

# **Narrative Art on Dhobi Math Mandir Wall at Nabratnagarh, Sesai, Distt-Gumla, Jharkhand.**

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## **Introduction**

The present Jharkhand state has preserved a wide range of art heritage in her vast stretch of land. In respect of narrative art, its concrete shape with distinct tradition, which can be observed and find the manifestation of early artistic activity of man in cave, rock shatters and extend up to temples wall. These are basically exercised in the art form such as sculpture, painting, engraving etc. and the Indian art is essentially religious in nature. Further it is noticed that most of the temples outer and inner wall representing narrative art. This art form has witnessed social and cultural life in many forms such as costumes, ornaments, war weapons, flora and fauna etc. through which one can reconstruct the cultural history of certain cultural phase.

Unlike other states, the temple art and architecture of Jharkhand is very rich and patronized by different dynasties in different periods of time. A number of temple studies in recent years have brought to light the art and architectural heritage of Jharkhand.

**Site and temple-**The present study of Dhobi math mandir is materialized with terracotta, which is the oldest form of building execution in India. However, the present temple is quite similar to Bengal's terracotta architecture noticed in Bishnupur and other nearby sites. The Dhobi math is located in the Nabratnagarh temple complex, which is rich in epigraphical and architectural tradition<sup>1</sup>. Most of the architecture of the group is represented through an amalgamation of Hindu and Mughal art. Hence there is a number of temples, each with its own tradition and in this context the Dhobi math mandir is an important one and built in terracotta form of temple within the sacred complex of Nabratnagarh. It is standing on a high podium and in the style of an ek-bangla. Architecturally, the temple imbues the character of a hut type house of

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Bengal's village in characteristic of brick architecture with the pointed vault on the rectangular plan with curved base and spine, producing the interior of a bangle roof form. These arts were represented through moulded terracotta and built in between to sixteenth and nineteenth centuries<sup>2</sup>. The outer wall and especially the frontal part decorated with brick plaque of religious and secular theme. The religious theme includes Mahabharata, Ramayana's and Krishna lila as important scene whereas the secular theme represent geometric design and vegetal scroll pattern to decorate the border part and around stories as frame.

The Dhobi math mandir is in dilapidated condition and its sealing is partially collapsed. It is divided in two parts such as main shrine and the mukhamandapa or portico. The main shrine as well as mukhamandapa is rectangular in shape. The main shrine inner wall is plane in nature where as the mukhamandapa inner wall exclusively ornamented with the scroll plaque and different geometry and non-geometric design. The outer or the front of the mukhamandapa divided in to three parts by two beautiful ornamented pillar narrated in different design plaque. It is distinct regional style of late 18<sup>th</sup> century and of richly decorated terracotta plaque on façade with a triple arched entrance porch. The three opening are designed as multiple curve arches in excellent form to enhance the beauty of temple.

### **The Narrative Art -**

The significant narration plaque is located above the arches part of the temple. The narrations mostly centre on Vaishnav sect and Puranic stories. Besides narration stories few plaque also contain a single representation of floral and faunal remains. In some terracotta block represent composition figure and individual deity. It is important to note that except the mukhamandapa inner and outer portion there is no art representation on other wall. It is also noticed that the frontal part of mukhamandapa or facades and extremely above the arch has narrated three phase stories, i.e. the Rasa- lila in the left plaques, Ramayana in central plaques and the Mahabharata in the extreme left plaque in great detail. Generally the images of the facades has vertical and horizontal segment with floral pattern and the plaque are uniformly distributed over the facade surface. The stories are synthesizing effect through the series of episodes and its living attitude.

The Rasalila plaques are small in size and set as chess board pattern with floral plaque. These plaques are basically narrated the tribhanga posture of lord Krishna with Radha. In some such narration has Krishna hold flute. Besides these depiction the Rasa-mandala plaque is important one in which the Radha Krishna in represent in centre and two raw of Gopika depicting encircle the deities.

In left to Rasalila plaque, the Ramayana scene is depicted on the façade in which the Rama-Ravana war scene narrate on plaques and the Vanar sena depicted as holding stone pieces and in position to resist the Ravana sena. A beautiful part of the plaque has damaged due to the crack in it, so the great Purusottam Rama figure is missing where as its bow and arrow in shooting position towards king Ravana is

clearly marked on the plaque. The Ravana is depicted as ten head, shooting arrow to lord Rama. A few soldier of Ravana sena are also shooting arrow toward the Vanar sena.

In Mahabharat episodes the war scene is depicted on the extreme left side of façade wall in which it show the pandawas fighting with Kauravas with their warrior, the narration depicted basically an arrow shooting toward each other in a beautiful manner. A number of warriors fought with different war weapons signify a great warfare in comparison to other such war scene.

A part from these a Yakha figure with half man and animal is depicted in the extreme left top corner of the wall. The ten incarnation of Vishnu is also noticed above to the three great narrations and ornate in a separate plaque each and fortunately ten are preserved in good state. These incarnations are placed under a broad scroll design, the cutting of the terracotta is sharp but the execution of the few images is showing composite figure type rather than symbolical or separate depiction of the avatars in various sculptural representations. The kurma, matsya, varaha, Nrisimha avatar are showing half human and half animal type in which the kurma and matsya avatar represent lower part of animal and upper part of human body where as the varaha and Nrisimha avatar has animal form in specifically the head part, the lower body is in human form. Other incarnation are representing in normal type. These scenes are bifurcated through well decorated floral plaques, geometric design plaques and juncture point shown with lotus design plaque.

**Discussion-** The Bengali temples nevertheless constitute a coherent series in both their architecture and sculpture, characteristically expressed in brick and terracotta.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy to mention here that the temple has quite close resembles with the Bengal style and express the art form in terracotta media would suggest that strong cultural interchange in between the Jharkhand Naga dynasty with the Bengal's Malla dynasty. The facade's excellent reliefs are also stylistically resemble with the terracotta art of Bengal and made through separate mould as required for specific space on the temple wall. The temple has religious theme contain the Mahabharata, Ramayana and Radha-Krishna along with geometric and floral design, the floral pattern represent in between the major terracotta plaque as scene breaker. It is also interesting to note that the Rasa mandala, Vishnu avatara and social theme present on the temple wall quite similar with the other Vaishnava terracotta temple in Jharkhand and Bengal. Hence, the art plaque have the basis essence of Bengal art, which traveled a lot from its original place, most of the plaque are made out of mould which would witness through the fine carving. In historical records evident that Sri Chaitanya dev moving from Puri to Varanasi through the Chhatanagpur area or the present Jharkhand, possible this is presume that the remarkable event and suppose to support the view for the extension of such terracotta temple in the tribal land and high light the Vaishnava cult through the terracotta plaque decoration. The movement was step forwarded by Sri Chaitanya dev in 15<sup>th</sup> century AD and through Jaydeva's Gitagovinda and provided the spiritual and artistic basis for the

surge in mediaeval Hindu architecture in Bengal and its neighbor areas.<sup>4</sup> The description of the sculptures in these different parts indicates the development of decorative elements from simple vegetal ornamentation to figuration schemes till later period<sup>5</sup>. The Krishnalila scenes are very powerful thought of Vaishnavism.<sup>6</sup> It is also observed that Krishnalila scenes also appear on Saiva temple in Orissa during the medieval times.<sup>7</sup> It is also interesting to note that the Krishna lila in orissan art represent mainly the episode of killing demon and showing overpowering the demon respectively, but here in the Dhobi math mandir the terracotta plaque of the Rasa Lila is dominating scene. Similarly the terracotta temple of Bengal a large repository of such scene on their temple façade and side wall with long story line but the present temple has adopt to choose a few important story of Ramayana, Mahabharata and Krishnalila which reflect as a wholesome of Vaishnavism on the temple façade with vegetation scrolls design.

#### Conclusion:-

The representation of Krishna-lila, Mahabharata, and Ramayana scene rendering that the temple dedicated to Vaishnavism which reflect as Gaudiya Vaishnavism, a reformist religious movement of Bengal.<sup>8</sup>This is centered on personal devotion of to Krishna. The present temple is not far away from its epicenter therefore adopted the Bengal school of architecture of 17<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> century with all the artistic expression. However, from the above discussion it is quite sure that the bhakti movement also deeply impact upon the tribal land of Jharkhand. Further exploration on the region could trace more cultural edifices and that could lead us to notice the cultural assimilation, acculturation and other mode of culture transformations in great respect.

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## Some Inscriptional Sources of Water Bodies With Special Reference to Malwa

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The history of step well and stepped ponds and other water bodies, giving us more detail about donors, workmen, construction and the ritual and social life of their users.

Stepped ponds are most often used for ritual bathing related to temple worship or mosque ceremonies, while step wells important as sources for the needed in daily life provide pleasurable retreats from the heat and dust of the sun continent. They are among the greatest examples of ecologically in any country.

A large number of inscriptions and Epigraph written mostly in Sanskrit and Persian language have been found in *Malwa*. These inscriptions point out the water bodies, step well and its constructions, reservoirs, ponds and the existence and history of water works tools and techniques, irrigation system of this region.<sup>1</sup>

An ethnic religious system that links its people through caste. The religious content of Hinduism cannot be separated from caste. From Hinduism inception, the Brahmins selected the highest role as priests for themselves, next come kings and warriors then merchants, then farmers and last the untouchables. Brahmins focused temple rules on the Pantheon, they were shaping. In the early period of Brahmin authority Hinduism grew in a fairly open society in which people might worship at Buddhist, Jain or Hindu sites or practice religious that now no names. Simultaneously new Hindu dynasties built temples and water buildings in collaboration with the Brahmins.<sup>2</sup> By the fifth century, the Brahmins were creating rules for building.<sup>3</sup>

The earliest allusion of water bodies occur in *Amera (Vidisha) inscription* of the *Vikram Samvat* 1151, found the old water tank by *Vikram Brahman* under the role of *Parmar* king *Narvarman*.<sup>4</sup> One other *inscription* reflected our social fabric and institutions of community life. Some of our traditions evolved and developed by our forefathers thousands of years ago have played an important role in different spheres of life.

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*Kanakhera (Vidisha) inscription of Kalchuri Samvat 102 of Shak* Shri Dharvarman pointed out the construction of *Kupa (Well)* for the social and religious purpose.<sup>5</sup>

In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the *Brahmins* and western India were just one of many religious groups. The pacifist beliefs of *Jainism* and *Buddhism* were becoming wide –spread. Through temples and monasteries both religious encouraged reverence for spiritual teachers and a moral life search.

In *Malwa Buddhism* was followed by people during this period at *Bagh, Biharkotra, Dashpura (Mandsour) and Ujjain* also. From a copper plate<sup>6</sup> discovered in the debris of caved. There are many allusion of water buildings in *Malwa* which were made by *Buddhist*.

The *Biharkotra* (About 15 kms from *Narsingharh inscription*<sup>7</sup> of the *Malwa Samvat 475(417-18 A.D.)* records the digging of a reservoir in the name of the *Bhikshu Samgha* of the four quarters for quenching the thirst of all beings. From the *Mandsour inscription*<sup>8</sup> of the *Malwa Samvat 524 (467-68 A.D.)* a *Stupa* was constructed , a *Kupa (Well )* was dug, A *Prapa* was established and an *aroma (Garden or Monastery )* was built by *Dattabhata*, the son of *Vayurakshita* and commander of the forces of king *Prabhakara*.

In the *Rig-Veda* (1000 B.C.) there is a district reference to the pulley wheel (*Ashma chakra* ) for drawing up water out of a well. The earliest allusion to this *Pot Garland*<sup>9</sup> occurs in *Yashodharman's Mandsour inscription* of A.D. 532. This water lifting mechanism obtained from much greater ability to lift water from greater depth when the pots were transferred from the spokes or rim to a rope chain or *Pot-Garland (Malwa)*.<sup>10</sup>

Given the number of surviving water buildings one would expect them to figure prominently in the *Shilpa Shastra* texts that record ancient building tradition. Instead the text really mention wells .The first, that speak clearly of a step well, the *Samrangan Sutrardhar*, dates between A.D. 1018 and 1060, when Hindu water buildings were at their peak.<sup>11</sup>

By the fifth century, the *Brahmins* were creating rules for building. Their insistence that architecture was part of theology gave them control of important buildings until the Muslims challenged them around. Such Brahmins believed that knowledge of architecture should be kept Secret and that the gods were found of Obscurity and mystification.<sup>12</sup> Their builders texts are like musical scores, legible only to those who are trained to read them. Their obscure direction lack specifics and instruct without explaining. They simply say, for example “ This, my son ,is how to build” as a refrain for each section.<sup>13</sup> While untangling the relationship between a text and a building is difficult , there is no other clue to Brahmin participation. Even the Brahmin role in dedicating the building, which could be carried out Symbolically, left no mark.<sup>14</sup> Ritual before, during, and after construction involved prayers and shared food but there is little evidence in the texts that such ceremonies were carried out.<sup>15</sup>

One compendium titled Sarvadevapratishtaprakasa' does describe small figures of tortoises, crocodiles ,crabs and frogs-all of precious metal being thrown in the four quarters of a Pond to dedicate it.<sup>16</sup> But these gifts may be wishful or didactic reconstructions after the fact. Some of the most useful Brahmin texts rank the soils of India, as they had ranked the occupations of her inhabitants. The best soil was reserved for the Brahmins, for temple and for water buildings. These texts functioned as a zoning code, and gave Brahmins the principal responsibility for compliance.<sup>17</sup>

In India the elaborate and ancient ritual tradition of Hinduism. It is a tradition of pilgrimage to sacred places, bathing in sacred waters and honoring divine images. The fundamental features of the Hindu society we must turn to the Dharma or sacred law , and the sacred law<sup>18</sup> presents king and society in a bilateral relation. The people who have constructed the Step well and well, they were appreciated in the society. Many Virads (Poems) have written in the local language for their appreciation. For example," Koi ne khudayo kuon or Koi ne khudayo Bawdi". This type of Virads were used to sing in the village by the people. In the rural areas there were the tradition of the marriage of Kuan and Bawdies.<sup>19</sup>

Step well and stepped ponds also had secular uses , they survived the long and turbulent transition to Muslim rule, from the early eight century to the eleventh relatively unharmed. The high Hindu tradition from A.D. 900 to the late 1300 , represents a spectacular period of step well architecture.

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### **Some Inscriptional Sources of Water.....**

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## **Origin And Development of Halagannada (Old Kannada) Language And Literature – An Epigraphical Study**

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Kannada is one of the important Classical languages from the South Dravidian group of languages. From the point of view of antiquity and vastness, it stands next only to Sanskrit and Prakrit, and perhaps Tamil too. Kannada has flourished ever since the fifth century A.D. The earliest extant record happens to be an inscription from Halmidi, a village in Hassan District, attributed to fifth century A.D. Since then up to about 750 A.D. we find a number of inscriptions in verse and prose. Though, the language of these inscriptions could be termed Old Kannada, scholars are of the opinion that the language and the grammatical forms of some of these inscriptions indicate earlier stages of the language which could be designated as Primitive Old Kannada, Early Kannada, etc. We have not come across any such inscription or written text. Its nature is a little discernible in the earliest inscriptions of Old Kannada more pronouncedly in prose than in verse. On the basis of evidences available from these sources, scholars have thus summarized the characteristics of Old Kannada language of this period.<sup>1</sup>

It seems that the transition from pre-old Kannada to Old Kannada took place around the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D or a little earlier. However, it could be clearly discerned that it gave up such of those vocables and divergent forms and grammatical features which looked very antiquated and more or less common to Tamil and Kannada.<sup>2</sup>

The earliest extant work of the Old Kannada period is *Kavirajamarga*, a rhetorical work, composed during the reign of the Rashtrakuta emperor Amoghavarsha Nripatunga between 814 and 877 A.D.<sup>3</sup>. None of the prose works or poetic compositions cited in this book is extant today. Perhaps they could have helped us decipher an intermediary or developing stage between the pre-old Kannada and the Old Kannada for the reason that the inscriptions cannot be completely

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relied upon. Poetic virtues here are generally of low ebb and mistakes abound.

If the direct evidences found in the *Kavirajamarga* are collected and analyzed, we could come to the following conclusions: (i) Kannada had quite a number of dialects (desi) abound in mistakes; (ii) mistakes have also occurred in the compositions of our ancient poets; (iii) characteristics of poetry should not be ascertained on the basis of poetic compositions; language should be used after acquainting oneself with the characteristics of the relevant sastras; (iv) some of the archaic forms do not befit now; (v) one must be conversant with certain norms governing the usage of Kannada and Sanskrit vocables in compound and non-compound forms.<sup>4</sup>

The language of *Kavirajamarga* is Old Kannada. But the author has preferred to designate the language of the earlier period as Old Kannada (palagannada). This means that an earlier state of Kannada – prior to what is now generally known as the stage of Old Kannada – must have been prevalent during the period prior to him. *Kavirajamarga* incidentally throws some light on Old Kannada language and grammar. It is here that we find the first time a discussion on the nature of Old Kannada language. Later *Immadi Nagavarma* (1042 A.D), *Kesiraja* (c. 1260 A.D) and *Bhattakalanka* (1604 A.D) have respectively in their works *Kavyavalokana*, *Sabdamanidarpana* and *Karnataka Sabdanusasanaga* given us the grammar of this stage of language. Among these, it is in *Kesiraja's* work alone that we find an exhaustive and authentic treatment of the subject. Scholars have discussed at length the antiquity of Kannada literature. Some of these could be summarized here:

### (1) Linguistic Evidences:

- (i) Based on the evidence that the Brahmagiri edict of Asoka (250 B.C) has the place-name Isil which is the Prakrit form of Esil, a Kannada word, D.L Narasimhachar has presumed that Kannada language existed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. He also opined that words like *Pulumayi*, *Vilivayakura*, occurring in the edicts and coins of the *Satavahana* times, are either of Kannada or Telugu origin.<sup>5</sup>
- (ii) GovindaPai held the view that the *atta*, *tuppa*, *teerai* etc. are some desi words found in *GahaSattasai*, a MaharashtriPrakrit work compiled by the *Satavahana* king *Hala* (c. 20-24 A.D) are the nominal and verbal bases of the Kannada *atte*, *tuppa*, *teer* etc. He also stated that certain place names viz. Nagarouris, Kalligeris, Modogoulla, Petirgala, Banavoausce etc. quoted by the Greek geographer Ptolemy (c 140 A.D) in his *GeographikeHuphegesis* are the Europeanized names of towns in the Kannada land. He firmly believed that some non-Greek words and sentences found in a Greek comedy (c 200 A.D), he *Oxyrhynchus papyri* (pt. III) may be Kannada.<sup>6</sup>

The weaknesses in the evidences from language data are well known, for

example:

- (i) That the term Isila occurring in the Brahamagiri edict of Asoka is derived from the basic Kannada term *esil* is a plausible reconstruction
- (ii) The meaning and derivation of words like *Pulumayi*, *Vilivayakurain* the *Satavahana* epigraphs and coins is still very much doubtful.
- (iii) Some of the words used in *Hala's* work and supposed to be Kannada are not special to the language and are common to the Dravidian language group.
- (iv) Though some place names cited by Ptolemy may be taken to be Dravidian in a general sense, there is perhaps no difficulty in accepting names resembling Mudugal, Kalligere and the like as derived from Kannada.
- (v) The non-Greek words and sentences in *Oxyrhynchus papyri* do not appear to be Kannada.

## (2) Historical Evidences :

### Kannada literature from 200 to 500 A.D

- (i) MuliyaThimmappayya has argued that the theme and writing of the *GahaSattasai* was influenced by the richness of folk literature of those days in the Vidhaya provinces. He has tried to maintain, that from the time of the Kadambas of Banavasi, a variety of native songs have been in vogue in Coastal Districts of South and North Kanara and from the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the *marga* or classical form in Kannada made its appearance in the Vindhays, then ruled over by the *Rashtrakutas*.<sup>7</sup>.
- (ii) T.S Venkannah holds that the earliest writers in Kannada must be the Buddhists. According to him with the spread of Buddhism in the Kannada country from the beginning the Christian era, works in Kannada must have come into being, mainly because the Buddhists were bent upon propagation of their religion. With the decline of Buddhism others must have taken to write; their works must have also been destroyed.<sup>8</sup>

### These arguments have been subjected to criticism:

- (i) Historians have not agreed to the finding that the capital of the Rashtrakutas of pre-Manyakheta days was situated in the Vindhayas. It may only be taken as plausible that by the time, an oral tradition of native literature had existed.
- (ii) The vague traces of Kannada language in the Maurya-Satavahana period create doubts about the existence of literature. For the present, it is only a conjecture, not well sustained, that the Buddhist writers produced literary works even before the Jaina votaries.

- (iii) In a way, it could be possible that the impetus and publicity extended to Prakrit literature set the conditions fit for the growth of Kannada literature which could also be branded a Prakrit literature, in wider sense.

### (3) Inscriptional Evidences:

Kannada literature from 500 to 700 A.D. such as the Halmidi epigraph of c. 450 A.D mentions the rule of Kakutsthavarma, the Kadamba king (422-47 A.D), the Vaishnava cave inscription of king Mangalesa (578 A.D) of the BadamiChalukya family. Some inscriptions of the Western Ganges, of c. 500-600 AD, are found in several parts of Karnataka. Samples of Old Kannada literature as available at present, are found in some of the prose inscriptions of the Badam Chalukyas, and some inscriptional verses at Sravanabelagola (c. 650-700 A.D). The poetic records show that they were bound by a tradition of language from the grammatical point of view; and from literary angle they are imbued with poetic verse and, with a few exceptions, are metrical.

Govinda Pai's arguments to push back the date of the antiquity of Kannada literature to far behind 500 A.D. based on the chronology of the Kadamabas and the Ganges, as given by him have not been wholly accepted. Kannada language and literature as have come down as a result of the influence of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit.<sup>9</sup>

Literary qualities are found in the Nisidi edicts of a later period at Sravanabelagola. Beginnings of classical literature can be traced in these. These qualities can be seen more emphatically in the Rashtrakuta records. The poetic records of Sravanbelagola reveal dramatization, descriptive beauty, allegory and scenic structures. There are strange turns of speech and new modes of expressions. But there are also weaknesses.

It is worth scrutinizing if any forewarnings of the origins of the Old Kannada literature could be traced in these records. It is the opinion of some that a poet named Achala is mentioned in Pattadakal epigraph (c 744 A.D).The Gajashtaka<sup>10</sup>of SaigottaSivamara of Ganges might be a short poetic work and is not extant. Perhaps, this is the earliest reference to a poet and his work.

### (4) Evidences from literary works:

Kavirajamarga attributed to AmoghavarshaNripatunga is the oldest of all the extant works, so far. This is a work on poetics. Genuine factors regarding the antiquity of Kannada literature are traced. In this work, Kannada poets and works of that period are referred to both directly and indirectly. But it is doubtful whether there existed works on grammar, prosody, poetics etc. Gadyakatha is one of the poetic forms prevalent in those days. Nagarjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinita were reputed

(1. 27-29). Of these Durvinita is generally identified with his namesake of the Ganga dynasty. Kavirajamarga mentions Srivijaya, Chandra and Lokapala as the poets who wrote poetic works (1.32). Chattana and Bedande were two other poetic forms prevalent at the time and even earlier to that and it may be a fact that the poets mentioned above wrote their works in such forms. These poets and their works must belong probably to a period 50 to 100 years previous to the date of Kavirajamarga.

Those works in Kannada could be considered first: Pampa, Nagavarma II, Nagachandra in their works throw suggestions which point to the Jaina and non-Jaina epics, mythologies, portrayal of episodes of an earlier date. E.g. Nagavarma (1042 A.D) in his Vardhamanapurana mentions distinctly three eminent works: Raghuvamsapurana of Srivijaya, Vatsarajacharite of another Nagavarma and Sulochanacharite of Nagadeva. Though these works belong to a period earlier than 11<sup>th</sup> century, their exact dates are not known. Kavyavalokana, a treatise on poetics written by Nagavarma (II) and a grammatical work, Bhashabhushana (a Kannada grammar in Sanskrit) and more recent works like Kesiraja's Sabdamanidarpana (c. 1260) and Bhattakalanka's Karnataka Sabdanusasana (1604 A.D.) have incorporated in them a number of verses extracted from those works that were extant by then. Apart from these, such anthologies as Suktisudharnava of Mallikarjuna (c. 1245), Kavyasara of Mallakavi (?) and also of Abhinava Vadividyananada (1533 A.D).

Evidences in works of other languages could be listed now: Indranandi, a Jainaacharya has stated that extensive commentaries named Paddhati and Chudamani, respectively to two Jaina treatises, Shatakhanadagama and Kashaya-prabhrita were written by Syamakunda and Tumbuluracharya (both before 10<sup>th</sup> century AD). Bhattakalanka's Sabdanusasana also refers to an old and extensive commentary called Chudamani on Tatvarthasutravritti of Umasvati. But neither the author nor the date is known. Likewise, Jayakirti's Sanskrit works on prosody viz. Chhandonusasana (c. 1050 AD) cites several works like Karnata Malati Madhava and Karnata Kumarasambhava. Or these, the latter is Asaga's (853 AD) while the former is probably by Kannamayya. (c 1000 AD).

In a commentary of late date on Yapparungalakkarikai, a Tamil work on prosody (c 11<sup>th</sup> century AD), the name of Gunagankiyam, a Kannada work has been, referred to. According to some scholars the work is attributed to Vijayaditya III, the Eastern Chalukya king (844-88 AD).

Old Kannada poets have paid tributes to three great Jainaacharyas, viz. Samantabhadra, Pujiyapada and Kavi Parameshthi some of whose works have been translated or commented upon. In spite of the fact that there are no evidences to show that these were themselves Kannada poets.<sup>11</sup>.

The early Old Kannada literature is the very essence of the classical literature in Kannada; what followed is symbolic of the love for the tradition. These portray the life-expression. These may not be certain things which are in keeping with the modern outlook. But there is scope for selecting what is of highest order and that which is nourishing. In this connection, the opinion of D.L Narasimhachar, who was a great scholar in Old Kannada language and literature, could be a fitting conclusion;

“From the foregoing survey, brief though it is, it is abundantly clear that Old Kannada literature is a rich heritage of the Kannada people. It is the life-history of their culture and spirit; it is their auto-biography. It is a provincial expression of a Pan-Indian culture with its subtle local coloring and fragrance. The Kannada people are justly proud of their literary wealth and are forging ahead in the ceaseless quest of Truth, Goodness and Beauty.”<sup>12</sup>

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## Agriculture in the Early Tamil Country

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Agriculture being the backbone of the Indian economy from the earliest times to the present, the Tamils bestowed maximum attention upon agriculture. It was the main occupation of the ancient Tamils and most respected also. The saint-poet *Thiruvalluvar* has long back highlighted the importance of the agriculture and agriculturists. An entire chapter of in the *Thirukkural*<sup>1</sup>, (or *Kural*) written by Thiruvalluvar, extols the glory and greatness of the farmers and their profession. The *Kural* extols agriculture and reflects the existing condition of those times and emphasis the importance of agriculture in whole section as agriculture had emerged as an important economic activity. This is evident from the following couplets; “the tillers of the soil (*ulavar*) are the axle-pin of the revolving world. On them depends the sustenance of life for those that, unable to take up the plough, follow other occupations”.<sup>2</sup> If tillers withdraw their labour, even the serenity and concentration of spirit of those who have renounced the world will cease to be.<sup>3</sup> Further, it states that many other industries may be taken up, but ultimately the world depends on agriculture. So, despite its troubles, it is the worthiest occupation.<sup>4</sup> Again to show the independence of this occupation, the *Kural* says that “the ploughmen alone live as the freemen of the soil; the rest are mere slaves that batten on their toil”.<sup>5</sup> The peasant is one who toils “in the sweat of his brow begs not at other men’s doors, but ungrudgingly shares his bread with those that beg for alms”.<sup>6</sup> In addition to all this *Thiruvalluvar* also delineates the agriculture techniques and practices right from ploughing, manuring, weeding, irrigation facilities and guarding of the crops.<sup>7</sup>

Cultivation of food crops would have started in the New Stone Age in south India. H.N.Dubey states that the archaeological evidences of the recent times reveals that the earliest cultivation in south India would have started about the late phase of the New Stone Age, which can be dated in the first half of the second millennium B.C.<sup>8</sup> The people of the age started cultivation of the *ragi* and *bajara* and probably pulses like green gram and horse gram, etc. Further H.N.Dubey has

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mentioned about three phases of the development of agriculture in south India. In the first phase of primitive agriculture people started making terraces on slopes of hills for cultivation and domestic settlements. The second phase of the development of agriculture started with introduction of iron technology, characterized by plough agriculture and there was the spread of rice cultivation in south Indian River valleys. In the third phase of agriculture development in the south India, the concentration of settlements in the river valleys, harnessing of bullock to the plough and use of iron ploughshare also gradually developed, which resulted in an increase in the area of cultivation and unprecedented growth in agricultural productions.<sup>9</sup>

In the Sangam literature we find references to use of iron instruments and new technology of iron ploughshare, etc. with the development of agrarian people of fertile regions developing minor irrigational facilities like construction of small tanks, wells, and small canals, etc.<sup>10</sup> K.A.Nilakanta Sastri and G.Srinivasachari observed regarding the state agriculture in *Tamilakam* in the Sangam age, cultivable land was abundant and the necessities of life plentiful. The fertility of the lands watered by the Kaveri, Pennar, Palar, Vaigai, Tamiraparani and other rivers is the recurring theme of descriptions of the early Tamil poets. The natural forest produce of Pari's included bamboos, rice, jackfruits, *valliroot* and honey, *ragi*, sugarcane, pepper, turmeric, cotton, etc. Society in that period was organized along a caste system with habits and traditions of their own, but the population of the large cities and port towns tended to be cosmopolitan'.<sup>11</sup>

Tillers of the soil in early Tamil society were respected by the people. The painstaking populations of ancient and medieval *Tamilakam* were aware of different soil types, best crops to grow and the various irrigation systems suitable for any given region. In the Sangam literature we get references to five geographical divisions (five *tinai*s) viz. *Kurunji*, *Mullai*, *Marutam*, *Neithal* and *Palai*. Among the five *tinai*s, mentioned in the early Tamil literature, the *Kurunji* regions (mountainous and hilly tracts) were famous for slash and burn cultivation. These regions were rich in natural products like pepper, ivory, teak, aromatic woods like sandalwood and *akil*.<sup>12</sup> K.K.Pillai says that cultivation of the soil began in the *Kurunji* region, where through nature's gift, the people reared wild forms of paddy and other cereals with minimum effort.<sup>13</sup> The inhabitants of the regions were considered pastoralists cultivating millets called *varagu* and *samai*, the pulse horse gram, beans, and other non-specified pulses. From the literary texts of the early *Tamilakam*, we may surmise that these *Mullai* regions were peripheral to the *Marutam* lands.<sup>14</sup>

The fertile agricultural tracts *Marutam tinai* were the main rice producing areas and the early Tamil kingdoms of the Sangam age viz. those of the Chera, Chola and Pandya lay in these areas. The inhabitants of the tracts were *ulavar* and *toluvar*. The fertility of the land, agricultural process and irrigation facilities in *Marutam* are vividly portrayed in the early Tamil literature. The fertility of the land particularly in the Chola *nadu* due to the river Kaveri is constantly referred to the literary texts. Even today the Kaveri basin (fertile *Marutam* region) is one of the richest agricultural zones of south India.<sup>15</sup>

The people of early Tamil country had also adopted tank irrigation and whenever the monsoon failed and tank got dried up, they led dug wells for tapping sub-soil water. They had also attempted to study all aspects of agriculture relating to seeds, their storage and vigor. They took measures to protect the crops carefully knowing that each crop exhausted nutrients of the soil they applied manures to the field before raising the next crops or adopted rotation of crops. These practices were improved and refined by successive generations of farmers and handed down to posterity as a traditional system of agriculture.<sup>16</sup> The traditional system of cultivation performed by both of male and female peasants patiently, with the result that food was produced in abundance in the *Sangam* age. Mainly in the harvest operation, both men and women and children were also employed. The removal of weeds and transplantation of seedlings were done almost exclusively by women. When the sown seeds had begun to sprout care was taken by women by maintaining watch and ward. Numerous references are in the *Aham* works of the *Sangam* literature to girls engaged in watering the fields entering into remain adventures.<sup>17</sup>

The geographical conditions of the particular region were the determining factors in the techniques of cultivation, the nature of crops and the cropping pattern. The red and alluvial soil of Kaveri region was extremely suitable for wet cultivation. Rest of the soils was suitable for dry-crop cultivation.<sup>18</sup> Farmers were aware of different soil types, the best crops to grow and the various irrigation systems suitable for any given region. In the five geographical divisions of the Tamil country in Sangam literature the *Marutam* region was the fit for all cultivation, as it had the most fertile lands. Land was classified, according to its fertility, as *Menpulam* (fertile land), *Pinpulam* (dry land), *Vanpulam* (hard land) and *Kalarnilam* or *Uvarnilam* (salty land). *Menpulam* yielded rich produce on a variety of crops, but *Pinpulam* was cultivated only with dry crops due to limited irrigation facilities. The yield from *Vanpulam* was limited, while *Kalarnilam* was unfit for cultivation. Some of the well known types of soil were alluvial soil, red soil, black soil, late rite soil and sandy soil.<sup>19</sup> The people of early Tamil country knew the differentiation of the land and its soil type, on the basis of the fertility and accordingly they cultivated the crops.

As Agriculture depends largely on irrigation, both natural and artificial water resources were utilized by the farmers to save their purpose. Tanks and wells were the main source of artificial irrigation. Among the natural sources all the rivers of the Tamil region like Kaveri, Palar, Thenpennai, Vagai, etc. not only provided drinking water to the population but were also utilized for irrigation purpose as well. The earliest irrigation attempt was confined mainly to using the flood waters of rivers. Since the rivers of the region were not perennial, several irrigation techniques were developed to ensure an adequate and continuous supply of water. The early Tamils started construction of sluices and shutters. Karikalan, the famous early Chola ruler of the Sangam age constructed a dam across river *Kaveri* known

as *Kallanai*.<sup>20</sup> Water stored in dams or tanks, was utilized for irrigation occasionally. They used traditional methods of watering the field in which the farmers used a bullock-propelled device called *Kapilai* for bailing out water from deep wells and a manual setup called *Erram*, for shallow wells were used. Tanks, lakes and dams were used as water storage systems and the water regulated using sluices and shutters.<sup>21</sup>

Agriculture was in on mean a laborious act and was considered an excellent form of labour even from the Sangam age, because all the people expected to depend on the farmers. The natural fertility and richness of the soil assisted the early Tamils to engage themselves in agriculture in almost every part of the land which was more valuable in the delta areas than elsewhere. The early Tamils were well aware of the fact that a pamper harvest and rich agriculture yield will keep the state away from famine. Agriculture was linked with the different aspects of life of the early Tamil society. The relationship, which existed between agriculture and other aspects such as politics, religion, society and nature, too suggests the importance of agriculture pursuits.

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## **Sakti Worship in Ancient Kashmir An Analysis**

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The reverence of Sakti or the Mother Goddess, the all powerful female principle in her various forms was observed in temples dedicated to her all over the country since early days.<sup>1</sup> One or the other form of the Devi is worshipped as the *kula - Devi* by the pious æaktas. They pray to her along with other divinities on sacred days and on ceremonial occasions.<sup>2</sup>

### **Kashmira - A sakti path-**

In the celebrated and well known list of the one hundred and eight *æakti - peethas* that exist all over our country and which are also found mentioned in the different *Purana*, the name of Kashmir is prominently mentioned. Goddess Medha has been stated to be the presiding *æakti* of Kashmir.<sup>3</sup> In Kashmir, Æakti was venerated in her different forms, the most popular being those of Sati, also known as Umâ or Kashmîrâ, Æri - Laksmî, Sîta, Bhûdevî, Sarasvatî, Úâradâ, Durgâ and Bhadrakâlî.

