। वहाँ से इसकी शाखा विदिशा तथा उज्जयिनी के मार्ग में नर्मदा मुख पर भृगुकच्छ पतन तक जाती थी। शताब्दिया व्यतीत हो जाने पर

\*vfrfFk 0; k[; krk 'kkl 0 0kh0, l 0 Lukrdk&Rj egkfo | ky; Mcj k| Xokfy; j ¼e-i ½

यद्यपि इसका स्थान कुछ परिवर्तित हो गया है तथापि यह मार्ग उत्तर भारत का सर्वोपरि गमनागमन मार्ग रहा है।<sup>7</sup> यह प्रमुख मार्ग उत्तरी मध्य प्रदेश के प्रमुख क्षेत्रों से ही गुजरता था। ग्वालियर सहित सम्पूर्ण उत्तरी मध्य प्रदेश पर छठी शताब्दी ईसा पूर्व के आरंभ में पाटलिपुत्र के नन्द वंश का राज्य था।<sup>8</sup> ऐसा प्रमाण है ईसा पश्चात् प्रथम शताब्दी के आरंभ में ग्वालियर क्षेत्र के आसपास नागों का राज्य था।<sup>9</sup> नागवंश के समय में पद्मावती एक प्रमुख व्यापारिक केन्द्र था। जिसके लिए मथुरा एवं उज्जयिनि से व्यापारिक मार्ग मौजूद थे। एक प्रमुख व्यापारिक मार्ग जो उत्तरापथ से दक्षिणापथ को जाता था। पद्मावती से ही होकर जाता था। यह मार्ग मथुरा, कांतिपुरी (मुरैना के समीप) पद्मावती, नलपुर, विदिशा होता हुआ दक्षिण को जाता था।<sup>10</sup> भिण्ड भी प्राचीन समय से ही व्यापारिक मार्गों से जुड़ा रहा है। कान्यकुब्ज (कन्नौज) और कौशाम्बी से सार्थवाह, अटेर, भिण्ड होकर पद्मावती, कांतिपुर तथा गोपाद्री (ग्वालियर) आते थे। भिण्ड स्थित बरही उस समय महत्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक नगर था और इसे बल्लभ नगरी के नाम से जाना जाता था। यह सूती वस्त्र व्यवसाय का प्रमुख केन्द्र था।<sup>11</sup> इस प्रकार उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश में कई महत्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक केन्द्र स्थापित थे। जिसके कारण इस क्षेत्र का राजनीतिक एवं सामरिक महत्व भी बढ़ता गया। पूर्व मध्यकाल में भी व्यापार का विस्तार पूर्ववत् था। ह्वेनसांग ने समकालीन भारतीय व्यापार और वाणिज्य का चित्रण किया है उसके समय में भारतीय व्यापार अत्यंत विकसित था। दूर-दूर के व्यापारी नगरों में आकर क्रय-विक्रय करते थे तथा वे अपना माल सुदूर प्रदेशों तक भेजते थे।<sup>12</sup> इस काल में उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश के प्राचीन व्यापारिक केन्द्र पद्मावती, कांतिपुरी, बरही, का प्रभाव कम होने लगा था। पूर्वमध्यकाल में इस क्षेत्र के व्यापारिक केन्द्रों के स्वरूप में परिवर्तन व और ग्वालियर एक प्रमुख व्यापारिक केन्द्र एवं नगर के रूप में विकसित होने लगा।

मध्यकालीन भारत में नगरीकरण की प्रक्रिया का विकास दूसरे ही ढंग से हुआ। जब तुर्क भारत में आए तो उनके सम्मुख तीन रुकावटें थीं। यहाँ अच्छी सड़कें नहीं थीं एवं संचार के साधनों का अभाव था तथा फारसी बोलने वाले ऐसे अधिकारियों की कमी थी जो जनता एवं राज्य के बीच सेतु का काम कर पाते। जैसे-जैसे समय बीतता गया वैसे-वैसे संचार और परिवहन के साधनों का विकास हुआ।<sup>13</sup> इस काल में कृषि उपज के विपुल अधिशेष की सहायता से व्यापारिक विकास भी संभव हुआ। नए शासक उत्पादक नहीं थे वरन् वे उपभोक्ता थे जो अपव्ययी थे। दिल्ली सल्तनत के नगरीकरण की प्रयोजनीय परिभाषा ग्रहण करनी होगी। एच0सी0 वर्मा की परिभाषा के अनुसार नगरीकरण ऐसी प्रक्रिया है जिसके द्वारा एक जनपद का ग्रामीण स्वरूप लगभग लुप्त हो गया और उसमें बसने वाले अधिकांश लोग गैर कृषक हो गये और लगभग नियमित रूप से अपने खाने का सामान खरीदने लगे।<sup>14</sup> रोमिला थापर लिखती है कि— “स्थानीय प्रशासन के केन्द्र होने के कारण प्रांतीय राजधानियों में विशाल बाजार विकसित हो गये थे। दिल्ली का बाजार विशेष रूप से समृद्ध कहा जाता था। क्योंकि इससे देशी तथा विदेशी दोनों प्रकार के व्यापार से माल प्राप्त होता था।”<sup>15</sup>

दिल्ली, सल्तनत की राजधानी थी अतः वह अनेक मार्गों के द्वारा देश के विभिन्न भागों से जुड़ी हुई थी। एक मार्ग केन्द्रीय भारत की ओर मथुरा, आगरा के रास्ते चंदेरी, सारंगपुर, रायसीन होकर उज्जैन जाता था। उज्जैन से सीधे गुजरात के बंदरगाह खंभात जाया जा सकता था।<sup>16</sup> दिल्ली से निकलने वाला यह मार्ग ग्वालियर से ही निकलता था। इस काल में भिण्ड एवं मुरैना का क्षेत्र जो चम्बल का दक्षिणी एवं पश्चिमी किनारा था डाकुओं एवं लुटेरों का क्षेत्र बन चुका था। ऐसे में व्यापार मार्ग बहुत ही कठिन हो चुका था। चूंकि यह क्षेत्र चम्बल एवं इसकी सहायक नदियों जैसे कूंवारी, पहुज एवं बैसली का क्षेत्र था, इसलिए यह क्षेत्र काफी उपजाऊ था। अतः कृषि उत्पादन इस क्षेत्र से अधिक मात्रा में व्यापारियों द्वारा ग्वालियर के मार्ग से ले जाया जाता रहा है। ग्वालियर, आगरा से आने वाले मार्ग के मध्य आता था। दिल्ली एवं आगरा से होते हुए कई मार्ग विभिन्न दिशाओं को जाते थे। इब्नवतूता दिल्ली से कोल. (अलीगढ़) कन्नौज, ग्वालियर, खुजुराहो, चंदेरी, धार, उज्जैन होकर दौलताबाद गया था।<sup>17</sup> उसने उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश मध्य प्रदेश की कृषि एवं उद्योगों का वर्णन प्रस्तुत किया है। इब्नवतूता जिस मार्ग से गुजरा था वह सल्तनत काल का प्रमुख व्यापारिक मार्ग था जो उत्तर से दक्षिण की ओर जाता था। ग्वालियर दुर्ग पर सल्तनत कालीन सुल्तानों ने अपना अधिकार बनाए रखा था अतः ग्वालियर के आसपास का व्यापारिक नियंत्रण दिल्ली सल्तनत के अधीन ही रहा और दिल्ली से आगरा तथा आगरा से ग्वालियर और ग्वालियर से पश्चिम में गुजरात अथवा दक्षिण में विदिशा की ओर एक प्रमुख व्यापारी मार्ग बना रहा।

मुगलों के भारत में प्रवेश के समय तक ग्वालियर लोदियों के अधीन रहा। लोदी शासकों ने आगरा को अपना प्रमुख प्रशासनिक केन्द्र बनाया था। अतः आगरा एवं ग्वालियर का व्यापारिक नियंत्रण उन्हीं के अधीन रहा। सन् 1528 में ग्वालियर यात्रा के दौरान बाबर आगरा एवं ग्वालियर के मध्य एक मार्ग का उल्लेख करता है जो बयाना और धौलपुर होकर जाता था।<sup>18</sup> बयाना और आगरा मुगल काल में नील के प्रमुख व्यापारिक केन्द्र थे यहाँ से कलकत्ता एवं मालवा तक नील का निर्यात किया जाता था। मालवा के लिए एक मार्ग दिल्ली से ग्वालियर होते हुए जाता है जो दिल्ली-ग्वालियर-नागौर-मालवा होता हुआ दक्षिण को जाता था।<sup>19</sup> मुगल शासकों द्वारा व्यापारिक मार्गों में वाणिज्य एवं व्यापार को प्रोत्साहन देने के लिए राजमार्गों पर

स्थान-स्थान पर सरायें एवं पुलों का निर्माण कराया जिनका मध्यकाल में बहुत महत्व था। परवर्ती मध्यकाल में उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश में ग्वालियर एक प्रमुख व्यापारिक केन्द्र के रूप में स्थापित हो चुका था जिसमें मराठा शासकों द्वारा व्यापारिक विकास के कुछ और प्रयास किए।

अतः प्राचीन एवं मध्यकाल में नगरीकरण अर्थव्यवस्था का यथेष्ट विस्तारण हुआ जिसमें व्यापारिक मार्गों की सक्रियता ने अहम् भूमिका निभाई। व्यापारिक उद्देश्य की पूर्ति के लिए विभिन्न स्थानों के संसाधनों ने इन्हीं व्यापारिक मार्गों के माध्यम से अपने महत्व को एक-दूसरे से अवगत कराया। इसी तरह उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश भी कई संसाधनों से पूर्ण

रहा है, कच्चा लोहा, बलुआ पत्थर, चीनी मिट्टी एवं विभिन्न कृषि उत्पाद इस क्षेत्र के प्रमुख संसाधन रहे।<sup>20</sup> वर्तमान ग्वालियर नगर गोपाचल, गोपगिरी, ग्वाल्हेर आदि नामों के विकास क्रम के बाद स्थापित हुआ है इस विकास क्रम में ग्वालियर एवं ग्वालियर के आसपास के स्थानों पर नागों, कुषाणों, गुर्जर-प्रतिहारों, चंदेलों, कच्छपघातों तथा मध्यकालीन मुस्लिम शासकों के पश्चात् मराठों के अधीन रहा, जिन्होंने इस क्षेत्र का प्रशासनिक विकास किया जो व्यापारिक प्रोत्साहन भी साबित हुआ। ग्वालियर दुर्ग के रूप में एक सुदृढ़ प्रशासनिक केन्द्र यहाँ स्थित रहा जिसकी सहायता से न सिर्फ इस क्षेत्र का व्यापार फला-फूला अपितु यहाँ से गुजरने वाले व्यापारिक मार्ग को भी सुरक्षा प्रदान की। उत्तरी मध्यप्रदेश के प्राचीन व्यापारिक मार्ग पर स्थित क्षेत्र जैसे- भदावर, कांतिपुरी, पद्मावती, एवं नलपुर कालान्तर में क्रमशः भिण्ड, मुरैना, ग्वालियर एवं नरवर (शिवपुरी) प्रमुख नगरीय अर्थव्यवस्था के केन्द्र के रूप में स्थापित हो गये। नगर महत्वपूर्ण व्यापारिक मार्गों के मिलन बिंदु पर स्थित थे। इनका विकास विशेष व्यापारिक और वाणिज्यिक केन्द्रों के रूप में हुआ। इन केन्द्रों का बाहर और आंतरिक क्षेत्रों के साथ व्यापार होता था और भ्रमणशील व्यापारी संगठनों के माध्यम से इन केन्द्रों का भी विकास होता था। इस प्रकार व्यापारिक मार्ग अपने मार्ग के विकास के साथ मार्ग में आने वाली प्रत्येक इकाई के विकास का भी कारण सिद्ध हुये हैं क्योंकि व्यापारिक मार्ग की अवस्था मार्ग की इकाईयों पर निर्भर करती है।

## I nHk xfk

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### 33- efgykvka dk jktuhfrd I 'kfDrdj.k vksj jktuhfrd i kfVZ; k; % mÜkj i ns'k ds I UnHkZ ea (1947-2001)

\*प्रियंका आनन्द

महिलाओं के राजनीतिक सशक्तिकरण से तात्पर्य महिलाओं की राजनीति में हिस्सेदारी। उनके स्वयं के द्वारा राजनीतिक अधिकारों या सामर्थ्य का प्रयोग, उससे सम्बन्धित निर्णय लेने और नीति निर्माण की प्रक्रिया में समान रूप से भाग लेने व उसे प्रभावित करने की क्षमता से है। यद्यपि आजाद भारत ने एक सम्प्रभु, समाजवादी, धर्म-निरपेक्ष व लोकतंत्रवादी संविधान को अंगीकार किया है। इस संविधान ने स्त्रियों को समान राजनीतिक अधिकार व जाति, धर्म, वर्ग, लिंग, जन्म स्थान, शैक्षिक और सम्पत्ति के आधार पर भेदभाव के बिना भारत के सभी नागरिकों के लिए समान वयस्क मताधिकार की व्यवस्था की। इस प्रकार भारतीय संविधान में महिलाओं की स्वतंत्र व सक्रिय राजनीतिक हिस्सेदारी को स्वीकार किया गया व महिलाओं की भूमिका के लिए उनके राजनीतिक सबलीकरण की जरूरत को रेखांकित किया गया।<sup>1</sup>

महिलाएँ समाज का एक महत्वपूर्ण हिस्सा हैं। अतः समाज के सर्वांगीण विकास के लिए महिलाओं के सामाजिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक व राजनीतिक क्रिया-कलापों में उनकी कार्यशील व प्रभावी भूमिका का विशेष महत्व है। परन्तु विभिन्न अध्ययनों से स्पष्ट है कि आज भी महिलाओं की भूमिका को नजरअन्दाज किया जाता है। इसकी एक प्रमुख वजह महिलाओं की अपने राजनीतिक अधिकारों के प्रति सुसुप्तता व राजनीति में उनके अल्प सहभागिता है। स्वतंत्र भारत में महिलाओं की राजनीतिक सहभागिता व राजनीतिक चेतना की जाँच प्रमुखतः चुनावों में उनका मतदान, उनकी चुनावों में उम्मीदवारी व नीति-निर्माण प्रक्रिया में प्रभावी भूमिका के आधार पर की जा सकती है। आज भी महिलाएँ अपने राजनीतिक अधिकारों के प्रति कितनी सुसुप्त हैं, इसका अन्दाजा इसी बात

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\*शोध छात्रा, इतिहास विभाग दी0द0उ0 गोरखपुर विश्वविद्यालय, गोरखपुर (उ.प्र.)