### **Goddess Umâ or Sati**

Goddess Umâ has been worshipped in Kashmir on her own account as well as the Æakti of God Æiva. She was worshipped under different names such as Sati, Kashmira, Gauri and Parvati. She is also understood to have taken the form of the sacred river, Vitasta.<sup>4</sup> Goddess Umâ continued to be worshipped even during later times. Ksemendra informs us about a temple which was dedicated to Goddess Gauri.<sup>5</sup> Kalhana also mentions Goddess Umâ, in her form as Parvati, the beloved of God Æiva. In the form of Ardhanariævara Siva, She constitutes the left half of the body and is seen in complete unison with her lord.<sup>6</sup>

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### Goddess Āerī – Laksmî-

Āeri - Laksmî is worshipped in Kashmir on her own account as well as the Āakti of God Visnu. The *Āilamata Purana* gives us two origins of Goddess Laksmî. In the first place she is revered as the daughter of Daksa.<sup>7</sup> Secondly, she is regarded as the daughter of the sea and the beloved of God Visnu.<sup>8</sup> She is also regarded as having assumed the form of the sacred river known as Vicooka or griefless.<sup>9</sup> Āeri Laksmî was also worshipped independently in Kashmir. The *Āilamata* tells us about a festival called *Āerī- Laksmî - Pancamî*, which should be observed on the fifth day of the bright half of the month of Caitra and that goddess Āeri should be worshipped.<sup>10</sup> The same text further informs us that another festival called the *Sukha - Sūptikâ* was celebrated by the people of the valley for a month. Here too, the central deity is Āerī- Laksmî.<sup>11</sup> A pilgrimage to her temple on the fifth day of the month is also mentioned.<sup>12</sup>

### Goddess Saraswatî-

Goddess Saraswatî has been worshipped in ancient as well as early medieval Kashmir as the goddess of learning.<sup>13</sup> She is also worshipped in Kashmir as a river goddess. The water of the river Saraswatî is believed to be very sacred.<sup>14</sup> The *Āilamata Purana* mentions the holy *tirtha* of Gangodbheda near Bhedadevi.<sup>15</sup> Kalhana also mentions this *tirtha* and says that Goddess Saraswatî is seen in the form of a *hamsa* (swan) in a lake which is situated on the summit of the Bheda hill. This lake is sanctified by the river Gangs herself.<sup>16</sup> Stein was successful in actually locating the *tirtha* of Gangodbheda in the hills west of Āeupiyān. At present the *tirtha* of Bhedagiri is better known as Bhedabhradu.<sup>17</sup>

### Goddess Ūâradâ-

The author of the *Āilamata* regards Goddess Ūâradâ as none other than Goddess Saraswatî. This is evident from a verse of the *Āilamata* wherein he states that books should be worshipped in the temple of Durgâ.<sup>18</sup> The worship of Goddess Ūâradâ continued to be performed even during the later times. The poet Ksemendra offers his salutations to goddess Ūâradâ in his *Kavikanthabharana*.<sup>19</sup> Kalhana tells us about the famous shrine of the goddess Ūâradâ as also its location in the first book.<sup>20</sup> He refers to it again in the fourth book. It appears that the fame of this shrine had reached far off places like Bengal, for people from that region came to Kashmir to pay respects to this deity.<sup>21</sup> This temple of Ūâradâ is again referred to by Kalhana as a sacred pilgrimage destination during his own times.<sup>22</sup> It is worthy to note that even Al-beruni refers to the temple of goddess Ūâradâ in his memoirs. He tells us about a wooden idol of goddess Ūâradâ which was widely worshipped by pilgrims.<sup>23</sup> It is significant to note that the shrine of Ūâradâ referred to by Kalhana and Al-beruni in their respective works

was actually located by Stein. He traced this temple of Úâradâ at the Sâradâvana in the upper kisanganga valley.<sup>24</sup> As per the Úâradâmahâtmya, the goddess Úâradâ is a sakti embodying three separate manifestations, viz. Úâradâ, Narada or Saraswati and Vagdevi.<sup>25</sup> This mahâtmya further prescribes the offering of a *pâæuhoma* ( animal sacrifice ) at the temple of Úâradâ. This offering is obligatory even for the vaisnavas.<sup>26</sup> Stein is of the opinion that this prescription is definitely due to the worship of goddess Úâradâ as a Æakti.<sup>27</sup>

### Goddess Durgâ -

It is difficult have access to goddess Durgâ. She is believed to have assumed sixty four diverse forms. In the vale of Kashmir, She is worshipped as Goddess Rajnya.<sup>28</sup> The independent worship of goddess Durgâ was performed in ancient as well as early medieval times. The *Nilamata Purana* recommends her worship with ira flowers.<sup>29</sup> It is further given that pilgrimage to the temple of goddess Durgâ should be performed on the ninth of the month.<sup>30</sup> The mythology related to goddess Durgâ, where she assumes a fierce form in order to annihilate wicked demons was evidently well known in Kashmir. We can say so for it is given in the *Nilamata* that weapons should be worshipped at night in the temple of Durgâ.<sup>31</sup> Kalhana too refers to this particular aspects of goddess Durgâ in his Chronicle.<sup>32</sup> Ksemendra, who flourished in the early medieval period, refers to a magnificent icon of Goddess Durgâ in his Narmamâlâ.<sup>33</sup> This is evident from Kalhana's narrative. In his third *taranga*, he mentions a temple of Durgâ where human sacrifices were offered by the people in order to propitiate the deity.<sup>34</sup> He also refers to offering of animal oblations to the Goddess Durgâ.<sup>35</sup> Goddess Durgâ was worshipped in Kashmir in her form of Bhramaravâsini better known as Vindhyavâsini.<sup>36</sup>

### Æakti worship and tantrikism-

The study of literary evidences belonging to our period of study leads us to say that there existed full fledged prevalence of the malignant side of tantrikism in Kashmir. Goddess Chinnamasta also known as Pracanda - Candika or Sumukhi, Goddess Dhûmavati and Goddess Vagala are principally worshipped by the aspirants in relation with the performance of the six specifically named magic rites.<sup>37</sup> These are also referred to as *Æatkarmas* or the six black rites.<sup>38</sup> They are -

1. *Úânti* - for averting evils
2. *Vaæikarana* - subduing a man or woman
3. *Stambhana* - arresting any feeling or force
4. *Vidveæana* - creating enmity between affectionate friends

5. *Uccâtana* - overthrowing an enemy

6. *Mârana* - causing death to somebody.<sup>39</sup>

Of the above mentioned *Ēatkarmas*, Damodaragupta clearly mentions the use of *Vaæikarana* which it was thought enabled a person to win over one's beloved.<sup>40</sup> Kalhana mentions the use of *Uccatana* and *Mârana* rites on a number of occasions and Jvalamukhi chakra on the rocky hill at Khrew.<sup>44</sup>

Kashmir was a prominent *æaktipeetha* and the Mother goddesses were given local names and worshipped with devotion by the Kashmiri Pundits. Goddess Jvâlamukhî of Khrew, Goddess Kulvaxisvari of Kulgam, District Anantnag, Goddess Ksir Bhavâni of Tulamulla, Ganderbal, Goddess Bhadrakâlî of Handwara, Goddess Bhuvaneævari of Chandpora, Hârwan, Goddess Ēarika Sukhabhâsini or Cakreævari of Hari Parvat, Srinagar are some of the prominent *æaktipeethas*' of Kashmir. The inhabitants of Kashmir nurtured immense faith in the power of these mother goddesses. The annual festival of Goddess Ragnya Devi, popularly known as Mâtâ Bhawânî was observed by the pious Hindus, particularly the Kashmiri Brahmana community with solemnity. Similar enthusiasm of the Kashmiri people residing in Jammu was witnessed at the Ksir Bhawânî temple Peeth at Bhawani nagar, Janipur, Jammu.

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## **War Elephants and the Ruler's policy with special reference to Malwa**

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“The animals used by the common sort for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy use elephants, -for is the elephant in India which carries royalty. The conveyance which ranks next in honour is the chariot and four; the camel ranks third, while to be drawn by a single horse is considered no distinction at all. But Indian women, if possessed of uncommon discretion, would not stray from virtue for any reward short of an elephant, but on receiving this a lady lets the giver enjoy her person. Nor do the Indians consider it any disgrace to a woman to grant her favour for an elephant, but it is rather regarded as a high compliment to the sex that their charms should be deemed worth an elephant.”<sup>1</sup>

Indian sources such as the Mahabharata; the high dignity of elephants and of (horse drawn) chariots, and their use not only as the means of warfare but as signs of rank in a society in which their ownership is broadly diffused. The implication is of armies consisting of the members of a privately wealthy warrior class who severally maintain horses, chariots, and also elephants, bringing these to the common cause in the event of war; a heroic class sharing power in a heroic polity, and an army which is weakly centralized at best, and at worst a congeries of the private armies, of the great nobles.<sup>2</sup>

Rulers (king) warrior class was entirely maintained at the king's expense, and hence they are always ready, when occasion calls, to take the field for they carry nothing of their own with them but their own bodies. Other make their arms, other supply them with horses, others attend upon them in camp, groom their horses, clean their arms, drive their elephants, prepare and drive their chariots. In times of peace they are vitally idle and give themselves over to the pursuit of pleasure, the pay which they receive from the state being so liberal that they can with ease maintain themselves and other besides.<sup>3</sup>

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The presence of wild elephants offers, perhaps, the firmest evidence about forests. There would, of course, be forests without elephants, but there could be no wild elephants without dense stretches of forest undulating or hilly ground and fresh water streams. Since on an average an elephant consumes about 200kg of green fodder a day, and wastes an equal amount in the process, a small, sparse or degraded forest cannot sustain elephant herds.<sup>4</sup> Thus regions where wild elephants were found can safely be assumed to have contained large forests.

Elephants were much sought after in Mughal times, and *Abul Fazl* offers in detail information about tracks where wild elephants could be caught.<sup>5</sup> A wide belt containing herds of wild elephants stretching from Bihar and Orissa to Malwa and further west to the borders of Gujarat existed.<sup>6</sup>

*Abul Fazal* in his description of the geography of the provinces of Akbar's empire, gives an account of the forests as well.<sup>7</sup> Other Mughal historians often mention forests in their accounts of the topography of the regions, where Mughal arms penetrated. European travelers too have left records of forests they had to pass through on their journeys.

A-in notes the existence of forests and elephants in the part of subah of Malwa, as is indeed the case today as well. In the Garha (separate state of Malwa), Bijagarh sarkar, sarkar of Handiah and neighborhood part of Kherla.<sup>8</sup>

The very large and separate state of Garha, abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mohurs and elephants.<sup>9</sup>

In the sarkar of Bijagarh there are herds of wild elephants and in the sarkar of Handiah are numerous wild elephants. Malwa subah contains twelve sarkars subdivided into 301 parganahs and in provincial force consists ninety elephants.<sup>10</sup>

Digby's fine monography 'war horse and elephant in the Delhi sultanate' shows that the sultans of a much later age were preoccupied with the problem of maintaining large herds of both animals, and of limiting the quantities in the hands of potential enemies and further that the sultanate of Delhi remained dominant to the extent to which it succeeded in his policy, losing its ability not only to command the obedience of its provincial governors but to defend itself against the onslaught of Tamur following a precipitate decline in the size of the 'Pilkhana' in the last half of the fourteenth century.<sup>11</sup> The Turkish sultans of Delhi did not establish a strict monopoly nor a centralized army but their concern to control the supply of horse and elephants was very much the same which Chandragupta had addressed with such evident success almost two millennia earlier. The problem of acquiring elephants is of quite a different character. We rarely hear of the elephant trader as a professional specialization in ancient sources and though we have references to elephants being bought and sold, and occasionally imported from as far as Sri Lanka. In the Medieval period, trade in elephants seems to have increased till in the nineteenth century, when India had long ceased to be self-sufficient in elephants and its princes continued to require them for hunting and for ceremonial purposes, if not for warfare, a regular market in them with specialist traders can be said to have existed, the short fall being made up by imports from Sri Lanka, Burma and Thailand.<sup>12</sup>

Anciently the two principal means of acquisition were the capture of wild elephants and the taking of elephants as tribute or plunder. The principal determinant of this pattern was the high cost of maintaining elephants. Thus ultimately the continued acquisition of elephants depended upon the continued existence of wild populations in elephant forests.<sup>13</sup> There is no doubt that 500 is an enormous number of elephants for any one king to own and maintain let alone to give away, but even if we discount the very large figures for Indian kings including the Nanda's and Maura's in classical sources,<sup>14</sup> those for the holding of Muslim kings in the medieval period show that it is not an impossibly large number.<sup>15</sup>

The effectiveness of the elephant in war- 'The great reliance placed on elephants by Indian tacticians was, from the practical point of view, unfortunate. Though fighting elephants might at first strike great terror in an invading army unused to them, they were by no means invincible. Just as the Romans found means of defeating the elephant of Pyrrhus and Hannibal, so Greeks, Turks and trained elephant was demoralized comparatively easily, especially by fire and when overcome by panic it would infect its fellows, until a whole squadron of elephants, trumpeting in terror, would turn from the battle, throw its riders and trample the troops of its own side. The pathetic Indian faith in the elephants fighting qualities was inherited by the Muslim conquerors, who after a few generations in India, became almost as reliant on elephants as the Hindus and suffered at the hands of armies without elephants in just the same way'.<sup>16</sup>

Digby demurs from this judgment, in so far as it touches the Sultans of Delhi- 'In the Delhi sultanate, the only army with elephants which suffered at the hands of a foreign and elephant less army was that of A.D. 1398. The most apparent cause of its defeat (by *Timur*) was its pathetically diminished numbers both of horses and of elephants, compared with the armies which the sultans of Delhi had put into the field during earlier invasions.<sup>17</sup>

**Malwa king and invading for wild elephants-** *Hoshang shah* successor of Dilawar khan repeated defeats at the hands of Sultan Ahmad shah had convinced him of his relative weakness. To improve his position to secure more elephants as he was convinced that the scarcity of elephants in Malwa army was the chief cause of his repeated defeats. For this purpose he attacks to Kherla. Kherla is a strong fort on a plain, wild elephants are found in this country. The chiefs were always tributary to the kings of Malwa, the first to the governor of Garha and the other the government of Handia.<sup>18</sup>

*Rai Nursing* of Kherla came out of the fort and gave battle with a force of fifty thousand. Sultan *Hoshang Shah* came out victorious and Narsingh Rai accepted the suzerainty of Hoshang shah and gave him eighty four elephants and much gold as indemnity. This was the first victory of Hoshang shah and strengthened his army by the acquisition of elephants.<sup>19</sup>

In 1421 *Hoshang shah* had received information that the ruler of Jajnager was rich and was fond of horses of good breed and that he also possessed a large number of huge elephants. Being desirous of possessing this elephants he assumed the garb of merchants and took with him a body of soldiers all dressed as merchants and after collecting merchandise and horses set out for Jajnager keeping his motives

secret all the time *Bhanudeva IV* was taken prisoner. Sultan Hoshang shah then disclosed his identity and demanded a ransom for his release. The ransom of seventy five elephants was paid but as a precautionary measure Hoshang did not release the king till he had crossed the boundary of Jajnager and then taking some more elephants released him, and returned towards Mandu.<sup>20</sup> *Bhanudeva IV* was the last ruler of the Eastern Ganga dynasty and ruled from 1414-1434 A.D. (Gajapati Dynasty).

**Malwa kingdom and its Subdivision**— The Kingdom of Malwa at its zenith, under Mahmud khalji, held sway over a vast territory and included such regions as Bayana, Kalpi, Chanderi, Sarguja, Raipur, Ratanpur, Bairagarh, Elichpur, the Northern spurs of the Satpura range and in the west as far as Dohad, Banswara, Kanthal (Deola and Pratapgarh) and Mandsour. But it would be erroneous to assert that the sultan exercised direct control over these territories. Large portions out of this were semi-independent states acknowledging nominal suzerainty of the sultan of Malwa. They simply paid the annual tribute; otherwise they were free to manage their own states. In return for the tribute the sultan of Malwa protected them from the aggression of their neighbors. The regions of Ajmer, Bayana, Kalpi, Sarguja, Raipur, Ratanpur, Bairagarh, and Baglana belonged to this category.

The remaining territory was divided into provinces and frontier outposts. The responsibility of the person in charge of a frontier, outpost was to look after the neighboring regions. Ranthambhor, Mandsour, Gagraun, Chanderi and Kherla come under this category. The major administrative division of the remaining territory were Ujjain, Sarangpur, Bhilsa, and Hoshangabad, Shadiabad Mandu, Dhar and Nalcha formed the centre and was under the sultan himself.

#### **Military organization-**

The army was directly under the command of the sultan and which certainly was recruited at the centre, the various governors also had armies under their control. In some cases the sultan himself seems to have gone to certain regions to recruit soldiers. Whenever the sultan went out on any campaign or expedition the governors who were summoned come with their army to the assistance of the sultan. The army comprised infantry, cavalry, and an elephant corps. The Malwa sultans had collected quite a large number of elephants, and sultans Mahmud (I) had made regular arrangements for the constant supply of elephants with the rulers of Sarguja and Raipur and seems to have arranged for his own catch also. The importance of elephants can be had from the picture drawn by Barbosa. "They build wooden castles", writes Barbosa, "On the elephants backs which will hold three or four men armed with bows, arrows, harquebus's and other weapons. From these castles they fight against their enemies and the aforesaid elephants are so well trained to this that when they enter into battle they strike both horses and warriors."

**Conclusion—**

Malwa had plenty of forests which provided ample wood both for fuel and for construction of building. The forests yielded to the kingdom of Malwa quite a number of products. The forests of Malwa abound in wild life, which not only provided ample scope for hunt, but also provided through their hides commodities of considerable value, among the hides sambar skin was specially used for military accoutrement. It provided something like a coat for the soldiers; sambar skin was also exported to neighboring states. Abul Fazal pointed out some parts of the forests of Malwa were inhabited by elephant.<sup>20</sup>

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## Some Important Madrasahs During The Sultanate Period (1206-1526A.D.)

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Before the advent of the Muslims in India they had already developed a system of education in which the institutions of higher learning was known as Madrasah.<sup>1</sup> After conquering India Muslim Sultans also tried to establish Madrasahs here as their religious duty to impart education among their subjects. About the first Madrasah in India we get information from the Tajul Maasir of Hassan Nizami. According to him Muhammad Ghori established several **Madrasahs at Ajmer** which were the first of their kind in India.<sup>2</sup> Its exact date of construction was not known but probably it was established after the victory of Mohammad Ghori over Ajmer in 1192 A.D. Maulana Abul Hasnat Nadvi considered it as the oldest Madrasah of India.<sup>3</sup> Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji a lieutenant of Qutubuddin Aibak established several **Madrasahs in Lukhnauti** after conquering it.<sup>4</sup>

Sultan Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.) was the first to establish a Madrasah at Delhi naming it **Madrasah-i-Muizi** after the name of Muizuddin Muhammad Ghori. A madrasah of the same name was founded by him at Badaun during his viceroyalty which had become another centre of Muslim culture in northern India.<sup>5</sup> One of the earliest Indian Madrasah was the one which Nasiruddin Qubacha established for Maulana Qutubuddin Kashani in **Multan** and endowed it with lavish grants. It was in this seat of learning that Sheikh Bahauddin Zakariya was educated.<sup>6</sup>

During the reign of Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1266 A.D.) we learn that a madrasah was founded by his prime minister Balban and named it **Madrasah-i-Nasiriya**<sup>7</sup> after the name of his master. Minhaj-us-Siraj, the celebrated author of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, was appointed its Principal and Superintendent of its endowments.<sup>8</sup>

Sultan Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316A.D.) after his accession to the throne, founded a Madrasah attached to the **Hauz-i-Khas**, which was later repaired by Firuz Shah Tughlaq.<sup>9</sup> The inscription on the Alai Darwazah describes Sultan Alauddin

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Khilji as “the Upholder of the pulpits of learning and religion and the strengthener of the rules of colleges and places of worship”.<sup>10</sup>

Muhammad bin Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.) established a Madrasah in Delhi in 1346 A.D. with a mosque attached to it. The famous poet Badr-i-Chach composed a chronogram on this occasion, some verses of which translated here.<sup>11</sup>

“To see this cheerful and auspicious edifice, the sky, being the mirror holder of the Universe, has opened its thousand eyes. Its courtyard contains engravings that vie with the picture gallery (nigar khana) of paradise. The head of the Madrasah in his erudition may be likened to the teacher of the prophet. Enough, and the Imam of its mosque is sweet-spoken and eloquent. The Chronogram of its foundation is contained in the Quranic verse” Wad Khulu Fiha” (And you enter it). And I tell you (openly) it comes to 747 Hegira (according to the system of Abjad)<sup>12</sup>.

According to Al Qalqashandi author of the “Subhul A’sha fi Sina’t il Insha” during the Tughlaq rule in India there were one thousand educational institutions in Delhi alone.<sup>13</sup> During the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388 A.D.) great advance was made in higher education. As Ferishta tells us that Sultan built 30 Madrasahs in different parts of his kingdom.<sup>14</sup> The most famous was the **Madrasah-i-Firuz Shahi**<sup>15</sup> near Hauz-i-khas. It was one of the most imposing and prodigious structure of the imperial city. About its magnificence Barani<sup>16</sup> writes “architectural proportions and pleasant air make it so unique among the great buildings of the world that it would be justifiable if it claimed superiority over the khwarraq built by Sinmar<sup>17</sup> or the palace of Kirsar.<sup>18</sup> Its academic reputation travelled far and wide and people flocked to it from different parts of the country”.<sup>19</sup>

An eminent poet of the age, Mutahhar of Kara, thus records his impressions. “The moment I entered this blessed building through the gate, I saw an even space as wide as the plain of the world. The Courtyard was soul-animating and its expanse was life-giving. There was verdure everywhere and hyacinths, basil, roses and tulips were blooming and were beautifully arranged so far as the human eye could reach. Nightingales so to say were singing their melodious songs everywhere. It appeared as if they had guitars in their talons and flutes in their beaks”.<sup>20</sup>

This magnificent Madrasah had eminent scholars on its staff. They were men of distinction in their particular field of study.<sup>21</sup> The principal of the institution, Maulana Jalal-ud-din Rumi,<sup>22</sup> was a celebrated scholar of his age. He knew fourteen sciences, could recite the Quran according to the seven known methods of recitation and had complete mastery over the five Standard Collections of the Traditions of the Prophet. Besides he had the unique distinction of having expert knowledge of all the four schools of Muslim law.<sup>23</sup>

The contemporary writers do not give us any details of the curriculum of this Madrasah. Barani however particularly refers to the teaching of Tafsir (Quranic Exegesis) Hadith (Traditions of the Prophet) and Fiqh (Muslim Jurisprudence).<sup>24</sup> As Firuz Shah was keenly interested in astronomy, history and medicine, the

possibility of these Subjects being included in the curriculum of this Madrasah cannot be ruled.<sup>25</sup>.

Both the students and the professors had to reside within the college, and so there were the facilities that a constant communion among the students themselves as well as between the tutors and the taught could be afforded. There was a big mosque attached to it in which the five compulsory as well as the extra prayers were regularly said.<sup>26</sup> We do not know about the uniform of the students but the teachers of this institution wore The Syrian Jubbah and the Egyptian dastar.<sup>27</sup>

The lecture room in the Firuzi Madrasah was open to all student and non students, inmates and visitors. Muthar who attended, along with his friend, the lectures of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi Says - "I heard him on Tafsir (Commentary of the Quran) and Hadith (traditions of the prophet). The students were engaged in discussion and debates, their voices echoing in the heaven. After the lectures and the discussions were over, khwan-i-Solar (Superintendent of meals) served very sumptuous meals. After the meals the Students and the teachers performed prayers wishing well to the Sultan and his sons".<sup>28</sup> There were separate apartments in the Madrasah for the reception and accommodation of the travellers who, attracted by its reputation, paid it visit from distant countries.<sup>29</sup> The Madrasah was also noted for bounty and charity to the poor and the needy, for in its masjid they received the help they wanted.<sup>30</sup>

There was a suitable provision for the bestowal of stipends and scholarships upon the successful students, and over and above these, every inmate of the madrasah, be he a student, professor or traveller lodging there, received a fixed daily allowance for his maintenance.<sup>31</sup> Besides the Madrasa-i-Firuzshahi Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq established another Madrasah at Siri Which was known as **Madrasah-i-Balaband Aab siri**.<sup>32</sup> It was housed in a superb building, situated in lovely surroundings. Syed Najmuddin Samarqandi was the head of this Madrasah. Similar types of Madrasahs were established at **Firuzabad** and other towns in the Kingdom with large estates assigned to them to meet their expenses.<sup>33</sup> Another Madrasah built by Firuz Shah Tughlaq was known as the **Qadam Sharif near** the tomb of Fathe khan the son and heir apparent of the sultan who died in 1374 A.D. A mosque and a reservoir was attached to it.<sup>34</sup>

Sultan Bahlol Lodi (1451-1489 A.D.) also made Some contribution to the promotion of Learning. According to Maasir-i- Rahimi he built some Madrasahs.<sup>35</sup> He was succeeded by his son Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.) A very important event of his reign was the transference of the capital from Delhi to Agra. Founded Madrasahs at Mathura and Narwar which were open to all without any discrimination of caste or creed.<sup>36</sup> Among those ulema whom Sikandar had invited were two brothers from Multan, Sheikh Abdullah and Sheikh Azizullah, both being specialist in the rational sciences (maqulat) Sheikh Azizullah was put in charge of the Madrasah at Sambhal, while Sheikh Abdullah remained in the Capital.<sup>37</sup>

It is to be noted that it was during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi that the Hindus, especially the Kayasthas, took to the study of the Persian language as a

literature. After a few decades they made themselves as proficient in this language as the Muslims and entered government service and even produced great writers and poets in later centuries.<sup>38</sup> Besides the mention Madrasahs built by Sultans of Delhi there were so many Madrasahs which were flourished in provincial capitals. Among those, the Madrasah of Bibi Raji Begum at Jaunpur<sup>39</sup> and the Madrasah of Mahmud Gawan at Bidar<sup>40</sup> were most important. Thus we learn that there were a large number of Madrasah during the Sultanate Period which was established by the Sultans or any provincial ruler. In most of them the arrangement of fooding and lodging was made. The students and scholars who came from distance places resided there and the local students attended the Madrasah daily.<sup>41</sup>

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## **Aurangzeb's Treatment of Mysore- A critical Study of Chikkadevarajawodeyar's Agreement with the Mughals and its effect on Mysore.**

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Mysore or *Mahishuru*, as it was once called and known as *Mahishamandala* during ancient times is the southern districts of present Karnataka. It denotes both a city Mysore and the kingdom which existed in this part of South India for five centuries. The first reference to *Mahishuru* or *Mahishamandala* is in edicts of Mauryan Emperor Ashoka, who refers to it as his one of the southern neighbors.<sup>1</sup> Before independence this region was ruled by the *Wodeyar's* of *Yadava* lineage, who claims their ancestry to Yadavas of Dark. Noteworthy argument of present relates to the name Mysore' with Mahisha. So far no attempt is made to look into Tamil Sangam literature as possible relevance to contemporary Mysore region.. The contemporary *Sangam* literature refers to this region as *Eramainad* means the land of the Buffalos.<sup>2</sup> He opines that Mysore might have got its name through Tamil *Eramai*.

The Wodeyar's of Mysore who became politically active at the closing years of the Vijayanagara Empire, utilized the political vacuum left by the disintegration of that mighty edifice, defied the orders of the viceroy at *Srirangapatna* (under whose control they were) and carved their own independent kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Though they set aside the over-lordship of the governor of the emperor of Vijayanagara, they were not alone to claim the regions surrounding Mysore for themselves.<sup>4</sup> This paper attempts to a study how they overcame their adversaries in that power struggle and their relationship with the Mughals which might have allowed them to retain their hold when all other kingdoms succumbed to their army. The interesting aspect and to be analyzed was the agreement that existed between them to strengthen

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the relation between the Mughals and the rulers of Mysore. The records of Mysore family reveal that there existed an agreement between the mighty Mughals and this tiny principality. It is interesting to observe how could the Mughals, ruler Aurangzeb, who said to have determined on annihilating all independent Hindu Dynasties have an agreement with this family of minuscule kingdom, allowed its independent existence? The early Wodeyar's struggled hard to put their kingdom on the map of southern parts of South India. The battle of Tailcoat in 1665A.D. led to the crash of that mighty Empire of Vijayanagara, it hardly could keep the in-fighting among the five Shahi rulers. The Northern parts of South India became a bone of contention between the Shahi rulers of Bijapur, Golconda, Ahmadnagar and the Marathas, and the Mughals letting their might become a decisive factor over others, leading to a political struggle. The Southern parts of South had several contenders for to settle the question of proprietorship of the region. The Nayakas; military officers of the Vijayanagara, let free to carve their destinies, chieftains at *Bangalore, Sira, Madhugiri, Channapatna, Keladi, Nagamangala, Talakad, Mugur, Kollegal, Periyapatana, Kodagu Yalandur, Kunigal, Maddur, Belur, Holenarasipura<sup>5</sup>, Carnatic, Tiruchanapolly, Tanjore, Madurai*, , tried to carve their independent principalities.

The kingdom of Mysore came into existence by the end of the rule of Vijayanagara. They were one of the local chiefs under the control of the viceroy at Srirangapatna. Raja Wodeyar's (1578-1617), a chieftain who possessed thirty-three villages, tried to weaken the position of the viceroy at Srirangapatna and dealt strongly with his immediate neighbors, engaging them in wars. By the end of his rule in 1617 A.D. he was able to carve a principality around present Mysore. Defeated Jagadeva Raja of Chennapatna, a relative of Vijayanagara Emperor, now ruling from Penukonda, captured Arasikere from him in 1600.A.D.<sup>6</sup>

His successors continued this expansionist policy. Chama raja Wodeyar's(1617-1637), and Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar's(1638-1659) who succeeded him, followed the path of warfare to keep their holdings intact. They had more enemies, than friends in the region . Thus to build a strong Mysore was near to an impossible task, which was made possible by bold and enterprising rulers of early Wodeyar's. Kantirava Narasaraja Wodeyar's(1638-1659) eliminated few of his neighbors like the Chiefs of Nagamanagala, Maddur and Periyapatna, but could not escape the plundering of the Marathas, saved his territory by paying tribute. His victory over Bijapur army in Chennarayapatna in 1650, Yalhanka, ruler of Kunigal, Kadapa and Chennagiri. His defeat of the forces of Ranadhulla khan in 1639A.D. helped him to strengthen his position.<sup>7</sup>NarasarajaWodeyarwas succeeded by Dodda Devaraja Wodeyar's( 1659-1673) and who later was succeeded by Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's.

#### **Chikkadevarajawodeyar 1673-1704:-**

The rule of Chikkadevaraja attracts the attention of the historians, as his rule brought tremendous changes in all fields. Politically he was able to overcome

numerous difficulties the state was facing. The neighboring rulers were able to reconcile to the rising power of Mysore. He was able to remove many of his rivals with the superior show of strength and by developing an alliance with Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, he proved himself as the master of diplomacy. This relation brought him credentials in political arena, enhanced his prestige among his neighbours in particular, enabled Mysore to have much needed peace and stability in general. Thus the rule of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar and his policies need special attention. The policy of territorial expansion, diplomatic alliances and administrative reforms went side by side. Chikkadevaraja laid the firm foundation for the rule of the Wodeyar's over Mysore. In 1704 Mysore had firmly placed among the prominent rulers of the South and their territories expanded, their customary rivals annihilated.

His campaigns were far- stretched. In 1689 he defeated the Nayakas of Madurai as a result Madurai, Kaveripatinam and surrounding areas became part of Mysore kingdom. His annexations stretched a far as Salem, Sadamangala, Dharmapuri in the east <sup>8</sup> His activities were centered on the southern and eastern regions of Mysore as the entry of the Mughals had created new tension among the rulers of the southern region. The battles of Salem, Coimbatore, Periyapatna and Madurai, annihilated few contend -eras for the power struggle. He put an end to the rule of Chengalvas of Kongu, occupied the surrounding areas. Chikkadevaraja's role in removing the hurdles in his way to greatness is noteworthy. His career of conquest was well planned and was directed towards South and east of Mysore. He carefully avoided the Marathas at Sira and Gingi and being in the line of attack of the Mughal army.

Cautious treatment of the Mughals was a diplomatic strategy of Chikkadevaraja. His determination to have a say in political matters of the South needed a strong ally or recognition for the rising power of Mysore was essential. He was weary of continuous warfare among his rivals. War was the only option left to settle the matter.<sup>9</sup> The struggle between the Marathas and the Mughals being watched carefully, maintaining neutrality, when the Mughal army crushed the Maratha holdings at Sira, Bangalore and Salem, proved a clever strategy. His preference was for the Mughals as continuous harassment his kingdom faced by frequent Maratha incursions, making South India politically insecure. On the other hand the relationship with the Mughals would secure his position among his neighbours and their demands were lesser than that of the Marathas.

His desire to possess Bangalore was not just for political reason, it had strategically view. For long time the region of Bangalore was the bone of contention between the Marathas, the Bijapuris and local forces. Thus his effort to possess the ownership of Bangalore is noteworthy. His strategy was to avoid any direct hostility towards the Mughals. In 1680 he made an attempt to buy Bangalore from Marat leader *Ekoji* for rupees three lakh. Even before the deal was struck, the Mughals entered the region. The Mughals, who had taken possession of the Bijapur kingdom, weakened the Marathas, chased out the Marathas from Bangalore, made

it a part of Mughal province of Sira. Kasim Khan the Mughal officer at Sira was in charge of Bangalore, along with Tumkur and Hoskote. Chikkadeva raja be friend Kasim Khan, the founder of Sira, developed contacts with him with an attempt to buy Bangalore.

It seems they developed an alliance among themselves. By this alliance Chikkadevaraj had to become a vassal of the Mughals and agreed to pay annual tribute to the emperor and agreed to keep an army for them. This might have happened in 1689-90's. Chikkadevaraj truthful to his acceptance of Mughal suzerainty assisted them in eliminating their Maratha rivals by killing three Maratha generals; Dhanaji, Nimbhaji and Shanta Yadavs. Chikkadeva raja desperate of having recognition by the Mughals, had to start his plans all once again. In 1699 A.D. Chikkadevaraja with a desire to possess Bangalore made another attempt to develop contact with the Central authority but careful enough not to instigate the Mughal forces, used diplomatic channel. A shrewd politician, he sent emissaries of goodwill mission to Agra and then to Ahamadnagar, where Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb had stationed..

The emissaries who went to Ahamadnagar under *Karnik Lingappayya*, waited for an year to have access to the central authority, succeeded in arranging for a sort of alliance between Mysore and the Mughals.<sup>10</sup> Aurangzeb responded positively to their requests and granted several concessions which are not usually awarded to other rulers. May be he tried to strengthen Mysore against the Marathas in the southern parts. Surprisingly, Aurangzeb did not try to invade Mysore, No reason was given to his reluctance to occupy this tiny state which would have easier to occupy than other kingdoms. At no time the Mughals came into hostilities with the Mysore, they treated Mysore preferentially over others. At no given time Mysore suffered due to Mughal forces.

#### **Agreement: -**

The emperor had sent a letter of recognition from the Mughal Emperor in 1700 A.D. The letter recognized Chikkadevaraja's conquests and annexations. Through the letter the Mughal Emperor permitted Chikkadevaraj Wodeyar's to hold Durbar, seated on the Throne. The letter from the Mughal Emperor enhanced the political prestige of the Mysore kingdom.

Aurangzeb agreed to transfer of Bangalore on lease (*Izzar*) to Mysore may be for a price as suggested by few historians. However Chikkadevaraj's dream of possessing Bangalore became a reality. Though the records of the Wodeyar's claim, Bangalore was purchased from the Mughals, in reality, it was a gift of Mughals to Wodeyar's in recognition of his services and loyalty to them. Killing of Maratha Generals by Chikkadeva raja went a long way in the Mughals recognizing his friendship. Aurangzeb honored Chikkadeva raja, sending him a **seal** engraved in Persian letters, allowing him to use the title ***Raja Chikkadeavara j Muhammad Shahi***. But Mark Willks opines Aurangzeb honoured Chikkadevaraj

with the title of Zameendar of *Mysore* and not as Raja as claimed by Wodeyar's family.<sup>11</sup>

The Emperor had sent costliest gifts, a sword and a **signet ring** which was inscribed with the title Jagadevaraya. Though the recognition of Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar's as Mysore Raja or Zameendar' by the Emperor was insignificant, but the ruler of Mysore utilized the same to enhance his political prestige, as it was a great recognition by an Emperor to a ruler of small kingdom of Mysore. Though it seems the agreement with the Mughals was of recognition of a local ruler by an Emperor. But it is hardly the case as the Mughal records does not contain much details of this agreement. It may of the sort of an agreement between an over-lord and a feudatory. It seems the Mysore had to pay annual tribute to the Emperor. The intention of Chikkadeva raja in having an agreement was to strengthen his position, to consolidate his authority over neighbouring areas. Many of his neighbours started to fear the Mysore army and its rising power.

#### **Administrative Reforms:-**

Chikkadevaraja as a clever observer inculcated many of the practices of the Mughals in administration, military organization and economic policies. These developments and changes changed the form of the kingdom. Hitherto Mysore administration was not centralized or systematically organized. Within a year of his mission to the Mughal court Chikkadevaraja incorporated many changes in his administration.

The army based on feudal contributions defective in formation, planning and command. He abolished feudal levy, organized a central standing army. A regular force of 12,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry was raised, merged feudal armies, brought the pale gars into capital and made them as his humble courtiers.<sup>12</sup> The abolition of feudalism was a clever stroke of military and administrative policy, which eliminated the source of worries of frequent riots and insubordination of those pale gars. Organization of a centralized administration on the basis of centralized system as prevailed in Mughal provinces was another development being influenced by Mughal administration. Organization of administration as *Athara Kacheri* was greatly influenced by the Mughal administration. Persian names that included as administrative terms signifies this influence. The *Athara Kacheri* eighteen departments contain many which are similar to that of Mughal administration.

So far the administrative departments of the Wodeyar's were called Chavadi, now referred as Kacheri, Drafters with clear division of administrative responsibilities. *Barabaluti* system is another institution taken from the Mughals. The *Taluq* level offices were called *Barabaluti* where twelve functional heads existed. Few of the official postings like *Gumasthas*, *Defender*, *Subedar*, *Amuldar Killedar*, *Jamadar, ameen*, *Kotwal*, *faujdar* were taken from the Mughal terminology. The ruler was addressed as *Huzur*, *Khavand* to raise the dignity of the ruler. Few Customs of Mughal *darbar* were included along with Hindu customs. On the model of the

Mughals Chikkad evaraja followed a rigid policy in revenue extract. To fill the treasury he extracted revenue as high as 50 to 80 percent, instead of 12-25% as in usage.

The relationship with the Mughals might have brought temporary respite to Mysore from the incursions of the Marathas and the Nizam. Later after the death of Aurangzeb, Mysore had to pay heavily. The Nizam and the Marathas targeted Mysore for their attacks as the death of Chikkadeva raja in 1704 and that of Aurangzeb sounded the downfall of that strong edifice. The Marathas proved more vengeful and attacked Mysore, collected Chauth when the rulers of Mysore stopped paying subsidy to the Mughals<sup>13</sup>, as they felt it was their right over Mughal hegemony. But it is not to deny Mysore emerged a power to be considered. Though few of its northern boundaries were lost, they were able to retain their southern frontiers.

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## Celebrations of Feast and Banquet by the Tughlaqid Nobles

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Sultanate period witnessed various socio-cultural functions, held on various occasions, hosted by the Sultans and the nobles. Among them feast was a formal dinner attended by the nobles, dignitaries and prominent persons of the state. Although meager but important historical and literary accounts, shed light on the feast and banquet hosted by the Tughlaq Sultans and their nobles. These feasts popularized delicacies and set cultural norms, etiquettes and dining manners. Thus, feasts hosted by the Tughlaq Sultans and their nobles on various social, political and religious occasions were of much cultural significance.

The Tughlaqid nobles emulated the Sultans in hosting feasts. However, the feasts and banquets attended and hosted by the Tughlaqid nobles were elaborate affairs, marked by extravagance and display. Generally the nobles used to invite the dignitaries and other *Amirs* at their residences for the feast.<sup>1</sup> Ibn Battuta, Qazi of Delhi under Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, attended several dinners at the royal court, as well as at the residences of the nobles. Once he was invited by Malik Maqbul at his home.<sup>2</sup> Ibn Battuta's detailed account of feasts suggests that large kitchens were maintained by the Sultan and nobles and a large amount was spent on the feasts.

Besides Ibn Battuta, Shihabuddin al-Umari and Al-Qalqashandi significantly categorized the royal banquets into two types which were held at the royal palace, attended by *Maliks*, *Khans*, *Amirs* and other dignitaries.<sup>3</sup> The first type was known as 'Private meal' and the second type was a 'Public meal'.