से लगाया जा सकता है कि आजादी के पश्चात् प्रथम आम चुनाव सन् 1952 से 2001 तक हुए लोकसभा, राज्यसभा, विधान सभा, विधान परिषद के चुनावों में महिला प्रतिनिधित्व का आँकड़ा 25: को भी नहीं छूआ है। इसी प्रकार किसी भी चुनाव में महिला मतदान का प्रतिशत 50: को भी पार नहीं कर सका है। यदि उत्तर प्रदेश की महिलाओं का इन प्रतिनिधि संस्थाओं में प्रतिनिधित्व को देखा जाए, तो स्थिति और भी दयनीय है। यदि आजादी के बाद से 2000 तक के आम चुनावों में महिलाओं के प्रतिनिधित्व सम्बन्ध आँकड़े को देखा जाए, तो स्थिति स्वतः ही स्पष्ट हो जाती है।<sup>2</sup>

1952 से 1998 तक के लोकसभा चुनावों में महिला प्रतिनिधियों की संख्या एवं उनका प्रतिशत

वर्ष	लोकसभा	राज्यसभा	विधान सभा	विधान परिषद	कुल
1952	499	475	57	23	6
1957	500	467	45	24	2
1962	503	459	70	28	6
1967	523	490	67	32	8
1971	521	499	86	26	6
1977	544	523	70	18	2
1980	544	514	142	32	7
1984	544	500	164	46	10
1989	517	502	198	28	6
1991	544	492	325	42	3
1996	543	504	599	41	9
1998	543	503	225	44	9

उत्तर प्रदेश के 75 जिलों में से 4 जिले ऐसे हैं, जहाँ आज तक एक भी महिला सांसद का निर्वाचन नहीं हुआ है। जिन जिलों में महिला सांसद निर्वाचित हुई हैं, उनमें से 09 जिले ऐसे हैं, जहाँ सिर्फ एक बार ही महिलाओं को लोकसभा में सफलता प्राप्त हुई है। उन जिलों के नाम निम्नवत हैं— कानपुर, इलाहाबाद, झाँसी, बहराइच, मथुरा, आजमगढ़, हाथरस, गौतम बुद्ध नगर, गोरखपुर। इसी प्रकार उत्तर प्रदेश की राजधानी लखनऊ में सन् 1980 के बाद आज तक किसी महिला को सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हुई है। बलरामपुर जिले में 1962 में आंवला में 1971 के बाद, बरेली, मेरठ व चन्दौली में 1980 के बाद, उन्नाव में 1984 के बाद किसी भी महिला का सांसद के तौर पर निर्वाचन नहीं हुआ है। इसी प्रकार उत्तर प्रदेश की विधान कोई भी राजनीतिक पार्टी इस लक्ष्य को प्राप्त नहीं कर सकती है। उदाहरण के तौर पर कई अध्ययनों से स्पष्ट है कि महिलाओं की राजनीतिक दलों में सदस्यता, सम्बन्धित दलों की पूरी सदस्यता का 10 से 12 प्रतिशत ही है।<sup>11</sup> भारतीय जनता पार्टी की राष्ट्रीय कार्यकारिणी समिति में कुल सदस्य संख्या—

147 है, जिसमें महिला सदस्यों की संख्या सिर्फ 10 है।<sup>12</sup> जनता दल के 15 सदस्य पॉलिटिकल अफेयर कमेटी में महिला सदस्यों की संख्या सिर्फ 1 है।<sup>13</sup> यदि बहुजन समाज पार्टी पर नजर डाला जाय, तो मायावती के बाद किसी प्रभावशाली महिला नेत्री की प्रभावी व क्रियाशील भूमिका इस दल में नजर नहीं आती। समाजवादी पार्टी में भी एक भी महिला नेत्री क्रियाशील राजनीति में नजर नहीं आती। यदि आजादी के पश्चात् लोकसभा व विधान सभा चुनावों में राजनीतिक दलों द्वारा घोषित महिला प्रत्याशी व उनमें से विजयी महिला प्रत्याशियों की संख्या को देखें, तो तस्वीर और स्पष्ट नजर आती है।<sup>14</sup> स्रोत : चुनाव आयोग की रिपोर्ट-1952, 1957, 1962, 1971, 1977, 1980, 1984, 1989, 1991, 1996, 1998 1952 से 2000 तक विधान सभा में महिला अदलगत संख्य<sup>15</sup>

विधान सभा वर्ष	BJP(Jan sagh)	INC	PSP/IND	SSP	BKD	JP	BSP	SP	RLD
1952	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1957	-	23	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1962	1	19	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1967	-	6	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
1969	-	15	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
1974	-	20	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
1977	-	4	-	-	2	8	-	-	-
1980	-	17	-	-	5	1	-	-	-
1985	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1989	2	8	1	-	-	7	1	-	-
1991	6	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
1993	7	-	-	-	-	-	1	5	-
1995	11	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	-
2000	7	1	1	-	-	-	6	13	1
योग	34	151	3	2	11	20	11	24	1

स्रोत : चुनाव आयोग की रिपोर्ट-1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1974, 1977, 1980, 1985, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1995, 2000

भले ही विभिन्न राजनीतिक दलों ने महिलाओं को राजनीति से जोड़ने की उनकी राजनीतिक भागीदारी को बढ़ाने की, राजनीति में उनके स्थान को सुरक्षित करने हेतु महिला आरक्षण की घोषणा की हो, परन्तु इन्हीं राजनीतिक पार्टियों ने महिलाओं को अगड़े व पिछड़े जाति में बाँटकर देखने के प्रश्न को उठाकर सुनियोजित तरीके से लोकसभा व विधान सभा में महिलाओं के राजनीतिक आरक्षण सम्बन्धी बिल को पारित नहीं होने दिया है। किन्तु ऐसा भी नहीं है कि महिलाओं की राजनीतिक जागरूकता व सक्रियता बढ़ी नहीं है। वे प्रतिनिधि संस्थाओं में आ रही हैं, परन्तु इन प्रतिनिधि संस्थाओं में इनकी संख्या तुलनात्मक रूप से अभी भी काफी कम है। राजनीति में उनकी मौजूदगी प्रभावी नहीं है, उनकी राजनीतिक दलों व नीति निर्माण में अस्मिता व प्रभाव को लेकर अभी भी प्रश्नचिन्ह लगा हुआ है।

## I UnHkZ xJFk&amp;I pph-

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## 34- fNUnokMk ft ys ea Hkkj rh; Lok/khurk vkUnksyu dk v/; ; u

**\*डॉ. निधि डोडानी**

छिन्दवाड़ा जिला मध्यप्रदेश के चुने हुए आदिवासी बाहुल्य जिलों में से एक है। भारत का प्रथम स्वतंत्रता आन्दोलन सन 1857 की क्रांति से प्रारंभ हुआ था। 1857 की क्रांति के अग्रदूत तात्या टोपे के 1858 में जिले में आगमन पर उन्हें जिले के जागीरदार महावीरसिंह का सहयोग प्राप्त हुआ।<sup>1</sup> ब्रिटिश शासन के विरोध में स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों की गतिविधियों का आरंभ इस क्षेत्र में 20 वीं सदी के प्रथम दशक से हुआ। सन 1916 में राष्ट्रीय नेता मौलाना शौकत अली और मोहम्मद अली नजरबंद कर छिन्दवाड़ा लाये गये।<sup>2</sup> इनके पदार्पण से यह जिला राष्ट्रीय स्तर पर राजनीतिक गतिविधियों का केन्द्र बन गया। अली बंधुओं ने चंदा इकट्ठा करके छिन्दवाड़ा के गोलगंज में मस्जिद का निर्माण कराया। इसके संबंध में पं. भगवत प्रसाद शुक्ल ने लिखा है, "यहाँ की जामा मस्जिद सब मस्जिदों से श्रेष्ठ है।"<sup>3</sup>

स्व. मारुतिराव ओक्टे ने लिखा है "वास्तव में इस क्षितिज में स्वतंत्रता के प्रति अकुलाहट तो तात्या टोपे के पदार्पण के एकदम बाद ही शुरू हो गई थी, परन्तु अली बंधुओं की नजरबंदी नगर के लोगों में कौतूहल, आश्चर्य और आक्रोश का विषय बनकर चेतना का अंकुर बन गई।"<sup>4</sup>

20 दिसम्बर 1920 में नागपुर में कांग्रेस का अविस्मरणीय एवं ऐतिहासिक अधिवेशन हुआ। छिन्दवाड़ा जिले से सर्वश्री विश्वनाथ दामोदर साल्पेकर, उमाकान्त बलवंत घाटे, ब्रजमोहन वर्मा, कृष्णा स्वामी नायडू, वीरबाबू राव हरकरे आदि नेताओं ने इस अधिवेशन में भाग लिया।<sup>5</sup>

6 जनवरी 1921 को राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी पहली बार छिन्दवाड़ा आये थे। गांधीजी का ऐतिहासिक प्रांतीय दौरा छिन्दवाड़ा जिले से शुरू हुआ था। 6 जनवरी की संध्या को चिटनवीस गंज मैदान में एक विशाल सभा हुई लगभग 10 हजार लोग उपस्थित थे, इस

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**\*अतिथि विद्वान शासकीय पेंचवली महाविद्यालय परासिया।**

सभा में गांधीजी ने असहयोग आन्दोलन के पक्ष में सारगर्भित भाषण दिया था।<sup>6</sup> नगर में पहली बार जिला कांग्रेस कमेटी का गठन किया गया। जिसके मातहत धरना आन्दोलन, शराब की दुकानों में पिकेटिंग, सरकारी नौकरियों से त्यागपत्र तथा विदेशी वस्त्रों की होली जलाना जैसे कार्यक्रम प्रारंभ हुए।<sup>7</sup> 923 का झंडा सत्याग्रह मध्यप्रांत का एक अद्वितीय आन्दोलन था, इसमें जिले के 15 स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों ने भाग लिया। इसका नेतृत्व मराठी भाषी नेता विश्वनाथ साल्पेकर और नीलकंठराव गुन्डे ने किया। इस आन्दोलन में बहुसंख्यक गोंड जनजातियों की सक्रिय भागीदारी रही।<sup>8</sup>

सविनय अवज्ञा आन्दोलन का एक अंग विदेशी वस्तु का बहिष्कार एवं शराब बंदी आन्दोलन था। जिसका सर्वाधिक प्रभाव जिले के दक्षिणी भाग पर परिलक्षित हुआ। जिले से 150 व्यक्ति गिरतार किये गये जिनमें 42 को कारावास का दण्ड दिया गया।<sup>9</sup> 29 नवम्बर 1933 को महात्मा गांधी का इस जिले में दूसरी बार आगमन हुआ। गांधीजी के इस दौरे का मुख्य उद्देश्य हरिजनोद्धार था। उन्होंने छुआछूत की समस्या को भारतीय समाज के लिए अभिशाप घोषित किया।<sup>10</sup> इसके परिणामस्वरूप इस जिले में साम्प्रदायिक सद्भाव स्थापित हुआ।

31 दिसम्बर 1936 को पं. जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने इस क्षेत्र की यात्रा की। नेहरूजी की इस यात्रा के परिणामस्वरूप इस क्षेत्र में कांग्रेस प्रत्याशियों की शत प्रतिशत विजय हुई।<sup>11</sup> गांधी जी और नेहरूजी की इन यात्राओं से इस क्षेत्र में स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन को एक नई दिशा और गति प्राप्त हुई। 1939 में ब्रिटिश शासन ने भारतीय राजनीतिज्ञों के विचार-विमर्श किये बिना ही भारत को द्वितीय महायुद्ध में ढकेल दिया। इसके कारण भारतीय जनमानस असंतुष्ट होने के बावजूद स्वतंत्रता की शर्त पर ब्रिटिश सरकार को युद्ध में सहयोग देने के लिए तैयार हो गया परन्तु ब्रिटिश सरकार ने भारतीय को स्वाधीनता का कोई आश्वासन नहीं दिया। इसके फलस्वरूप महात्मा गांधी ने 1940 ई. में 'व्यक्तिगत सत्याग्रह' आरंभ किया इसमें इस क्षेत्र के लगभग 70 सत्याग्रहियों ने सत्याग्रह को सफल बनाने का प्रयास किया।<sup>12</sup>

छिन्दवाड़ा जिले में भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन का आरंभ गांधीजी सहित राष्ट्र के प्रमुख नेताओं की गिरतारी के साथ हुआ। लोगों ने स्वाभाविक रूप से इस जन आन्दोलन में भाग लिया। यहाँ के लगभग 45 स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सेनानियों को बंदी बनाया गया और उन्हें पुलिस यातनाएँ दी गईं।<sup>13</sup>

'स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन' में छिन्दवाड़ा जिले का उल्लेखनीय योगदान रहा है। स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के दौरान छिन्दवाड़ा जिले की जनता ने राष्ट्रीय उत्साह का एक ज्वलंत प्रमाण प्रस्तुत कर उसमें अपना अविस्मरणीय योगदान दिया था। स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन में जिले की महिलाओं की भी सक्रिय भागीदारी रही।

l nHk&

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\*MKW gæcky

बौद्ध धर्म विश्व के महान धर्मों में से एक है। भगवान बुद्ध ने साधारण जनता को शील समाधि तथा प्रज्ञा का उपदेश दिया। भगवान बुद्ध ने शील, सदाचार तथा आचरण की शुद्धता पर विशेष बल दिया है। नए जीवन मूल्यों के प्रतिष्ठापक, एक सर्वथा नए मानव धर्म की स्थापना के वे उद्गाता माने जाते हैं, ज्ञान, सत्य और प्रज्ञा पर आधारित धार्मिक क्रान्ति के वे ऐसे ज्योति स्तम्भ थे जिनसे बहुजन हिताय, अपना जीवन समर्पित कर दिया था। निर्वाण के क्षणों तक के परिग्राजक बने रहे।<sup>1</sup> इसके लिए उन्होंने सदाचार की महत्ता पर बल दिया क्योंकि सदाचार के अवलम्बन से मानव अपनी ही शक्ति से निर्वाण पा सकता है।<sup>2</sup> भगवान बुद्ध के अनुसार शील से काय शुद्धि, समाधि से चित्त शुद्धि तथा प्रज्ञा से अवधि का नाश होता है।<sup>3</sup> अतः शील में संप्रतिष्ठित होकर समाधि एवं प्रज्ञा की भावना करता हुआ योगी निष्प्रपंच हो जाता है और अमोषधर्म निर्वाण का अधिगम करता है। बौद्ध साधना में शील की सर्वोपरिता है। यथागत ने देशना दी है कि मेधावी को शील की रक्षा करनी चाहिए – शील रक्खेय्य मेधावी।<sup>4</sup>

भगवान बुद्ध के अनुसार शील का अर्थ है प्राणतिपाप आदि समग्र गर्हित कर्मों से चित्त की विरति अर्थात् चित्त की विरति ही शील है।<sup>5</sup> शील कार्मिक एवं वाचिक संयम का प्रत्यायक है। बौद्धों के अनुसार शील सम्यक कर्म, सम्यक वाक् तथा सम्यक आजीवन अन्तर्भूत है जिसमें नैतिक आचरण की समस्त नियम संहिता अनुस्यूत है।<sup>6</sup> अश्वघोष ने सौन्दरनन्द में आर्य अष्टांगिक मार्ग को स्कन्धात्मक माना है और शील, समाधि तथा प्रज्ञा के रूप में इसका विभाजन किया है।<sup>7</sup> एक अन्य स्थल पर बुद्ध धर्म के अनुसार प्रज्ञा, शील और समाधि अष्टांगिक मार्ग के प्रतीक हैं ये तीनों ही हैं।<sup>8</sup> अष्टांगिक मार्ग इसी साधनात्रय का पल्लवित रूप है। इसका वर्णन निम्न प्रकार है—

- |                   |                          |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. सम्यक् दृष्टि  | 2. सम्यक् संकल्प प्रज्ञा |
| 3. सम्यक् वाचा    | 4. सम्यक् कम्मन्ति       |
| 5. सम्यक् आजीविका | 6. सम्यक् व्यायाम        |

\*vfrffk f'kf{kdk % ldr½ efgyk dkkyst , - , e- ; # vyhx<+ %m-i z½

## 7. सम्यक् स्मृति

## 8. सम्यक् समाधि

शील ही लोक में कल्याणकारी एवं अनुत्तर है। (सीले किरेव कल्याणं सीललोके अनुत्तर)। शील के महत्व को प्रतिपादित करते हुए भगवान बुद्ध से 'एक ऐसा सामाजिक मापदण्ड सुनिश्चित किया जिसे दार्शनिक और सामाजिक भाषा में पंचशील के नाम से पुकारा गया जनता के लिए मामूली से लगने वाले शील सदाचार के मापदण्ड, नियम एक नई सामाजिक संरचना की दिशा में प्रथम प्रयास था। पंचशील सिद्धान्तों के अन्तर्गत समाज के दिग्भ्रमित या बहके हुए लोगों से अपेक्षा की गई थी कि वे अपने नैतिक जीवन को सुधारे। सामाजिक बंधनों और सामाजिक मर्यादा का पालन करें।<sup>10</sup> यही सिद्धान्त पंचशील के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुए।<sup>11</sup>