Ibn Battuta records the ceremonies observed at private meal in which Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq invited his chosen relatives, *Khans*, *Maliks*, and *Amirs* as well as other high dignitaries. Being the Qazi of Delhi, Ibn Battuta was present in almost all the private banquet of Sultan and noticed that dignitaries attended this banquet were not more than twenty in number. The food was served in a large Council hall to celebrate the private feast. These nobles who attended this feast

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were *amirs* of household, *Amir-i-Hajib*, *Malik* Imad-ul-Mulk Sartez, and *Amir-i-Majlis* etc. Whenever the Sultan wished to favour or honour a noble or great *Amir*, he invited that person to this royal banquet.<sup>4</sup> Similarly Isami mentions a royal feast hosted by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq. Isami records that on the order of the Sultan, assembly hall was profusely decorated. Courtiers were ordered to sit on the left and right of the *mimbar*. Naqibs announced the feast in which the dignitaries, courtiers and common people were invited. Then the Sultan ordered Jalal Husam for oration which was preceded by the *Khutba* by Sultan himself. Thereafter guests were entertained with music and dance and then the food was served. Every chief was presented a golden plates (*khwans*) filled with varieties of items. The remaining food was distributed among the common people.<sup>5</sup>

However, public meal was organized with great planning and care. The food from the royal kitchen was brought out in procession preceded by the *naqibs*. The head of the *naqibs* and his deputy walked in front of them carrying a golden and silver mace respectively and entered into the banquet hall. The food was, then, placed on the ground and the accompanied *naqibs* stood in a line while their *amir* stood in front of them. Traditionally, the *Amir* of *naqibs* had to deliver a speech, praising the Sultan and then paid homage, bowing down before the Sultan in obeisance. All *naqibs* and other officials, who were present in the hall, paid their homage. As per their custom during the speech of the *amir* of *naqibs*, nobody was allowed to move or quit his place and quietly stood up at their respective places until the end of this oration. After Amir, another speech was followed by his deputy (*naib*) who also paid his respects which was respectfully followed by all the assemble people. It is worth mentioning that the clerks of the gates make a written report regarding the arrival of the food and the guests. Although Sultan knew this arrival, but accordingly report was delivered to the Sultan through the sons of Maliks. The Sultan, then, appointed a leading *amir* to supervise this feast and distribution of food.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Battuta minutely observed the manner in which varieties of dishes were served to the guests. According to the custom of the period *Qazis*, *khatibs*, *Hakims*, *Sharifs* and chief *amirs* were assigned privileged places at this banquet, after them the rows were arranged for rest of the people. To avoid any sort of mismanagement, the seat had been allotted to every person. When all the guests sat down, the *Shurbadâr* (cup-bearers) brought candy-water in golden, silver and brass vessels. It was drunk before eating the food but after pronouncement of *Bismilâlh* by the Chamberlains (*Hajib*). A set containing dishes was placed before each person. No one shared from the plate of another person. *Fuqqâ* or barely-water was served to drink at the end of the meal. Then in accordance with the Indian custom, betel and areca nuts were distributed on the trays.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the chief *amir* who was supervising the feast did homage followed by all the guests and then they left the Hall.<sup>8</sup> On that occasion, the Sultan fixed a number of trays of cooked food for his favourite nobles which were sent directly from the royal kitchen to their houses daily.<sup>9</sup> According to the author of *Maaslik-ul-Absar*, the general meals were served at the royal palace twice a day, one in the morning and the other in the evening.<sup>10</sup>

The dishes included thin cakes of bread, roasted meat, roasted sheep, bread-cakes kneaded with ghee and filled with *Marzipan*, then covered with flour, pieces of sweetmeats in the shape of bricks, sweetmeat contained in small saucers of leather and *samusak*, a very popular dish of India at that time.<sup>11</sup> After the meal *Fuqqa* (drink) and betel were served.<sup>12</sup>

Regarding the feast hosted by the nobles, Ibn Battuta gives an eyewitness account. Once he attended a feast which was hosted by Khudawandzadah Qiwwamuddin. He observed the manner in which food was served to the guests at this feast. The dishes served to each person were a thin round cake or bread, the roasted meat cutting into four or six pieces, and each person was served with one piece of roasted meat. Another dish was round dough cakes, made with ghee, which was stuffed with a kind of sweet called *Sâbuniya* on top of this dough cake. A sweet cake called *Khisht* was prepared with flour, sugar and ghee. Then, meat cooked with ghee, onions and green ginger was served in large ceramic bowls. Thereafter four or six pieces of *Samusak*<sup>13</sup> were served to all. *Hâshimi*, a dish of rice, cooked in ghee with Chicken was also served. Before the meals, the Chamberlain stood up and paid homage to the Sultan and all the guests followed the same. Before the meal, *Sherbet* (drink) was served in golden, silver and glass vessels. The Chamberlain loudly pronounced *Bismilâh*, signaling them to start their meal. After meal, barely-water and areca nuts were served in accordance with the customary practice of that period. Finally *Bismillâh* was again pronounced loudly by the chamberlains, which altered the guests. Thus they all stood up and paid homage to the Sultan before leaving the place.<sup>14</sup>

Ibn Battuta mentions a private feast hosted by Sultan's mother at her palace. Ibn Battuta, *wazir* of the Sultan and his companions were the guests there. After offering prescribed etiquettes of paying respect and presenting gifts, the guests were commanded to sit down in an arcade of the palace. Then the food was served for them in golden vessels, called *Suyuns* and *Subuks*. Food was served in two rows of two tables and chief of the guests was allotted prominent place on each table. Before proceeding to the tables, homage was paid by chamberlains (*Hajibs*) and *Naqibs*. Then the guests also did the same. Here too, *Sherbet* (drink) was brought first. As per custom, the chamberlain called out *Bismillâh* and then the guests start eating. After food, as usual, the barley-water and betel leaves were served. In the end, all guests were given silken robes of honour and other gifts.<sup>15</sup> During one of the voyages of Ibn Battuta when he was accompanied with the governor of Sindh Ala-ul-Mulk, meals were served to them with music and songs.<sup>16</sup>

Thus the feasts and banquets were important features of the socio-cultural life of the Tughlaqid Sultans and the nobles. These feasts were lavish and a huge amount was spent on them. Numerous kinds of rich dishes were served in a prescribed manner. Some kind of drink was offered before and after the meal with betel leaves. The dishes were served according to the ranks and the positions of the invited guests. To conclude, feasts were a restive feature of the court culture in the Tughlaq period. These events were celebrated with great gaiety and were sources of fun

and entertainment for the ruling classes. At the same time, they also served to strengthen the bonds between the rulers and the ruling aristocracy, bringing them together. While doing so, the rituals and ceremonies that were followed on these occasions legitimated imperial authority and reinforced the hierarchies in the court culture.

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## Evolution of Mosques Architecture in the Islamic World (Middle East.)

\*Seema khan

### Significance of the Mosques;

Islam, frequently translated as “submission” is a contractual relationship between man and God, where a man acknowledges the governorship of God, a recognition that logically entails his own vassalage or slavehood.<sup>1</sup> Literally, Islam means Devotion to God, more specifically to Allah, the only one God.<sup>2</sup>

“Islam is based upon the teachings of *Quran* and *Sunnah* of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH).”<sup>3</sup> Islam is the profession of belief in One God and in the Muhammad as his Prophet, to whom God has revealed his message for the mankind as it is described in the Quran. There are five basic and main duties (*farz*) of Islam, as well as the use of classical Arabic for all religious bond of the Muslim community, as the Holy Quran is also in the Arabic language. There are two parts of the faith (*Iman*) of Islam called Din.

(1) *Iman-i-Mufassal* means belief

The believers should have unquestionable confidence in the *Iman-i-Mufassal*.<sup>4</sup>

(2) *Amal or Iman-i-Mujamal/Ibadat-*

*Namaz* is the most important worship (*Amal* or practice) which is performed by a Muslim five times a day, through the simple doctrine of absolute monotheism. Muslim religious consciousness should be identified with intense feelings of absolute submission to the Almighty Allah of the entire dependence of His grace.<sup>5</sup>

*Namaz*, it is obligatory for every Muslim, it can be performed anywhere, privately or in a mosque, but worship in a mosque (particularly to offer *farz namaz*)

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is ordained to be more meritorious (deserving praise)

“The prayers of a man in his own house are equal to the reward of one prayer, But prayers in a *Masjid* near his home are equal to 25 prayers and in a Jami Masjid they are equal to 500 prayers, and in Jerusalem (i.e. in the Al-Aqsa *masjid*) 5000 and in my *Masjid* (*Masjid-un-Nabi at al-Medinah*) 50,000 and at the Kaba (at Mecca) 1, 00,000”.<sup>6</sup>

The mosques, or the prayer house of Islam, became a symbol of sublimity and purity and above all, of one pure devotion.<sup>7</sup> One definition of a mosque could be a building erected over an invisible axis, an axis which is none the less the principal determinant of its design. The Muslim world is spread out like a gigantic wheel with Mecca as the center, with lines drawn from all the mosques in the world forming the spokes.<sup>8</sup> Therefore the Arabic term *Masjid*, ‘a place where one prostrates oneself’ (through worship) in front of God and in the other words, completely surrenders to God.<sup>9</sup>

In Spanish *Mezquita*, Italian *Moschea*, German *Moschee*, French *Mosquee* and in English. Mosque or Mosk. *Masjid* became Islamic place of worship and an essential feature of the religion of Islam.<sup>10</sup> It also covered the private and social life of the people. Besides the *Masjid* gradually assumed the character of a socio-religious forum. The *Maulvis* and Muftis issued fatwa on social as well as religious matters in the mosque. The *Jami masjid* (Friday Mosque) of a town was meant for Weekly assembly (*Jumah*) of the whole Muslim community. *Khutba* (Friday sermon) was read by Imam or Sultan. Sultans and Governors began to use it for political announcements, along with *Khutba*. Mostly *Madrasas* were attached to the mosque. *Madrasas* (schools) was built for the purpose of providing education and these *Madrasas* were the learning centers of knowledge. Prophet (*Hazrat*) Mohammad (PBUH) did not allow the women to attend the public prayers in a Mosque. But it was pronounced better for them to offer prays in Private particularly at her house. Do not prevent your women from coming to the mosques, but their homes are better for them (and they must stay at home).<sup>11</sup>

In order to regulate public charities, *Bait-ul-mal* (Treasury of the public) was also established in the *Jami Masjid* of a town. It must be noted that the ruler of a Muslim state is not allowed to use money of the *Bait-ul-mal* for his personal expenses, but it could be used for public welfare. The development of the mosque architecture before the construction of the Dome of the Rock, the major monumental remains are only from the first years of the eight century at Medina, Jerusalem, and Damascus.<sup>12</sup> However in this way gradually, *Masjid* assumed a dominating importance in Islam. The Holy Quran thus laid down:

“The mosques of God

Shall be visited and maintained  
 By such as Believe in God  
 And the last day, establish Regular Prayers, and fear  
 None (at all) except God.  
 It is they who are expected to be on True guidance".<sup>13</sup>

A famous and oft-inscribed *Hadith* authenticated by al-Muslim also represents the overall importance of mosque. In this *Hadith* the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) had said,

"He who built a mosque for Allah,  
**Allah would build a house for him like it in paradise".<sup>14</sup>**

As far as later architecture is concerned, the major contribution of early Islam in Arabia was the development of a specifically Muslim *masjid* or mosque. All mosques are very important in Islam but there are some Mosques having much more importance in Islam. The following are some most crucial mosques having their unique identities.

- (1) *Masjid-ul-Haram* (connected with God or Sacred Mosque) at Mecca and transformed it into the *Qibla* (place towards which prayer is directed from all over the world). It is also called *Bayt-ul-Allah* (The House of Allah).<sup>15</sup> The *Kabah* stands in an oblong square, two hundred and fifty paces long, and two hundred broad, none of this sides of which runs quite in a straight line, though at first side the whole appears to be of a regular shape. This open square is enclosed on the eastern side by a colonnade; the pillars stand in a quadruple row; they are three deep on the other side, united with pointed arches, every four of which support a small dome, plastered and whitened (the *Kabah* is black washed in colour) on the outside. These domes are one hundred and fifty two in number. Along the whole colonnade, on the four sides, lamps are suspended from the arches. Some are lightened every night, and all during the nights of Ramadan.<sup>16</sup>
- (2) *Masjid-un-Nabi* at Madina, it is Prophet's Mosque, which was built by Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) himself in 622 A.D. It is first Mosque of Islam. It is built with the same technique as applied in the other mosques.<sup>17</sup>
- (3) *Masjid-al-Aksa or Al-Aksa Masjid* at Jerusalem it is erected by Soloman, called also *Al-Bait-ul-Muqaddas* (the holy house) also known as *Qubbat-al-sakhrah* (the rock), from which it is believed Prophet Muhammad

ascended to heaven on the occasion of his celestial journey (*Meraj*).<sup>18</sup> (al-Ishra)

The history of the mosque in the early centuries of the Islam shows an increase in its sanctity, which was intensified by the adoption of the traditions of the church and especially by the permeation of the cult of saints.<sup>19</sup> The main features of mosque are that a preacher (to give religious talk in a Public place or Imam) delivers an address to the congregation from a pulpit (*Minbar*) raised by the side of the prayer Niche (*Mihrab*) which is an arched recess set up into the western wall of sanctuary.<sup>20</sup>

Essential feature of the Muslims prayer is that it indicates the direction (*Qibla*) towards which all Muslims must turn their faces while offering prayers, this distinction of Being the *Qibla*-the spiritual centre of the Muslim community- a goal leading to the greatest good as well as unity of purpose was conferred at the *Kaba* in in the holy city of Mecca. It has to be assured that, in the Mosque; the *Mihrab* must correctly point to the direction of Mecca.

Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) had migrated to Medina in 622 A.D (*Hijrat* from the Holy city of Mecca to Medina therefore from 622 A.D Hijra Era starts and his migration from Mecca to Medina is called *Hijrat*'. It marks the beginning of the Muslim era known as *Hijri*'). He felt that the unavoidable need of a particular house of prayer for the believers the *Muhajirin* and *Ansar* both, so he decided to lay foundation of a mosque at Quba near Medina.<sup>21</sup> Thus he laid the foundations of the first mosque of Islam. It is situated at Quba near Medina; its walls were made of rough stones and mud-bricks. It was surrounded on all sides by residential houses except the western wall. *Hujras* or residing chambers are built on both the sides of the courtyard. Ornamentation regarding the construction of the mosque was strictly prohibited.<sup>22</sup> In the beginning the mosque architecture was quite simple. It consisted only of a courtyard encircled by a wall.

*Mihrab* is an apse (In the shape of a semicircle), niche or arch in the centre of the wall (of the mosque) which marks the directions of the *Qiblah* (*Kaba*) and which the congregation faces while praying.<sup>23</sup> *Mihrab* is the central Point of the *Qiblah* wall. When the Imam leads the prayer, he takes his position in front of it. *Mihrab* was not there in the early mosques of Islam but it was added later on. But *Mihrab* has been found in the tombs of Madina.<sup>24</sup>

*Minbar*/Pulpit is a staircase of three steps, made of wood or masonry of brick or stone, attached to the *Qiblah* wall, located in one side with the *Mihrab*. *Khutba* (sermon) is recited from it.

Hence the *Minbar*' was the invention of a Madina, by the men of the *Banu Najjar*' the pulpit (*Minbar*) assumed its present form from about (709 A.D) during the artistic age of "Caliph-al-Walid."<sup>25</sup> *Mihrab* and *Minbar* are two indispensable and essential features of mosque architecture. There may be differences in forms in accordance with the availability of the building material and stylistic variations,

but they have necessarily to be incorporated in the prayer hall (*liwan*) in all mosques throughout the world.<sup>26</sup>The *chahar-taq* of the fire temple of the Sassanian period was a square structure having four arches on the four sides, supported on the four pillars or piers, covered by a dome. The whole of it, as a single element, was adopted and absorbed in the mosque architecture and as its most important part, became the Nave (*Bahu* called by R. Nath) or the central square hall of the main sanctuary (*Liwan*). It contained the *Mihrab* and *Minbar*.<sup>27</sup>

According to some authorities, the *Minaret* was borrowed from the Syrian church initially in a purely architectural way; it was soon taken pressed into service for the purpose of Azan call- a most natural thing to do. In the beginning, the mosque structure was quite simple. It consisted only of a courtyard encircled by a wall. It was, in fact, modeled after the Prophet's house in Madina, which consisted of a courtyard surrounded by a brick wall, with residing chambers and out houses.

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## **Improving Time and Calendar- A Mughal Noble's Contribution to Astronomy**

\*Farhat Kamal

Sawai Jai Singh built five observatories in India namely at Delhi, Jaipur, Banaras, Ujjain and Mathura. Jaipur observatory is the largest and best preserved. Samrat Jagannath was the official tutor who initiated the subject of astronomy to Jai Singh. Samrat Jagannath was a Maratha Brahman and a great scholar of Astronomy. He was well acquainted with Arabic system of astronomy and European astronomical works.<sup>1</sup> He wanted to derive correct methods to find the true positions of planets. In this context three significant books-*Rekhaganita*, *Siddhanta Sara Kaustubha* and *Samrat Siddhanta* were written. *Rekhaganita* is a translation of *Euclid's Elements* an Arabic work. *Siddhanta Sara Kaustubha* is translation of *Almagust* and *Samrat Siddhanta*- it is an original contribution of the author.<sup>2</sup>

In this paper an attempt has been made to discuss the contribution of Sawai Jai Singh in the field of astronomy. He had designed three significant instrument of Jaipur observatory viz Ram Yantra, Samrat Yantra and Jai Prakash in order to study time and improve calendar.

Sawai Jai Singh was acquainted with the astronomical works of his predecessors and cotemporaries such as works of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, the astronomical tables of Ulugh Beg, some treatise on the Astrolabe, *La Hire's Tabulae Astronomicae*, and Flamsteed *Historica Coestis Britannica*, as well as some western mathematical works such as Euclid's *Elements*, a treatise on plane and spherical trigonometry and on the construction of logarithms.<sup>3</sup>

Sawai Jai Singh both studied Indian works on astronomy, like *Jyotish Vedanga*, *Surya Sidhanta* etc; and obtained a thorough knowledge of the science as well as works of Arab astronomers like *Abdul Rahman b. Omar Abul- Husain al- Sufi* (d.986) *Nasir al- Dinal – Tusi*, *Alib Mohammad al- Sayyid al- Sharif, Jamshed b. Masud Jijal al- Dinal- Kashi* (circa 1440 A.D), *Ulugh Beg* (d 1449 A.D) and

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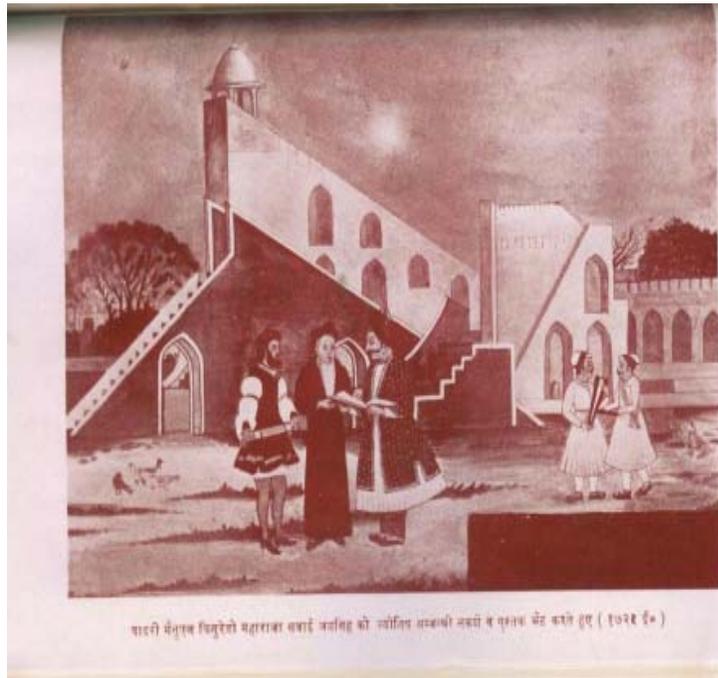
*Maulana Chand.* Jai Singh was highly influenced by Muslim astronomers, especially of Ulugh Beg.<sup>4</sup> Samrat Jagannath says that Jai Singh sent a scholar named Mohammad Sharif to several western countries. He also sent Mohammad Mahandi to collect astronomical data at different islands and similarly other scholars were sent in different countries to observe planets.<sup>5</sup> Jaipur became a centre of learning, frequented by foreign astronomers, and number of scholars and poets came from all parts of country, especially from Banaras, Karnataka and Maharashtra.<sup>6</sup>

***Buddhi Vilas mentions:***

आए निजमी जोतिगी, बहुर्यौं फिरंगी कौतिगी ।

तिन रच्यौ जत्र विसाल है, तामें ग्रहों की चाल है ।।105 ।।

The word *Feringi* used in the above lines refers to *Padre Manuel de Figeirodo*, who came to help Sawai Jai Singh in his work related to astronomy.<sup>7</sup> Jai Singh became aware of the progress in astronomy in some European countries and was impressed by Flamsteed work- *De la Hire's Tabulae Astronomicae* (a catalogue of stars). *Sawai Jai Singh Charitra* also shows that Padre Manuel de Figeirodo gifted the some important books and maps of astronomy to Jai Singh.<sup>8</sup>



Source-Sawai Jai Singh CharitraZij Muhammad Shahi:-

*Zij Muhammad Shahi* (Muhammad Shah's astronomical tables) was prepared by Sawai Jai Singh under Emperor Muhammad Shah. *Zij Muhammad Shahi* contains tables which provided the position of planets, Sun and Moon. Kaye obtained an incomplete *Devnagri* manuscript from Jaipur. The author said that it is not the original itself but Ulugh Beg's catalogue, updated and improved by Jai Singh, and included Jai Singh's table based on his actual observations. The Jaipur manuscript begins as follows, "Homage to holy Ganesh, Catalogue of 48 constellations. From the time of Ulugh Beg's table A.H. 841 (1437) to the present date A.H. 1138 (1725-26) 297 years the mean motion is 4 degrees 8 minutes. In the *Zij -Muhammad Shahi* the estimates of declination etc; are taken from globe. Right ascension divided by six is apparent time.....". The British Museum Manuscript entitled *The Zij Jadid Muhammad Shahi* (new Muhammad Shah tables) indicates that Sawai Jai Singh was its author.<sup>9</sup>

Wanting to improve the Indian calendar and the ability to precisely locate the Sun, for purposes of map making, Sawai Jai Singh built five astronomical observatories in India. The instruments, probably inspired by Uzbekistan astronomer Ulugh Beg, were large masonry structures equipped with protractors and marked grids designed for precise measurements of the location of celestial objects.

#### **The Astrolabe (Yantra Raj):**

The astrolabe appears to have played a very important part in Jai Singh's work. Jai Singh used flat astrolabe. It was called *Zat al-Safa-in* (consisting of tables) in Arabic. The Yantra Raj is an adaptation of an Astrolabe a medieval instrument for the measurement of time and the position of celestial objects. Sawai Jai Singh compiled and studied astrolabe in different language available in his era and fabricated a comprehensive astrolabe for Jaipur observatory. This circular instrument is marked with 360 degrees on it with division in *ghatis*. Likewise, 90 altitude circles, prominent stars, constellations and celestial circles are also marked on it at their respective proper places. It has a separate attachment for a sighting tube to be fixed in the centre of the instrument. The instrument is used for measuring ascending altitude, time and position of the sun and some other celestial objects in the Sky. It can also be used in the computations of celestial positions and their changes. Sawai Jai Singh had designed (actually improved) the masonry instrument like the Samrat Yantra, the Jai Prakash and the Rama Yantra. These instruments were peculiar in Jaipur observatory.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Samrat Yantra:**

Samrat Yantra is an equinoctials sundial. Sawai Jai Singh turned this ancient sundial into an accurate instrument for measuring time, hour, angle, and declination of celestial objects. It is nearly 90 feet high and 147 feet long. The radius of quadrant is 49 feet 10 inches. The dials are graduated to read the seconds but it is not

possible because the shadow is not clearly defined. It is situated on the South East of observatory in Jaipur. The primary object is to indicate solar time or local time. It can be used to measure time in both day (based on shadows of Gnomon) as well as night (based on distance between stars). Like any other sundial. Samrat gives local time and not “standard time”.<sup>11</sup>

### **Jai Prakash Yantra:**

Jai prakash Yantra is made up of hemispherical dials. It is made of two parts. One part of the instrument is a hemisphere, fashioned of mortar, sunk in the ground, sliced with passages so that the instrument reader can be close to the remaining segments of the hemisphere. The second part of the instrument is another hemisphere, again fashioned of mortar, sunk in the ground, sliced with passages to compliment the first instrument.<sup>12</sup> The parts of the hemisphere in the first instrument which are missing because of the passageways are present in the second and vice versa. The hemisphere surfaces are of marble and are scribed with celestial latitude and longitude lines. A small marker is suspended at the centre of each hemisphere by wires. Cross wires are stretched from North to South and east to west and the shadow of the intersection of these wires falling on the surface of the hemisphere (bowl) indicates the declination and its zenith distance in the heavens. Its rim or upper edge represents the horizon and graduated in degrees. This instrument is a very efficient dial, shows local time, the sun’s declination and the sign of the meridian. This instrument was constructed at Delhi and Jaipur.<sup>13</sup>

### **Ram Yantra:**

The Ram Yantra can measure zenith distance and attitude of the sun. It can also measure the local coordinates of altitude and azimuth of a celestial object. The azimuth is the relative angular position of the object measured eastwards, starting from the direction north. The complementary units are so designed that the shadow of the gnomon falls on a sector of one of the instrument, if it falls in the gap for the other instrument. The main feature of this instrument is that it gives direct readings.<sup>14</sup>

When the shadow falls at the top of the wall of the instrument, the altitude of the sun is zero. When the shadow is at the junction between the wall and the floor, the altitude of the sun is 45 degrees. Altitude between 45 to 90 degrees can be read in a radial direction on the floor of the instrument. There are twelve stone triangles that are fixed to the ground. These stone slabs are divided from 90 to 45 degrees.<sup>15</sup> These divisions help calculate movement of stars. Ram Yantra is mentioned in the preface to the *Zij-i-Muhammad Shahi*. The sources say that it was named after Ram Singh ( a predecessor of Jai Singh ).<sup>16</sup>

**Nadivalaya Yantra:**

This instrument is designed to measure time. The instrument has two circular plates (dials), facing north and south. Only the northern part (*Uttari Gola*) was built originally, the southern part and the storage chamber was added before the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh, when the whole building was rebuilt (1771).<sup>17</sup>

**Rasivalaya Yantra:**

It is used for measuring the latitude and longitude of celestial bodies. There are 12 instruments which represent the twelve signs of the zodiac; one for each instrument to be done which the corresponding signs of the zodiac transits the meridian.

The gnomon of a *Rasivalaya* instrument points to the ecliptic poles, when the zodiacal constellation corresponding to that *Rasivalaya* transits the meridian. The *Rasivalaya* instrument is found only in the Jaipur observatory. It is believed that *Rasivalaya* was not designed by Jai Singh as it was not a part of list of Sawai Jai Singh's time.<sup>18</sup>

**Chakra Yantra (Circle Instrument):**

The *Chakra Yantra* is a ring instrument which measures the global co-ordinates of declination and the hour angle of a celestial object.<sup>19</sup>

The rim of the circle has scale of 360 degrees with each degree division is divided into 10 subdivisions. The plate around the polar axis pivot has scale of 60 ghatas. Once the celestial object is sighted the position of tube on the two scale, can be used to read the declination and the hour angle.<sup>20</sup>

**Dakshinottara Bhatti (Meridian Wall):**

Dakshinottara Bhatti consists of graduated quadrant or a semicircle placed exactly in the north-south direction. At the centre of the arc is fixed a horizontal rod. It is used for measuring the meridian altitude or zenith distance of a celestial object. Sawai Jai Singh built Dakshinottara Bhatti Yantras at all of his observatories and there are six of them till date (Varanasi had 2, rest one each).<sup>21</sup>

**The Sasthamsa Yantra (Sextant Instruments):**

Sasthamsa Yantra is used for measuring the declination and zenith distance of Sun. This instrument uses semi-circular concave arcs laying in the meridian. There are two identical units of *Sasthamsa*, one each inside the eastern and western supporting structures of the *Samrat Yantra*.<sup>22</sup>

**Krantivrta (declination circle or ecliptic):**

The *Krantivrta* is an instrument that means to measure the celestial latitude and

longitude of an object in the sky. It is also used for measuring solar sign of the sun in day time. This instrument is said to have been built according to instruction of Pandit Jagannath (under Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II, before 1743) and never have been completed, with superstructure missing.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Digamsa (Digamsa: azimuth):**

Digamsa determines the azimuth of a celestial object. This instrument is a cylindrical instrument that has a simple method of determining the azimuth of a celestial object. Digamsa or the azimuth of a celestial object is the relative angular position of the object measured eastwards, starting from the direction north.<sup>24</sup>

#### **Kapala (A bowl, Hemispherical Dial):**

it used for measuring the ascendant and zodiacs. It is a peculiar instrument and only Jaipur observatory contains this instrument. This instrument shows the rising signs. Each Kapala has a diameter of  $11\frac{1}{3}$  feet and is a complete hemisphere. This instrument is like a Jaiprakash Yantra.<sup>25</sup>

One can conclude that Sawai Jai Singh was well acquainted with astronomical knowledge. The attached picture in the paper reveals that he had collected many maps and literature of astronomy from other countries as well. He also studied the Muslim astronomical works and brought their star catalogues up to date. He prepared the *Zij-i-Muhammad Shahi* (a set of astronomical tables) and reform the calendar.

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## **Social Dynamics and the Process of Societal Homogenization Developed in India During the Mughals (1540-1707).**

**\*Dr. Madhab Chandra Adhikary,**

In the present paper an attempt has been made to establish a social dynamism during the Mughal period. Social reforms, movements and political movements are conspicuous example of social dynamics. It is obviously occurred in any one of three directions: from lower to higher; from higher to lower or between two positions at the same levels.<sup>1</sup> Before the advent of the Muslim and till the second half of the sixteenth century, the closed societal structure was rigidly applied in Indian society.

The social stratification of the Muslim society was based on hereditary Hindu caste system viz Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra as comparative as *ashraf*' (a high born) and *ajlaf*' (low born or the disgraced). The concept of such hierarchy with all its principles in India performed in endogamous relationship in case of status equivalence and hyper gamy/hypo gamy in those cases where the status parity was not recognized. The elements of profession or economic mobility in that society were dictated by the Brahmin structural society in nature of two cases- there was no scope for professional changes either personal or *barna* to the profession of the other *barna* categories or the artisan community and the agriculturist were not able to change their profession outside the family and guild.

The bureaucratic Mughal administration had created a fixed gradation of professional society in the form of Mansabdary system. The *Mansabdars* were appointed from same generation or other generations and any other professional groups without considering religious creed and castes. Personal ability becomes the only margin to be appointed civil as well as military service. One professional

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group may be appointed to other professional sections viz, the Hindu belong to the *Kshatriya* caste background had been appointed as *Mansabdar* if he shows his personal ability. In this case his hereditary profession would be changed as soon as he was been assigned as a *Mansabdar*. On the other hand, status is given to a person by birth and equality when a low caste Hindu *Kshatriya* been appointed as *Mansabdar* by showing his personal ability and was given him a higher status *Mansabdar*, the Brahmin subjects in his *Jagir* would be loyal to him.<sup>2</sup>

All *Mansabdars* at a given time fell into three classes. Thus Abul Fazl says “The monthly salary of the *Mansabdar* varies with his *zat* rank(*zat* rank means personal that fixed the personal status of a person, and also the salary due to him) and *sawar* rank (Cavalry men (*sawars* ) a person was required to maintain). An officer with equal *zat* and *sawar* rank was placed in first class; one with a lower *sawar* rank down to half the rank got a second class, while another with a yet lower *sawar* rank belonged to the third”<sup>3</sup>. As the Mughals always welcomed the ability to give higher position i.e. *Mansab* in the court. There was amalgamation of caste in the *Mansabdari* system viz Hindus, Persians, the Chagatai, the Uzbek, Turani, Irani, Afghans, Shaikzadas(Hindustani Musalmans) Rajputs, Marathas etc. In this regard, Barnier<sup>4</sup> says that nearly 70% of the nobility were descendants of those who had come from outside India during the reign of Akbar. The Rajputs and the Marathas together formed the overwhelming majority of the Hindus nobility during the reign of Aurangzeb. <sup>5</sup>

#### Hindu Nobles (From 500 *zat* to 5000).

	1595	1628-58	1658-78	1679-1707
Total nobles	98	437	486	575
Total Hindu Nobles	22	98	105	185
% of Hindu Nobles	22.5	22.4	21.6	31.6

Despite Aurangzeb’s policy of religious discrimination, the Hindus continued to form a large section of the nobility. Even the Umaras, which was consisted of Divan-i- Kul, Mir Bakshi and Mirsanam from Turanis, Iranis and Hindus of racial and religious groups, enjoyed an eminent role in *Mansabdary* system in the Mughal administration both in *Zat* and *sawar* rank.<sup>6</sup>. Akbar was the first Mughal Emperor

who tried to organize the Mughal administration professionally introducing the Mansabdary system. The Mansabdary system is thus the army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one. The Mansab, although primarily a military rank really constituted the terms in which official's hierarchy and incidentally social status, was expressed. Moreland stated that Akbar introduced two ranks *zap* and *sawar* in the 12th years of his reign.<sup>7</sup> However the chief feature of this system was that all the Mansabdar's owed directly subordination to the Mughal Empire absolutely a necessary in view of the early stage of the establishment of the Empire, which was expanding. It may be traced that the composition of Mughal Mansabdary and Jagirdars were heterogeneous from where *Turani*, *Irani*, *Afghan*, Hindustani Musalmans and Hindus were assembled and several groups of sub-castes had been emerged in the *jagirdary* system. The social dynamics was released under this administrative system where lower caste Hindu *Kshtriyas* and other backwards castes had been appointed as Mansabdar and were assigned *jagir* to them.

Ikhtiaruddin Muhammad Bakhtiar Khalji defeated the ruler of Bengal Laskhaman Sen and occupied the throne. <sup>8</sup> The admixture of the two cultures-Islam and the local brought about a new trend, which is being challenged at the present stage. The entire social process, hence, gradually is being transferred by the inspiration of coming Islam in Bengal.<sup>9</sup> Bakhtiar's so journey in Bengal also inaugurated an era of a new culture, which was distinguishable form and parallel to the erstwhile culture of the Bengal. <sup>10</sup> But for its perpetuation here in the subsequent stages Islam realized more on its functionaries from amongst the numbers who came from the erstwhile society than on the non-Bengali ruling elite or the theologians.

The overwhelming influence of the generative force, which has originated from the functional structural Semitics, affected the Hindus as much as the Muslims. As a result, when each was prepared to accept the other within perimeter of cultural tolerance, homogenization process too had started to operate without interruption towards mutual integration in a composite cultural system. Theological literature *Chaitanya Mangal*, *Mangal kavya*, *Vaisnav Kavyas*, romantic literature, (*Vidya Sundar*) Kavyas, translation and some other Muslim writings are the major literary props of Medieval Bengal. <sup>11</sup> Their theme language and social concern address suitability to demands of our propositions. A composition of intermingle relations between Hindus and the Muslims had been grown up<sup>12</sup>. During the period of our study both the Hindus and the Muslim poet had created their talent forgetting their communal rivalry. Shah Barid Khan, Donagaji, Sheikh Faizdula, Daulat Kazi, Muhammad Kabir under the influence of Sufis they realized the fact of accommodation with the Hindus and they used allegorical themes bordering on romanticism in addition to purely secular romantic theme in their *Vidyasundar*, *Lyala Majnu* and *Madhumalati* groups of stories .

The Muslims are being gradually adopted Hindu practice like *Jauhar*<sup>13</sup> and devoted to Indian music and cultivated scrupulously<sup>14</sup>. Even Aurangzeb had a liking for it though, on account of Islamic injunctions; he gave up the hearing of music altogether.<sup>15</sup> Besides religion, festivals become common participation to both the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus joined Muslim festivals like *Shab-i-barat*, Muharam and *Khawaja Khizr* in Bengal. On the other hand, the Muslim joined Hindu festivals like *Basant*, *Holi* and *Dewali*. *Dewali* and *Daswera* became state festivals under Akbar.<sup>16</sup> In this context, it may be pointed out that in spite of two different cultural ideologies the Hindus and the Muslims give an orientation to form an inter-religious intermingling between the two different groups in Medieval Bengal in which gave a great impetus to the Medieval Society for its development and growth of societal homogenization. The bureaucratic Mughal administration had brought a social mobility through their sophisticated and elaborate administration. Horizontal and vertical mobility, professional and status mobility suggest that their impact on social re-structure is unavoidable.<sup>17</sup>

The Muslims in India by trying to accommodate, after the initial political encounters and cultural derivativeness, certain basics of Indian civilization, did not mimic' Hindu ethos. <sup>18</sup> This issue of cultural subversion is popularly known as Islamization'<sup>19</sup> which can be held to be determined policy of the Mughal state. The conversion however by force is noticed at the early phase of Muslim India, it was somewhat marginalized during the Mughal rule. In the Medieval period it is reasonably argued that there was a strong common factor in the hierarchy of the society on almost identical dominated by we' and' they' perceptions.<sup>20</sup> We' being the perception of the ruling elite fostered by difference on ethno-cultural grounds. The hierarchy of the Hindu society originated at the initial stage from this we' Arian and they' non-Arian immigrant/autochthons ethno- cultural determinates. The *ashraf'*, *ajlaf'* dichotomy of the Muslim society was almost identical we' and they' immigrant / autochthonous, ethno-cultural compulsions.<sup>21</sup> Though it could not have been legitimized as was done in Hindu India by any legal code but the operation of this feeling was so intense and universal that it had assumed almost a caste like character. Besides, the opportunity for vertical mobilization, which was provided by the Mughal administration policy to bestowed honors on military merit, has stimulated the growth of new power formation transcending religious. Horizontal mobilization too had a similar effect on new power formation at the non -elite stratum in disregard of the territoriality of religion.<sup>22</sup> So, almost imperceptibility the different components of the Medieval Indian society approached each other for adjustment and assimilation. It is not too presumptuous to conclude that the Medieval Indian society has assumed a composite character<sup>23</sup> that led to release a social dynamic and process of societal homogenization during the period under review.