1. अहिंसा परमोधर्म— प्राणी हिंसा से अलग रहना।
2. अस्तेय— चोरी आदि दुष्प्रवृत्तियों से विरत रहना।
3. ब्रह्मचर्य— जबरन मैथुन/कामाचार से दूर रहना।
4. असत्य और क्रूर भाषण से विरक्ति— मृदु भाषण का अभ्यास। 5. मद्यपान विरत— नशीले पदार्थों के सेवन से अलग रहना।

इन पंचशील सिद्धान्तों के प्रतिपादन से समाज में एक नए विचार का जन्म हुआ तथा लोगों के मध्य एकता और सामाजिक न्याय का पथ प्रशस्त हुआ। भगवान बुद्ध द्वारा प्रतिपादित पंचशील सिद्धान्तों का स्पष्ट प्रभाव हमें भारतीय लोक जीवन के अत्यधिक महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्तित्व महात्मा गांधी के सिद्धान्तों में परिलक्षित होता है। महात्मा गांधी जगत के लिए उदाहरणस्वरूप थे, वे महामानव थे। उनका व्यक्तित्व बहुमुखी था। उन्होंने सामाजिक, आर्थिक, धार्मिक, राजनैतिक और दार्शनिक सभी पक्षों पर विचार किया। उनके चिन्तन का क्षेत्र व्यापक और कार्यक्षेत्र अत्यधिक विशाल था। अहिंसा सर्वग्राही सत्य को प्राप्त करने का साधन है। गाँधी जी के शब्दों में अहिंसा का वास्तविक अर्थ है सकारात्मक अनुशासन। महात्मा बुद्ध ने धार्मिक न्याय के लिए जिस अहिंसा को खड़ा किया था, महात्मा गांधी जी ने इस युग में इसी हिंसा का उपयोग सामाजिक और आर्थिक न्याय प्राप्त करने के लिए किया महात्मागांधी ने अहिंसा को नया आयाम देते हुए कहा— "यदि अहिंसा संगठित नहीं हो सकती तो वह धर्म नहीं है यदि मुझमें कोई विशेषता है तो यही कि मैं सत्य और अहिंसा को संगठित कर रहा हूँ.....जो बात मैं करना चाहता हूँ और करके मरना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि अहिंसा को संगठित करूँ.....। .....अहिंसा सबके लिए है, सब जगहों के लिए है, सब समय के लिए है।"<sup>12</sup>

सत्य, अहिंसा और सत्याग्रह गाँधी के दर्शन के आधार भूत स्तम्भ है। भगवान बुद्ध ने अपने पंचशील जिसे असत्य भाषण और कटु भाषण से विरक्ति अर्थात् मृदुभाषण अभ्यास कहा है। उसे ही महात्मा गांधी ने सत्य के रूप में माना है। गांधी जी ने स्पष्टतः सत्य को जीवन का आधार एवं प्रयोजन तथा सर्वश्रेष्ठ मूल्य के रूप में स्वीकार किया है। गाँधी ने स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा कि जहाँ सत्य नहीं है वहाँ शुद्ध ज्ञान संभव नहीं हो सकता,

जहाँ सत्य ज्ञान है वहाँ आनन्द ही होगा, शोक होगा ही नहीं और सत्य शाश्वत है इसीलिए आनन्द भी शाश्वत होता है और मनुष्य को परम सुख की प्राप्ति सत्य के माध्यम से ही हो सकती है।<sup>13</sup> गौतम बुद्ध की शील अस्तेय को महात्मा गांधी ने अपरिग्रह से जोड़ा है। परिग्रह का अर्थ है भविष्य के लिए व्यवस्था करना। महात्मा गाँधी के अनुसार यदि हमारे पास कोई ऐसी वस्तु है जिसकी हमें आवश्यकता नहीं है तो भले ही वह मूलतः चुराई गई वस्तु न हो, पर चोरी की संपत्ति की श्रेणी में ही गिनी जायेगी।<sup>14</sup> पंचशीलों में से ब्रह्मचर्य के सम्बन्ध में भी महात्मा गाँधी के अनुसार ब्रह्मचर्य का पूरा और सही अर्थ है— ब्रह्म की खोज। ऐसे व्यक्ति ईश्वर से सानिध्य में निवास करते हैं। ऐसे ब्रह्मचर्य का मनसा, वाचा, कर्मणा पूरी तरह पालन करना संभव है।<sup>15</sup>

इस प्रकार कहा जा सकता है कि बौद्ध पंचशील सिद्धान्तों का महात्मा गाँधी के व्यक्तित्व पर विशेष प्रभाव था उन्होंने अपने जीवन में इन सिद्धान्तों का उद्देश्य ही नहीं अपितु प्रयोग करके मानव जीवन को एक नई दिशा प्रदान की वे, सत्य, अहिंसा के पुजारी थे वे अपने युग के पुरोधामाने जाते हैं।

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### 36- vɔɪBk fu' kkuh ¼21 ebl 1930½

\*MKD dpu pkMd

21 मई 1930 इस समय सिवनी जेल में पंडित रविशंकर शुक्ल थे। श्री शुक्ल को नागपुर में बंदी बना कर सिवनी जेल में रखा गया था।<sup>1</sup> इस जेल में शुक्ल जी के अतिरिक्त लोकनायक माधव श्रीहरि तथा विदर्भ के नेता श्री वामन जोशी भी रखे गये थे इस अवसर पर शुक्ल जी को जेल में ज्यादातियों के विरुद्ध पर्याप्त संघर्ष करना पड़ा।

सिवनी जेल में अंगूठे तथा अंगुलियों के निशान के छापे लेने की स्मरणीय घटना घटित हुई जिसमें शुक्लजी ने अपने अदम्य साहस दृढ़ता तथा स्वाभिमान का परिचय दिया। उन दिनों जेल में यह परिपाटी तथा नियम सा बन गया था<sup>2</sup> कि प्रत्येक बंदी की पहचान के लिये उसके अंगुलियों के निशान लेने की प्रथा सी चल पड़ी थी।<sup>3</sup> जेल अधिकारियों ने एक दिन श्रीवामन जोशी को बुलाया और उनके अंगूठे तथा अंगुलियों के निशान ले लिये, जब वे अपने साथियों के पास लौटे तो उनके काले हाथ देखकर शुक्लजी ने पूछा कि क्या बात है। श्री जोशी बतलाया कि जेल वालों ने उनके अंगुलियों वा अंगूठे के निशान लिये। तीसरे दिन शुक्ल जी को जेल अधिकारियों ने दपतर में बुलवाया और उन्हें अंगूठे व अंगुलियों के निशान देने को कहा तो उन्होंने साफ इंकार कर दिया क्योंकि जेल म्येन्यूअल में इनकी कोई व्यवस्था नहीं थी।<sup>4</sup> बहुत समझाने बुझाने पर भी जब पंडित जी तैयार नहीं हुए, तो अंत में इस कार्य के लिये एक मजिस्ट्रेट बुलाया गया शुक्ल जी ने बिना किसी अभियोग के मजिस्ट्रेट के सामने उपस्थित होने से इंकार किया तब डिप्टी कमिश्नर सीमेन के आदेश पर आर० एन० पेटारकर तत्कालीन ई० ए० सी०, जेल व तहसील के बार्डर, खलासी, चपरासी इस कार्य के लिये एकत्र कर लिये गये पर शुक्ल जी ने वक्तव्य दिया कि वे अपनी इच्छा के विरुद्ध अंगूठे तथा अंगुलियों के निशान नहीं देंगे और इस कार्य का विरोध करेंगे और यदि उनको कुछ क्षति पहुँची तो उसकी समस्त जिम्मेदारी सरकार की होगी। इतने पर भी अधिकारी बलपूर्वक निशान लेने के लिए तुले हुए थे, अधिकारियों व चपरासियों ने शुक्लजी को जमीन पर गिराकर

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\*अतिथि विद्वान शासकीय कन्या महाविद्यालय टीकमगढ़ (म.प्र.)