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## **New Wave: Towards a new India**

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A New Wave' refers both explicitly and implicitly to the changes gradually taking place in the colonial policy of the British rule in India in the years following the Revolt of 1857. The changes also clearly hint at the transformation of the Indian elite who had so long been devoutly loyal to the so-called utilitarian and benevolent British rule, but afterwards became aware of the mechanism of the economic exploitation and of the policy of benevolent domination. It was at this stage the all-India National Congress was founded holding the vision of a new age and a new life to the nation that was in the making. With the foundation of the National Congress there opened a new chapter in the history of the imperial and nationalist policies and activities of the colonial India. Practically henceforth a new wave began to sweep over the country incessantly with new courses through different channels according to varying situations.

The attitude of the Government towards the Congress did never stick to one fixed point. It varied from time to time according to situations. W. C. Bonnerjee writes, Viceroy Dufferin suggested to A. O. Hume, a Retd. Civil Servant that if his proposed association consisting of Indian nationalists through their discussions of political matters could keep the Government informed of public opinion this would perform the function which Her Majesty's Opposition did in England'.<sup>1</sup> Some thirty years later Lala Lajpat Rai, an Extremist leader, on the basis of prevalent notions relating to the birth of the I.N.C. and particularly on the foundation of Bonnerji's statement made the theory that the Congress was the 'product of Dufferin's brain', and that it was so made as a safety-valve to serve the interest of the British rule in India. Later on following Rai's "safety-valve' theory R.P.Dutt, a veteran Marxist historian and many others asserted that the Congress was formed through direct Government initiative and guidance as an intended weapon for

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safeguarding British rule against the rising forces of popular unrest and anti-British feeling'.<sup>2</sup> But recent researches have shown it that the so-called safety-valve machination was only a myth as the Government did not then feel the necessity of having an intended weapon' to safeguard itself against impending mass risings as the *mohantas* forecast.

Shortly before the birth of the Congress Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State on August 7, 1885 that the Bengali *Babus* and the Maratha Brahmins had the intention of starting Irish type of revolutionary agitations in India. And shortly after the birth of the Congress the Viceroy in a letter to Reay, the Governor of Bombay wrote that the nationalist Press was generating a sincere conviction that we (the British) are all of us the enemies of mankind in general and of India in particular'. Deferent's antipathy to the Congress is evident in his St. Andrews' Day Dinner Speech in which he suggested to the Nationalists that the Congress would do better if it took to social reform for the benefit of millions. Otherwise a happy dispatch was better for the Congress in some way or other. In this connection he made the doughty declaration: "... we cannot allow the congress to continue to exist".<sup>3</sup> In spite of this Dufferin had the idea that it would not be difficult for the Government to incorporate the leading nationalists of the Congress into the colonial political structure' where they would only let off their political steam. Therefore the bureaucracy could afford to pay no attention to them'.<sup>4</sup> But very soon the tables turned. Dufferin's idea of the Congress was totally changed. The nationalists transformed the Councils into very much like open universities for imparting political education to the people, and for criticizing and ventilating government policies and administrative shortcomings. It was at this stage the government devised a number of measures to counter the growing nationalist movement.

From the very beginning of his viceroyalty Lord Curzon was very much sensitive to the Congress-led national movement. It seemed to him that the national movement had become an acute political crisis which might be very much pernicious to the interest of the British rule. That is why it was felt that the prime necessity for the government was to weaken the Congress. From a deep study of the situation it became clear to the Viceroy that the Moderate-led Congress because of its inherent dissensions was nearing its fall. In this context Curzon declared (1900) "... one of my greatest ambitions while in India is to assist it to a peaceful demise".<sup>5</sup> Again in 1903 he wrote to Lord Nor, the Governor of Madras, "My policy, ever since I came to India, has been to reduce the Congress to impotence".<sup>6</sup> Curzon had the firm conviction that his policy could be realized only by dethroning Calcutta, the nerve centre of nationalist politics, from its position of regulating the all-India national movement by dividing the Bengali speaking population.<sup>7</sup> Risley, the Home Secretary to the government of India, harped more clearly on the same string: he said on December 6, 1904. "Bengal united is power; Bengal divided will pull in several ways"<sup>8</sup>. It is thus clear that all the top British officials were anxious to make a happy end of the Calcutta-manipulated nationalist movement. Curzon's successor Lord Minto said, it mattered little what administrative grounds were

there behind the partition of Bengal; as the matter was practically a grave political necessity.’<sup>9</sup>

The early nationalists, the advocates of moderate politics and moderate methods, now scientifically analyzed the draining out of Indian wealth and raised the slogan in the style of the American colonists ‘No representation, No taxation’. Gradually they moved miles away. They now put forward their demand for self government’ for India like that of other British colonies. In 1905 Dadabhai Naoroji asserted: “Self-government is the only remedy for India’s woes and wrongs”.<sup>10</sup> In the Calcutta Congress he pointed out categorically that the goal of the Indian National movement was *Swaraj* i.e. self-rule on the model of self-governing colonies of Canada and Australia.<sup>11</sup>

By this time the inner contradiction between the imperial colonial interest and that of the Indians became quite glaring to the Indians. So they could not but think of hitting hard at the trunk of British imperialism by launching on a violent movement. It was so because of the fact that the vapour arising out of Indian economy by nature being transformed into heavy clouds did not shower in India. This time the British authorities settled to strike at the heart of the national movement by the application of all effective weapons, particularly by the communal weapon for partitioning Bengal. This was how the partition of Bengal was at last settled. Lord Curzon applying Delilah-communalism had Samson-locks of Bengal-unity cut off.<sup>12</sup> The partition of Bengal caused a tumultuous uproar. But the *Boycott* and *Swadeshi* activities did not last long. “By mid-1908, the open movement with its popular mass character had all but spent itself”.<sup>13</sup>

In between 1905 and 1908 two very important things took place: one was the foundation of the All India Muslim League (1906) and the other was the Split of the Congress at Surat (1907). The British Government felt very much elated at the foundation of the League as it now became easier to play off the League against the Congress, and to play off the Muslims against the other sections of the Indian population. On the other hand British authorities felt elated at the Surat Split (1907) as it was to them an event of tremendous significance in favour of their much desired boon. Practically it was the result of their long hatched devilish machination to weaken the Congress and the national movement and thus to expunge the anti-colonial sentiment of the Indian populace. This is evident from Minto’s letter to Morley in which he wrote that the Congress collapse’ resulting from the Surat Split was a great triumph for us’.<sup>14</sup> The collapse had a tremendous impact on the national movement and particularly over the Bengal nationalists. Historically a sudden change came over the country. In Aurobindo’s words “A hush had fallen on the country”.<sup>15</sup>

This is how an eventful and significant chapter in the history of the British *Raj* came to an end leaving behind regional and in some cases local agitations. In this context an incidental remark of Viceroy Elgin is noteworthy: “India was conquered by the sword and by the sword it shall be held”. But it is striking that Elgin in one of his statements implicitly signified that in the sub-continent what

was of prime importance was diplomacy not sword i.e. nationalist agitations and problems were to be handled with Machiavellian diplomacy and not by Tsarist sword. That is why the government to handle Bengal politics took recourse mainly to three policies.

A section of the Moderates in the beginning welcomed the proposals of the Act of 1909 as large and liberal'; but very soon they on considering the excessive concessions granted to the Muslims became very much critical of the Act. The Muslims now felt themselves much empowered by the Act, and by nature and activities they became much more different from what they had been before the creation of the new province.

To the provincial authority and so also to the British government both in India and Britain the crisis of the new province gradually became very much perplexing. To get rid of the partition ulcer' the government thought of revoking the partition of Bengal. In December 1911 Emperor George-V at the Delhi Durbar revoked the partition. The two Bengals were now united, and the capital of British India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi. At this the Muslim political elite was rudely shocked. The main purpose behind this recalling of the Delhi-based Mughal glory was only to sop the enraged Muslim sentiment. But owing to changes in British foreign policy towards Turkey the Muslim opinion in India towards British authority became hostile.

In fine it requires a particular mention of the fact that the aforesaid factors both governmental and nationalist both knowingly and unknowingly slowly and steadily paved a solid ground for the emergence of a new nation and a new India. Particularly 1920 heralded the birth of a new India-wide national movement under the leadership of a new leader leading the nation with a new course of action against a super colonial power bent on crushing the birth of the nation in its embryo.

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## **Telangana (Hyd) Woman made the National Flag!**

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For many writers, the erstwhile Hyderabad state was a last legatee of the Mughals and a feudal backward state. However, for a few it was a peaceful state known for Ganga-Jamuna tehzeeb where people lived in harmony. The Nizam was known for eclectic views and did not squander state's finances. In reality, both views are partly correct and in many respects they are wrong. Earlier writers castigated the Nizam belittled Hyderabad people as indolent, indulgent and ingenuous and the affluent hedonists. On the other hand, they not only became nostalgic but also turned apologists. In the process, the real contributions of Hyderabad people were relegated to limbo of history, unwept and unsung.

One such remarkable and incredible contribution was designing the National Flag by a woman from Hyderabad. Tomes of vernacular and English literature attribute this to Pingle Venkaiah of Vijayawada. The vested interests were successful in creating a factoid about Pingle Venkaiah. However, the proof is something different. Had Gandhi approved the flag, he would have written in his *Young India* paper.<sup>1</sup> In addition to that, Venkaiah was in employment of Nayani Krishna Rao, the zamindar of Munagala. The Munagala zamindar was instrumental for the establishment of libraries in Telangana and would have taken pride in the achievement of his employee.

It is a factoid – an assumption or speculation that is reported or repeated so often that it becomes acceptable as truth. According to them, in 1921, All India Congress Working Committee meeting was held at Bezwada (present Vijayawada), Pingle Venkaiah, a Congress volunteer designed a tri-colour flag and presented to Mahatma Gandhi. Gandhi was impressed by it and passed it on to the Working Committee. It is of paramount importance to note that All India Congress Working Committee meeting was held on 31<sup>st</sup> March and 1<sup>st</sup> April 1921 at Bezwada and

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adopted many resolutions. These resolutions were published in Andhra Patrika, a Telugu daily. However, in these resolutions there was no mention of flag and much less Pingle Venkaiah.<sup>2</sup>

In March 2013, Telangana protagonists organized a “Millennium March” to Tank bund as part of agitation programmes to press for Telangana de-merger from A.P. A section of media reported that Pingle Venkaiah progeny was not only impecunious but also indigent and also appealed to the Govt. to extend financial assistance to his successors and the Government obliged. It is posited on a false premise about Venkaiah’s flag.

Be that as it may, the official history of Congress reads altogether different. The All India Congress Committee Commissioned Bhogaraju Pattabhi Seetaramaiah to write a detailed Congress history. Accordingly, he wrote authentic history of Congress. He writes that - *the issue of National Flag was first time ever discussed in the annual conference of the Indian National Congress held at Calcutta in 1923. However, the Home Rule League movement which was started by both Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Annie Beasant in 1916, had already designed a flag and propagated it as the National Flag. Subsequently, the Home Rule League was merged with the Congress. However, the Congress appointed a sub-committee to finalize the flag for India. On this Committee, a noted artist, Avinindranath Tagore was included. The Committee never met and finalized the Flag.* Sitaramaiah further succinctly writes that the Congress included *Charaka*’ to the earlier Home Rule League Flag and adopted. It was in 1931, original red colour in the Home Rule League Flag was replaced with Ochre colour.<sup>3</sup>

Bal Gangadhar Tilak started the Home Rule League confined mainly to Maharashtra and Karnataka in April 1916, whereas Annie Besant founded her Home Rule League in September 1916. In the year 1917, the 33<sup>rd</sup> session of the Congress was held at Calcutta, and the first woman President Annie Besant (Dec. 26<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup>). As Annie Besant became the President of AICC, she merged the Home Rule League along with its tri-colour in the Congress. That means, tri-colour came into vogue in 1917 whereas the Working Committee of Congress met at Bezwada only in 1921. The contemporary newspapers of that period both vernacular English did not make any mention of the flag.<sup>4</sup>

It was in 1957, the Government of India while celebrating the century celebrations of 1857, the first war of independence, had decided to compile a book on the Freedom Movement of India and solicited the services of noted historian Prof. Tarachand of Allahabad University. He produced four volumes of authentic history of freedom movement citing primary sources. Curiously enough this book also does not make a mention of Pingle Venkaiah and his much orchestrated tri-colour flag.<sup>5</sup> It was in 1980, Smt. Indira Gandhi appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sri B.N. Pandey, a noted historian, to compile a comprehensive history of the Indian National Congress, so that it could be released in 1985 as a part of the Congress Centenary Celebrations. B.N. Pandey along with 50 noted

historians from different university compiled five volumes of history of the Congress “*A centenary history of the Indian National Congress*”.

Interestingly, Prof. M. Venkata Rangaiiah, edited four volumes of “*The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh*”, published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, does not make a mention of much orchestrated tri-colour of Venkaiah.<sup>6</sup> However, Prof. Sarojini Regani of Osmania University, a sympathizer of Congress Party in her hagiography “*Highlights of the freedom movement in Andhra Pradesh*” published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh in 1972 writes “*It was in this session that one Pingle Venkaiah designed the tri-colour flag of the Congress which was adapted by Gandhiji as the Congress National Flag with the Charkha imposed on it*”. But Prof. Regani does not cite any primary source to substantiate her assertion. In addition to that, she pejoratively writes “*One, Pingle Venkaiah*” as per the Cambridge International Dictionary One’ used before the name of someone who is not known. That means, Pingle Venkaiah was a person *non grata*.<sup>7</sup>

It is of paramount importance to note that constituent Assembly of India while adopting national emblem made a mention of Sarnath and Emperor Ashoka, however, while adopting tri-colour as the national flag it kept discreet silence about its origin. The Constituent Assembly appointed Ad-hoc Committee of the following members. Dr. Rajendra Prasad (Chairman), Abul Kalam Azad, C. Rajagopalachari, Sarojini Naidu, K.M. Pannikar, K.M. Munshi, B.R. Ambedkar, S.N. Gupta, Frank Anthony and Sardar Ujjal Singh.<sup>8</sup> The Ad-hoc Committee however, finally referred to the strong sentiment in the country in favour of adopting as the National Flag of India, the flag used for years and suggested that it should be honoured. After detailed deliberations, the Committee decided on July 14 to retain the Purna Swaraj Flag of 1931 with a minor change by replacing the *Charkha*’ with Ashoka’s *Dharma Chakra*’ (Wheel of Law) on the centre of the white stripe. The Committee immediately arrange for the samples of the new flag for approval. The sample prepared by Mrs. Suraiya Tayyabji was finally approved on July 17, 1947.<sup>9</sup>

Be that as it may, another erudite English historian Trevor Royal in his “*The Last Days of the Raj*” writes that the National Flag was made by Badruddin Tayabji’s wife. He writes “***By one of those contradictions which run through India’s history, the national flag was designed by a Muslim, Badr-ud-Din Tyabji. Originally the tricolour was to have contained the spinning-wheel symbol (charka) used by Gandhi but this was a party symbol which Tyabji thought might strike the wrong note. After much persuasion Gandhi agreed to the wheel because the Emperor Ashoka was venerated by Hindu and Muslim alike. The flag which flew on Nehru’s car that night had been specially made by Tyabji’s wife.***”<sup>10</sup>

Tyabji was an ICS officer in the Prime Minister’s office in 1947. He was known for erudition and scholarship and his wife’s name was Suraiyya. She was

none other than niece of Sir Akbar Hydari of Hyderabad - Telangana.<sup>11</sup> Her wedding was performed at Hyderabad city. Thus the Indian tricolour was made by a woman from Hyderabad - Telangana, but history does not record the contribution of Hyderabad - Telangana people as was done in the case of Maulvi Allauddin, the first 1857 martyr who was transported for life to *Kalapani*, Andamans and Abdul Hassan Safrani a Hyderabadadi who coined *Jaihind* slogan. Dramatist Shakespeare is right: “*when beggars die, there are no comets seen; the heaven’s blaze from the death of princes*”.

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## **Extension and Opening Ceremony of the Railway Line from Thane to Kalyan**

**\*Dr. Rita P. Bhambi**

In good old days when the only form of public transport in India was the bullock cart or palanquin<sup>1</sup> the idea of employing a locomotive for carrying passengers and goods was as romantically exciting as that of space travel today. The wheel and the railways are synonymous with the rise of civilization. While in the matter of road transport France occupied the first place, in the matter of rail transport England has been the pioneer country both as regards construction and operation. The first line was operated from Stockton to Darlington on September 27, 1825. But for five years this railway was used exclusively for carrying only coal. The railway era dawned with the opening of the Liverpool Manchester Railway on September 15, 1830.

After twenty three years the first, short stretch of railway line in India, Bombay to Thana began operation on April 16, 1853. It was a red letter day in the history of Indian railways. But, it wasn't as if the day arrived suddenly; a lot of homework was done for many years before the first train could be flagged off. The idea of railways in India first occurred to George T. Clark, the Chief Engineer of Bombay Government, who during his visit to Bhandup in 1843 had first conceived the scheme that a railway line could be laid to connect Bombay to Thane, Kalyan and the Thull and Bhore Ghat inclines.<sup>2</sup> A company was formed in England under the name of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, (to give the legal status) incorporated by an Act of Parliament in August 1849.<sup>3</sup> The GIP Railway Company entered into a contract with the East India Company on August 17, 1849.<sup>4</sup> The construction of the line was started on October 31, 1850. The first passenger train that ever ran in India on this section was on April 16, 1853. The railway line was extended up to Kalyan.

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**Railway Line from Thane to Kalyan:-**

With the instruction of Cornelius Nicholson, Superintending Director of Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company (GIPR) the work of survey of Thana-Kalyan line was undertaken when the line from Bombay to Thana was under construction.<sup>5</sup> James J Berkley, Resident Engineer did survey and recommended the two lines were set out and leveled. He submitted his report with the following findings of the two lines:

	Parseek Point Line	Godadhungur Tunnel
Length	4 miles 44 chains	3 miles 20 chains
Earthwork	Cutting exclusive of tunnel excavation 68,000 cub: yard	Cutting exclusive of tunnel excavation 2,05,000 cub: yard
Embankment	11.9000 cub: yard	1,60,000 cub: yard
Nullah crossing	12	04
Road crossing	03	01

From this abstract it appears that the Godadhungur Tunnel line would be a mile and a quarter shorter than that by Parseek Point. But it would pass nearly 2 ½ miles of 1 in 75 gradients while the Parseek Point Line has only one mile of it and this divided into three way short alterations.<sup>6</sup> He recommended, the Parseek Point Line has the great advantage. It could be constructed in a much shorter time.” He, therefore, recommend that the Parseek Point Line should be adopted.<sup>7</sup> After the survey was completed a report by James Berkley, Resident Engineer and W.H.G.Crawford, Superintending Engineer, i.e. plans, drawings, schedules of works, relating to the Contract no.3, for the extension of line from Parseek Point to the vicinity of Kalyan was submitted to the Government for the approval. London Board approved the plan and instructed for inviting tenders for the execution of Contract no. 3.<sup>8</sup> The whole construction work of the GIPR had been executed by contracts system. The early railway contractors were recruited by competitive tenders from Britain. In the beginning doubts were raised by J. Berkley about the ability of Jamsetjee Dorabjee.<sup>9</sup>

W.H.G.Crawford, while writing to the Government remarked that, “Jamsetjee Darobjee’s rates are very low...he has left himself little margin upon which to employ skilled European Superintendence.... He was very confident in his ability to carry out the work... requested the Hon’able Court and the London Board of Directors, that a fair chance should be given to native of this country to engage in contract on the Railway”.<sup>10</sup> In July 1852 the Agreement had been signed between Jamsetjee Darobjee and the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company. J. Berkley

was very happy to see the progress of the work executed by Jamsetjee Dorabjee and commented, "There has, however been one remarkable instance of the employment of native enterprise, a Parsee contractor Jamsetjee Dorabjee, has executed the main-line contract as satisfactorily, as expeditiously, and as cheaply, as any of the European firms."<sup>11</sup> GIPR requested the Government to sanction to the 1<sup>st</sup> May being fixed for the opening of the line from Thana to Kalyan for public traffic. This was sanctioned and the line was opened on 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1854.<sup>12</sup>

### **Opening Ceremony of the Extension of the Railway Line to Kalyan:-**

The newspaper *The Bombay Gazette*, vol. XIV-104, May 3, 1854 mentioned in detail the opening ceremony of the Railway Line to Kalyan. The opening ceremony was performed with due pomp on Monday afternoon the 1<sup>st</sup> May, 1854. Hon'ble the Governor, Sir Charles Jackson, Mr. Warden, Mr. Landsmen, Sir Henny Leek, and a large number of Ladies and European and Native Gentlemen to honor them with their presence on the occasion. A Special train consisting of the Saloon, seven first class, and one second class carriages, in which about two hundred and fifty people were comfortably accommodated, left the terminus at the Boree Bender (Victoria Terminus Presently CST) at ten minutes to five o'clock and reached Kalyan at ten minutes past six o'clock. Here the party alighted, and every arrangement made for their comfort and convenience.

Major Swanson, as Chairman of the Local Board of Directors, proposed "The Health of Her Majesty the Queen, and success to her Army and Navy; which was drunk with great enthusiasm. Major Swanson acknowledged the toast, and thanked His Lordship for the good wishes. Four trains had left the station at Bombay and returned every day, for more than year; with the utmost regularity, and upwards of 4, 50,000 passengers had been conveyed upon the line without the slightest accident or injury to anyone of them.

The whole of the arrangements did the greatest credit to Mr. Roche, the Locomotive Superintendent and Traffic Manager: especially when it was considered that in the first portion of the line skirting the most populous part of the Native Town of Bombay, and in a short distance, were numerous level crossings for Carriages and foot passengers. He had much pleasure, he said, in speaking in praise of Mr. Roche, for he was a most valuable officer of the Company. The Ladies and Gentlemen then present could appreciate his good management from the favourable result which he just mentioned: most of them had opportunities of experiencing his obliging and accommodating disposition in the performance of his duties, and Directors, he added, he had the highest opinion of his integrity and zeal for the interests of the Company. Before concluding, he begged to notice a complaint that he had lately been made of the slowness of some trains. The line in question from Bombay to Mahim was only eight miles, and in this distance there were, to suit the convenience of the public, four stations and if all the applications that had been made to, there would have been one or two more. The Hon'ble Mr.

Warden then rose and proposed, “the Health of the Working Members of the Company” a toast which was suitably acknowledged by Mr. Roche immediately afterwards there was a beautiful display of fireworks on a mound near Kalyan, on the opposite bank of the creek. At nine o’ clock the whistle of the Iron Horse warned the Company that it was time to be returning: in about half an hour everyone having resumed his seat, the train was set in motion, being lighted through the tunnels by the burning of blue lights. And after a short stay in Thane take in water, proceeded to the terminus at the Boree Bender (CST), which was reached in safety at eleven o’ clock at night.<sup>13</sup>

## References-

### (Endnotes)

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3. Public Works Department (henceforth cited as PWD) Railways 1850, vol. 2, Compilation no. 26, *An Act to incorporate the Great India Peninsula Railway Company*, August 1, 1849, Maharashtra State Archives( henceforth cited as MSA), pp 101-110.
4. PWD Railways 1848, vol.1, Compilation no. 711, A Copy of the Deed of the Contract signed between East India Company and GIPR Company, MSA, pp. 179-180.
5. PWD Railways 1850, vol.6, compilation no. 61, Letter from the Board to Bombay Committee, dated June 7, 1850, MSA, pp. 230-231.
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7. Ibid, pp. 166-167.
8. PWD Railways 1852, vol.4, compilation no. 26, Report by Resident Engineer, dated December 22, 1852, MSA, pp. 7-10, From Superintending Engineer, Letter no.21 of 1852, dated February 10, 1852, pp. 49-55.
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10. PWD Railways 1852, vol.4, compilation no. 26, Superintending Engineer to the Government, Letter no. 62 of 1852, dated May 15, 1852, MSA, pp. 292-294.
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## **Genesis of Colonial Forest Policy with Special Reference to Travancore**

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The forest policies advocated under the British rule, collectively known as The Colonial Forest Policies, were primarily aimed at advancing the interests of the British at the expense of the natives. These policies could be attributed as the principal causing factor that led to an imbalance in the traditional relationship between Man and his environment.<sup>1</sup> The British viewed the forest of India as just another renewable resource to meet their growing appetite for Timber and their management policies reflected this attitude. The revenue orientation of the colonial policy also worked towards ensuring the large scale denudation of forests. This paper discusses the genesis and evolution of these forest policies using Travancore as our State of interest.

The English were the most regardless of the value of the forest. According to Gadgil and Guha<sup>2</sup>, the advent of colonialism was an ecological watershed' and the world ecology has been profoundly altered by Western Imperialism. The rates of deforestation all over the world, under the British, were rapidly converting forests into deserts.<sup>3</sup> Crosby<sup>4</sup> perceived colonialism as a period of "ecological imperialism. It can be said that the British forest philosophy was entirely born out of an economic necessity to supply timber to the national and international markets at the cost local of communities.<sup>5</sup> As Britain was a superior naval power, they required a large quantity of timber for their ship building processes. Add to this the introduction of the Indian railways demanded a lot of high quality timber for its sleepers. These additional demands for timber led to more and more sequential over exploitation of our forest resources during the British Raj.<sup>6</sup>

### **Colonial Forest Policy in Travancore-**

Travancore was situated at the south western extremity of India between 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> degrees of North Latitude. To the north was bounded by the territory of

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Cochin Raja, on the south and west by the sea; and to the east it was separated from Tinnevely by a range of lofty hills covered with jungles.<sup>7</sup> Its shape is triangular and its greatest length from North to South is 174 miles and width near the Northern boundary is 75 miles.<sup>8</sup>

This princely state was brought under complete political subjugation of the British after signing the subsidiary treaty. After this we can observe a series of changes made in the forested landscape of Travancore. In the name of systematic management and scientific forestry the British started commercial forestry. Legislations were made to regulate the forest and they are in tune with the British Indian Forest Policy. The Travancore Forest Act was passed in 1887.

There was a paradigm shift in the forest policy with the coming of the British planters to the hills of the Western Ghats. In 1860's the government began to devote great attention for plantation industries. The first tree selected as part of this sylviculture plantation initiative was Teak.<sup>9</sup> The teak plantation dates back to the time of Diwan Raja Sir T Madhava Rao. In his letter to resident, Mr. Fisher No 73 dated 9<sup>th</sup> January 1864, he had emphasized the necessity of replenishing the depleted forest by planting teak. The government of Travancore anxious to welcome the introduction of capital into the country, at first gave away land on the hills and afterwards sold it at an upset price of Rs 1 per acre, though the prices were increased later. All said and done, around 39400 acres of land, mostly virgin forests were sold to Europeans and a few other nations.<sup>10</sup> They started the felling of trees and burning of bushes for more profitable plantation industries..As per C.K. Karunakaran, the beginning of the destruction of the Travancore forest started in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the British naval command sent Edway to Travancore to enquire into the availability of teak for ship building.<sup>11</sup>

As regards to Travancore, it was during the period of Diwan sir T Madhava Rao that forest conservancy programs were issued. The famous regulation act was passed in 1063 ME. According to this act Konni was declared to be the first reserved forest in 1064. Other forests regions were also declared as reserved forest in the successive years. With the enactment of the Travancore Forest Regulation Act of 1963, new titles and responsibilities were created with the intent to protect the forest.<sup>12</sup> In 1884 The Maharaja of Travancore appointed an enquiry committee for looking into the administration of forests in Travancore. With this the forest administration of Travancore entered into a new phase. The management of Forests and its conservancy was a great matter of concern for the British in India as a whole and Travancore in particular. In 1884 a commission was appointed to report on the forest administration of Travancore and its defects and to suggest remedies for better conservancy of the forests. The commission recommended that forests of Travancore be carefully explored and reported on.<sup>13</sup> As a result of this recommendation, T F Bourdillion was appointed in June 1886 to make a thorough examination of the state forest. He was assigned with the task to mark and define those tracts which should be permanently reserved and to submit a report on their

resources, especially noting the conditions and extent of the forest teak.<sup>14</sup> By February 1890 he had visited almost all the forests of North Travancore, including the Idiyara Valley, the Cardamom Hills, the High range, the Anjinada valley etc.<sup>15</sup>

The high range forest was viewed by the government of Travancore as a main source of financial gain. All governmental actions are aimed at the increase and control of these resources. In Travancore plantations were started by about 1860's. However by 1862, forests began to be cleared in acres in favor of coffee plantations.<sup>16</sup> Rules were created for the legalizing of the large scale clearing and sale of forests for plantation purposes. Lands were given to influential European families as free grants and by 1893 about 40,000 acres of land in Travancore had been sold for the purpose of coffee cultivation.<sup>17</sup> In the year 1914, the Kannan Devan Hill Produce Company owned 26 estates and 17,300 acres of tea plantations near Munnar.<sup>18</sup>

The planters took initiative in building roads to the hills. The government of Travancore was particularly favorable in aiding such ventures and when public works department was formed, its road building activities were focused mainly in and around the plantation areas.<sup>19</sup> Forest exploitations were regulated by working plans, so as to bring all important forests under a systematic management. The growing importance of forests as timber led to the British policy of conservation of forests. Commercial importance of timber for ship building and railways made it essential to invest in resource development. It was during the period of Lord Dalhousie that the Indian government started to seriously think about putting together a permanent forest policy in place for the protection of the forests.<sup>20</sup> During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the Travancore government started encouraging cultivation in the forests which were officially called as waste lands, perhaps due to their non revenue earning status. In 1818 a Royal Proclamation guaranteed tax free enjoyment of cultivated lands for the 1<sup>st</sup> 10 years in government forests. Waste land rules for coffee and other cultivations were issued in 1865 that gave a boost to plantation activities in Travancore. In the same year full ownership rights were granted to tenants on government lands by an act known as the Pattom proclamation, thus making land holdings private, heritable, saleable and otherwise transferable property.<sup>21</sup> The new rules provided special grants of land and financial help to encourage riots from the Madras state to settle in the hills.<sup>22</sup>

The establishment of plywood industry caused another major drain on our forests. The growth of the plywood industry is linked to the policy of boosting the export of tea which became a major foreign exchange earner during the First World War. In Kerala plywood production was initiated in 1937 by Standard Furniture Co, Kallai, established in 1920.<sup>23</sup> In 1943 government owned Travancore Plywood industry was started in Punalur. The Plywood factories in Travancore obtained the bulk of their raw materials from the reserved forest. Despite these hiccups, the government was reaping handsome revenue from the forest department as a whole. The following figure shows the receipt and expenditure of the Forest Department during a five year period.

Year	Revenue (in Rs.)	Expenditure (in Rs.)
1100(1925)	13, 52,888	7, 60,792
1101(1926)	14,49,639	7,85,559
1102(1927)	15, 18,660	7, 91,509
1103(1928)	15, 45,447	7, 85,210
1104(1929)	16, 04,755	8, 55,909 <sup>24</sup>

It is evident from the above figure the eagerness of the government to protect the forests of the state. For this many arrangements were made by the government for the protection of the forests.<sup>25</sup> From the above reading we can see the origin and development of colonial forest policy. A detailed analysis shows that these policies and acts were aimed to support the British industries like shipbuilding, railway, plywood etc rather than protecting our forest land. The forest management of the British government of Travancore was criticized by Bourdillion himself. Bourdillion summarized the results of the forest management policies as follows:

- Produced excellent financial results for the stakeholders.
- Scarcely any attempt was made to improve the forest, or to conserve them in the same state in which they formerly were.
- Smuggling and wasteful destruction of timber became very common.<sup>26</sup>

**References-**

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## Giani Gian Singh's Description On Nirmalas

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Sikhism had never been monolithic in its history of over five hundred years. There were several dissensions in early Sikhism which emerged during 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The early Sikh dissenters and their followers generally cropped up due to their conflict with the Sikh Gurus over the issue of succession. They include the Udāsīs, the Mīnās, the Dhirmaliās and the Rām Raiyās. Significantly in 19<sup>th</sup> century, Giani Gian Singh found more than a dozen, major or minor, Sikh religious denominations in and outside the Punjab, including the Handālīs or the Niranjānīs, the Gangushāhīs, the Nirmalās, the Sewa Panthīs, the Hīra Dāsīs and the Gulab Dāsīs. Among all these sectarian groups, only the Udāsīs and the Nirmalās flourished more during the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Being a Nirmala Sikh scholar, Giani Gian Singh took keen interest in the history of Nirmala Sikhs besides giving narrative accounts of the other Sikh religious groups. He is one of the eminent Sikh scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century who has written more than a dozen works including his *Nirmal Panth Pardipika* in Braj<sup>1</sup> which highlights his views on the Nirmala Sikh tradition, its doctrine and literature. Inder Singh Chakravarti,<sup>2</sup> the prominent Namdhari Sikh intellectual of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, has simply published its text in 1962 A.D. which will be compared with the litho copy (original) available in Bhai Gurdas Library (Rare Book Section) of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.<sup>3</sup>

The Sikh historiography remained limited to verse, up to the last decade of 19<sup>th</sup> century and took a significant turn when history began to be written in prose. Giani Gian Singh was invariably the founder of such historiography. He was perhaps

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the last to follow this tradition and the first to make the beginnings of writing Sikh history in prose.. Giani Gian Singh is one of the Sikh scholars who took keen interest in writing the history of the Sikhs. He has produced over a dozen works. The Sikh historiography remained limited to verse the last decade of 19<sup>th</sup> century and took significant turn when history began to be written in prose.

Giani Gian Singh lived from 1822 to 1921 A.D. almost for a century. He was an eye-witness to the rise and fall of the Sikh empire under Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his successors. In this he was paid serious attention to Sikh historical developments of his times. He wrote both poetry and prose. Before him, the bulk of the serious Sikh studies had come out in English and Persian, which was not easy to study for everybody. His predecessors such as Sarup Das Bhalla, Rattan Singh Bhangu, Bhai Santokh Singh wrote mainly in verse in Gurumukhi script. On the whole Giani Gian Singh's contribution as a foremost writer of Sikh history in prose can't be ignored.

Giani Gian Singh was distinguished writer and the last great poet of Braj language of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. He may be regarded as a first Sikh writer who attempted a systematic and comprehensive account of Sikh history. He was the author of about thirty books, the most important of which can be named as under: *Panth Parkash*, *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, *Gurdham Sangrah*, *Nirmal Panth Pardipika*, *Ripuduman Parkash*, *Bhupendra Nand*, *Itihas Riasat Bagrian*, *Tawarikh Sri Amritsar*, *Tawarikh Lahore* etc.

*Panth Parkash* was the monumental work which was written by Gian Singh in A.D.1865. It is most valuable source on Sikh history up to the middle of the nineteenth century, which has been extremely used by almost all the modern scholars and historians of the Punjab of regional and local level history. Its first lithograph edition came out in 1880 in Delhi. This is how he took the initiative of writing on various aspect of the history of the Sikh in prose and poetry. Thus, the modern historians of the Punjab have invariably used the work of him for various purposes. Infact, the Sikhs started writing their history in prose only from the days of Gian Singh. In this work he give detailed account of thirteen Sikh sects like *Nirmala*, *Nihang Singhs*, *Udasi Sect*, *Addan Shahis*, *Naranjanias or Hindalias Suthre Shahis*, *Sat Kartarias*, *Gangu Shahis*, *Bhai Behlosect Bhai Mula Sect*, *Kuka Sect*, *Hira Dasias*, *Gulab Dasias*, etc. He was, a contemporary of certain sects such as *Namdharis*, *Gulabdasiyas*, *Bhai* <sup>4</sup>and *Bhai Kahn Singh Nabha*.<sup>5</sup> But Gian Singh was the first who wrote the history of Sikhs in Gurumukhi prose. He wrote both in poetry as well as prose.<sup>6</sup>

The major sect which was discussed by Gian Singh in his *Panth Parkash* was the *Nirmalas*. It is an attempt has been made to give, in brief the historiographical perspectives on the Nirmalas or brings to light the controversy regarding the historical origins of the Nirmalas which most probably arose during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hence there are conflicting views of the Nirmala and non-Nirmala writers have been found and analyzed. The issue of historical origin of the Nirmalas is highly debatable which most probably arose during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. John Malcolm

was perhaps the first British historian of Sikhs who has made a brief reference to the Nirmalas in his work. He wrote this work during the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century and according to him, Nirmalas constituted a learned class of the sikhs' having very peaceful habits.<sup>7</sup> After him in 1830 A.D., H.H Wilson found them as able expounders of the Vedanta Philosophy' giving some references to their beliefs and practices as well.<sup>8</sup> Then J.D Cunningham, a very famous early 19<sup>th</sup> century British historian of the Sikhs, has mentioned more than a dozen denominations, castes and groups among the Sikhs including Nirmalas.<sup>9</sup>

Towards close to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, some other British administrators like H.A. Rose and Denzil Ibbotson have made a significant reference to Nirmalas historical background and clear that the sect was founded by Guru Gobind Singh.<sup>10</sup> In the accounts of the Nirmalas, many other British or western writers of the Sikhs in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, such as A.H. Bingley and Major A.E. Barstow have followed their predecessors.<sup>11</sup>

References to them begin to appear in the Sikh literature only towards the close of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. *The Nirmala Sadhus'* or *pure Saints'* belonging to a Sikh order.<sup>12</sup> They trace their origin from Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism.<sup>13</sup> In this context they claim the verses of Bhai Gurdas, the theologian poet, and Bhai Bhagirath.<sup>14</sup> Later is supposed to be a follower and contemporary of Guru Nanak.<sup>15</sup> In order to reinforce his views on the history of Nirmala Sikh tradition in the Punjab, he wrote *Nirmal Panth Pardipika* in A.D.1891, which is perhaps the earliest and obviously the most significant work on the Nirmalas..<sup>16</sup>

In this work, Giani Gian Singh clearly stated that Nirmala Sikhs generally remained celibates throughout their lives and worked as missionary propagandists of the Sikh faith whereas the house-holder Sikhs were primarily engaged in secular pursuits. He asserts that these two categories of Sikhs have continued to be in existence since the days of the Sikhs Gurus.<sup>17</sup> The Nirmalas however followed the traditional pattern of the life of *Brahmacharya*. They wore white garments and were strict vegetarians. They formed a school of Sikh theologians which was originated by Guru Gobind Singh. He sent five of his selected disciples to study Sanskrit, Hindu mythology and philosophy at Benares.<sup>18</sup>

Now a days, the Nirmalas claim their separate or distinct identity. But in Giani Gian Singh's view the Nirmalas formed a part and parcel of the early Sikh tradition from the days of Guru Nanak. Moreover, he has also cited the evidence of the *Sanads* and *Pattas* relating to the revenue free land grants of the Nirmalas in order to prove their affiliation with the Sikh tradition. The missionary activities of the Nirmalas were mainly confined to *Malwa* which enjoyed comparatively more peace than the *Majha* region.<sup>19</sup> The Nirmalas tradition gradually began to flourish during the period of Sikh rule in terms of its religious centers called *deras of Akharas*. As they were not feared by the state during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Nirmalas *Mahants* managed to grab the control of many historic Sikh Gurdwaras. Thus Nirmala scholars have made an attempt to claim that the Nirmalas constituted an integral part of the order of the Khalsa' of Guru Gobind Singh. Giani Gian Singh

writes in *Nirmal Panth Pardipika* that the tenth Sikh Guru baptized the five Nirmala Sikhs on the eve of creation of the Khalsa.<sup>20</sup> All the later Nirmalas were, thus, baptized by them and Khalsa Panth flourished considerably in this way.<sup>21</sup> Nirmala Scholars were mostly engaged primarily in the exposition of the *bani* of their Gurus in the *Adi Granth* and mainly concerned with the popularization of Vedantic philosophy. Very few people know about the Nirmalas or their literature.<sup>22</sup>

The Nirmalas during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, witnessed some change in their socio-religious and economic position under the new rulers. Giani Gian Singh himself had made reference to the changed attitude of the Nirmalas during his own times especially in regard to their attitude towards the land grants. They now are facing the court cases in order to save even a *bigha* a land.<sup>23</sup> Gian Singh's account on Nirmalas may be judged more from the angle that he is perhaps the earliest interpretator of the Nirmala history on their self-image.