जर्बदस्ती निशान लेने का प्रयत्न किया, शुक्ल जी ने पूरी इच्छा शक्ति और दृढ़ता से उसका विरोध किया। शुक्लजी कर्मचारियों से पूरे 35 – 40 मिनट जमकर संघर्ष करते रहे। इन सभी कर्मचारियों ने शुक्ल जी को बुरी तरह दबा लिया।<sup>5</sup> और बड़ी कठिनाईयों से अंगुलियों के अस्पष्ट निशान लिये जा सके।<sup>6</sup>

इसका फल यहा हुआ कि शुक्ल जी के दोनो हाथ बुरी तरह सूज गये थे और काफी चोटे आ जाने से उन्हे बुखार भी आ गया था। शुक्ल जी द्वारा इस प्रतिरोध का परिणाम यह हुआ कि घटना के चार दिन बाद ही नागपुर से प्रांत भर में आदेश प्रसारित हो गए कि जब तक पुलिस के डिप्टी जनरल का आदेश ना हो, किसी भी बंदी के अंगुलियों के निशान ना लिये जाए। जेल से छुटने पर शुक्लजी ने सरकार से 10 हजार रुपये की क्षतिपूर्ति का दावा किया और मांग की कि उनके साथ जेल में नियमों को भंग करते हुए सरकार ने दुर्यवहार किया था।<sup>7</sup> शुक्लजी की ओर से श्री दुर्गाशंकर मेहता, प्रभाकर राव जटार एवं सिवनी के बहुत से वकीलों ने पैरवी की थी।<sup>8</sup> अंग्रेजी शासन की ओर से श्री पन्नालाल भार्गव बेरिस्टर ने पैरवी की। नीचे की अदालत में यह दावा खारिज हो गया।<sup>9</sup> जिसके विरुद्ध शुक्ल जी ने नागपुर हाईकोर्ट में अपील की थी हाईकोर्ट ने यद्यपि उनकी अपील स्वीकार नहीं की थी परंतु हाईकोर्ट के एक न्यायाधीश ने उनकी मांग को अपनी अल्पमतीय सन्मति से उचित कहा था, फिर भी इस विषय में दोनो न्यायाधीशों में मतभेद था। इस संबंध में शुक्ल जी प्रिवी कौंसिल में अपील करना चाहते थे, पर संबंधित अधिकारी रिटायर हो चुके थे और शुक्ल जी स्वयं शिक्षामंत्री बन गए थे फलतः उन्होने मामले को आगे नहीं बढ़ाया। अंग्रेजी शासन से न्याय के लिए लड़ कर अपने 'स्वाभिमान की रक्षा' रविशंकर शुक्ल जी के जीवन की उल्लेखनीय घटना है।<sup>10</sup>

### 1 anHk xAfK l uph %&

- 1 पाठक पं०, जानकी प्रसाद - सिवनी आज कल और आज, 2004 पृष्ठ क्रमांक 13
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- 8 शर्मा एस० एन० - सिवनी प्राचीन और अर्वाचीन, सन्1961 पृष्ठ क्रमांक 25
- 9 सिवनी संदर्भ में प्रकाशित जानकारी के आधार पर, जिला लाईब्रेरी सिवनी।
- 10 मध्यप्रदेश के स्वतंत्रता संग्राम सैनिक खंड 1 पूर्वोक्त पृष्ठ क्रमांक 223

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\*j tuh l DI uk

1100 ई. से 1800 ई. के मध्य ग्वालियर में कच्छपघात, प्रतिहार, गुलाम वंश, खिल्जी वंश, तुगलक वंश, तोमर वंश, मुगल वंश, सूरी एवं सिंधिया वंश का आधिपत्य रहा था। ग्वालियर की मूर्तिकला का इतिहास मौर्यकाल के कुछ बाद शुंगकाल से प्रारंभ होता है। मध्यकाल तक आते आते ग्वालियर क्षेत्र में मूर्ति निर्माण कला अत्यंत विकसित हो चुकी थी।

‘गोपाचल पर्वत’ की दृढ़ शिलाओं पर शिल्पित ‘भगवान पार्श्वनाथ’ की प्रतिमा एवं अन्य सहस्रों विशाल पाषाण-प्रतिमाएं समय के सुदन्तम अवदानों में से एक है। मूर्तिकार शिलाओं को कुरेद कर अथवा शिला खण्डों को गढ़कर मूर्तियों का निर्माण करते थे जिनका आकार ग्वालियर गढ़ की पर्वताकार मूर्तियों से लेकर अत्यंत छोटी मूर्ति तक है। कुछ मूर्तियाँ चारों ओर से बनी हैं, कुछ पत्थर पर चित्रों के समान उभरी हुई हैं।<sup>1</sup> ग्वालियर स्थित गोपाचल पर्वत प्राचीन जैन मूर्ति समूह का अद्वितीय स्थान है। यहां के तत्कालीन शासक तोमर वंशीय राजा श्री वीरम देव, श्री डूगर सिंह एवं श्री कीर्तिसिंह के राज्यकाल में वि.सं. 1938 (सन् 1341) से वि.स. 1536 (सन् 1479) के मध्य करीब 138 वर्ष तक संसार प्रसिद्ध मूर्ति शिल्प विशेषज्ञों द्वारा पर्वत तराश कर ये प्रतिमाएं शिल्पित की गई थी। जब ये बनकर तैयार हुईं तो तत्कालीन महाकवि ‘पं. रङ्गू जैन’ ने धूमधाम से इन मूर्तियों की प्रतिष्ठा कराई।<sup>2</sup>

गोपाचल पर्वत सृष्टि को अहिंसा तथा हिन्दू धर्म में आई बलि प्रथा को खत्म करने का संदेश देता है। यहां रूढ़ियों तथा आडम्बरों में सुधारक जैन धर्म के

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\*fj l pl Qſyk] vkb- l h- , p- vkj-] ubz fnYyh] 'kkſkkFkh] 'kk-dsvkj-ti- LukrdkRrj] Lo'kkl h egkfo | ky; ] Xokfy; j eoi 0

तीर्थाकरों की मूर्तियां उकेरी गई हैं। यह स्थल धरातल से लगभग 200 फीट की ऊँचाई पर स्थित है। इन मूर्ति समूहों में छह इंच से लेकर 57 फुट तक की मूर्तियां हैं। इनमें आदिनाथ भगवान की बावनगजा तथा भगवान पार्श्वनाथ की पद्मासन प्रतिमा शामिल है। यहां पर लगभग 12 फुट ऊँचाई लिए हुए जैन तीर्थंकर 'नेमिनाथ' की खड़कासन प्रतिमा अवस्थित है। इस प्रतिमा को लगभग '10x10x5' आकार के पहाड़ी चट्टान को काटकर बनाया गया है।<sup>3</sup> इनके अतिरिक्त पद्मप्रभु, चंद्रप्रभु, शंभुनाथ, कुम्भुनाथ, महावीर आदि तीर्थंकरों की मूर्तियां भी यहां हैं। इन प्रतिमाओं की संख्या 100 से भी अधिक है। यहां कुल 26 गुफायें हैं जिनमें लगभग 20 प्रतिमाएं 10 फीट से 30 फीट तक ऊँची हैं, इतनी ही प्रतिमाएं 8 फीट से 15 फीट ऊँची हैं। वर्तमान में यहां की अधिकतर प्रतिमाएं खंडित अवस्था में हैं। इस परिसर में सामान्य रूप से अष्टप्रतिहार्यों जैसे— भामण्डल, दुन्दुभि, त्रिछत्र—सर्पछत्र, वृक्ष, चामर घर और सिंहासन का विधिवत् समायोजन किया गया है। सिंहासन के दोनों सिरों पर यक्ष—यक्षी भी प्रदर्शित हैं। सामान्य रूप से गज—कलष और मालाघरों का अंकन मिलता है। सभी में लाछन सिंह दृष्टव्य है।<sup>4</sup>