Giani Gian Singh took keen interest in collecting information on the Sikh religious denominations found in existence in the Punjab towards the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Significantly, he was not only interested in the writing of the history of Nirmala Sikh tradition with which he himself was associated, besides giving information on the early Sikh sects also. However, what has been noted is that his information on the Udasi and Nirmala Sikhs is more detailed and varied as compared to the various other denominations. Moreover, this does not mean that his information on the Sikh denominations especially those which had some up during his life time by certain individuals is not useful. The main feature of Giani Gian Singh's writing which distinguished him from his contemporary writers is that he is the first to work on the Sikh sects. On the whole, Giani Gian Singh's information on the various Sikh religious denominations is of considerable historical value for the modern historians of the Sikhs and the Punjab in general and the scholars who are interested in understanding the phenomenon of religious diversity within the mainstream of Sikhism in particular. Besides his major interest in history of the Sikhs, he had proved to be the only Sikh writer who also took keen interest in the Sikh religious denominations running parallel to the mainstream of Sikhism and Sikh community.

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## **Institution of Beggar in Kashmir (1846-1947)**

**\*Ab Rashid Sheikh**

*“Beggar is really the bottom of all the misery and mischief  
in Kashmir. Gilgit is the bugbear of the Kashmiris”<sup>1</sup>*

Beggar (forced labour) to the Kashmiris was far more than the mere impressments of labour, for under its comprehensive name every kind of demand for labour or property taken but not paid was included.<sup>2</sup> The man liable to Beggar was an outlaw without rights of any description, and Beggar was looked upon as an incident of serfdom which entitled the state to take everything, either labour and commodities, free of payment from the villagers.<sup>3</sup> Till the beginning of the twentieth century Beggar was the most pronounced feature of Kashmir administration.<sup>4</sup> However, a clear distinction must be made between the forced labour employed for transport of goods and the labour used for production purposes. The latter is considered to be the essential ingredient of European feudalism. In Kashmir both forms of forced labour were present in the economic organization of the post 1846 period.<sup>5</sup> The genesis of the institution of Beggar in Kashmir may be traced to the ancient times. The first reliable reference of Beggar is found in Rajtarangni.<sup>6</sup> It remained in fashion in Kashmir during the Sultanate, Mughal, Afghan and Sikh periods.

Although during the period of sultans the people were forcibly employed for collecting saffron, but they received a certain quantity of salt as wages.<sup>7</sup> Under the Mughals, Beggar was without any doubt due from the people, but with this difference that it didn't take the form of unpaid labour. An efficient amount of money was paid by Akbar to the coolies who worked on the construction of the Hari Parbat fort, and the inscription on the *Kathi Darwaza* expressly states that no one was impressed and that all were paid. The durability of some of the buildings of the Mughals suggests that the work was paid for. Buildings constructed by forced and unpaid labour do not last long.<sup>8</sup> Bernier, the French traveler records

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that on the visit of Aurangzeb to Kashmir, the peasants were coming voluntarily in the hope of earning a little money, but during the Dogra rule, Lawrence writes that when it was rumored that transport was needed for Gilgit there used to be the general stampede among the villagers.<sup>9</sup>

The institution of Begar continued both during the Afghan and Sikh periods with utmost rigour.<sup>10</sup> Moorcroft has given a graphic account of the Sikh period.<sup>11</sup> But during the rule of the Dogras in Kashmir the institution of Begar assumed more dangerous proportions.<sup>12</sup> The state benefited from this sale of the peasant labour both for the purpose of the state as well as for foreign tourists. It was a system in which peasants at any time be drafted into the service of the state. It entailed the services such as carrying loads of rations and other supplies to Gilgit for the state, or for foreign visitors on their journey and for royal processions from one part of the state to another.<sup>13</sup> Maharaja Gulab Singh himself employed forced labour on more than one occasion.<sup>14</sup>

During the 1853 Gilgit camping, each cultivator had to carry at the rate of eight *tracks* of load per head. Peasants' were reduced to animals of burden, without any hopes of payment for such services. Only in the case of requisition made by foreign visitors could the peasants expect a payment of  $\frac{1}{4}$  *annas* for every stage of carrying a load.<sup>15</sup> The whole demand of Beggar was thrown on the Khalsa peasants as along with city and town population *Pundits*, *Pirzads*, *Sikhs* and the peasants of the privileged right holders were exempted from Beggar.<sup>16</sup> It acted as demoralizing and almost intolerable burden on a large section of the agricultural population of Kashmir.<sup>17</sup>

The earlier period of the Dogra rule was worked by an intense military action in the border areas for which thousands of villagers were seized for carrying supplies to Chilas and Gilgit. For putting down an insurrection in Chilas—a territory adjoining Gilgit—Maharaja Gulab Singh resorted to Beggar, rounded men in thousands from Kashmir and Jammu and sent them to Chilas. Foodstuffs were often collected without payment, and on one occasion three to four hundred men who had gathered at the Jamia Masjid for the Friday prayers were marched to the Hari parbat fort to carry ammunition destined for Chilas.<sup>18</sup> It is natural that such actions were deeply resented by the subjects but their complaints fell on deaf ears.<sup>19</sup>

Gilgit to the Kashmiri was a constant terror. Whole villages were bivouacking on the mountains at the time of the collection.<sup>20</sup> On entering in a village a traveler Mrs. Herey records that, while entering I heard nothing but weeping and on inquiry, found that two hundred villagers were then being taken away to Gilgit. It is really distressing to hear nothing but mourning and lamentation in every village one enters.<sup>21</sup> In the Lal Assessment report Lawrence mentions that there were half time labourers, and it is no exaggeration to say that the cultivator had on the average to do ten days forced labour in every month.<sup>22</sup> A man was taken away for two months from his fields and family often. There used to be no one left to look

after his fields.<sup>23</sup> Lawrence describes Beggar as one of the worst forms of tyranny in Kashmir and entirely hostile to the satisfactory working of any revenue system in Kashmir.<sup>24</sup> It reduced the Kashmiri cultivators to a condition of great injustice and hardship.<sup>25</sup> It was the impressments of labour and compelling persons to work against their will, and payment was so unpunctual that it did not reach the persons who actually did the work.<sup>26</sup>

A gang of the poor creatures of men, heavily laden with grain, toiling along the desert crags between Astor and Gilgit is perhaps as pitiable a spectacle as any to be seen on the roads of Siberia. But they were not convicts or criminals but harmless subjects of the Maharaja: the Muslim cultivators'.<sup>27</sup> No provision was made for security of their life.<sup>28</sup> According to Lawrence, the chief thing that breaks down a village was Beggar and in order to escape from it, a village would submit to any loss or hardship. Villages were sold in lieu of the exemption. The amount of the purchase money used to be of course ridiculous, but the real consideration was exemption from Beggar.<sup>29</sup> It led to extermination, depopulation and dehumanization of peasant's life.

The exemption of jagir and Dhârmavillages, tenants of chakdars and Hindus from Beggar was injurious to the interests of the state and oppressive to cultivators of khalsa villages.<sup>30</sup> Many of the chakdars estates' were entirely cultivated by men who formerly lived in khalsa villages and paid revenue to the state. They left their villages in order to escape from Beggar.<sup>31</sup> Beggar provided great opportunities to revenue officials to squeeze the cultivators in lieu of the exemption. Wingate writes that the way of collecting coolies [was] more discontented than [was] necessary'.<sup>32</sup> The villagers used to pay Rs 70 to 90 per head in order to purchase their exemption.<sup>33</sup> In fact its abuses were so deep rooted and flourished which ultimately stopped its abolition for a long period of time.<sup>34</sup>

Under its comprehensive name other kinds of demands of labor were also made. It consisted of requisitions of village produce and was a form of purveyance on behalf of officials.<sup>35</sup> The higher officials would build houses in the city or cultivate waste lands through the unpaid labour of the villagers.<sup>36</sup> The institution of Beggar proved detrimental in other aspects too. Sometimes the sons of the deceased revenue defaulter's were subjected to Beggar for repayment of state dues by the officials.<sup>37</sup> It proves that Beggar had got the hereditary nature during the Dogra period; a feature not associated with the preceding ruling dynasties. The peasantry was subjected to road construction, carrying of official carriage both public as well as private<sup>38</sup> and to cut wood from the jungle for the royal use.

It laid a pernicious effect on the socio economic structure of Kashmir. It led to the destruction of the property rights, reduced cultivators to a state close to serfdom.<sup>39</sup> The displacement and migration of the cultivators resulted in a total dislocation of agricultural and other economic activities. Owing to peasant's absence from the fields rendered him impoverished, incapable of paying his revenue to the state.<sup>40</sup> Though the Glancy commission report mentions that the females were exempted from Beggar, but we have found an illustration in which females shown

as unpaid saffron collecting laborers.<sup>41</sup> The construction of the Gilgit road, the opening of the Jhelum valley road in 1890 helped in no small measure in alleviating the sufferings of the villagers.<sup>42</sup> Efforts were made to bring a fundamental change in it but couldn't prove successful in its mitigation.<sup>43</sup>

Although the Kashmir Darbar issued the orders in 1891 to abolish the begar but we have the references that it continued, with a new dimension of the Begar *Cesses*.<sup>44</sup> In 1920 an effort was made to abolish it altogether, but it continued in various forms up to 1947 as the order didn't apply to the construction and repair of canals and embankments<sup>45</sup> In sum, forced labor gave a great setback to the emergence of revenue paying peasantry the consequence of which, the absence of a stable cultivating class in Kashmir.

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## **Kashmir and the Defense of British Indian Empire: The Gilgit Agency**

**\* Ali Mohd Pir**

In 1846, the East India Company sold Kashmir and its adjoining territories, in lieu of 75 lakhs of rupees, to Raja Gulab Singh to bring into existence the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. Henry Harding, the Governor-General, resolved to exploit the creation of the state of Jammu and Kashmir as the chosen instrument of the government of India for the protection of what came to be known as the north-western frontier of the British Indian Empire.<sup>1</sup> Although, there was much that the government of India had yet to learn about the north-western frontier, but it was somewhat aware of the major features of the geo-political and commercial importance of the region because of the individual travels of William Moorcroft in the early 1820s.<sup>2</sup>

The strategic region in the frontier was Gilgit. It controlled the important passes. The Sikhs occupied the region in 1842 when they held Kashmir. Gulab Singh could not hegemonies' it but failed and it was only under his successor Ranbir Singh (1857-1885) that Gilgit was finally annexed.<sup>3</sup> Propelled by the commercial and strategic needs, Russia started moving towards the southern and eastern regions by 1860 and occupied Tashkent, Samarkand and Bokhara.<sup>4</sup> With this Russia touched Afghanistan, and was getting alarmingly close to the northern frontier of the British Indian Empire.<sup>5</sup> So it became clear to the British policy makers that the security of the frontier of India either would be threatened.<sup>6</sup>

The rapid Russian advances made the government of India to give a serious thought to the question of defense of the northern frontier. With this end in view, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy met Maharaja Ranbir Singh at Modhopore in 1876. He suggested the maharaja to extend his control over Chitral and Yasin in return of a British Agent at Gilgit aiming at obtaining information regarding the progress of

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events beyond the Kashmir frontier. Initially the maharaja had qualms over the appointment but finally gave way and the Gilgit Agency was established in 1877.<sup>7</sup> Biddulph, the first Gilgit Agent was set with the clear instructions to obtain reliable information in regard to occurrences beyond the border. However, the things did not go well. Relations between the Agent and the Maharaja of Kashmir were not always cordial; the intelligence derived was considered unsatisfactory; and the tribal intrigues along the Kashmir frontiers made it clear that the appointment had not been advantageous to the British. Thus, in 1881, the British Indian government finally decided to withdraw the Gilgit Agent.<sup>8</sup> However, the withdrawal was not considered final. It would be sent back should a necessity arise. Further, the Maharaja was asked to regularly inform the government regarding the frontier affairs.<sup>9</sup>

However, the situation at the frontiers soon began to change which led the government of India to reconsider its policy towards the Jammu and Kashmir state. The Russian advance of 1880s to the Afghan frontiers; their reported intrigues along the Kashmir frontiers; the rapid progress of trans-Caspian railway and the growing Afghan influence in the frontier regions of Kashmir drove the point home that a complete and thorough plan be prepared for the imperial defense.<sup>10</sup> The government of India sent Colonel Lockhart on an expedition to Gilgit. Fearing a threat to the security of the Indian Empire by Russia, he stressed the importance of Gilgit as a defensive outpost and therefore suggested the re-establishment of Gilgit Agency.<sup>11</sup> Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary supported the views of Lockhart and he also desired to establish closer relations with the other tribes on the frontier with a view to utilize them for the defense of the British Indian Empire.<sup>12</sup> Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) who had been asked by the British to maintain his influence over the states on the Kashmir frontier failed to do so. The Maharaja was also accused of not reporting honestly and frankly to the government of India regarding the frontier affairs.<sup>13</sup>

All these events collectively persuaded the British Indian government to redefine their policy towards the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir. The first step taken was the appointment of Algernon Durand to the Gilgit frontier to report about the situation at Gilgit and to report about the future possible complications with Russia.<sup>14</sup> The appointment of Durand was prelude to the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency. Durand in his report complained that the military position at Gilgit was unsatisfactory.<sup>15</sup> He especially made the mention of the gap between the Afghan and Chinese frontiers that was left unguarded. As a remedy, like Lockhart, he also strongly recommended a scheme of frontier defense based upon the re-establishment of the British Agency at Gilgit consisting of the four officers and a brigade of Kashmir troops.<sup>16</sup> As a part of the imperial defense scheme, the British Indian government had already appointed a British Resident in Kashmir.

Thus soon after the deposition of the maharaja, the British re-established the Gilgit Agency with Algernon Durand as its head.<sup>17</sup> The Kashmir government was asked to bear a part of the cost of the Agency. It is apt to note here that the State

Council which was acting under the strict control and supervision of the British Resident? 'readily' accepted the government of India's proposal. There was no such type of opposition from the Kashmir government as was seen when the Agency was established for the first time in 1877.<sup>18</sup> The Indian opinion was deadly against the establishment of the Gilgit Agency.<sup>19</sup> The government of India, however, justified the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency by saying that the Gilgit outpost ought to be made a centre of British influence' on the northern frontier of Kashmir. The government justified that in reality Gilgit was the watch tower to the defense of the Indian subcontinent.<sup>20</sup> With the re-establishment of the Gilgit Agency detailed information was received about the neighbouring principalities, and constant watch was kept on the frontier.<sup>21</sup>

The most urgent task now facing the Agency under Durand was to deal with Hunza. In January 1888, in a rare alliance with its neighbour Nagar, Hunza had rebelled against Dogra authority and expelled the Kashmir garrisons from two key posts on the road north of Gilgit, Chalt and Chaprot, and held them for several months before withdrawing. For a while Gilgit itself was threatened.<sup>22</sup> This resulted in a war between Hunza the British forces in 1891-92 in which Safdar Ali, the ruler was defeated. The presence of the British Agent at Gilgit was proving embarrassing to the Kashmir government because the Agent often interfered in the civil administration there. This undermined the position of the Kashmir governor there.<sup>23</sup>

After the Russian Revolution of 1917 the Britain again found herself at loggerheads with the new Russian ideology. As expected, Kashmir felt the repercussions of this new Anglo-Russian rivalry. Thus the northern frontier was again supposed to be under threat. The remedy, they suggested to this threat, was that the Gilgit Agency be taken under direct British control and the system of diarchy' be terminated.<sup>24</sup> As a result of the global financial crisis on the budget of the government of India, the Kashmir Durbar which was asked to bear the three quarters of the total budget on the Gilgit Agency. He offered that he would agree to take the entire responsibility for the defense of the Gilgit Agency, paying all the costs provided that the system of diarchy' was terminated and complete authority returned to the Wazir-i-Wazarat. Alternatively, the government of India could establish both military and civil control over there.<sup>25</sup>

The government of India which was in search of establishing its ascendancy on the frontiers, accepted the second option. The agreement signed on 26 March 1935 leased out the Gilgit Wazarat to the British for a period of sixty years. All civil and military administration of the area was transferred to the government of India.<sup>26</sup> Thus from that moment the region passed right out of the orbit of the Jammu and Kashmir state government. On the eve of partition in 1947, however, the British surrendered their lease with the result that, in theory, sovereignty reverted to Kashmir.

To sum up: we can say that the state of Jammu and Kashmir acquired

an importance which was not shared by the great majority of the Indian princely states. Being situated in the extreme north-western corner of the subcontinent which seemed to be the target of Russian expansion in Central Asia, Kashmir was made to play an important part in the defense of the British India. It resulted in a greater British control over the state. It was manifested in the establishment of a British Residency, the deposition of Maharaja Pratap Singh and the British control over the Gilgit affairs through their Agent which was finally confirmed by the lease of 1935. Thus, in this way Kashmir was used as a frontline state to serve the British imperial interests.

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## New Fort William Calcutta

\*Dr. Mallika Saxena

Clive after his glorious victory at the battle of Plassey in 1757, hit upon a plan to construct a New Fort near the old one. He chose village Govindpur for his fortress. Thus, the building of the present Fort commenced at the end of 1757 on the river bank. The original plans included all the public buildings within the fortifications, the Government House, Council House, Officers quarters, Church, Hospital and warehouses. But owing to difficulties in the way of labour want of funds and divided council still he persisted.

SHAPE! Up to the Middle Ages for strategic reasons Forts were constructed on a plateau concept, that is, on a piece of high ground overlooking the vast surrounding area. Present Fort William is a departure from the plateau concept and is made in a bowl shape, in a low-lying depression of village Govindpur.

The building of the present Fort commenced under the direction of Captain Brohier in October 1757. The construction of the New Fort William started in October 1757 and was completed in 1781 under the supervision of Col Watson. It took almost 24 years to complete. It costed the Company 2 million sterling pounds i.e. Rs. 3 crores against initial estimate of Rs. 19, 19,569. The New Fort is located in the village Govindpur. It is of the shape of hexagon. Every side has a gate with a house on its top meant for the senior officers of the Company.

1. Plassey Gate/East Gate : 1780 (presently Officers' Mess)
2. Chowringhee Gate/Royal Gate : 1780 (presently Flag Staff House)
3. Treasury Gate : 1780 (initially AG's Office/Kitchner's House, presently Officers' Mess)

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4. Water Gate : 1780 (presently Senior Officers' House) Chief of Staff Eastern Command
5. St. Georges Gate/Coolie Darwaza : 1780 (Fort Commanders House, presently Senior Officers' House)
6. Calcutta Gate: 1780.

Its three sides are towards land i.e. Treasury Gate, East Gate and three sides are towards the river i.e. St. Georges Gate, Water Gate and Calcutta Gate. The Fort is in an area of 5 miles. It had a chain across the river to secure the harbour from invasion. It was the best place for shelter against the river attack of the enemy. The Fort is surrounded by a moat 50 feet wide and 30 feet deep which could be filled with water from the river whenever necessary. The present Fort William is one of the finest Military Forts of the World.

In 1766, various bastions were named as Duke of York's bastion (in between East Gate and Calcutta Gate), Queens Bastion (in between Chowringhee Gate and East Gate), Kings Bastion (in between Treasury Gate and Chowringhee Gate), Prince of Wales Bastion (in between Treasury Gate and St. Georges Gate), Duke of Gloucester's Demi (back side of Rampart Barracks) – as per Regimental Property Book maintained by Garrison Engineer Fort William. There are innumerable long and short moving up and down the ramparts and the bastions.

### **Garrison<sup>1</sup>:**

The Fort mounts about 600 guns of various calibers. The Garrison consists of one European Regiment and one regiment of Native Infantry, together with one battery of Garrison Artillery the fort is said to be capable of containing 1,000 men. Within last few years, the most exposed portions of the Fort have been protected by the guns of heavy caliber and among them some of 10 tons have been mounted on the battlements.

..... Within<sup>2</sup> are five ranges of barracks for the accommodation of European and Native Troops/Magazines also extensive parade grounds entering from the Chowringhee gate you pass through what (before the cyclone of 1864) a noble avenue of trees leading to the Outram Institute. This building, in spite of its present use as a Soldiers Institute and Garrison School, still goes by the name of Government House. It bears tablet which explains the cause for it bears the following inscription<sup>3</sup>:

“This House was built for the Governor General and was sometimes occupied by him. Bishop Heber was accommodated in it by Lord Amherst when he first arrived in India, 1823”

The above inscription is there even today on the walls of the building.

**House<sup>4</sup> On Top Of Each Gate:-**The Commander-in-Chief resides over the

Treasury Gate and each of the other gates has likewise a house over it used as the residences of the Brigadier Commanding the Presidency Districts and the Chief Staff Officers of the Garrison.

**Old Pattern Room<sup>5</sup>:** In the old pattern room shall be found samples of almost every short and shell invented. The old chain shot, case shot and shell of rifled guns, Cabul arms, carbines, long knives, swords, hand grenades.

**Presently No Pattern Room<sup>6</sup>:** Presently there is no pattern room. It appears that a Pattern Room, Armory and Arsenal were located in the same complex as they were related to a sort of museums of weapons.

**Arsenal<sup>7</sup>:** It is located near the Water Gate the building contains many interesting relics and trophies, some of which are taken from the enemy and some are acquired in return of glorious service.

**Armoury<sup>8</sup>:** The Armoury is a magnificent room, built under the orders of Warren Hastings, Governor-General in India, in 1777. Over the entrance is following inscription:

**Anno Domini 1777-** These arms were arranged by order and under the auspices of the Honorable Warren Hastings Esquire, Governor-General.<sup>9</sup> On view also is a collection of guns captured by the British forces, these include Persian brass guns<sup>10</sup> (1799). There are also guns from Kandhar and Tibet and some taken at the siege of Seringapatam dated 1790. The autograph book<sup>11</sup> of the Armoury is well worth inspection. Many distinguished visitors, amongst others Duke of Edinburg, Maharajas, Rajas left their names on record.

### Other Places Of Interest In Fort William

**Granary Barrack<sup>12</sup>:** the Granary Barrack was built under the direct orders of Warren Hastings. The building was constructed in 1780 as per the records of Military Engineers Services. Fort William modifications to the building were carried out in 1858 and 1993. This is a three-storeyed building. The building was used for storing grains. After the famine of 1770 in Calcutta in which 76 thousand people had died, Hastings considered it prudent to have enough reserve of grains in future to ward off famine like condition.

**St. Peter's Church<sup>13</sup>:** Adjoining the Outram Institute is the Fort Church dedicated to St. Peter. On Thursday July 25th 1822 foundation stone of St. Peter's Church, Fort William was laid. The building was completed in 1824. It is constructed in Gothic style of the Greek architecture. It has minarets on each wall. It has two stained glasses on which Biblical Saga is depicted..

**North Barrack<sup>14</sup>:** It is a two-storied building. It was constructed in 1780. Initially in 1780 North Barrack was used as married accommodation for officers.

**South Barrack<sup>15</sup>:** This is a two-storied building. Military Engineers Records against the date of construction shows as not known.

**Royal Barrack<sup>16</sup>:** This is a three-storied building near Water Gate. This

building was completed in 1785.

**Dalhousie Barrack**<sup>17</sup>- It was built during the tenure of Lord Dalhousie 1856-61. It is called Dalhousie Barrack. The building was completed in 1861. It is a four-storied building. It is one of the most imposing buildings of the Fort. The building is planned to accommodate 1000 men of Garrison Battalion.

Artillery Barrack<sup>18</sup>\_Even today nobody knows where Artillery Barracks are. Even MES records are silent about its existence. This is the building immediately west of Dalhousie Barrack and facing East Gate. The building is shown in the Field Sketch of Nicholas (as below), so it is.

**Survey Of Calcutta And Fort William European Barrack**<sup>19</sup>There was a barrack called European Barrack Sketch of Nicholas also shows that as per the MES records of Fort William it was called Queens Barrack as it corresponds to the location with the European Barrack. This is two-storeyed building built in 1859 as per MES records which appears to be wrong. It would have been constructed prior to 1809 as Nicholas sketch shows it's

**Government House**<sup>20</sup>-It bears a tablet which explains the cause; for it bears the following inscription:

“This house was built for the Governor-General and was sometimes occupied by him. Bishop Heber was accommodated in it by Lord Amherst when he first arrived in India in Oct 1823.”

Wellesley was Governor from 1798-1805.

Wellesley speedily tired of his temporary quarters refers to Govt. House Fort William – took possession of the house at which until then had belonged to Commander-in-Chief; before the New Govt. House was ready in 1802. Since then this House at Barrack pore has been the Country House of Governor-General. The New Government House was completed in 1802 on a piece of land acquired from Chitpur Nawab Delaware Jung.

**Flag Staff House**<sup>21</sup>\_It was a two storeyed building first floor is recorded in MES Regimental Property Book (A.D.) of Fort William to have been built in 1700. This building was rebuilt in 1937-38.

**Lord Kitchener's House**<sup>22</sup>-This is a magnificent two-storeyed house on the top of Treasury Gate. It was constructed in 1780. It was modified in 1860 and 1905. The office of Accountant General for the Army was located in this building. Below this building from St. George's Gate to Chowringhee Gate the water of Hooghly River used to flow through the moats. Now the moats are dry.

**Ball Tower**<sup>23</sup>-In 1824, the Ball Tower was erected. It was used as signal for arrival and departure of the ships. In 1881, the Calcutta Commissioner installed the ball to act as a time piece for shipping.

**Gun Park**<sup>24</sup> 1. There are eleven guns placed in the gun park area just in

front of the office of Headquarters Eastern Command. These guns are of various calibers, made of brass or bronze, which were captured by the Britishers against their battles with the European Powers or the native rulers. Inscription on each gun gives numerous details.

**Central Gun:**-magnificent “32 Pounds” bronze piece. It was cast in 1811 A.D. and weighs 9.75 tons exclusive of carriage. It was used by Sikh forces against British during the Second Sikh War of 1846 A.D.

**Roman Catholic Church**<sup>25-</sup>

It is situated west of Flag Staff House. Its construction started during 1856. Its construction started during 1856. It was completed in 1859. It was constructed for the Roman Catholic population. It has a seating capacity of 250 persons.

**New Barrack: Staff Quarters**<sup>26-</sup>Nicholas Sketch (Survey of Calcutta and Fort William Nicholas 1809) of 1809 shows North Barrack; North of Government House (present CSD). It is a two storeyed building.

**Architech**<sup>27-</sup>The construction of the present Fort William begun in 1757 A.D. It was scientifically constructed after the methods of Vauban, a famous French Military Engineer. In those days, with the weapons then available; it would have been impregnable. Its construction was involving a cunning and effective plan of defense. It was long in building.

**BUILDINGS OUTSIDE FORT WILLIAM INCLUDED:**

1. **Writers Building:** It was built in 1800 for the Junior Servants of East India Co. called Writers who lived in it for a time during their study of the Oriental Languages.
2. **Fort William College:** Wellesley started the Fort William College in 1800; on its establishment it was located on the corner of Council House Street.
3. **Sudder Dewany And Nizamat Adalat Building :** It is located at Old Hospital Road (presently 25, Acharya Jagdish Chandra Bose Road), initially built for General Military Hospital, later used as Sudder Dewany and Nizamat Adalat and then into Military Hospital and now housing HQ Calcutta Sub Area, Station Headquarters and Embarkation Headquarters. It is a two-storeyed building “with a colonnaded frontage and of great length” with long North and South *Verandah* which have been modified as per usage.

This building was built alongside the plan of construction of buildings undertaken for the building of present Fort William at Calcutta by Lord Clive in 1757, under a plan submitted by Capt. Brohier. The plan included present Writers Building and New General Military Hospital’ outside the precincts of Fort William. Buildings inside the Fort William were all completed by 1781.

**The Bazar-**The Bazaar says Major Churchill (Royal Garrison Artillery Officer in 1902) in a privately circulated article is one of the oldest existing buildings in the Fort and was erected about 1787.

**Workmen:- Capt.** Brushier commenced work at the end of Oct 1757 and it is brought out that 10,000 workmen were employed. The Fort today is like a small township, compact and self-sufficient. It has broad and clean roads, big buildings swimming pool, firing range grounds for parades and games, boxing stadium, post and telegraph office and banks.

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## **Paintings in Kangra Kalam – Special Reference to Hindur (Nalagarh)**

**\*Simran Hundal**

No section of the population of India can afford to neglect her ancient heritage. In her literature, philosophy, art and regulated life, the treasures of knowledge, wisdom and beauty which they contain are too precious to be lost.<sup>1</sup> Indian painting may be broadly resolved into the three great religious divisions – Buddhist, Hindu and Mohammedan. The Hindu paintings have come to be referred as Rajput, on account of its association with Rajputana and the hill Rajputs of the Punjab, while the Mohammedan art is referred to as Mogul. Buddhist and Rajput painting was symbolic in signifying the spiritual life of India.

Indian painting is classified by Indian connoisseurs, partly geographically but mainly by the terms of its technique. Each school is identified by its Kalam, a word translated literally as “brush” being used only with regard to the miniature painting of the Rajputs and Mughals. Rajput painting is divided into two main Kalam, the Jaipur and the Kangra. Mogul painting has many kalam, like the Delhi, Lucknow, Deccani, Irani, Kashmiri, Patna, as well as a Mughul type of The Jaipur Kalam.<sup>2</sup> In Aurangzeb’s time, the Mughal art was at its decadence. Artists who were in the employment of the Mughal court lost their patrons and got dispersed in Rajasthan and the Hill States of the Punjab in search of new patrons. Some of them found employment under the hill Rajas of Guler, Tira Sujanpur and Nurpur and developed a school known as the “Kangra School”.<sup>3</sup>

The Punjab Hills or the Hill States of the Punjab is an area in the Northern India, now known as Jammu and Himachal Pradesh but until the late 1940’s it was termed as the Punjab Hill. The Punjab Hills is divided into three parts – a first part – was loosely named Jammu, - the second part – Chamba, and the ten states – Nurpur, Guler, Kotla, Chamba, Datarpur, Jaswan, Siba, Kangra, Banghal and the two important Punjab rivers, the Ravi and Beas followed through it. The third involved nine states(excluding the Shimla Hills) comprising of Kullu, Mandi, Suket,

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Kahlur (Bilaspur), Baghal (Arki), Hindur (Nalagarh), Sirmour (Nahan), Bashahr and Garhwal. Within this region, the states were ruled by Rajputs, a caste and people identified by Hindu tradition with war and fighting.<sup>4</sup>

The most virile offshoot of the Rajput school manifested itself in a group of small states in the Punjab Himalayas. This work is alluded to by experts as of the “Kangra Kalam” as the leading state was that of Kangra. It is also designated as Pahari or “belonging to the mountains. Nurpur, Basholi, Chamba and Jammu all in close proximity to Kangra were the home of these painters. The ripest period of this Kangra painting was under the Katoch Rajas, particularly Sansar chand who reigned during the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century at which time their style was at its best.

Pahari painting is an art of patient labour and rare devotion. Its chief features are delicacy of line, brilliancy of colour and minuteness of decorative detail. The work of the Pahari painters produced under the patronage of the reigning princes painted portraits of aristocracy, long series of pictures illustrating the mythological and religious writings of the Hindu literature. Portraiture was special feature of the Hill Rajputs. The Sikh court at Lahore and Amritsar, ruled over by Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1803 – 1839) extended rule over the hill states and gave it some encouragement as evident with the numerous paintings of Sikh notables painted in the Kangra Kalam.<sup>5</sup>

The Kangra school of painting grew out of a synthesis of the “Mughal technique of painting, the inspiration of Vaishnavism, the charm of Sanskrit poetry, the beauty of people of Kangra Valley and the lovely landscape of the Punjab Hills”<sup>6</sup>. Love of man and woman and vice versa is always the theme of Kangra painting, portrayed either in Radha and Krishna, Shiva and Parvati or in one of the six seasons or modes of music. The artists were also inspired by the classics, especially the great poetical works of ancient masters – the most prominent being of Jayadeva’s (Bengal –c. AD. 1180-1200) Gita Govinda poem in Sanskrit recounting the love of Radha and Krishna. Bihari Lal’s (c.1650) collection of seven hundred verses in Hindi celebrating the romance of Radha and Krishna, the works of Kabir and Ramanand. A number of Nayika paintings by Kangra artists deal with themes from Keshvadas’s Rasikapriya.<sup>7</sup> The Bhagavatah Puran was a never ending source of inspiration to the Kangra artist who translated words into paintings with a new tenderness and delicacy of feelings. The very themes of the love and exploits of Krishna which he tried to render into line and colour, put the same ardor and tenderness into their work as the authors of the Bhagvata Purana put it.<sup>8</sup>

The present day Nalagarh is the largest Sub-division of district Solan of Himachal Pradesh. Nalagarh state was founded in 1100 A.D. by Ajai Chand, the eldest son of Raja Kahan chand of Bilaspur who conquered the Nalagarh territory from one Handu, Brahman Thakur of Hindur. The erstwhile state of Hindur (i.e. Modern Nalagarh) is bound on north by Bilaspur State and Una Tehsil of Hoshiarpur

District, on south and west by Kharar & Ropar tahsil of Ambala district and on east by Mahlog and Bengal states, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. Being contiguous to district Ropar of Punjab, district Ambala of Haryana, district Bilaspur of Himachal Pradesh, it experiences a prolonged influence of Kahluri, Punjabi and Haryanvi traditions of Bilaspur, Punjab and Haryana respectively.<sup>9</sup> The objective of this paper is to introduce some paintings from Nalagarh which are ascribed to two artists.

### **Nalagarh Painting-**

When the art of painting was flourishing in the Kangra Valley under the patronage of Maharaja Sansar Chand of Kangra & Raja Praksh Chand of Guler, Nalagarh was ruled by Ram Saran Singh who ascended the throne in 1788 and died in 1848. The Rajas of Nalagarh & Kangra had marital relations from time to time. A daughter of Ram Saran Singh was married to Raja Parmodh Chand, a son of Maharaja Sansar Chand of Kangra and Raja Isri Singh, grandson of Ram Saran Singh was allied by marriage with the houses of Gular and Kangra. These marriage ties promoted cultural relations between the two states and may have resulted in exchange of artists.

### **Collection of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh-**

The residence of Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh possesses a collection of paintings. It was during the reigns of Raja Ram Saran Singh & Bije Singh i.e. from 1788 – 1857 that the two well known painters Hari Singh, a Rajput & Narsingh Das, a Brahman worked at Nalagarh. Kanwar Brij Mohan Singh sold the paintings of these artists to the Punjab Government for their Museum in Chandigarh..

The paintings Pl. XXI is marked by rugged landscape. The painting has dark blue border & notable for their characterization of monkeys who served as soldiers of Rama when he invaded Lanka. The monkey generals and courtiers of Sugriva are delineated with quaint vigour. The love of painter of this Ramayan series for natural effects is eloquently depicted in fig. 2, where Ram and Lakshman are shown on the shore of Lake Pampa which is described in the Uttar Ram Charita Manas of Tulsi Das.<sup>10</sup> The painting plate XX II of Rama, Sita & Lakshman in the Panchvati forest ( as shown in the Appendix) is oval shaped with Kangraesque surroundings. Rama and Sita clad in leaf skirts are seated on a deer skin outside a hut. Below them, to the left, sits Lakshman turning a spit on a wood fire. To the right is a row of oval boulders curving upwards beside a stream. In the distance two sadhus sit beside a hut. Behind Rama and Sita looms a grove of trees. The treatment of trees foliage and blossoms, is similar to Kangra idiom, especially in its oval shape and spear shaped treatment of spray and flowers.<sup>11</sup> The painting Plate XXIII of “Krishna playing the flute(as shown in the Appendix) depicts Krishna with blue skin, wearing striped trunks, a crown with peacock feathers and a black cloak hanging from his shoulders stands beside a tree summoning the

cattle by playing to them on his flute. A herd of 16 cows are shown converging on him. Eight about to emerge from the side of river Yamuna, the remainder are close at hand or hurrying towards him. Around them are ranks of trees, dispersed across the landscape and slight traces of lighting.<sup>12</sup>

These paintings were important source of cultural activities. The painters were brilliant enough to absorb all the influences and created a highly individual style.

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## **Cultural Life of Dinajpur: A study on the role of some Zamindars**

**\*Sukumar Barai**

### **Introduction:**

Some Zamindars of Dinajpur took pivotal role in spread of cultural development of the area. In this paper; I would like to highlight mainly some Zamindars of two estates, namely -Dinajpur Raj Estate which is now under the district of Dinajpur, Bangladesh and Churaman Estate which is now under the district of Uttar Dinajpur, West Bengal, India. The word culture has many different meaning. English Anthropologist Edward B. Taylor said that culture is “that complex” whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.<sup>1</sup> In 1944 Klucleholm said that culture is a blueprint for living.<sup>2</sup> The culture of India refers to the religions, beliefs, customs, languages, ceremonies, arts, values and the way of life in India and its people.<sup>3</sup> So, Zamindars of Dinajpur took positive role for spreading cultural life of Dinajpur.

Generally it is believed that the title of Raja Ganesh is “Danujmardan Dev”. From this, the name of Dinajpur has come.<sup>4</sup> But this is not accepted by all historians. However, District of Dinajpur had been created in 1772.<sup>5</sup> The area of undivided Dinajpur was 3946 square miles.<sup>6</sup> At the time of the partition of India in 1947; Dinajpur District was divided into two parts. The original name of Dinajpur was used by the East Pakistan government, now Bangladesh, but the Indian portion was called by Indian government as West Dinajpur.<sup>7</sup> In April 1992 West Dinajpur was re-divided into two districts again. Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur.<sup>8</sup> I will confine my discussion within the area of undivided Dinajpur. Zamindar’s linguistic origin as may be traced in the following manner. Zamindar, its English meaning is like to –Zamin = Land

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and Dar = Keeper. It means land keeper.<sup>9</sup> Bhuswami or Bhupati terminologies were added during the subsequent phases.

### **Dinajpur Raj Estate:**

Zamindars of Dinajpur Raj Estate followed the flow of cultural currents of the area. Radhanath obtained a *sanad* from the British declaring him successor to Baidyanth on payment of a succession fee of 730 Mohars. In spite of many problems, Radhanath managed the estate smoothly. He tried his best to save the estate and took a positive role for the development of cultural activities of Dinajpur.<sup>10</sup> His widow Rani Tripuri Sundari adopted a child named Govindanath, who looked after the remaining family estate in 1817. He set up Rail market or Chakbazar, Rajbari Hat etc. After Gobindanath, Raja Taraknath took initiatives for the establishment of English School of Dinajpur Vernacular School, Normal School and Guru Training School. Dinajpur got her past cultural glory by the help of Taraknath. He was the father of modern Dinajpur. This Raja ruled the estate for quite a long period and died child less in 1865, leaving the property to his widow Rani Shyam Mohini.<sup>11</sup>

Shyam Mohini Devi was a great and noble female Zamindar of Dinajpur as well as of Bengal. There was affection between Maharani Shyam Monini and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. Her presence of mind and tolerance were praiseworthy. In 1854 she was the first initiator to build district school to enhance higher education through western language. A municipal high school of Dinajpur was established at a site provided by her for the said purpose in that time.<sup>12</sup> On her direction her son, the Maharaja Girijanath converted a lower School to a middle vernacular School giving the name "Jubilee School" on the occasion of the 50 years of coronation of queen Victoria in 1887. She made women consciousness through many plans. Especially it is to be mentioned that she made "Dinajpur Girls School." in order to enhance women education in 1869.

This benevolent Rani made a six miles canal to be dug in the middle of the town in order to keep good health culture. In 1869 she established "Raiganj Charitable Dispensary". Two more charitable dispensaries were established in Dinajpur in order to have homeopathy treatment.<sup>13</sup> In 1871 Rani Shyam Mohini Devi took initiative to build a health centre dedicated to Allopath in Dinajpur. Regarding contribution, she said, it was a sin to take away the given contribution. During the period of famine in 1874, it was she who contributed food to the foodless people. In 1875, the year of the great famine, the Rani earned the gratitude of Government by her generous contribution towards the relief of distress and received the title "Maharani" in recognition of service.<sup>14</sup> On the whole Shyam Mohini was able to keep up the cultural flow of development of Dinajpur.

Maharaja Girijanath followed the footsteps of his mother and was ever ready to help all who were in need and distress. He was honored with the title of Maharaja Bahadur in 1907. In 1913 he built famous Maharaja Girijanath Roy High School at

Balubari and gave the School Committee an amount of 20000 of rupees to design it architecturally quite similar with Carmichael college of Rangpur.<sup>15</sup> For his cultural activities, liberality and public spirit the title of Maharaja' was conferred to him in 1888 by the British Government".<sup>16</sup> In his time Dinajpur touched the highest rank in cultural field. He was at home in Sanskrit literature. An organization for elite named Poncho Ratna' was run by the guidance of him. He set up a "Kohinoor Theatre" in Rajbari. Under the patronage of him a theatre group was formed named Diamond Jubilee Theatre in 1885.

Maharaja Girijanath took special care for the development of education. He gave 10 Bigha land for the establishment of Raiganj Coronation High School in 1911.<sup>17</sup> He set up a charitable dispensary in Raiganj and another in Balubari. He was so much aware regarding physical culture. He formed Sporting Club in Dinajpur.<sup>18</sup> Maharaja Girijanath attached with the establishment and development of BarendraAnushandhan Samity, Rajshahi. He was an active member of BangioSangeetSamaj and Bangio Sahitya Parisad. He had been president of many cultural organizations. On his death Indian Daily News had broadcast a message of condolence, "We regret to announce the death of Maharaja Bahadur Sri Girijanath Roy of Dinajpur which melancholy event took place yesterday morning. He was associated with many organizations and was patron of Sangit Samaj, the premier Bengali Club in Calcutta which remained closed yesterday as a mark of respect. The Maharaja was an excellent gentleman ...".<sup>19</sup> In the post modern age, Maharaja Girijanath Roy is similar relevant in respect of cultural development of Dinajpur. He had some limitations because he was a Zamindar under colonial govt. But in spite of this he did so many for the benefit of the people. Actually he brought the Calcutta centric cultural atmosphere to Dinajpur. Hemprabha Devi, wife of Girijanath established "Saraswati Samity" in 1888 getting the influence of Swarnakmari Devi's Sakhi Samity (1886) in order to encourage women in the love of country. Hemprobha Devi co-operated her husband in all his humanitarian and cultural activities.<sup>20</sup>

The last Maharaja of Dinajpur Estate, Shri Jagadish Nath Roy Bahadur received the title of "Maharaja" on 3rd June 1920 at the Government House in Calcutta. At that occasion His Excellency Lord Ronald Shay and then the Governor of Bengal highly praised him and his family and stated that this family has been closely connected with the history of the people of North Bengal for many generations.<sup>21</sup> As chairman he repaired and constructed several roads and bridges for better communications, trade and commerce. He made available good drinking water for the rural people. He developed and renovated Dinajpur Hospital and Dinajpur Girls School. He donated the land for construction of Raiganj Institute in 1939. The adjacent park of Institute is named Snehatala Park and Hall of Institute is named Snehatala Hall. This hall has been a main centre of cultural activities of the area.<sup>22</sup> He made an annual contribution of 600 rupees for the education of poor Kaysta boys. Besides these he donated rupees in the name of Deva Seva and cultural progress

of Bengal. Maharaja Jagadish Nath was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Arts in 1934. He set up a library at the Rajbari. In his time, he did lots of cultural and benevolent tasks which changed the cultural atmosphere of Dinajpur.<sup>23</sup> Rani Snehalata Devi, wife of Maharaja Jagadishnath Roy, contributed a lot in the spread of education. There was a good communication between sister of Chittaranjan Das, Urmila Devi and Snehalata Devi. On Urmila Devi's initiative Snehalata Devi tried to rouse the social right of women by building "Narikarma Mandir" on the social and cultural context of 20th century. This example is really a limelight of women's love of country in thinking and consciousness.<sup>24</sup>

### **Churaman Estate:**

The Churaman Estate came into existence in the 1st half of the 19th century. Ghanashyam Chowdhury was the first Zamindar of Churaman estate. He was the servant of Bengal's Nawab Aliwardi.<sup>25</sup> The Zamindars of this estate got a remarkable position by performing many developmental and cultural activities. The Zamindars of this estate gave away lands for religious purposes. They kept the tradition to patronize the activities of drama and yatra. They formed "Churaman Dramatic Society"<sup>26</sup>

The Zamindars of Churaman engaged themselves in promoting education, we found in F.W. Strong's Dinajpur District gazetteer in 1911 that "This is an excellent dispensary maintained by the estate at Churaman and also a boys Middle English School and a model girl school."<sup>27</sup> We get much information from "Report on the survey and settlement of the Churaman Estate in Dinajpur – Cal 1891." "Sports and physical exercise is an integral part of social and cultural field. The Zamindars of Churaman were also extremely enthusiastic on this matter. They made a beautiful playground for recreation.

### **Conclusion:**

We found that after permanent settlement, the Zamindars of these two estates were the main executors of the cultural life of Dinajpur. They positively engaged to promote the cultural branches such as education, festivals, music, art, physical culture and cultural heritage building etc. At the natural distress, they opened relief shelter for the famine and draught affected people. They founded temples, mosques, pagodas, constructed roads, canals, ponds, tub well etc.<sup>28</sup> Therefore; they had a positive and creative role in the cultural field of society

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## **Socio-Religious Reform Movements and Growth of Indian Nationalism: A Study of Raja Ram Mohan Roy**

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Nationalism and social reforms were the two facets of the renaissance that began to convulse the Indian life from the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, nationalism and socio-religious reform movements went side by side, each reacting upon and influencing the nature and character of the other.<sup>1</sup> Whereas nationalism manifested the desire of the Indian people to increase their strength, liberty and prosperity. It aimed to achieve the unity of Indian people on the basis of common political interest and aspirations, promotion of friendly feelings between Hindus and Muslims and inclusion of masses in the great political movements of the time.<sup>2</sup> This feeling of common nationality was based on common traditions, common disabilities and common aspirations.<sup>3</sup> Among the socio-religious reform movements, the most important were the movements led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy from the platform of Brahma Samaj, the Prathna Samaj, Paramhansa Mandali and Arya Samaj in North India and Punjab. There were other movements like Kayastha Sabha in Uttar Pradesh, Sarin Sabha in Punjab. Backward classes also shared the work of reformation with *Satya Shodhak* Samaj in Maharashtra<sup>4</sup> and *Sri Narain Dharma Paripalan Sabha* in Kerala and *Singh Sabhas* in Punjab.

Indian society during the nineteenth century was caught in a vicious web created by religious superstitions and social obscurantism. Rites like animal sacrifice had replaced the worship of God. There was nothing that religious ideology could not persuade the people to do.<sup>5</sup> Social conditions were equally depressing. Most depressing was the position of women. The birth of a girl child was unwelcome, her marriage a burden and her widowhood was considered inauspicious. Attempts

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to kill girl infants were not unusual.<sup>6</sup> Another crying evil of the Hindu society was caste system. The rules and regulations of caste hampered social mobility, fostered social divisions and sapped individual initiative. Above all was untouchability which militated against human dignity.<sup>7</sup> There were other innumerable practices prevalent in the Indian society. Rejecting them as features of a decadent society, reform movements sought to create a climate for modernization. In doing so, the reformers referred to a golden past when no such evil existed.<sup>8</sup> The spirit of reform embraced almost whole of India. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress and between polytheism and theism.”<sup>9</sup> Born in 1772 at Radhanagar, in the Burdwan district in Calcutta, Ram Mohan Roy’s questing mind and a driving passion for the truth led him to a careful study of the source books of historical religions in the languages in which they had been originally written. Thus Ram Mohan studied the Vedas and the Upanishads in Sanskrit, the Koran in Arabic, the old Testament and the Talmud in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek.<sup>10</sup> A close study of the scriptures convinced him that at the core of the teachings of all of them was the belief that God is one, and that He alone is to be worshipped.<sup>11</sup> After a thorough study of various religions, he had become quite conscious of the degrading condition of Hindu society. He was convinced that contemporary Hinduism was but a modern growth. Its prevalent form was corrupt in comparison with the much exalted philosophical religion of ancient *rishis*.<sup>12</sup> The Raja realized that the Indian society could not advance unless its religion was purged of corrupt and debased customs. For that purpose he resorted to holding friendly discussions and debates, publishing tracts, treatises, and translation of true ancient literature.<sup>13</sup>

He took a keen interest in introducing modern education among the Indians. In that direction he sought the help of the British government not only to abolish or discourage worthless and unsocial customs<sup>14</sup>, but to set up a net work of educational institutions imparting English education to men and women. However, his greatest contribution to the Indian society was upliftment of Indian women, which included prohibition of sale of girls in marriage, introduction of widow-remarriage, abolition of *Sati*. He opposed polygamy and concubinage, Abolition of *Sati* was indeed, his most important contribution to the cause of social reform, and with it modern Hindu social reform can be said to have started. In his efforts to get the inhuman custom of *Sati* abolished, he published two Bengali tracts i.e., *Sahamaran Vishayak Pratham Prastab and Sahamaran Vishayak Dwittiya Prastab* with their English translations entitled, “A Conference between an advocate for and an opponent of the practice of Burning Widows Alive”<sup>15</sup> in 1898.

Ram Mohan use to go to cremation grounds in Calcutta and tried to prevent the rite of *Sati* by persuasion. Naturally, the activities and writings of Ram Mohan Roy helped to create an environment for agitation against the practice.<sup>16</sup> However, the Governor General in council Lord William Bentinck prohibited the rite of *Sati* by a public enactment on 4 Dec., 1829 and Ram Mohan stood behind the

government.<sup>17</sup> The practice of *Sati* was declared illegal and was to be dealt with the criminal cases at par. All the native officers zamindars and others who had been a link between the government and the masses were made responsible for reporting if any case of *Sati* was practiced in their areas.<sup>18</sup> For his efforts in connection with the abolition of *Sati* Ram Mohan Roy was given threats to his life. But the threats could not make the great reformer retreat. He continued with his endeavors. He visited England to present a memorial to the authorities in England against the appeals on *Sati* made by the orthodox Hindus.<sup>19</sup> And while he was present in England, appeal of the orthodox Hindus was rejected<sup>20</sup> on 11 July 1833. Ram Mohan constantly endeavored to remove the moral and social evils of Hindu society. This is evident from the following remark made by him, “should my labour prove in any degree the means of diminishing the extent of those evils, I shall ever deem myself most amply rewarded”.<sup>21</sup>

While carrying on his fight to secure for Indian women, their right to live as individuals, after the death of their husbands Ram Mohan did not overlook the question of their right to property. In his efforts to improve the status of women, Ram Mohan Roy took up the cause of Polygamy as well as sale of girls in marriage. He asserted that it was contrary to the injunctions of *Vedas* and Manu the great Hindu law giver.<sup>22</sup> He also condemned idolatry as was practiced by the Indians. In his *Brahmanical* magazine, Ram Mohan wrote, “*we reject idolatry in every form, under what ever veil of sophistry it may be practiced either in adoration of artificial, natural or imaginary object. The divine homage we offer consists solely in the practice of Daya or benevolence towards each other and not in fanciful faith or in certain motions of feet, arms, tongue or other body organs in a pulpit or before a temple.*”<sup>23</sup> Ram Mohan’s efforts for the education of women bore *fruits* when in 1849 first Hindu girls school was opened at Calcutta. Within a span of 8 years after this 100 government girls schools were opened.<sup>24</sup> The spread of education among women led to their awakening and they started discarding other social evils like *Pardah*, prevailing since the Muslim rule in India. Gradually, almost all the women except Muslim women gave up *Pardah*.<sup>25</sup>

Thus it can be said that in that dark, narrow visioned and ossified India of late eighteenth century, Ram Mohan Roy’s was the only vision and voice which held as one cultural and political entity despite her caste system, multiplicity of religions and religious sects of languages, customs and behaviour patterns and not the least, narrow local and regional prides and prejudices. Indeed one cannot help perceiving that there was some thing which he left as a legacy to those of his successors who took upon themselves, the task of modernizing the country.<sup>26</sup> Applauding the contribution of Raja Ram Mohan Roy one scholar has said, “ He was the first Indian who could understand, where the weakness lay, he located it and discovered the means of removing it and then started the gigantic process of reforming the whole structure of India (social, political, economic or religious). No one before him was seen traversing on such a vast and varied field of action”.<sup>27</sup>

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## James Outram And The Bhils Corps

\* Dr. Virender Singh Dhillon

JAMES OUTRAM was appointed to the military services of the East India Company, London in April, 1819 C.E on their Bombay Establishment. He was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant on his arrival in August 1819 C.E. in India. He was entrusted with the Adjutancy of the Twenty Third Native Infantry in 1820 C.E., when the corps was raised in Poona. After performing his duties efficiently with the corps in Kathiwar and Baroda, early in 1824 C.E., his regiment was despatched to the turbulent lands of Bhils in Khandesh.<sup>1</sup> Due to health concerns in Khandesh as the weather was inclement, Outram went to Bombay for some time on the advice of the medical staff.

Towards the end of March, 1825 C.E., an insurrection suddenly broke out in the Western Districts of Khandesh which threatened to extend throughout the province. The Bhil rebel leader at the head of Eight Hundred men attacked and plundered Untapoor, carrying off his spoil to the hill fortress of Moolair. Bombay Establishment of East India Company instructed, Mr. Graham, the Deputy Commissioner to procure local military assistance for the defence of Zye Keira, the chief town of Moolair District( seat of district treasury) situated twelve miles from the rebel stronghold.<sup>2</sup>

Two hundred men of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> Regiments were dispatched from Malligaum on the evening of 5<sup>th</sup> of April under the command of Lieutenant Outram, who, after effecting a forced march of thirty five miles reached Zye Keira early next morning. In the course of the day Lieutenant Outram collected information about the rebel forces and proposed to rout out the immigrants under the panic of a sudden surprise and by thus destroying the rebel prestige and disheartening the allies that were flocking to their standard. This proposition of Lieutenant Outram was enthusiastically received by his companions, Ensigns Whitmore and Paul of the 11<sup>th</sup> Regiment, but it exceeded the discretionary powers which their written instructions vested either in Mr Graham or Lieutenant Outram.<sup>3</sup> But Mr Graham,

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after serious deliberations and inquiries sanctioned the proposal to Lieutenant Outram.

Lieutenant Outram circled the hill on which the fortress was situated. He sent Ensigns Whitmore and Paul with 150 men to make a false attack in front while he himself, with the remaining 50 sepoys of his detachment, turning of to the left proceeded to assail the rear. While the rebels had their attention drawn to their front by the assault of an enemy whose strength it was impossible to ascertain in the dark, Lieutenant Outram dashed in upon them from behind. The panic-stricken garrison fled with scarcely an attempt at resistance. Their leader was cut down; many of his adherents shared his fate and rest made to neighbouring hills in a state of complete disorganization. Lieutenant Outram marched upwards 50 miles, in little more than 36 hours to chase the enemies' horsemen and scouts were dispatched to ascertain the foes and in second attack on the insurgents, many were slain, numbers were taken prisoners and the rest, throwing down their arms, fled to their respective village. A rebellion which had caused much anxiety to the authorities was crushed and the plunder of Untapoor was restored to its lawful owners.<sup>4</sup> For these services cordial thanks and commendations were bestowed on Lieutenant Outram and his gallant companions. These were the last services that Lieutenant Outram was called on to render as a Regimental Officer.

The Governor of Bombay, Mount Stuart Elphinstone instituted a grand moral experiment which required for its successful conduct more than ordinary zeal, energy and tact.<sup>5</sup> In the young Adjutant James Outram, he had discerned the man specially qualified to give effect to his views. Mr Elphinstone who recognized in the wild and degraded Bhil, a brother man, in whom dwelt affections that, might be won, and were worth the winning—sympathies through the skilful management of which he might be guided within the pale of civilized life- and faculties that would repay culture. To elevate the proscribed race in the scales of moral being appeared to him a feat of easier accomplishment, and far more glorious than their extirpation. And he resolved that it should be done. Elphinstone was determined to render them "*the protectors of the peace they had so long disturbed*".

For the achievements of these noble objects he devised two schemes. One was the establishment of Agricultural Colonies of Bhils; the other the organization of Bhil soldiers to be armed and disciplined like Battalions of the Line and commanded by a British officer. The "Colony" experiment he confided to Captain Ovan; the organization of the "Bhil Corps" was assigned to Lieutenant Outram.<sup>6</sup> Both schemes were sneered at by the "practical" men of the day as visionary and absurd; both were, however, gloriously successful.

The nature, extent and value of Captain Ovan's philanthropic services- the difficulties he surmounted- the consummate skill and knowledge of human nature he displayed and the peaceful triumphs he achieved are well known to all who have carefully studied the history of modern India. And they are deeply engraved on the memories of those reclaimed savages amongst whom he toiled.

The organization of Bhil Corps under a European Official had been frequently

proposed by Mr Elphinstone, but so great was the disfavour with which the scheme was received that up to the date of Moolair rebellion (1825 C.E) it was not enforced. Mr Elphinstone resolved that if he could find an officer to take it in hand, his plan should be no longer delayed. Outram's friend strongly remonstrated with him against sacrificing his professional position, prospects and his life by entering on so insane a project. Captain Outram requested Col. Robertson to communicate to Mr Elphinstone, his glad acceptance of the hazardous commission.<sup>7</sup>

James Outram, after obtaining permission from his commanding officer-Colonel Robertson, led a detachment against the Bhils of Sathmalla Hills. He attacked and rooted them with considerable slaughter and followed them up fastness to fastness till all had submitted. Having, thus satisfied the Bhils that their jungles and rocky defiles were not impregnable, Outram sent back his detachment, and threw himself amongst his recent foes. Unarmed and unattended and therefore completely at their mercy, Outram claimed and received a reciprocity of the confidence, thus, reposed in them. He accepted their hospitality which he repaid with feasts and entertainment. He listened with profound attention to their wild tales and mythological legends, taught them many simple but useful mechanical devices, dressed their wounds, prescribed for their ailments, joining in their pastimes and accompanying them in pursuits of the tigers. Outram won their admiration by showing the chase as he had previously displayed in the battle his superiority in those very qualities which they valued most highly in them selves (Mr Giberne's, Major Douglas Graham's and other official reports on Bhil Reforms).<sup>8</sup>

After a while, Outram persuaded some high caste native non-commissioned officers and privates of 23<sup>rd</sup> Native Infantry Regiment to co-operate with him in his undertaking. Many English gentlemen afterwards stepped forward to aid him in a similar manner. Bhils were accorded warm and cordial reception by the European Officers during the course of migrations around the province. Imitating the officers native soldiers also offered beetle nuts and sweets to their outcaste' visitors and gave entertainment in their honour.<sup>9</sup>

In less than two years from the date of its adoption, the philanthropic and far-sighted policy of Mr Elphinstone had been completely vindicated. The Bhil recruits had ceased to pass their time between crime and debauchery. Sober, gentle, obliging and well behaved, they had won the esteem of every English gentleman who had seen them and they had shed their blood freely in the cause of order, and in conflict with insurgent and bandits of their own tribe.<sup>10</sup>

In less than eleven months after Outram commenced the conciliation' of his Bhils(1825 C.E.), number of recruits amounted to 255 which rose to 600 in the following year. And when Outram services were required by the government for the pacification of another troubled country in Sept. 1835, Outram handed over singular Bhil Corps of 900 strong and highly efficient Bhils troopers to his friend Captain Graham. Outram's Bhil Corps have served as the model on which many others corps have been subsequently organized in India.

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## Social formation before 1942: A case study of Eastern Uttar Pradesh

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Eastern Uttar Pradesh stretches between the parallels of 25° 10' and 26° 27" North and the meridians of 82° 10' and 84° 40' East. It is almost triangular in shape. According to the Imperial Gazetteer of India<sup>1</sup> this region excluding Azamgarh<sup>2</sup> was called Benares Division. The division contains five districts as shown in the following table.<sup>3</sup>

Table 1: Five Districts of Benares Division

	Area in square miles	Population 1901	Hand revenue and cesses, 1903-4, in thousands of rupees
Benares	1008	882,084	10, 45
Mirzapur	5,238	1,082,430	9,93
Jaun pur	1,551	1,202,920	14,60
Ghazipur	1,389	913,818	12,10
Ballia	1,245	987,768	8,43
Total	10,431	5,069,020	55,51

Source: Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol. VII 1908, p. 178.

In 1931 census, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, were divided into eight natural divisions.<sup>4</sup> The area under my research was termed as Indo-Genetic plain, east'.<sup>5</sup> The physical landscape of the area is simple. It is in an alluvial plain sloping gently from north-west to south-east, following the direction of the rivers. The principal rivers are the Ghaghara, the Gomati, the Son, and the Ganga with a

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number of tributaries like the Sarju, the Gangi, the Mangai and the Karmnasa.<sup>6</sup> Besides these rivers, Barna and Nand are small streams of this area. In princely state of Benares, besides Ganga and Karmnasa, two more rivers i.e. Chandraprabha & Garai have been also reported.<sup>7</sup> All these rivers run more or less parallel to one another with narrow strips of land between them. These strips at their maximum height are only 20 feet above the level of high water in the rivers. On account of the gentle slope, the rivers meander conspicuously in the plain and are gradually silting up their beds. There are numerous other depressions of various shapes and sizes in which water collects during rains. The bodies of stagnant water are locally known as jhils. The Surha, Pakri-Pewa, Kotail, Jamwawan, Salona, Ratoi and Naraja are some examples of these jhils, (Lakes)<sup>8</sup> most of them are so shallow that they dry up in the hot weather, but during the rainy season they attain a considerable size and sometimes uniting with each other or with the neighbouring rivers bring about floods in the adjoining lands. The climate of Eastern Uttar Pradesh is characterized by a rhythm of seasons which is produced by the south-west and north-east monsoons.

The geographical landscape has largely been responsible for shaping the society and culture of the region. This paper discusses the social contexts and their orientation before the Quit India movement.

Most modern observers have experienced life in societies structured largely in classes, where a person's place in society is largely determined by occupation and particularly by the individual's relation to the means of production; where relations between people are based on contract rather than time-honoured conventions. Moreover in contemporary industrial societies there is considerable mobility between classes, and individuals can change and achieve status by their own efforts. In India, in general and Eastern U.P in particular we see a society where until the twentieth century class was a concept and a force of little significance. Most people's place in the social order depended on ascribed rather than achieved status, and was determined by the accident of birth. Society of Eastern UP was an agricultural one in which caste lies at the heart of people's religious and social experience. The caste structure of the region is not rigid and exclusivist as were its counterparts in the southern parts of India. Continuous hierarchies' rather sharp division and differences, characterize the caste structure of these regions. The polarizing caste contrasts found elsewhere are moderated by the presence of a significant number of upper castes, as well as the existence of intermediate castes such as Kayasthas.

Historically, the Brahmanical caste hierarchy approximately the four tiered Varna system is most fully articulated in this region. The four upper castes are Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Kayasthas. Altogether the upper castes account for nearly 20% of the population of UP. Indeed, the most interesting feature of the caste structure in the large number of Brahmins. According to 1931 census, Brahmins formed over 9% of the population in UP representing 40% of the entire Brahmin

concentration.<sup>9</sup> This type of well-differentiated caste configuration in which the upper castes have a wide geographical spread, established a specific pattern of caste-class in UP.<sup>10</sup> The caste system was prevailing among Muslims also. Shaikh, Pathan, Sayyad, Ashraf, Ansari and Julaha were important Muslim castes.

Apart from the rigorously observed distinctions between a whole variety of castes and sub castes (Muslim as well as Hindu), the basic social division in the region as perceived at least by the locally dominant elements, was that between the Sharif (or ashraf, i.e. the respectable classes) and the razil (or labouring people). The former comprised the Brahmanas, Rajputs, Bhumihars, together with true' Syed and Sheikhs, Pathan converts from the Rajput community, and some smaller Hindu castes like Kayasthas. All the rest—from the Ahirs and Kurmis, and their opposite numbers among the Muslims such as the Zamindars (or Rautaras) of Azamgarh, to the unclean' labouring and artisanal castes, Koeris, Chamars, Julahas and the like were classified as razil.

In Azamgarh district nearly 86% of the populations were Hindus and 14% Muslims.<sup>11</sup> The most numerous Hindu castes are: Chamars (leather – workers and labourers), Ahirs (grazers and cultivators), Brahmans, Rajputs or Chhatris, Bhars (labourers), Koeris (cultivators), Bhuinhars (agriculturists), Lunias (saltpeter workers and labourers) and Baniyas. Muslims were mainly divided into Julahas (weavers), Sheikhs and Pathans. The Muslim concentration was greater than anywhere else in the Bhojpuri region. They formed the majority in the towns of Mau, Mubarakpur and Muhammadabad and a substantial minority in Kopaganj, Chitrakot, Azamgarh and several other places. In 1901 the District contained 104 native Christians, of whom 48 belonged to the Anglican Communion.<sup>12</sup> Ballia which became a separate entity in 1879 had 93% as Hindu population and 7% Muslim. The most numerous Hindu castes were Rajputs, Brahmans, Ahirs, Chamars, Koeris, Bhars, Baniyas and Bhuinhars. The Bhars were an aboriginal race chiefly found in this area. The Dusadhs were noteworthy as supplying large numbers of village policemen and also of professional criminals. There were no missions in the district up to 1903, and only four native Christians were enumerated in 1901.<sup>13</sup>

In Benares district Hindus formed more than 89% of the total and Muslim more than 10%. The most numerous Hindu castes were Brahmans, Chamars, Kurmis, Ahirs, Rajputs, Koeris, Bhuinhars, Bhars, Lunias and Gonds (corresponding to Kahars elsewhere). The Muslims were represented by Julahas, Sheikhs and Pathans. There were 669 native Christians in 1901 of whom 380 belonged to the Anglican communion. The Church missionary society commenced work in 1818, and the London missionary society two years later. The Baptist and Wesleyan societies also had branches.<sup>14</sup> In Ghazipur district about 90% of the populations were Hindu and nearly 10% Muslims. The district was very thickly populated in all parts. The most numerous Hindu castes were the Ahirs, Chamars, Rajputs, Koeris, Brahmans, Bhars, Bhuinhars and Binds. (Fishermen and Cultivators) Binds were akin to the Kahars. Out of 329 native Christians in 1901, the Anglican Communion claimed 111, the Lutherans 63, and Presbyterians 42. The Lutheran Mission has

been established at Ghazipur town since 1855, and the Zanana Mission since 1890.<sup>15</sup> Caste system of this region, i.e. Benares region may be analyze on the basis of census 1931 in terms of land holding, occupations and their relationship in term of economy and social.

For example: the upper caste Hindus were holding most of the level and the OBC and Dalit castes poor peasants and agricultural labourers. Few upper caste Muslims families were of course Zamindars. 1931 census and Rahi Masoom Raza's *Neem Ka Ped* and *Aadha Gaon* shows that Benares region the upper caste Hindus were holding most of the land. The Other Backward Caste (OBC) and Dalit caste were poor peasants and agricultural labourers. Few upper caste Muslim families were off course Zamindars.<sup>16</sup> The society was caught in a fictitious web created by religious superstitions and social obscurantism.<sup>17</sup> According to Max Weber, Hinduism had become a compound of magic, animism and superstitions. Abominable rites like animal sacrifice and physical torture had replaced the worship of god. The priests exercised an overwhelming and unhealthy influence on the minds of the people. Idolatry and polytheism helped to reinforce the position of priest. The position of women was very depressing. The birth of a girl was unwelcome, her marriage a burden and her widowhood inauspicious. Attempts to kill girl infants at birth were not unusual. Those who escaped this initial brutality were subjected to the violence of marriage at a tender age. When their husbands died they were expected to commit Sati which Raja Rammohan Roy described as murder according to every Shastra.<sup>18</sup> If they succeeded in overcoming this social coercion, they were condemned, as widows, to life-long misery, neglect and humiliation.

The human sacrifice among khonds, slavery, self immolation, Thaggi and other superstitions had degraded the Indian social traditions. All these had shadow on the eastern UP. The literary writings of Premchand (eg. *Godan*, *Sava Ser Genhu*, *Muktimarg*, *Pus Ki Raat*) and Rahi Masoom Raza (eg. *Adha Gaon* and *Neem ka Ped*) have also shown the spectrum of society in eastern U.P. before Quit India Movement.

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## **Modern Education and the Role of Christian Missionaries in Kashmir**

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The Christian Missionaries had played an outstanding role so far as the modern education of Kashmir is concerned. They worked hard but faced many problems in providing education to the people of the valley. The missionaries provided much relief to the masses in some way or the other. They established hospitals, schools, orphanages and asylum for the destitute. Some of them even fought for the rights of the people and rose against injustice.<sup>1</sup> In 1854 a retired army officer Colonel Martin and Robert Clark of Punjab Missionaries along with two In Christians visited Srinagar to see the possibilities of missionary work in the state. At their return they raised a sum of fourteen thousand for the said work. The first personality who started educational work in Kashmir was the one-man effort of Dr. Elms lie, who arrived there as the first Christian medical missionary in the Spring of 1865. The philanthropic work of Christian missionaries was not liked by the officials and they posed strong opposition.<sup>2</sup> The officials arranged a demonstration at Srinagar in which effigies of the Resident and the missionaries were burnt. Another famous Christian missionary Robert Clark was not allowed to come to Kashmir but due to his untiring efforts he was successful in visiting the Kashmir Valley. The first missionary which had some genuine interest in philanthropy and evangelization was established by the Church Missionary School of England. This society opened the first school on western lines at Srinagar in 1880. The founder of the school was J. Hinton Knowles. It was in 1880 that he laid the foundation of the C M S (Christian Missionary School) on the hospital premises in Srinagar. It is clear that in the beginning the attitude of state authorities towards the missionaries was hostile.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Knowles wrote: "Our desire and intention is to bind Kashmir with a girdle of mission schools. It will be a very expensive business and already we are spending from our meager store, but we are determined to go on, assured that He

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who has opened wide the door, will furnish us with the means. We put our trust in Him.”<sup>4</sup>

The pattern of education imparted by schools and colleges in the rest of the country began late in the state. The mission school, first to follow the university syllabus was originally established by the Rev. J. S Doxy in 1881 with only five boys on roll. The good missionary content at having made a beginning and confident of its expansion preserved in his labours for two years after which he was succeeded by the Rev. J Hinton Knowles who worked hard, and with his untiring zeal and tact the school made rapid progress. In 1892 when he handed over the charge to Rev. Tyndale Biscoe the number on the role was over 500.<sup>5</sup> The school made sustained progress under Rev. Biscoe and produced boys not only educated in English and other subjects, but molded in the best traditions of an English public school. The want of proper school buildings was felt. Some schools were held under the shades of the trees or in private houses or shops.<sup>6</sup> The primary education of masses was much realized and even the Christian missionaries took initiative in the field of primary education. They started the first primary vernacular school on western lines in May 1891.<sup>7</sup> Tyndale Biscoe gave a flip to modern education in Kashmir. The Holidays were arranged on western the Western Pattern. The state also followed suit and two colleges were established at Srinagar and Jammu through the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant. Then the foundation stone of the Hindu college at Srinagar was laid in 1906. Similarly a state college was established at Jammu in 1907.<sup>8</sup>

Knowles writes that in 1883 the number of boys in the school fell from 47 to 30 and the reason which he mentioned was the distance of the school. He took several steps to boost the education for which he had to face many hardships. In Kashmir the Christian missionaries had to facade many predicaments. The popular response was unsatisfactory. The Muslims were very conservative in the matters of education. <sup>9</sup> The missionaries also emphasized the education of the women. They were of the opinion that educated girls would become the good mothers of the future. Miss Fitze started a girls school in 1912 and it was mentioned that majority of the girls attending the school were Muslim girls. Miss Fitz was the principal of the school. She worked with her devotion, patience and did wonders. She was successful in changing the behavior of a collection of dirty and unprincipled girls.<sup>10</sup> A Hindu girl could not attend the school after the age of 12 which was considered improper until they are married. Mr. Biscoe has mentioned that the progress of girls was faster than boys. Miss Fitze was followed by Miss Mallinson. She has brought immense educational and cultural advancement in the women of Srinagar. Mallinson has made them to participate in different social activities. Some women were made professional in some fields.<sup>11</sup>

The missionaries provided a fine accountable work in the state in order to ameliorate the conditions of the masses. They not only underwent the task of social service but also like common men played a systematic role to fight the dogra

discrimination to Muslim education which became the main reason for their opposition by the government machinery. One such missionary was Robert Thorp, who is considered as one of the earliest freedom fighters in Kashmir. He brought the evil condition of the people to the notice of the British Government and also wrote to the news papers in England.<sup>12</sup>

Another aspect of Education which was linked to it was known as Kindergarten system of education which was first introduced by Miss Helen Burges. This system has aroused doubts in the minds of the parents because the system involved playing. Playing was introduced only to refresh the students, but the people thought it otherwise. It was mentioned that many parents removed their children from the school, as they said, "we send our children to school to learn and not to play."<sup>13</sup> The Government was later however at some point of time, influenced by the missionary school at Srinagar and ultimately opened the first high school, named Jammu High School on modern lines at 1890 that education of the state was established on modern lines. In 1889 there were two public schools one at Jammu and another at Srinagar. There were some other public schools run at Government expenditure. The schools in villages have the insufficiency of teachers. There was not a good supervision.<sup>14</sup> In the absence of proper supervision and a well organized scheme of studies, the system of teaching was extremely irregular, the teaching staff was inefficient and insufficient, and although the schools had existed for a number of years not a single boy had gone up for or passed a university examination.<sup>15</sup>

In reviewing the progress that has been made during the past three years, it is worthy of note that within the increase of rupees 8,563 in the annual expenditure, there are now one high school, four middle schools and 29 village and 10 indigenous branch schools, giving instruction to 3,776 boys. The teaching staff is thoroughly efficient and is closely supervised by the inspector and education is regulated by an improved system both as regards standard and regularity of attendance.