इनमें से कुछ प्रतिमाओं के पाद—पाठ पर शिलालेख खुदे हुए देखने को मिलते हैं। इन अभिलेखों की लिपी नागरी व भाषा संस्कृत है। इन अभिलेखों में तोमर नरेश 'डूंगरसिंह' व 'कीर्ति सिंह' का नाम आता है। कुछ अभिलेख सम्वत् 1528—1530 (सन् 1468—1473) तक के खुदे हुए हैं। इस प्रकार जैन मूर्तिकला समूह तत्कालीन उत्कृष्ट स्थापत्य कला के महत्वपूर्ण उदाहरण हैं। गुफा चैत्यों के ऊपरी अंतिम छोर पर एवं मुख्य द्वारों में पहाड़ी चट्टान को सुन्दर रूप से तराश कर देवालय का आभास कराया गया है।<sup>5</sup>

तोमर नरेश 'गणपति देव' पुत्र 'डूंगरसिंह' का ग्वालियर पर शासनकाल लगभग 1427 ई. से 1459 ई. तक लगभग 32 वर्ष तक रहा, जिनका प्रमाण से अभिलेख है।<sup>6</sup> डूंगरसिंह का शासनकाल जैन धर्म एवं जैन साहित्य का स्वर्णयुग था। इस काल में जैन धर्म, जैन साहित्य की प्रगति एवं जैन मूर्तियों का निर्माण चरम सीमा पर था। 'रङ्घू' 16वीं शताब्दी के तोमरों के आश्रित कवि थे। रङ्घू ने उल्लेख किया है कि 'डूंगरसिंह' को जैन धर्म पर आस्था थी। जैन मूर्तियों की ग्वालियर दुर्ग जैन तीर्थ हैं, इसलिए इस पहाड़ी को जैन गढ़ कहा जाता है। तोमर शासक 'डूंगरसिंह' व उनके उत्तराधिकारी पुत्र 'कीर्तिसिंह' के राज्यकाल के दौरान वे जैन प्रतिमाएं बनना प्रारंभ हुई थी जो ग्वालियर गढ़ को चारों ओर से घेरे हुए हैं। जैन ग्रंथ 'प्रशस्ति संग्रह' में उल्लेख है कि 'डूंगरसिंह' ने जैन मूर्तियों को उत्कीर्ण कराने

में पर्याप्त धन व्यय किया। स्थापत्य कला के उत्कृष्ट प्रतीक जैन प्रतिमाएं अपनी सुन्दरता में अद्वितीय हैं। इन मूर्तियों के चेहरे पर भाव प्रधानता और आध्यात्मिकता की प्रधानता है। ये प्रतिमाएं कला के उत्कृष्ट उदाहरण हैं। गृह तथा वास्तु निर्माण के साथ ही मूर्ति और शिल्पकला का विकास हुआ जिसे धार्मिक भावनाओं ने और भी प्रेरित किया। इस प्रकार से मूर्तिकला समूह भारतीय स्थापत्य कला के अनुपम उदाहरण हैं।

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### 38- xjhcnkl h i f k o g f j ; k . k k d h y k d l l d f r d h , d > y d & l u r t f r j k e d s f o ' k s k l n h k z e a

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हरियाणा के संतों में संत गरीबदास सबसे अधिक प्रसिद्ध हैं। इन्हीं के नाम से गरीबदासी पंथ की भी स्थापना हुई। इनका जन्म स्थान छुडानी है। यहीं इनकी साधना—स्थली तथा पंथ का प्रमुख धाम है। इनके शिष्य एवं ज्येष्ठ पुत्र जैतराम ने अपनी बानी में गरीबदास जी का जन्म 1717 ई. व मृत्यु 1778 ई. मानी है। इनके पिता का नाम बलीराम व माता का नाम रानी था।<sup>1</sup> इनका जन्म एक किसान के घर हुआ। वे कबीर को अपना प्रेरक गुरु मानते थे। जैतराम जी का मानना है कि गरीबदास साक्षात् कबीर ही थे।<sup>2</sup> परन्तु स्वयं गरीबदास जी कबीर को अपना गुरु ही मानते थे।<sup>3</sup>

गरीबदास जी की बानी से पता चलता है कि इन्होंने कबीर की बानी को पढ़ा है और केवल कबीर के जीवन व आदर्शों का अध्ययन ही नहीं किया बल्कि उन्हें अपने जीवन में अपनाया भी।<sup>4</sup> गरीबदास जी के पुत्र जैतराम भी अपने पिता की तरह ही एक प्रसिद्ध सन्त हुए। इनकी बानी ग्रंथसाहिब—श्री जैतराम जी की बानी को गरीबदास जी की बानी की कुंजी कहा जाता है। इसका प्रकाशन 1955 ई. में संत दूलनदास जी कबीर—पंथी ने करवाया था।<sup>5</sup> गरीबदासी पंथ में उत्तराधिकारी को श्री महन्त कहा जाता है। महन्त तुरतीराम ने गरीबदास जी का सुन्दर चित्रकारी से सजा हुआ ऊँचे गुम्बद वाला स्मारक बनवाया था जिसे छतरी साहब कहते हैं।<sup>6</sup> गरीबदास की शिष्य परम्परा में 20 प्रमुख शिष्यों का नाम लिया जाता है, जिसमें जैतराम जी इस रूप में अलग हैं कि इन बीस शिष्यों में से केवल इनके द्वारा रचित काव्य साहित्य उपलब्ध होता है। शेष उन्नीस का कोई साहित्य उपलब्ध नहीं है।<sup>7</sup>

गरीबदास जी की मृत्यु के पश्चात् माता के कहने पर अपने छोटे भाई तुरतीराम को गद्दी सौंप कर ये करौंथा आ गए। महन्त शिवदयाल ने छतरी साहब में अखण्ड ज्योति

\* , l kf'k, V i kQd j ] bfrgkl egf'kz n; kulln fo' ofo | ky; ] jkgrd ] %gfj ; k. kkz

जलाने की प्रथा प्रचलित की थी जो अब तक चलती आ रही है।<sup>8</sup> प्रस्तुत शोध-पत्र में हमने गरीबदासी प्रमुख संत जैतराम की बानी से हरियाणा की लोकसंस्कृति की झलक दिखाते हुए हरियाणा के महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत को उभारने का प्रयास किया है। समकालीन लोक-संस्कृति व सामाजिक मूल्यों का चित्रण जाने-अनजाने उनकी बानी में झलकता है। जैतराम जी की बानी भी आध्यात्मिक होते हुए भी हरियाणा की लोकसंस्कृति की एक झलक प्रस्तुत करती है।

जैतराम जी ने समाज में रहते हुए आध्यात्मिक साधना की है। उन्होंने राजनीतिक व आर्थिक प्रभावों से मुक्त होकर सामाजिक व नैतिक मूल्यों को प्रधानता दी है। उनकी बानी में हमें संयुक्त परिवार के दर्शन होते हैं। बानी से पता चलता है कि बहू को सास के निर्देशन में घर का काम करना पड़ता था। जब बहू गगरी उठाकर पानी भरने पनघट पर जाती है तो बहुत खोजने पर भी उसे कहीं भी पानी नहीं मिलता। बहू बहुत परेशानी में है कि अगर खाली गगरी लेकर गई तो सास लड़ेगी और पति डांटेगा।<sup>9</sup> वास्तव में वे कहते हैं कि सास के इस प्रकार के व्यवहार के कारण ये स्त्रियाँ ससुराल की अपेक्षा मायके में रहना अधिक पसन्द करती हैं। नैहर शब्द इस संसार का वह ससुराल से अभिप्राय परमात्मा की समीपता है। उन्होंने पति के साथ मिलकर रहने वाली स्त्रियों की प्रशंसा की है और इस विषय में हरियाणा की बहुत गर्व से प्रशंसा की है।<sup>10</sup> कन्याओं के द्वारा घर में झाड़ू-बुहारी के साथ-साथ खेत के काम में हाथ बंटाते दिखाया गया है जो हरियाणा के ग्रामीण परिवेश की एक झलक प्रस्तुत करती है।<sup>11</sup>