The material improvements affected are –

- a) The discontinuance of the old objectionable system of awarding scholarships indiscriminately, without regard to merit.
- b) The introduction of a system of awarding scholarship and prize books to really deserving boys.
- c) Gratuitous supply of class books to poor boys in Srinagar school.
- d) Promotion of primary classes twice a year after half yearly examinations.
- e) Regular annual inspection of schools by the inspector.
- f) The introduction of the scheme of studies prescribed by the Punjab University.<sup>16</sup>

Description of schools	1891		1892	
	No	Average daily attendance	No	Average daily attendance
High school	1	332	1	334
Middle schools	3	389	4	505
Primary schools	19	576	26	1,167
Indigenous schools	9	613	10	757
Dharmarth patshalas	2	100	2	142
Total	34	2,010	43	2,955

#### Average daily attendance of students during the year 1891-92<sup>17</sup>

A census has been made in 1901 which showed that the little attention was paid towards the education. The census showed that only 2% of the population could read and write. The male population who can read and write were 3.8% while as the female was counted as 1260. It was generally noted that Hindus were more educated than Muslims. For the upliftment of education the state authorities maintained 87 schools and in 1905 the number of schools had risen to 154 which included two high schools, a normal school, 7 Anglo- Vernacular and 12 vernacular middle schools and 133 primary schools. Girl's schools were maintained both at Srinagar and Jammu.<sup>18</sup> Qualified teachers were appointed by the state Government in the schools. Normal and training schools were set up for training to the teachers at Lahore. A normal school was established at Srinagar for the training of teachers in 1903-04. Care was taken to give physical training to the students. Besides the drill and gymnastics, in which the boys were instructed by the drill master, provisions were made for the cricket, football and other outdoor games in most of the schools in the towns. All these new things which are introduced in the schools were the result of Christian Missionaries. These missionaries were not only interested in the education of the pupils but also cared for the physical and mental health. They desired to see a student very active and expeditious.<sup>19</sup>

After 1911-12 religious education became a part of the curriculum in the Government schools. What happened, the schools then began to commence their working with a prayer, the members belonging to different religions assembling in separate groups. After this was over, short lectures were given by the teachers on

important moral subjects. <sup>20</sup>

<b>Religion</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1892</b>
Hindus	2,101	2,861
Sikhs	66	72
Mohammedans	494	839
Others	4	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,665</b>	<b>3, 776</b>

#### Classification of pupils by religion<sup>21</sup>

The department was under the control of Foreign minister who was assisted by an inspector and two assistant inspectors of schools. It has been noted that 17 scholarships granted to students gaining knowledge at Lahore. The total expenditure on education in 1905-06 was 1.05 lacs compared with only Rs 45000 in 1900-1901.<sup>22</sup> Francis Younghusband, the Resident in Kashmir, also studied the problems pertaining to educational development. Finally it was in 1907 when the whole educational policy was reviewed. The educational system as prevailing in the Indian Universities was also considered. It was admitted that education plays the most important part in the prosperity and the well being of a country and its people.<sup>23</sup>

Narayan Das was the education member in 1907 who laid emphasis on the improvement of education in the state. He emphasized the need of more educational institutions, buildings for primary schools in the villages. After Narayan Das, came Dr. A Mitra. Amar Singh advised the new education member, Dr. A Mitra to consider Rai Narayan Das's suggestions and to submit proposals aimed at bringing the standard of education in the state to the level of that obtained in British India and other progressive Indian states. Rai Bahadur in a letter to A Mitra –the education minister wrote him on 18<sup>th</sup> January 1912, forwarding a copy therewith of His Highness announcement, granting an additional sum of Rs 25000 annually for the expansion and improvement of primary education among both Hindus and Muslims. He was told about the accommodation of the students, who had no school building

to read and write and had to take shelter under the trees. Funds were granted for the construction of the buildings.<sup>24</sup> The first education department which came into being was on 28<sup>th</sup> October 1907, a conference which was attended by officials of several departments like revenue and judicial departments, to discuss the future plan of education. New schools were opened, the salary of teachers was raised and buildings had been constructed.<sup>25</sup>

The new educational policy of the British, threw open the gates of knowledge to the youth and enabled them to seek admission in various Universities where they exchanged their ideas on political developments in and outside their state or country. On return from universities, they organized youth movements to register protest against misrule and fight for their rights. One such example is, when in 1930 A.D the educated young men of Kashmir started a READING ROOM PARTY near Fateh Kadel Srinagar which later became pioneer organizations of all political activities in the state.<sup>26</sup> As regards colleges satisfactory progress has been achieved as was mentioned by Mr. Sharp in his report. Accommodation was on the whole sufficient for requirements. In the matter of scholarships specially reserved for Mohammadans, it appears that in Sharps time the amount provided by the state was Rs 3200, exclusive of Rs 254 for girls. Mr. Sharp suggested that the amount should be increased by an annual additional grant of Rs 2000.<sup>27</sup>

Thus we see that the education made tremendous progress in the state during the stay of Christian missionaries. They not only focused on the education of men but equally stressed on the modern education of women. They believed that without the education of women, society cannot produce the men of intellect. There was quite a rapid growth in the volume of education as measured in terms of the number of institutes and students studying in them. The percentage of literary in the state also increased from 2.03 in 1901 to 2.6 in 1921. The statistics shows that how the society moved to the dawn of modernism. <sup>28</sup>

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## **The Role of Sufi Fakirs And Their Movements in South India in Early 19<sup>TH</sup> Century**

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The fakirs were the religious order of the mendicants. The term *fakir*' applies both to the Muslim and Hindu fakirs. The Mohammedan fakirs organized in imitation of Hindu sanyasi, adopted similar dresses habits. The Hindus viewed them with wonderful respect. They were real ascetics or sanyasi, and to regard them as plunderers was considered injustice. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century they moved about in thousand into the Bengal and exacted general tribute from the people and their character was too sacred for the civil power to take cognizance of their conduct. In 1764 the new fakirs were hired by the deposed Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal and in his attempt on the Marathas. They formed in smaller groups and carried depredations during their pilgrimages throughout the country. They were called as ascetic warriors who continued to bear arms and fight until the early years of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the British tried to put an end to their movements. They established monasteries and got training in warfare.

Mr. Heatley, the Collector of Purnea reported to the Board of Revenue that a party of fakirs had plundered several places. Mr Harrington, Magistrate of Murshidabad reported to Lord Cornwallis that a large number of plundering fakirs were roaming in their jurisdiction. Towards the end of February, 1794 the Raja of Cooch, in Bihar reported to the British that More number of fakirs (2 to 3000) men, who had publicly avowed their intention of attacking treasury and town.<sup>1</sup> Later the British government checked the nomadic raiders. The fakir raids were finally suppressed in Bengal (1800).

***The Vellore conspiracy of 1806:-*** The British East India Company established

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control throughout south India during the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. The fallen houses of Tipu and Arcot Nawabs, the controlled native rulers such as the king of Mysore, Raja of Travancore and king of Tanjore looked forward the mercy of British. The subsidiary alliance with the native rulers gave upper hand for the British. The fakirs were hired by three agencies. First agency was the Maratha leaders. Second were the sons of Tipu, who were stationed at Vellore fort. Third was the French. The fakirs were hired to instigate the army to rise against the company rule. The plan of these fakir emissaries was started in Holkar's camp,<sup>2</sup> but the fakir movement in the south was directed by Tipu's men and relatives.

These fakirs worked to excite a spirit of discontent in the minds of the native princes and sepoys.<sup>3</sup> firstly Holkar despatched numerous fakirs to Mysore.<sup>4</sup> They travelled under disguise of religious mendicants. They propagated their faith through religious preaching's. They performed ceremonies in honour of those who sacrificed as martyrs in the wars against British.<sup>5</sup> The emissaries consisted of both Hindus and Mohammedans. <sup>6</sup> On the festival days they gathered in large numbers at important stations. They discussed their plans in such gatherings. Col. A Campbell, commanding the southern division, reported on November 26, 1806, that numerous fakirs assembled at Tirchy.<sup>7</sup>

**Active leaders of the fakir movement:-**Abdullah khan the Asaf under Tipu, was the prominent leader of the organisation.<sup>8</sup> He directed the plans and organised movements. His only aim was the recapture the throne of Mysore for Tipu's family. He was ably assisted by the Peerzada, who was one of the close associates of late Tipu. Another notable leader was Nabi Shah, the late Peer of Tipu. He conducted seditious meetings at the time of festivals and special junctions.<sup>9</sup> It was easy for these leaders to instigate the sepoys because many of the Tipu's men were enlisted into the army of the East India Company. <sup>10</sup> The top ranking leaders established connections with the native officers in the British army.

In the month of August 1807, Nabi Shah, the late Peer of Tipu Sultan arranged a celebration at Bangalore in the honour of Ata-Ulla Shah a departed saint.<sup>11</sup> This celebration was attended by many fakirs and the sepoys of the British native army. The sepoys obtained permission to attend the religious meeting. But actually these kinds of celebrations were the meeting grounds of the fakirs. Two of the important fakirs namely Aleem Ali Shah and Noor Khaleel Shah, visited different army stations in south.<sup>12</sup> these fakirs acted not only as emissaries but also as news bearers. In the month of September 1806 Fakir Muthavalli Shah visited Tirchy.<sup>13</sup> He had a close associate fakir namely Noor Ali. They travelled through Lalgudi, Tanjore, and Ammapettah and camped at the fort of Tirchy. Another young fakir named Mudan Shah, the native of Madura, who visited Poona, Hyderabad and Srirangapatnam resided at Shankarankoil.<sup>14</sup> After sometime he visited the fort of Tirchy.

**The activities of the Fakirs:-**The fakirs visited almost all the army stations of the British in South India. They adopted different methods of sedition in different stations. Bangalore was starting place of the movement, likewise Nandidurga and

other places in south. As Bangalore was very near to Mysore, hundreds of fakirs proceeded to Bangalore.<sup>15</sup> These fakirs appeared as puppet show men. They conducted puppet shows exhibiting the Mohammedan and the French puppets driving the English troops, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the 18<sup>th</sup> Regiment stationed at Bangalore was principally raised at Mysore. This battalion was composed of men formerly in the military services of Tipu Sultan.<sup>16</sup> So it was easy for the fakirs to contact the sepoy and the native officers. The fakirs were supported by the strangers always incognito, who visited the army stations with letters addressed to the sepoy.<sup>17</sup>

The fakirs visited Bellary also. The activities of Aleem Ali Shah and Noor Khaleel Shah of Bellary were well planned.<sup>18</sup> They taught a new doctrine of Islamic faith. Subedar Mir Bauker, Abdul Ghorri and Abdul Nabi, sepoy were prominent among those who took instructions from fakirs.<sup>19</sup> Among the above three, Abdul Nabi, became a true follower of the Fakirs.<sup>20</sup> He was able to collect his own followers like Yaqub khan, Mir Bauker, Subedar.<sup>21</sup> and guided his followers constantly.<sup>22</sup> Abdul was a daring man chosen by the fakirs. When he was arrested he admitted his guilt before the court of enquiry.<sup>23</sup> At Tirchinopoly the machinations of the fakirs and other mendicant travellers created an alarming state.<sup>24</sup>

**Suppression of the movement:-**The activities of the fakirs alarmed the British government. Soon after the fakirs at Bangalore and Nandidurga reached, the government issued a proclamation to all the army stations warning the Fakir Movement in the South.<sup>25</sup> A severe warning was issued to all the sepoy that if they failed to obey their officers they would be punished.<sup>26</sup> The same proclamation was translated into different languages and circulated. The copies of the proclamation were despatched to all European officers, Magistrates and Collectors. The special warning letter said, “*you will discern with particular care all persons of that description (fakirs) who may be found in your Zillah under your charge and that you will watch with attention any particular intercourse which may take place between such persons and any sepoy or other inhabitants of the Zillah*”<sup>27</sup> The reports of the army commanders proved that the both Hindu and Mohammedan sepoy joined the conspiracy under the instigation of the fakirs.<sup>28</sup>

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras wrote; “*From the extreme activity which has been practiced by religious mendicants and other secret emissaries in all parts of the peninsula in exciting a spirit of discontent among the troops, we had deemed it proper to counteract such machinations as far as may be practicable by orders which have been issued to the Magistrates and other local authorities*”.<sup>29</sup> G. G. Barlow, the Governor General, advised to put an end of the mendicants.<sup>30</sup>

W. E. Wright, the Magistrate of Chittor District wrote that the fakir emissaries were the secret agents and they could not be detected by the regular operations of police.<sup>31</sup> The fakir emissaries should be despatched by British to counteract. The seditious activities of fakirs should be checked immediately. Thus he remarks “*the credibility and general character of the natives expose them particularly to the arts of designing persons, the British will see all advantages and they will then be able*

*more steadily to maintain an intercourse with the inhabitants".<sup>32</sup>*

**Conclusion:** Though the fakir movement was suppressed by the British ruthlessly, its great success was the mutiny of Vellore of 1806. As Vellore was already ripe for action under the leadership of Tipu's sons, the machination launched there by the fakirs had been a success. But before all other stations were made ready, the mutiny broke out in Vellore. The fakirs were successful in scattering the seeds of sedition and revolt was the downfall of British and later ascendancy of Muslim power with activities of the fakirs harassed peninsular India for a considerable period of time. But due to lack of proper encouragements and support from native Rulers and Poligars and the ruthless suppression of them by the British finally made whole movements end in a pell-mell. The perfect check and the co-ordinating activities of the British officers completely destroyed the fakir movement.

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## **The Merger' of the Mysore congress in to the Praja Paksha and the Political Change**

**\*Shivakumar C. L.**

By the late 1930s there was a considerable change in the perceptions of the non-Brahmin political outfit, Praja Paksha<sup>1</sup>. The membership of the Praja Paksha was thrown open to all communities, including Brahmins. It did not want to sustain mainly on the backward class plank, but to build up the political outfit on a more broader basis. Along with the Mysore Congress, the Praja Paksha also began to distance itself from the princely regime and increasingly demanded responsible government. This helped the Praja Paksha politically<sup>2</sup>. In the 1937 elections to the Representative Assembly the Praja Paksha defeated most of the congress candidates. Despite their victory at the elections they increasingly came under the influence of the emerging national politics though they did not have much admiration for the Brahmin leaders of the Mysore congress.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, some of the congress leaders like K. T. Bhashyam realized the necessity of broadening the base of the Congress for national struggle and a regional struggle. The Mysore Congress plank of “responsible government” was also cleverly snatched away by the Praja Paksha.

In the 1937 elections to the Representation Assembly<sup>4</sup>, the Praja Paksha stood victorious. Hence, the conventional narrative that the Praja Paksha merged with the Mysore Congress is not what had happened. The Party issued an appeal to observe the 6<sup>th</sup> Nov. 1937, <sup>5</sup> “The Mysore Repression” Day and 14 November as the “Patriots Day” in honour of those who went to jail. However in 1938, at the Haripura session, the Congress changed its stand. The new message implied that the states people should organize their own struggles without much depending on the Indian National Congress at the National Level.<sup>6</sup> The resolutions made untenable the position taken by the Mysore Government was something external to the state. The immediate effect of the resolutions was that an independent party, the Mysore State Congress was created”. One of the major incidents of the freedom struggle took place in Viduraswatha, where thousands of people had gathered for annual

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pilgrimage. Among those were congress workers who had come to hoist the national flag. The National Congress had to now intervene and therefore sent two leaders,<sup>7</sup>Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani to Bangalore. They were given a big reception by a crowd of 5000 gathering in Bangalore city. The speech of Patel was not well received by the audience and when Patel and Kripalani left Mysore, very few people went to the station to see them off <sup>8</sup>.

**Temporary Settlement:-**However, there were also some positive results from their meetings with the Maharaja and the Dewan and a settlement was reached between the All India Congress and the Mysore Government with the following decisions. <sup>9</sup>

- a) *The Mysore Govt. should recognize the Mysore State Congress*
- b) *The constitutional reforms committee should discuss and recommend a scheme of responsible Government.*
- c) *The Mysore state flag and the Congress flag could be flown together*
- d) *The Congress was to call off the flag satyagraha and other civil disobedience activities.*
- e) *All Political prisoners should be relieved and the Government was to withdraw all prohibitory orders against the Mysore State Congress.*

According to the Report of the British Resident the settlement was widely accepted in the state.<sup>10</sup> In the mean while, the Viduraswatha Enquiry committee under the retired Judge Sir Vepa Ramesan, was unanimous in putting the entire blame on the Congress. The Mysore congress strongly criticized the report as utterly hostile to the spirit of the agreement entered into by the Govt. with the Congress. Furthermore, the Govt. was somewhat reluctant in releasing the political prisoners and when they were released, they were treated on par with ex-criminals, prohibiting them from contesting elections.<sup>11</sup> In April 1939, the Mysore Congress held its second session in a place purposely chosen to infuriate the Dewan, namely Viduraswatha. About 30,000 congressmen attended the congress session<sup>12</sup>. Siddalingaiah was replaced by H. C. Dasappa as the President of the congress. The new working committee was constituted by K.T. Bhashyam, K. T. Sathyanarayana, K.C. Reddy, H. K. Veeranna Gowda and T. Subramanian. Once again the Government resorted to repression and arrest of the leaders. Hence, the congress passed a resolution :-

*“The congress notes with regret that the Government of Mysore, after having violated both in spirit and letter the terms of the agreement arrived at between them and the congress through the good offices of Sardar Patel and Acharya Kripalani, have re embarked upon a policy of repression to crush the legitimate and peaceful activities of the Mysore congress for the achievement of the responsible Government..”*<sup>13</sup>

The general pattern of the 1942 Quit India movement was reflected also in

Mysore in a big way. Due to censorship imposed on the press all over India and the meager reporting from the Residency to the Govt. of India, it is difficult to set a clear picture of what really happened.<sup>14</sup> The Quit India movement in Karnataka was a spontaneous upsurge in more than one sense. Many of the senior leaders in Karnataka had just returned from the jails, having participated in the individual satyagraha of 1940 - 41 and were not keen going back to jail so early. To some others, going to jail was better than remaining outside, due to police vigilance and leading un-certain life of adventures.<sup>15</sup> The working committee meeting of the MPCC which met at Dharwad on 4th Aug 1942, prior to the AICC session had to meet in the absence of President Nagana Gouda. He had tendered his resignation and did not attend the meeting. Every district of the princely Mysore State had a Separate list (file) of the confidential branch on the Quit India Movement. This perhaps indicated the names of the persons to be rounded up at the outset<sup>16</sup>The news of the arrest of leaders including Mahatma Gandhi at Bombay reached many places in Karnataka on the early hours of 9<sup>th</sup> August itself though news papers of the 9th could not carry the news. In Hubli, it was already written on the tar roads with lime before the day, break on 9<sup>th</sup><sup>17</sup>. A letter from Tumkur Deputy Commissioner to the Chief Secretary informed the latter that a notice has been served on the secretaries and leading members of the Congress in the district that the All Mysore congress committee and the District Committee have been declared illegal and unlawful associations. A proposed public meeting at Tumkur on that day was also prohibited.<sup>18</sup>

The Mysore Congress had been declared illegal and 8 persons were arrested in Bangalore on 10th Aug. 1942. At Hubli Dr. N. S. Hardikar, Devpure, TCC president Sayyad Sab Bandar, K. S. Patilkrishna Rao Yalgi, Ananda Rao Mandagi, Shankar Rao Kamath and Several others were arrested. The KPCC headquarters at Dharwad was searched and taken into police custody.<sup>19</sup> High School student at Hubli organized Hartal. A public meeting organized at Chicklbalbag in Bangalore on 10th Aug. was attended by 5000 people. It was addressed by Kengal Hanumanthaiah, N.D. Shankar and K.R. Ramaswamy and was presided over by H. C. Suryanarayana. In Bangalore the students of the National High School organized a procession on 10<sup>th</sup> August and proceeded to the intermediate college, taking with them students of other educational institutions.<sup>20</sup> They requested the shop keepers of Avenue Road, Doddapet, Chickpet, City Market and other main streets to close down and the shops were closed. The Mysore and Minerva Mills workers at Bangalore struck work for one hour and that was their pay day.<sup>21</sup> The Mysore Congress was declared illegal and 8 persons in the city and 21 persons in the Bangalore Cantonment were arrested. There was mild Lathi Charge in three places. On 13 August in order to disperse the students, Schools and colleges were ordered to be closed. George Aralikatti, Nagappa Deshmane, Rudregouda Patil, Chulki and M. R. Joshi of Hukkeri were arrested in Belgaum. Similarly Ludutai Gunaji and Mr. Rashidhar Ghate, Student were also arrested.<sup>22</sup> Hartal was observed in Mangalore on the 12th

and a public meeting was organized by N. D. Adhikari on the chair. Gadag town also observed Hartal on that day and M. Haridas Rao and Alaboore who spoke at the public meeting were also arrested .

Day by day the movement was spreading to more and more places. News supplied by registered correspondents were not “registered”. Out of fear of censorship, many correspondents were not sending their news items from remote villages and towns. Dealing with the local problem locally was their main concern. Thus, a total picture of activities in all taluks could not be drawn. On the morning of 13th labourers of Bangalore Binny mills, Mysore Mills, Minerva Mills and T. R. Mills came out in protest and the movement became truly a mass based people`s movement within a short span of time.

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## Socialist Movement in India (1930 – 60)

\*Shikha Priyadarshini

The story of the socialist movement in India during the Post independence era is one of steady decline and erosion of its strength and eventual fiasco. The socialists have suffered from an ideological confusion in as much as they professed their faith in Marxism, particularly during the early 1930s, but at the same time, were wedded to certain values of liberalism. They failed to evolve a well-knit Marxian conception of democracy and to differentiate the same from the liberal.

The socialists led by J.P., Nerendra Deva and others took pride in calling themselves Marxism and even admitted the Communists within their fold in the late 1930s but their bon homier was short-lived. They found to their chagrin that most of the trade unions had been won over by them in an underhand way. This left them high and dry. This led them to revise their attitude towards Marxism and by implication, they felt drawn towards Gandhism. Jaya Prakash wrote in 1952:

*For many years I have worshipped at the shrine of  
The goodness, Dialectic Materialism.... But while the  
Main quest of philosophy remains unsatisfied it has  
Become patent to me that materialism of any sort robs  
man of the means to become truly human. In a  
material civilization man has no rational incentive to  
be good. I feel convinced therefore that man must  
go beyond the material to find incentives to goodness.<sup>1</sup>*

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When Jayaprakash Narayan was in Lahore jail along with Ram Manohar Lohia they came in contact with the ideas of Eric Fromwhostood for creative participatory communitarian and democratic socialism. From in the Sane Society found a convergence between the two systems namely western capitalist or liberal socialism and the Soviet Socialist dictatorship. To quote, “Both systems are based on industrialization, their goal is ever-increasing economic efficiency and wealth. They are societies run by a managerial class, and by professional politicians. They both are thoroughly materialistic in their outlook, regardless of Christian ideology in the west and secular mechanism in the East. They organize man in a centralized system, enlarge factories, political mass parties. It is to be assumed that the more the Soviet system develops economically, the less severely will it have to exploit the majority of the population, hence the more can terror be replaced by methods of psychological manipulation. The west develops rapidly in the direction of Huxley’s Brave New World, the East is today Orwell’s “1984” . But both systems tend to converge.”<sup>2</sup>

There was not much to choose between the technotronic totalitarianism of America and Communist monolithic totalitarianism of Russia. Socialism became more democratic and less socialistic. And then Gandhi came. He did not descend from the top; he seemed to emerge from the millenarian of India, speaking there language and necessarily drawing attention to them and their appalling condition. Get out of the backs of these peasants and workers, he told us, all of you who live by their exploitation; get rid of the system produces this poverty and misery. Then political freedom took new shape and acquired a new content.<sup>3</sup> Service of Daridra Narayan was his ideal. He called himself a socialist. He had been a socialist, he said before the socialists were born.<sup>4</sup> Gandhi while critical of the socialist programmes supported socialism when on June;1947 he wrote in the Harijan, “Today there is grad inequality. The basis of socialism is economic equality. There can be no rule of God in the prudent state of iniquitous inequalities.”<sup>5</sup> When on November 15, 1947 J.B. Kripalani had resigned from the Congress President ship, Gandhi had proposed the name of NarandraDev for the Presidency. Only Nehru supported it : other opposed.

The socialists only spelt socialism whereas Gandhi practices it in his personal life. The conditions of India in the eyes of Gandhi, called for a strategy of development different from the European. India was short of capital and technical know-how. Her population was vast. Most of lived in the villages in simplicity and poverty. Besides, India had a definite culture which accorded primacy of place to morality whereas western civilization was one of Mammon-worship. The goals of socialism, as Lohia and, later Jaya Prakash felt, could not be realized without going in for the principles of Gandhism.<sup>6</sup> Ram Manohar Lohia had advocated decentralization based on the small machine technology at the Panchmarhi convention held in 1948. The impact of Gandhism went so far s to make Jayaprakesh Narayan quit the Socialist Party along with many others. J.P.’s joining the Bhoodan movement of Vinoba Bhave administered a shocking blow to the socialist movement

on India. The Bhoodan movement itself cut considerable ground from under the feet of the entire leftist movement. Gandhism, according to J. P. did not concentrate on the capture of state power but goes direct to the people and helps them to effect the revolution in their lives and consequently in the life of the community.

Another factor that went to undermine the socialist movement was the personality and role of Jawaharlal Nehru. It was at the instance of Nehru that the Congress committed itself vaguely to socialism in 1929. It was under his influence that the Congress in its Karachi session (1931) took a definite step in the socialist direction adopting an economic programme.<sup>7</sup> He was under an influence of both Gandhi and Marx. He accepted Gandhi's bonafides and leadership though not so much his moral, social and political ideals. Nehru had a tendency to give second thoughts on every question. He was a democrat among the socialists, and a socialist among the democrats. The Industrial Policy Resolution of the Congress, acceptance of planning as the mode of steering development, and absorption of the socialist pattern of society at the Avadi session of the congress in 1955 imparted cumulatively a distinct socialist complexion to the congress.

Another factor that made for the dwindling of the socialist movement was that the socialists differed too much among themselves with the result that the tendencies of factionalism and division grew and at times made for the break-up of their party. They differed particularly with regard

To the strategy to be adopted towards the transformation, but also with regard to the attitude to be adopted toward the Congress leadership and policies. They felt somewhat inclined towards the Western bloc, for they sharply reacted against the violence and regimentation which were associated with the Soviet system. They also reacted against the military action taken by the Soviet union to suppress movements for autonomy and independence from the Soviet hegemony, for example in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Some of them were skeptical about the strategy of development adopted by Nehru in which there was a great thrust on the heavy industries and expansion of the public sector, and neglect of the Gandhian approach with its emphasis on building a decentralized economy and polity. On most issues the leaders were hardly in agreement. Thus on the question or event of merger of the Socialist Party with the kmpp, Mehta and Lohia had different justification for the merger and JP, in the words of MadhuLimaye, wobbled throughout and the youngsters were opposed to it.<sup>8</sup>

The socialists failed to drive their point home to the masses of India and this failure of theirs was partly due to the fact that after independence they broke away from the mother party, the Indian National Congress. But in this the socialists were not much to blame. Besides, the masses of India were not literate enough to be able to receive the ideological appeal of the socialists. The people of India being immersed in the cultural ethos of ancient times were more receptive to men like the Mahatma who had faith in the value of that culture and much less to those who were influenced by western ideas and modes of action.

As for the communists in India they were able to capture certain pockets of their influence and develop the same into the base from where they acted and spread out. The socialist seemed to be lacking in this at strategy. They failed to establish any base of their own from which they could spread out or operate as a spring-board. No doubt, they had chances to be associated with power in the 1960s in Bihar and U.P. and elsewhere, but they were merely partners of a grand non-congress coalition which went to rub out the sharpness of the socialists and dilute their ideology.

The socialist movement thus suffered its shipwreck on account of numerous factors. The most potent was lack of ideological clarity and unity. Statism of European socialism rendered it anpaemic as an ideology for it lost attraction for the struggling masses of India. Lohia was aware of it. Then came the frustrating experience of the British Laborur party and its complete somersault on the issue of nationalization. Frustrations in the first general election and advocacy of socialism by Nehru without his organization supporting it also proved debilitating. Clash of personalities, or temperamental difference and non-congressism and reliance on appeal to castes by the socialists were other factors that dealt a total flow to the movement.

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## **The Message of Guru Nanak : In the context of Applied Ethics**

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Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism was certainly an original thinker, who acquainted humanity a new vision, a new faith and a new religion. With it originated a new school of thought or set of teachings that is why he is still remembered in Punjab *Nanak Shah Darvesh* i.e. the King of holymen. He advocated mutual respect and accommodation among different faiths. He preached not just tolerance, but asked the people to follow one's own religion in letter and spirit. Guru Nanak gave a new message to the humanity and inspired them to search into their souls to purge themselves of the sins. It has its own set of doctrines relating to God, man and the world and code of conduct to live in the society. Besides it has its own socio-religious institutions such as Guru ship, *Dharamsal*, *Sangat* and *Langar* to regulate, the life of the Sikhs.

A lot had already been written about religion and faith founded by Guru Nanak. The Religion of Guru Nanak profoundly an ethical religion. Guru Nanak emphasized on the path of love and peace, humanity, brotherhood, socio-religious responsibility. He has been lauded as the apostle of universal religion, unity of Godhead, brotherhood of humankind<sup>1</sup> and messenger of peace and goodwill who laid emphasis on truthful<sup>2</sup> and righteous living<sup>3</sup>, discarding evils<sup>4</sup>, rituals and dogmas<sup>5</sup> and caste-system<sup>6</sup>. Some elements of Guru Nanak's teachings shows that Sikhism has universal appeal and ingredients to develop into a world religion. Guru Nanak always denied lack of truthfulness, taking resort to dishonesty, injustice<sup>7</sup> and unrighteousness, egoism<sup>8</sup>, lack of humility, intolerance, discontent, lack of self-control, affliction of men and animals by thought, word and deed, remaining discontented in mind under the sway of greed, jealousy, impurity of mind and body, intolerance to other's beliefs and practices, lack of self-dependence. According to Guru Nanak the goal of life, it may be called liberation or salvation, and of

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ethical concerns that should be the principles directing and controlling their lives during their earthly existence.

As mentioned earlier, the ethical dimension of Guru Nanak's message explicated as in many other passages, which attack religious duplicity, especially regarding caste. Guru Nanak always denied double standards of conduct i.e. religious or social, suggest the reality of duality. Their message was that in place of the four *varnas* there was one, that of humanity. Instead of four *ashramas* or stages of life, through which only men progressed, there was again one, that of the householder. The *dharmas* of the various *zats* were replaced by one the universal calling to worship God through Nam, and to perform social service (*sewa*).<sup>9</sup> Guru Nanak did not point his followers towards material success, but to responding to the material world seriously, that is altruistically.<sup>10</sup>

According to Guru Nanak the morality and ethics are to be taken as instruments of creativeness. The ethical ideal of Guru Nanak is to maintain the harmony between religion and life. For Guru Nanak, enlightenment and true spirituality should inspire man to dedicate his life and genius for the service of humanity. But unfortunately, in our modern competitive society, exploitation is sometimes condoned on the grounds of the survival of the fittest on the rights of others is justified as an ingredient of ambition and go-getting. But Guru Nanak condemned the usurpation of another's right as unreligious like the eating of pork by a Muslim or beef by a Hindu.<sup>11</sup> In the long history of Indian religious tradition it was reserved for Guru Nanak to perceive the true principles of unity of God and brotherhood of mankind. These principles laid down the broad foundations which enabled his successors to fire the minds of his countrymen with new nationality and to give practical shape to the doctrine that the lowest is equal with the highest, in race as in creed, in political rights as in religious hopes.<sup>12</sup> The originality of his message like that of other great teachers, lies in his re-assertion of the eternal truths and in what he made of his inheritance and what he created out of the matrix of his own personality.<sup>13</sup>

Guru Nanak established a new socio-religious institutions like *Dharamsal*, *Langer*, *Sangat*, etc. All the Sikh Gurus also followed Guru Nanak's way to promote the ethical values and took efforts in rooting out untouchability and introducing practices and institutions that promoted egalitarianism and casteless society. It is possible to see that Sikh institutions during the first two centuries of their history developed in close relationship to the ideological developments. Guru Nanak was not a person only but a spirit also through which the Divine Will became manifest in the form of *Bani*.<sup>14</sup> It brought the *Bani* and the *Panth* into parallel prominence with the personal Guru at the head of the community. This may be regarded as perhaps their most creative response to the greatness of the founder of Sikhism.<sup>15</sup>

Guru Nanak had altogether a different view about religion and politics. He accepted the supremacy of One and only God over any king and suggested to the people to follow one and only God and not any king or monarch. Here, one thing

is very important to mention that Guru Nanak's attitude towards the State as well as his response to contemporary politics was largely based on the nature of his spiritual experience. But some modern scholars are baffled over the question how a peace-loving community having ideals of brotherhood, equality and well-being of all could resort to armed confrontation under the successors of Guru Nanak Dev.<sup>16</sup> In their view, policy to militarize the Panth is quite alien to the basic spirit of Sikhism. They have blamed the successors, especially those who followed the policy to arm the Sikhs, for diverting them from their lofty mission.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand there are some scholars, who have discerned a close relationship between the teachings of Guru Nanak and the ideology of his successors, especially to militarize the Panth.<sup>18</sup> Some of the scholars have ascribed with direct political concerns to Guru Nanak.<sup>19</sup> In the words of Dr. J.S. Grewal, "the revolution completed by Guru Gobind Singh had been initiated by Guru Nanak."<sup>20</sup>

Here to discussing another outcome of the ethical message of Guru Nanak relates to the relentless struggle against the social, religious and political evils. Guru Nanak asked the people to live a life of dignity and honour.<sup>21</sup> The history of the Sikhs is a witness to the fact that whenever there had been a national crisis, and even on the grounds of human crisis they took guidance from Guru Nanak and his successors. So as we seen these very people who had sprung up from the so-called lower castes became the rulers of Punjab. They wrote new annals in the history of war-fare in India. Besides, the unparalleled acts of bravery, they created a new tradition of martyrdom in India.