बहुपत्नी की प्रथा समकालीन राजाओं में पायी जाती थी और उनकी देखा-देखी समाज के अन्य वर्गों में भी बहुपत्नीत्व की प्रथा के प्रचलन का वर्णन मिलता है। उन्होंने सौतेली सन्तान के प्रति किए जाने वाले व्यवहार का वर्णन भी इस प्रकार किया है कि पिता पटरानी के प्रभाव के कारण अपनी अन्य पत्नियों से सन्तानों को प्यार देने के इच्छा रखते हुए भी प्यार नहीं कर पाते।<sup>12</sup> नगर व गाँव का वर्णन करते हुए वे नगरों के बड़े-बड़े आवासों, बंगलों तथा गाँव के अपने भाग्यानुसार घास-फूस से बने छप्परों की टूटी झोपड़ी का चित्रण किया है।<sup>13</sup> सन्त जी की बानी में लोक-जीवन के खाद्य-पदार्थों की एक लम्बी सूची मिलती है। दूध, दही, खीर, चावल, दाल आदि के अलावा मिर्च, हींग, इलायची आदि मसालों का तथा मेथी, तोरी आदि सब्जियों का एवं लड्डू, जलेबी<sup>14</sup> आदि मिष्ठानों का वर्णन करते हुए प्रदेश को दूध-दही से भरा-पूरा बताया है, जिसके कारण यहाँ के लोगों की काया में एक चमक दिखाई देती है।<sup>15</sup>

खाद्य-पदार्थों के समकक्ष ही हरियाणा की वेशभूषा का अंदाजा भी उनकी बानी से लगाया जा सकता है। वे कहते हैं कि अमीर, दीवान आदि रेशमी वस्त्र व गहने पहनते हैं, शाल-दुशाला ओढ़ते हैं। गरीबदास जी के वस्त्रों के माध्यम से उन्होंने तत्कालीन पुरुषों के परिधानों में सिर पर पगड़ी, शरीर पर अंगरखा, कमर पर धोती, कंधे पर दूपट्टा, पैरों में जूती का जिक्र किया है<sup>16</sup> व स्त्री परिधानों में ओढ़नी, चोली, साड़ी, बिंदी लगाने, माँग भरने, काजल लगाने व गहने पहनने पर प्रकाश डाला है।<sup>17</sup> बानी में हरियाणा में पहने

जाने वाले मोटे कपड़े रेजे<sup>18</sup> तथा आम लोगों द्वारा प्रयोग होने वाले तकिया, गद्दी, गलीचा आदि का भी जिक्र मिलता है।<sup>19</sup> इसी प्रकार से बानी से समकालीन उत्सव व त्यौहारों, जो कि भारतीय संस्कृति का एक हिस्सा हैं, के मनाए जाने की भी चित्रण प्राप्त होता है। त्यौहारों में बसन्त में फाग व सावन में झूला झूलने का विशेष रूप से वर्णन है। सौहार्दपूर्ण वातावरण में केसरिया रंग घोलकर पिचकारी मारने का उल्लेख करते हुए होली खेलते हुए ढोल, मंजीरे, झांझ आदि वाद्य यन्त्रों को बजाने का भी जिक्र मिलता है, जो होली के त्यौहार को प्रत्यक्ष रूप से दर्शाने में सिद्ध होते हैं।<sup>20</sup>

सन्त जी ने आध्यात्मिक रूप से महुवा पीकर अजीब मस्ती में भरकर होली खेलने का चित्र प्रस्तुत किया है। होली के अवसर पर स्त्रियों द्वारा पुरुषों को डंडे से पीटने का, पुरुषों द्वारा उन पर रंग डालने का उल्लेख मिलता है।<sup>21</sup> होली के समान ही खुशी के वातावरण में सावन के महीने में झूला-झूलते समय संगीत शब्द से हरियाणा में उस समय गाए जाने वाले गीतों का संकेत भी प्राप्त होता है।<sup>22</sup> उत्सवों के साथ-साथ आमजन के अन्य मनोरंजन के साधनों का भी चित्रण प्राप्त होता है। नट-नटी की तुलना अनेक रूप धारण करने वाली माया से की गई है। वे कहते हैं कि जिस प्रकार नट अनेक-स्वांग रच अपनी कला से सबको चकित कर देता है, उसी प्रकार ईश्वर अपनी चमत्कारी लीलाओं से सबको चकित कर देता है।<sup>23</sup> संसार को बाजीगर का तमाशा कहा गया है।<sup>24</sup>

इसी प्रकार पतंग उड़ाने<sup>25</sup>, कठपुतली के तमाशे<sup>26</sup>, कुश्ती<sup>27</sup>, एवं चौपड़ के खेल<sup>28</sup> आदि का उल्लेख भी बानी में मिलता है। बानी आध्यात्मिक वर्णन करते हुए अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से समाज में प्रचलित बुराईयों जैसा जुआ खेलने<sup>29</sup>, मदिरा पीने<sup>30</sup> की ओर भी संकेत करती है, जिनके जरिए लोग अपना मनोरंजन करते थे। उत्सवों व मनोरंजन के साधनों के अलावा बानी में बड़ों का सम्मान करने, उन्हें अभिवादन करने व सन्तजनों को दण्डवत करने की शिक्षा दी गई है।<sup>31</sup> वे अतिथि सत्कार की भावना को महत्वपूर्ण बताते हुए सन्तों की सेवा करने<sup>32</sup> व पाखंडी साधुओं का विरोध करने से भी नहीं चूकते।<sup>33</sup>

जहाँ एक तरफ बानी से लोकाचार के विशय में ज्ञान प्राप्त होता है, वहीं दूसरी ओर लोकविश्वास, समाज में प्रचलित अन्धविश्वासों की भी जानकारी प्राप्त होती है। बानी में अंधविश्वासों व रूढ़ियों की कड़ी आलोचना करते हुए लोगों द्वारा तन्त्र-मन्त्र पर विश्वास करते हुए बताया गया है। जैतराम जी ने ऐसे विश्वास को पाखण्ड का नाम दिया है।<sup>34</sup>

साँप के काटने पर मंत्र पढ़कर विश उतारने में लोगों का विश्वास था।<sup>35</sup>

शुभकार्य करने से पहले शुभ मुहूर्त देखने का विश्वास भी लोगों में बना हुआ था।<sup>36</sup>

ये लोक विश्वास जो साहित्य के द्वारा हमें देखने को मिलते हैं, वह आज भी समाज के हिस्से बने हुए हैं। इसी प्रकार से बानी से भाग्यवाद<sup>37</sup>, कर्मवाद<sup>38</sup>, पुनर्जन्मवाद<sup>39</sup> एवं तीर्थ-स्थानों<sup>40</sup> के प्रति श्रद्धा विश्वास के प्रचलित होने का वर्णन प्राप्त होता है।

यद्यपि यह सन्त आध्यात्मिक जीवन व्यतीत करते थे पर लोगों के बीच रहते हुए उन्होंने अपने आध्यात्मिक वचनों के माध्यम से ही पारिवारिक व सामाजिक जीवन के पहलुओं पर प्रकाश डाला है। इस तरह सन्त जैतराम जी की बानी आध्यात्मिक होते हुए

भी हरियाणा की लोक संस्कृति की एक झलक प्रस्तुत करती है और इसी में साहित्य का महत्त्व छिपा है। संक्षेप में गरीबदासी पंथ विशेषतः जैतराम जी की बानी भारतीय संस्कृति एवं हरियाणा की लोक-संस्कृति का एक मिला-जुला मिश्रण प्रस्तुत करती है और इस प्रकार क्षेत्रीय इतिहास को जानने के एक प्रमुख स्रोत के रूप में उभर कर आती है।

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