### References ;

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iqs kY cwnix siB mih cwnxu hoie]  
(*Sri Guru Granth Sahib, Sabadarth (Panjabi)*, Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak , Committee, Amritsar, 4 Vols., 1964. p.663)
2. schu aurY sB ko aupir scu Awcwr] (*Ibid*, p.62)
3. sic imlY sicAwru kUiV n pweIAY]  
scy isau icqu lwie bhuiV n AweIAY] (*Ibid*, p.419)
4. ijqu kIqw pweIAY Awpxw sw Gwl burI ikau GwIIAY]  
mMdw mUil n kIcI dy IMmI ndir inhwlIAY] (*Ibid*, p.474)
5. PkV jwqI PkVu nwau ]  
sBnw jIAw iekw Cwau ] (*Ibid*, p.83)
6. ieik qIriQ nrvih AMnu n Kwvih]  
ieik Agin jlvvih dyh Kpvhiv]  
rwm nwm ibnu mukiq n hoeI ikqu ibiD pwir IMGweI hy] (*Ibid*, p.1025)
7. scw so swihbu scu qpwsu scVw inAwau krygu msolw ] (*Ibid*, p.723)
8. kmir ktrw bMkuVw bMky kw Asvwru ]  
grbu n kIjY nwnkw mqu isir AwvY Bwru ] (*Ibid*, p.956)
9. pMifq pwDy joiesI inq pVHih purwxw ]  
AMqir vsqu n jwxn@I Git bRhmu lukwxw ]  
ieik qpsI bn mih qpu krih inq qIrQ vsw ]

- Awpu n cInih qwmsI kwhy Bey audsw ]  
 ieik ibMdu jqn kir rwKdy sy jqI khwvih ]  
 ibnu gur sbd n CUthI BRim Awvih jwvih ]  
 ieik igrhI syvk swiDkw gurmql lwgy ]  
 nwmu dwnu iesnwnu idRVu hir Bgiq su jwgy ]  
 gur qy dru Gru jwxIAY so jwie is\wxY ]  
 nwnk nwmu n vIsrY swcy mnu mwnY ] (*Ibid*, p. 419)
10. Gwil Kwie ikCu hQhu dyie ] nwnk rwhu pCwxih syie ] (*Ibid*, p.1245)  
 ivic dunIAw syv kmweIAY ] qw drgh bYsxu pweIAY ]  
 khu nwnk bwh lufweIAY ] (*Ibid*, p.26)
  11. hku prwieAw nwnkw ausu sUAru aus gwie]  
 guru pIru hmwq qw Bry jw murdwru n Kwie ]  
 glI iBsiq n jweIAY CutY scu kmwie ] (*Ibid*, p.141)
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  13. *Ibid.P.34*
  14. joiq Ehw jugiq swie sih kwieAw Pyir pltIAY ] (*Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p.966)
  15. *Ibid*, p. 313.
  16. Fredric Pincott, *Sikhism*, A *Dictionary of Islam*, (ed.) Thomas Patrick Hughes, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1973.p 594.
  17. Arnold, Toynbee, *An Historian's Approach to Religion*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956. p.113.
  18. J.S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak in History*, Panjab University Press, Chandigarh, 1969. pp. 144-145.
  19. *Ibid.pp.144-145*
  20. *Ibid*, p. 286.
  21. jy jIvY piq IQI jwie] sBu hrwm jyqw ikCu Kwie] (*Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p.142)



## 31

## मौर्य सम्राट अशोक के वैवाहिक संबंध व उनका राजनीति पर प्रभाव

\*राजुल अग्रवाल

मौर्य युग में विवाह संस्था पूर्णतः सुसंगठित एवं शास्त्रों के नियमों पर आधारित थी। मौर्य साम्राज्य के संस्थापक चन्द्रगुप्त की कई पत्नियाँ थी, एक राजा नन्द की पुत्री, दूसरी दुर्धरा तथा तीसरी सिल्युकस के घराने की कन्या हेलना। चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के पुत्र बिन्दुसार की 16 पत्नियाँ व 101 पुत्र थे। अशोक की अनेकों रानियाँ थी। अशोक ने स्वयः अपने लेखों में अपने अनेकों अन्तःपुरों का उल्लेख किया है। बहुपत्नित्व के सम्बन्ध में भगवान बुद्ध का कथन था कि "चार पुत्रियों का विवाह एक ही वर के साथ करना योग्य है, यदि वह वर शीलवान, गुणवान व सदाचारी हो"<sup>1</sup> सिंहली अनुश्रुतियों तथा अशोक के अभिलेखों में अशोक की पाँच पत्नियों का उल्लेख मिलता है, जो इस प्रकार हैं।<sup>2</sup>

1 देवी (पहली स्त्री) 2 असन्धिमित्रा (पहली रानी) 3 कारुवाकी (दूसरी रानी) 4 पद्मावती 5 तिश्यरक्षिता

1-noh %&

सिंहली अनुश्रुतियों के अनुसार अशोक की पहली पत्नि का नाम देवी था, जिसका उल्लेख विदिशा नगरी के एक धनी श्रेष्ठी की पुत्री के रूप में किया गया है। महावोधिवंश में देवी को वेदिश महादेवी और शाक्यानी या शाक्य कुमारी कहाँ गया है। कहा जाता है कि कोसल प नरेश प्रसेनजित के पुत्र विडूडभ ने जब अपनी ननिहाल वालों को परेशान करना शुरू किया था, तब इन शाक्यों ने भय से अपना देश छोड़कर विदिशा में शरण ली थी। इस प्रकार

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अशोक की पहली पत्नी भगवान बुद्ध के कुल से संबंध रखती थी।<sup>3</sup> दीपवंश व महावंश में अशोक व देवी के विवाह का वर्णन इस प्रकार मिलता है कि जब अशोक राजपुत्र ही थे तब उनके पिता बिन्दुसार ने उनको उज्जैन नगरी का शासक बना दिया था। पाटलिपुत्र से उज्जैन जाते समय मार्ग में विदिशा नगरी में विश्राम किया जहाँ उनकी भेट देवी से हुई। देवी की सौम्यता, सुन्दरता व विद्वता को देखकर अशोक बहुत प्रसन्न हुए व अशोक को देवी से प्रेम हो गया। श्रेष्ठि ने देवी का विवाह अशोक के साथ कर गौरव का अनुभव किया।<sup>4</sup> देवी ने विदिशा नगरी में एक विहार बनवाया था सम्भवतः यह विहार साँची एवं भिलसा में बने बहुत से स्मारकों में पहला स्मारक है। विदिशा के समीप ही साँची का प्रसिद्ध स्तूप विद्यमान है। संभव है कि अशोक ने साँची में स्तूप का निर्माण और संघाराम की स्थापना देवी के जन्म स्थान के साथ ही अपनी मधुर स्मृतियों को सुरक्षित करने के लिए ही की हो।<sup>5</sup> अशोक अपने पिता बिन्दुसार की मृत्यु के बाद पाटलिपुत्र आकर सम्राट तो बन गये पर रानी देवी विदिशा से पाटलिपुत्र नहीं आयी और उन्होंने विदिशा में ही रहना पसन्द किया। एक साहुकार की पुत्री को रानी के पद पर देखकर अमात्य वर्ग निरर्थक की कुण्ठा न पाल ले, इस कारण से भी वह पाटलिपुत्र न आयी हो और अशोक भी देवी के पाटलिपुत्र आकर रहने के मामले में अर्थात् उसे राजमहिषी बनाने के मामले में उदासीन हो गये हो, कारण कुछ भी रहा हो पर रानी देवी एक धार्मिक स्वभाव की महिला थी जिन्होंने बौद्ध धर्म के प्रति अपना जीवन समर्पित करने के लिए सोचा हो और वहीं ठहरना पसन्द किया हो।<sup>6</sup>

## 2- वि वि/कफे=क %&

महावंश से अशोक की दूसरी रानी असन्धिमित्रा के विषय में जानकारी प्राप्त होती है कि यह अशोक की राजमहिषी थी तथा अशोक के अधिकांश शासनकाल में वह उनके साथ थी सम्राट अशोक को अपनी यह रानी बहुत प्रिय थी। महावंश में भी महारानी असन्धिमित्रा की काफी प्रशंसा की गई है।<sup>7</sup> महावंश से पता चलता है कि असन्धिमित्रा पूर्व जन्म में एक दासी थी जिसने यह सकल्प किया था कि उसका विवाह अगले जन्म में सम्राट अशोक के साथ हो व साथ ही वह एक रूपवान एवं हृष्ट पुष्ट महिला हो।<sup>8</sup> असन्धिमित्रा से हुए विवाह के संबंध में दो विचार उल्लेखनीय हैं। सर्वप्रथम तो यह कि क्या यह अशोक की सबसे पहली विवाहित पत्नी थी, दूसरा यह कि सम्राट अशोक ने देवी के रहते हुए भी असन्धिमित्रा से विवाह क्यों किया। इस विवाह के समपन्न होने में निम्न कारण हो सकते हैं। पहला तो यह कि अशोक के राजा बनने पर उनका विवाह विधिवत् असन्धिमित्रा से सम्पन्न हुआ था, यही कारण है कि वह उसकी पटरानी बनी। दूसरी मान्यता यह भी है कि उनकी पहली पत्नी देवी पाटलिपुत्र नहीं आयी थी तो अशोक ने प्रतिष्ठित राजवंश की राजकुमारी असन्धिमित्रा से विवाह किया व उसे अपनी पटरानी बना लिया हो। इस प्रकार असन्धिमित्रा अशोक की प्रिय पटरानी बनी।<sup>9</sup> महावंश से पता चलता है कि असन्धिमित्रा भी भगवान बुद्ध में परम श्रद्धा

रखती थी। कहा जाता है कि इनकी मृत्यु अशोक के शासनकाल के 30 वर्ष बाद हो गयी थी व अशोक अपनी प्रिय पत्नी के शोक से काफी पीड़ित हुए थे।<sup>10</sup>

### 3-i nekorh %&

दिव्यावदान में अशोक की तीसरी पत्नि पदमावती का उल्लेख मिलता है। बताया गया है कि सम्राट अशोक ने रानी पदमावती से उत्पन्न अपने पुत्र को धर्मविवर्धन नाम दिया था। अपने जन्म के समय शिशु की आँखें हिमालय के कुणाल पक्षी के समान सुन्दर थीं। अतः शिशु का नाम पक्षी के नाम पर कुणाल रखा गया। सम्राट अशोक अपने पुत्र कुणाल से बहुत प्रेम करते थे।<sup>11</sup> कहा जाता है कि रानी पदमावती ने कुणाल को उसी दिन जन्म दिया था जिस दिन अशोक के द्वारा निर्मित चौरासी हजार बौद्ध स्तूपों का निर्माण कार्य समाप्त हुआ था।<sup>12</sup> पदमावती एक सुन्दर कन्या थी व अशोक इस कन्या के रूप लावण्य को देखकर इतना प्रभावित हो गये कि उन्होंने पटरानी असन्धिमित्रा के रहते हुए भी पदमावती से विवाह कर लिया। रोमिला थापर का कहना है कि अशोक के द्वारा कुणाल को युवराज बनाने में यह स्पष्ट कल्पना की जाती है कि असन्धिमित्रा से अशोक को कोई संतान की प्राप्ति नहीं हुई थी अतः यही कारण था कि अशोक ने पदमावती से विवाह किया व उसके पुत्र कुणाल को अपना उत्तराधिकारी बनाया।<sup>13</sup>

### 4-dk: okdh %&

अभिलेखों में अशोक की एक मात्र पत्नी कारुवाकी का उल्लेख हुआ है, जो राजकुमार तीवर की माता थी। इस अभिलेख में रानी कारुवाकी के द्वारा दिये गये दान का हवाला मिलता है। अतः इस अभिलेख को रानी के अभिलेख के नाम से भी जाना जाता है। वास्तव में इस अभिलेख को सम्राट अशोक ने रानी कारुवाकी के दान का विवरण देने के लिए ही प्रयाग में उत्कीर्ण करवाया था। अभिलेख से पता चलता है कि अशोक ने अपने अमात्यों को आज्ञा दी थी कि द्वितीय देवी के दान जैसे आम्रवाटिका, विश्रामग्रह या दानग्रह अथवा जो भी हो द्वितीय देवी के नाम से अवश्य लिखे जाने चाहिए क्योंकि यह द्वितीय देवी अर्थात् कुमार तीवर की माँ कारुवाकी की ऐसी इच्छा है। अशोक के द्वारा इस शिलालेख को उत्कीर्ण कराने का एक यही उद्देश्य था कि यदि यह रानी कोई दान करें तो उसका यश उसे सुनिश्चित रूप से मिले। चूँकि कारुवाकी का साहित्य में कोई उल्लेख नहीं है परंतु अभिलेखों में इसका शानदार दान देने का विवरण ही इसकी ऐतिहासिकता को पूर्ण रूप से सिद्ध करता है।<sup>14</sup>

6-fr, ; jf{krk %-

महावंश में अशोक की एक अन्य चर्चित रानी तिश्यरक्षिता का उल्लेख हुआ है। बताया गया है कि महारानी असन्धिमित्रा की मृत्यु के चार वर्ष बाद सम्राट अशोक ने अपना विवाह कर इस दुष्ट हृदय तिश्यरक्षिता को महारानी बनाया।<sup>15</sup> दिव्यावदान के अनुसार वृद्धावस्था में अशोक का उज्जैन की एक सम्पन्न सेठ की तरुण व अति आकर्षक कन्या तिश्यरक्षिता से पाणिग्रहण हुआ। विवाह के समय सम्राट अशोक की आयु अधिक थी और वह अपनी पत्नि तिश्यरक्षिता को वृद्ध होने के कारण वैवाहिक सुख न दे सके। अतः तिश्यरक्षिता ने सोचा कि यह राजा मुझसे अधिक स्नेह इस बोधिवृक्ष से करता है अतः उसने उस महाबोधिवृक्ष को क्रोध से वशीभूत होकर मंडूकण्टकविधि से नष्ट कर डाला।<sup>16</sup>

तिश्यरक्षिता का महाबोधिवृक्ष के प्रति ईश्या व उसे नष्ट करने का प्रयत्न आदि सभी घटनाएँ साँची स्तूप के तोरणों में उभरी मूर्तियों में मिलती है।<sup>17</sup> पता चलता है कि तिश्यरक्षिता इस विवाह से अपनी कामेच्छाओं की पूर्ति नहीं कर पा रही थी ऐसी स्थिति में उसने अपना धैर्य, सयंम व विवेक को त्याग दिया व अपने सौतेले पुत्र कुणाल पर मोहित हो गयी। कुणाल पहले से ही विवाहित था तथा तक्षशिला में कुमारामात्य पद पर आसीन था। कुणाल के द्वारा रानी तिश्यरक्षिता के प्रेम-काम व्यवहार प्रस्ताव को टुकरा दिये जाने पर रानी ने कुणाल से प्रतिशोध लिया और एक षडयन्त्र के तहत कुणाल को अन्धा करवा दिया। अशोक द्वारा इस षडयन्त्र का पता चलने पर उसके क्रोध का ठिकाना न रहा। तिश्यरक्षिता एवं अन्य षडयन्त्रकारियों को जो इस कृत्य में शामिल थे, कठोर दण्ड दिये गये।<sup>18</sup> कहा जाता है कि जिस जगह कुणाल ने अपनी आँखें निकलवाई थी वहाँ पर अशोक ने एक विशाल स्तूप बनवाया तथा यह स्तूप अशोक के 9 शदी वाद भी उस समय तक विद्यमान था, जब चीनी यात्री हुएनसांग ने भारत भ्रमण के दौरान इस स्तूप को देखा था व स्तूप का जिक्र किया था।<sup>19</sup>

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अशोक के द्वारा किये गये इन विवाहों का राजनीति पर स्पष्ट प्रभाव देखा जा सकता है। एक ओर अशोक की रानियों (देवी, असन्धिमित्रा व कारुवाकी) ने बौद्ध धर्म के प्रति निष्ठा व्यक्त की व विदेशों तक बौद्ध धर्म को फैलाने में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अदा की जिसके फलस्वरूप अशोक के अन्य राज्यों से मैत्रीपूर्ण सम्बन्ध कायम हुए व यह देश कभी भी अशोक के राज्य पर आक्रमण न कर सके वहीं दूसरी ओर अशोक का वृद्धावस्था में रानी तिश्यरक्षिता से किया गया विवाह कोई उचित कदम नहीं था एक ओर जहाँ तिश्यरक्षिता ने बौद्ध धर्म का अपमान कर बोधिवृक्ष को नष्ट किया वहीं दूसरी तरफ अशोक के सबसे योग्य पुत्र कुणाल को षडयन्त्र के द्वारा अन्धा करवा दिया। चूँकि कुणाल अन्य राजकुमारों

में सर्वश्रेष्ठ था व मौर्य साम्राज्य को सम्भालने में पूर्ण रूप से सक्षम था अतः उसका अन्धा किया जाना मौर्य वंश की प्रगति पर ग्रहण लग जाने के सामान सिद्ध हुआ जिसके फलस्वरूप मौर्य वंश पतन के मार्ग पर अग्रसर हो गया।<sup>20</sup>

### I UnHKZ

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## मध्यकालीन सन्तों का हिन्दी साहित्य के क्षेत्र में योगदान

\*Mkw jktho fl g

जिस प्रकार हिन्दी साहित्य के इतिहास में भक्तिकाल का विशेष महत्व है ठीक वैसे ही भक्तिकाल में संत साहित्य का विशेष महत्व है। संतों की वाणी ने मध्य युग में सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र को एकता के सूत्र में बांधा तथा जन-जन में प्रेम का अलख जगाकर रूढ़ियों को ध्वस्त किया एवं विश्व मानवता के विकास का सहज मार्ग सुझाया। पीताम्बर दत्त बड़थवाल ने भी लिखा है कि, “संत साहित्य में कृत्रिमता नहीं वरन् सजीवता, सजगता, सरसता है। निर्गुण संत मानव जीवन से प्रेम नहीं करता वरन् प्राणी मात्र का प्रेमी है।”<sup>1</sup>

संतो ने समाज में व्याप्त व्यभिचार, मिथ्याचार, अंधविश्वास, जाति-पाति, बाह्य आडम्बर, मूर्ति-पूजा, विलासिता, आदि का खुलकर विरोध किया तथा समस्त जन मानस को कर्तव्य एवं अधिकार के प्रति सजग किया, गंगा प्रसाद गुप्त का मत है कि, “अपने-अपने युग की स्थितियाँ, संघर्ष एवं प्रवृत्तियाँ ही ऐसे अक्खड़ और साहसी व्यक्तियों का निर्माण कर सकती है।”<sup>2</sup> संतों ने काव्य का प्रचलित आदर्श नहीं ग्रहण किया। काव्य, काव्यशास्त्र, छंद, पिंगल आदि के नियमों का उन्होंने कोई अध्ययन नहीं किया अपितु उन्होंने काव्य और काव्यशास्त्र के आवश्यक तत्वों की निन्दा एवं आलोचना की तथा इस बात को प्रमाणित कर दिया कि काव्य शास्त्र के नियमों से अनभिज्ञ होने पर भी काव्य रचना की जा सकती है। सन्त कबीर का व्यक्तित्व अद्भुत था। उन्होंने युग समाज को बड़ी सूक्ष्मता से निरखा परखा था। वे न तो दार्शनिक थे और न ही कलाविद् अपितु वे जीवन काल से अभिज्ञ थे। संत

\*I gk; d i k/; ki d&fglñh N=l ky 'kkI dh; Lukrdk&rj egkfo | ky; ]i lluk] %e/; i ns k½

कबीर ने कथनी और करनी सामंजस्य पर बल देकर व्यवहार और सिद्धान्त को समभूमि पर एकस्थ करने में अपनी प्रतिभा का परिचय दिया। कबीर बचपन से ही चिन्तनशील थे, उनका अधिकांश जीवन संत, महात्माओं एवं महान पुरुषों के सत्संग में व्यतीत हुआ, भ्रमणशील होने के कारण कबीर को कई भाषाओं का ज्ञान प्राप्त था, इन्होंने जो सांस्कृतिक एकता का प्रयास किया वह बड़ा ही महत्वपूर्ण है। कबीर ने जनता में अध्यात्मिक चेतना को जागृत किया था। इन्होंने आध्यात्मिक रहस्यवाद में आत्मा को स्त्री रूप और परमात्मा को पुरुष रूप में मानकर दोनों का मिलन कराया। जब आत्मा परमात्मा से मिल जाती है, तब रहस्यवाद के आदर्श की पूर्ति हो जाती है, जब तक ईश्वर की प्राप्ति नहीं होती, तब तक आत्मा विरहणी के रूप में तड़पती है—

*gfj ejk i ho ešgfj dh cgfj; k  
jke cMš eš Nq/d ygfj; kA<sup>3</sup>*

इस प्रकार कबीर ने अनेक पदों की रचना कर ब्रह्म मिलन का सरलतम रूप जन साधारण की भाषा के माध्यम से जनता तक पहुँचाया। कबीर का मत था कि देशी भाषा जनता की भाषा है अतः वह सभी के लिए सुगम एवं सरल सिद्ध हो सकती है। संत कवि नानक के सबद और साखी रचना को ब्रह्म के प्रति वास्तविक प्रेम स्थापित करने में बाधक माना। उनके विचार से सबद और साखियों में अभिव्यक्त प्रेम वास्तविक नहीं है, वह केवल बाह्य दिखावा मात्र है।

*'kCn I k[kh I pkZ ugha i hfrA  
teij tkfga n[ka dh jhfr*

ठीक इसी प्रकार नानक ने पुस्तक ज्ञान, वेद आदि की निन्दा की इनकी दृष्टि में काव्य रचना का कोई महत्व नहीं है—

*on drø fru ekfgvk I s QIQ I q kkokfg ykbA  
ujd I qZ i RFkj fnl kšpgq xqk I gl k gkbAA  
i n g[ on i fBfrvk; fo. kq ukoš eβh jkbAA<sup>4</sup>*

संत कवि मलूकदास ने प्राकृतिक विषयों पर काव्य रचना को हेय माना, कवि के अनुसार यदि काव्य की रचना ही करनी है तो उस ब्रह्म की प्रशंसा व गुणगान में रचना चाहिये जिसके आधार पर संसार का अस्तित्व है,

*vne 0; fDr dk ftI dh dforkbz d: j  
; kn d: j ml dks ftu i šk ešs fd; k gš  
xhkZ ckl i kyk vkre ešufga tkyk  
frl dks eš fcl k: j rks eš fdI dh vkl ft; k gš<sup>5</sup>*

मलूक दास की दृष्टि में साहित्य सृजन ब्रम्ह का गुणगान मात्र है वही साहित्य अमूल्य साहित्य की कोटि में गिने जाने योग्य है।

रैदास की दृष्टि में कवि कुलीन और पंडितादि में अहमन्यता का उदय होने लगता है, ये सभी त्याज्य है। वास्तविक ज्ञान के अभाव में सत्य तत्व से व्यक्ति अपरिचित ही रह जाता है। कवि यदि स्वतः विकारों से ग्रस्त होगा तो वह दूसरों को प्रकाश क्या प्रदर्शित कर सकेगा।

*jke fcu l d ; xfb u NwA  
dke fdjksk ykkl enek; k bu i pu fefy ywAA  
ge cM+dfo dgyhu ge i fMr ge tksxh l U; kl hA  
Kku xqth l j ge nkrk ; kgq dgs efr ukl hAA  
i < \$ xqps dNq l ef > u i j bz tks ykS Hkko u nj l S  
ykgk fgju gkbz /kks dS s tks i kj l ufga i j l AA 6*

वस्तुतः सभी संत कवियों ने काव्य के महत्व को वहीं तक स्वीकार किया है, जहाँ तक वह ब्रम्ह के स्मरण में सहायक हो सके अन्यथा उसकी कोई उपयोगिता नहीं है। मलूक दास ने राम नाम को ही अपने काव्य में महत्ता प्रदान की—

*jke dgks jke dgks jke dgks ckcjA  
vol j u pids eksnj i k; ks Hkyk nkp jAA 7*

इस प्रकार जन्म मरण के बन्धनों से मुक्ति पाने का ज्ञान एवं विवेक हमको संत साहित्य में ही मिलता है। संतों की अधिकांश रचनाएं साखियों में हैं 'साखी' शब्द संस्कृत के साक्षी का तद्भव है जिसका अर्थ होता है— गवाह, साक्षी वह है जिसने स्वयं अपनी आँखों से तथ्य देखा हो। संत कबीर ने अपनी इन उक्तियों का शीर्षक साक्षी इसलिए दिया है क्योंकि उन्होंने इनमें वर्णित तथ्यों का स्वयं साक्षात्कार किया है। इस प्रकार स्वयंवेद्य, स्वानुभूत अध्यात्मिक तथ्यों अथवा ज्ञान का वर्णन जिसमें किया गया है, उसे 'साखी' कहते हैं। संत कबीर ने बीजक में एक स्थान पर साखी शब्द की ऐसी ही व्याख्या दी है:

*l k [kh vki kh Kku dh l ef > ngqeu ekllgA  
fcu l k [kh l d kj dk > xjk Nw/r ukfgA 8*

संत साहित्य में संतों के सबद अधिकतर राग—रागनियों में लिखे गये हैं यह राग रागनियां संख्या में बहुत अधिक हैं, संत अपने शब्दों में गेयता को विशेष महत्व देते थे। उससे उनके शब्द और भी लोकप्रिय हो गये हैं।

संत कबीर ने अपने साहित्य में रमैणियों का प्रयोग अधिक किया है। रमैनी रामणी शब्द का रूपान्तर है यह रामायण का अपभ्रंश रूप है। रमैनी लोकगीतों का एक काव्य प्रकार है। नाभादास ने हिन्दू मुसलमान सबमें ही इनका प्रचार कहा है उन्होंने लिखा है—

*fglnwr: d iæku jeʃh l cni] l k[kh<sup>9</sup>*

सभी संतों ने अपनी साधना का क्षेत्र समाज को ही माना, वह अपने आध्यात्मिक विकास के लिये जंगलों में नहीं जाते। संतों के साहित्य का लक्ष्य मनुष्यों की भावनाओं को परिष्कृत करना है। संतों ने मानव जाति को प्रेम और एकता के सूत्र में बंधे रहने के लिए एक ही मानव धर्म एवं एक ही निराकर ब्रम्ह की उपासना करने के उपदेश दिये। साम्प्रदायिक भावनाओं को समाप्त करने के लिये लंगर और संगति की प्रथा का प्रचलन किया उनका मानना था कि सभी मनुष्यों के आने और जाने का एक ही मार्ग है। संतों ने मनुष्यों की तुलना वृक्ष से की, जिस प्रकार एक वृक्ष एक ही बीज से अंकुरित होकर इस पृथ्वी के तल पर तना, शाखाएं, पत्ती और फूल फल आदि से शोभा पाता है, उसी प्रकार मानव की संस्कृति रूपी भूमि पर मानव धर्म रूपी वृक्ष शोभा पाता है। इस मानव धर्म रूपी वृक्ष के सभी सम्प्रदाय शाखाओं के रूप में अंग है। कबीर ने लिखा भी है —

*l id foj [k ; g txr mik; k] l ef> u ijsfo'ke rjh ek; k<sup>10</sup>*

संत कबीर ने जीव को पक्षियों की तरह माना और उन्होंने जीव को सदैव हरि तरुवर पर निवास करने का उपदेश दिया।

*rsrksvkfg vun l : ik] xq i Yyo foLrkj vuirkA  
l k[kk rr Fk d d q e fx; kawk Qy l ksvNk jke dk ukek  
l nk vpr pr tho i a[kh] gfj rjoj dfj okl  
>Bs tfr ftfu Hknyfl ft; j] dgu l qu dh vki<sup>11</sup>*

15वीं 16वीं शताब्दी में जितने भी संत हुए वे सभी निर्गुण ब्रम्ह के उपासक थे, इन्होंने मानव जाति, मानव समाज, मानव धर्म एवं मानव संस्कृति के विकास में अपना योगदान दिया, मानव समाज की दृष्टि से इन सभी संतों का भारतीय संस्कृति के अभ्युत्थान में महत्वपूर्ण योगदान है। धर्म के क्षेत्र में संतों ने अवतारवाद, बहुदेववाद, मूर्तिपूजा, हिंसा, धार्मिक पुस्तकों के ज्ञान, पंथवाद, तर्क और वाद-विवाद आदि का विरोध किया। धर्म के माध्यम से संतों ने अन्धविश्वास को दूर करने का प्रयास किया साथ ही हृदय की पवित्रता, सहजीकरण, सत्संग पर विशेष बल दिया। संतों ने हिन्दू धर्म के ठेकेदार पंडित, इस्लाम धर्म के ठेकेदार मुल्ला और मौलवी जो धर्म की आड़ में जनता से अपनी रोटियां कमा रहे थे उन सबकी पोल खोली। संतों ने जो निम्न जन्माजातियों के मनुष्यों पर जो उपकार किये उनको भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। इन्होंने निम्न जातियों को समाज के निचले धरातल से उठाकर मानव समान स्तर पर लाने का प्रयास किया। संतों ने मुसलमान और हिन्दू आदि सभी को

यह स्पष्ट कर दिया कि अपनी तपस्या और साधना से निम्न जातियों के मनुष्य उच्च जातियों के मनुष्य से बहुत आगे बढ़ सकते हैं। मानव मात्र में समानता का भाव जाग्रत करने के लिए नानक अंगद और अमरदास आदि संतों ने लंगर और संगति आदि की प्रथा का प्रचलन करके जाति-पाँति छुआ छूत, ऊँच नीच का भाव समाप्त किया। संतों की वाणियों का अध्ययन करने से प्रत्येक मानव के हृदय में पारस्परिक ऊँच नीच, छुआ-छूत एवं साम्प्रदायिक भावनाएं समाप्त होंगी। इससे मानव सामाज में सौहार्द बढ़ेगा। देश प्रेम व राष्ट्रीय एकता को बल मिलेगा और विश्वबन्धुत्व की भावना जाग्रत होगी।

। gk; d xfk

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5. मलूक दास की बानी – वेलविडियर प्रिंटिंग वर्क्स, इलाहाबाद-1955 प०31
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7. मलूक दास की बानी – वेलविडियर प्रिंटिंग वर्क्स, इलाहाबाद-1955 प० 21
8. कबीर बीजक हरक संस्करण – पृ० 124
9. भक्तमाल नवल किशोर प्रेस- लखनऊ पृ० 142
10. डॉ० श्याम सुन्दर दास – कबीर ग्रंथावली – नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा काशी –1928 पृ० 225
11. डॉ० श्याम सुन्दर दास – कबीर ग्रंथावली – नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा काशी – 1928 पृ० 22



## ब्रिटिश राजस्व व्यवस्था में भौम की भूमिका ( ब्रिटिश शासित प्रांत अजमेर के संदर्भ )

\*डॉ. लता अग्रवाल

मुगलों के अधीन अजमेर सम्पूर्ण राजपूताना प्रान्त या सूबे का सदर मुकाम था। 26 जुलाई 1818 ई. को अजमेर को मराठा सरदार दौलतराव सिंधिया ने अंग्रेज अधिकारी-कैवन्डिश को सौंप दिया। उन दिनों अजमेर आठ परगनों में विभाजित था, जिसके अन्तर्गत 534 गाँव थे और 39 लाख बीघा (पक्कभ) भूमि थी। लगभग सभी जमींदार राठौड़ थे, केवल कुछ ही जमींदार पठान, जाट, मेर और चीता थे। मेर और चीता जिले के एक छोर पर रहते थे।<sup>1</sup>

**अजमेर मे राजस्व प्रशासन हेतु ब्रिटिश अधिकारियों ने नई प्रकिया स्थापित की-**

अजमेर की भूमि सामान्यतः दो भागों में विभक्त थी- तालुकदारी और खालसा। तालुकदारी भूमि वह थी जो अधिकांशतः जागीरदारों के पास ठिकानों के रूप में थी। इन ठिकानों के अधिपति यद्यपि आरम्भ में अपने राजाओं व सरदारों की सैनिक सेवा के लिए बाध्य थे तथापि कालांतर में इस प्रथा का स्थान इस्तमरारदारी प्रथा ने ले लिया था।<sup>2</sup> राजपूताना की भूमि-व्यवस्था में 'भौम भोग' एक अनोखी और विशिष्ट प्रथा थी। 'भौम' का अर्थ है भूमि और इसका स्वामित्व धारण करने वाले को 'भौमिया' कहा जाता था जो सामंती सरदार तथा खालसा भूमि के किसान से बिल्कुल भिन्न था।<sup>3</sup> भौमिया सामंती पुलिस-व्यवस्था और स्थानीय अनियमित सैनिकों के तौर पर कुछ सेवाएं प्रदान किया करते थे। वे गाँव की फसल और मवेशियों की लुटेरों से रक्षा करने के लिए कर्तव्यबद्ध थे।<sup>4</sup> उनके गाँव तक ही सीमित थीं। इन्हें क्षेत्र में उत्पात दबाने के लिए सूबेदार की सहायता करनी पड़ती थी, परंतु उन्हें अपनी सीमा से बाहर जाने के लिए बाध्य नहीं किया जा सकता था। ये लोग अपने-अपने गाँवों की सुरक्षा एवं शांति का भार वहन करते आए थे और यदि वे अपने क्षेत्र में से चोरी

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\*व्याख्याता इतिहास, शैक्षिकी महाविद्यालय अजमेर राजस्थान

गए माल की बरामदगी मे असफल रहते या अपराधियों को पकड़ नहीं पाते तो उन्हें चोरी की कीमत जमा करानी होती थी।<sup>5</sup> यही प्रथा सोलहवीं सदी में शेरशाह सूरी ने भी अपनाई थी। भौम का भूभाग इतना प्रतिष्ठित होता था कि बड़े से बड़ा ठाकुर भी अपने अधीनस्थ गाँवों में इसकी प्राप्ति के लिए उत्कण्ठित रहा करते थे। 'भौम' ही एकमात्र ऐसा भूभाग था राजा जिसका पुनर्ग्रहण नहीं कर सकता था और यह भाग सहर माने से पूर्णतः वंशपरम्परागत था। यद्यपि यह भूमि भी कई व्यक्तियों में बँटती चली जाती थी तथापि इसकी अनुमति राज्य से प्राप्त करनी पड़ती थी। अंग्रेज अधिकारियों ने भौमियों को चौकीदार मात्र माना था।<sup>6</sup> भौमिया सामान्यतः अपनी गद्दी में रहा करता था और गाँव में उसके रहन-सहन का स्तर अच्छा हुआ करता था। उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति अच्छी नहीं होने पर भी उसके वंश और रक्त की पवित्रता उज्ज्वल मानी जाती थी। पड़ोसी रियासतों के ठाकुरों जैसी ही उसकी सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा और प्रभाव होता था।<sup>7</sup>

### अंग्रेजों के शासनकाल में अजमेर-मेरवाड़ा के भौमियों का उत्तरदायित्व

अपने क्षेत्र में से गुजरने वाले यात्रियों की सुरक्षा का भार इन पर होता था। अपने क्षेत्र में होने वाली डकैती के लिए वे जिम्मेदार माने जाते थे। वे लोग अपनी 'भौम-भूमि' का विक्रय नहीं कर सकते थे। इसकी भूमि करों से मुक्त होती थी। इनसे किसी तरह की पुलिस सेवा नहीं ली जाती थी। उनके आंतरिक मामलों में हस्तक्षेप अवांछनीय था। भौमिया अपने परिवार में विवाह, मरण अथवा अचानक ऐसा ही कोई अवसर उपस्थित होने पर इस अतिरिक्त व्यय के वहन-हेतु एक अलग उपकर लागू कर सकता था।<sup>8</sup>

### अजमेर जिले में भूमि पाँच तरह की थी<sup>9</sup>—

1. "मुंडकटी" अर्थात् पूर्वजों के युद्ध में मर जाने के कारण राजा द्वारा प्रदत्त।
2. आंतरिक शांति अथवा जनता के जान-माल की सुरक्षा के प्रयत्नों से प्रसंस होकर प्रदान की गई।
3. राज्य द्वारा युद्ध में शौर्य दिखाने पर प्रदान की गई "भौम"।
4. राज्य द्वारा सीमा सुरक्षा-हेतु प्रदान की गई "भौम"।
5. गाँवों में गश्त और निगरानी के लिए आमजनों द्वारा प्रदत्त "भौम"।

अजमेर में लगभग सभी भौम संपत्ति उपरोक्त चौथी और पाँचवीं श्रेणी की थी। जो लगभग एक दूसरे के समान थीं। केवल दो भौम संपत्तियां तीसरी श्रेणी की थीं। यहां की सभी 'भौम' संपत्तियां चाहे उनके मूल उद्गम का स्वरूप कैसा भी क्यों न रहा हो चोरी व डकैती का पता नहीं लगा पाने पर क्षति-पूर्ति के लिए जिम्मेदार थी। पाँचवीं श्रेणी के भौमिया, जिन्हें गाँव के लोगों ने गश्त एवं निगरानी के लिए भौम प्रदान की थी, उसका उपभोग राज्य की स्वीकृति से करता था। क्योंकि 'भौम' पर राज्य का स्वामित्व होता था न कि गाँव का राज्य इसे उस व्यक्ति को ट्रस्ट के रूप में प्रदान करता था। इस "ट्रस्ट" के साथ अगर कोई शर्त जुड़ी होती थी तब उस शर्त के भंग होने पर राज्य उस भौम को

पुनर्ग्रहित कर सकता था। राज्य द्वारा सीमा क्षेत्रों की रक्षा के लिए प्रदत्त "भौम" भी सशर्त होती थी, परन्तु इस तरह का भूभाग केवल विश्वासपात्र और प्रतिष्ठित परिवार को ही प्रदान किया जाता था। 1818 ई. में जब यह जिला अंग्रेजों को हस्तांतरित हुआ तब भौमिया प्रति दूसरे वर्ष " भौमबाब" चुका रहे थे। हस्तांतरण के ठीक पूर्व जो राशि इस कर की मद में प्राप्त हुई थी उसे आधार मानकर बिल्डर ने 8,408 रूपए 12 आने 9 पाई इस कर से राज्य की आया निर्धारित कर दी थी। यह राशि प्रति दूसरे वर्ष 1842 ई. तक वसूल होती रही। सन् 1842 में 'पटेलबाब' और 'फौजखर्च' के साथ इसे भी समाप्त कर दिया गया था।

1859 ई. तक भौमिया गाँव वालों से कई तरह के उपकर वसूल करते थे। ये उपकर जिन्हें 'लाग' कहा जाता था सामाजिक जीवन के हर पहलू और प्रकिया पर लगते थे। प्रत्येक खेत से वे अन्न के 70 पूले लेते थे तथा कुछ गाँवों से केवल प्रति खेत मुट्ठी भर अन्न ही वसूल किया जाता था। कर्नल डिकसन ने यह सुझाव दिया था कि 'भौमबाब' के समाप्त हो जाने के कारण इससे संबंधित सभी 'लागें' भौमियों द्वारा ग्रामवासियों से वसूल करना भी समाप्त हो जानी चाहिए तथा विवाह के अवसर पर काँसा भोजना गाँव वालों की इच्छा पर छोड़ देना चाहिए। सरकार ने कर्नल डिकसन से पूर्ण सहमति प्रकट करते हुए सन् 1854 में उन्हें अपने प्रस्तावों को व्यावहारिक रूप देने का आदेश दिया था। 1818 ई. में कुल 108 भौम थे।

#### भौम-भूसंपत्तियों की संख्या गाँवों की संख्या<sup>10</sup>

राठौड़ 82 78, गौड़ 9 8, कछवाहा 6 5, सिसोदिया 1 1, पठान 9 9, सय्यद 11  
केवेंडिश के समय में, केवल 6 गाँवों के भौमिया ही सनदें प्रस्तुत कर पाए थे, शेष का कहना था कि मराठों के कुशासन और अराजकता के काल में उनकी सनदें या तो नष्ट हो गई थी अथवा खो गई थीं। ख्वाजापुर की सनद जफरखां को सन् 1740 में गोविन्दराव ने प्रदान की थी जिसके अनुसार जफरखां पर अजमेर से राजोरिया तक की सड़क की सुरक्षा का भार था। इसी प्रकार दौलतराव व सिंधिया द्वारा अर्जुनपुरा के भौम की सनद ठाकुर धनसिंह को प्रदान की गई थी।<sup>11</sup> बड़गाँव के लिए महाराजा सिंधिया की सनद थी, जिसमें यह घोषित किया गया था कि यहाँ की जमींदारी पुराने से ही जफरखां के यहाँ चली आ रही है और श्रमलों को निर्देश दिए गए थे कि उसके वंशधरों को परम्परागत भौम के सभी हकों और हकूकों का उपभोग करने दिया जाए।<sup>12</sup> केकड़ी के भौमिया को दिल्ली के मुगल सम्राट् फरूखसय्यद ने अपने शासन के चौथे वर्ष में सनद प्रदान की थी जिसमें परगना केकड़ी के सभी कानूनगों और चौधरियों को आगाह किया गया था कि 1000 बीघा जमीन, एक बाग और एक रहने का मकान राजसिंह राठौड़ को प्रदान किए गए थे।<sup>13</sup>

नांद भौम के लिए महाराजा अभयसिंह द्वारा, हिन्दूसिंह, हिम्मतसिंह एवं बखतसिंह के नाम सनद थी जिसमें लिखा था कि उक्त व्यक्तियों ने गुजरात में सर-बुलंदखां के साथ लड़ाई में बहादुरी दिखाने और कुवैर दुल्लेसिंह का युद्ध में मारे जाने पर 1331 बीघा जमीन प्रदान की गई। केवल उपयुक्त दस्तावेज ही भौमियां अपने प्रमाण में प्रस्तुत कर सके थे।

नांद के भौमियों द्वारा प्रस्तुत सनद वास्तविक थी, परन्तु इसमें भी यह नहीं लिखा था कि यह भेंट सशर्त है और यह उल्लेख भी नहीं था कि यह भौम सेवा के उपलक्ष्य में है। जूनिया के ठाकुर ने केवेंडिश के समक्ष यह कहा था कि सम्पूर्ण केकड़ी का कस्बा मुगल सम्राट औरंगजेब ने किशनसिंह की शानदार सेवाओं के उपलक्ष्य में उन्हें जागीर में प्रदान किया था। उसके ठिकाने में चौकीदारों की व्यवस्था थी और वह किसी भी तरह की आर्थिक क्षति के लिए अपने को जिम्मेदार नहीं मानते थे।<sup>14</sup> 108 भौम में प्रत्येक भौम के अन्तर्गत औसत भूमि 464 बीघा थी, परन्तु इन भौम में 2102 हिस्से थे, इस तरह प्रत्येक भौम में औसतन बीस भागीदार थे जिनमें प्रत्येक के हिस्से में औसतन 26 बीघा 14 बीघा भूमि आती थी। पुराने बंदोबस्त की शर्तों के अन्तर्गत इनका कराधान किया जा चुका था और इनमें से प्रत्येक को 17 रूपए 8 आने राजा को देना पड़ता था।<sup>15</sup>

1843 ई. में ब्रिटिश सरकार ने यह आदेश जारी किए कि कोई भी भौमियां अपनी भूसंपत्ति को न तो विक्रय ही कर सकता है और न उसे बंधक ही रख सकता था। इस आदेश का पालन नहीं करने वालों के लिए दंड का प्रावधान रखा गया था। महाजनों को यह आदेश दिया गया था कि वे भौम संपत्ति को बंधक नहीं रख सकते हैं। सरकार ने यह नियम बना दिया था कि यदि किसी गाँव की सीमा में कोई अपराध घटित होगा तो उसकी क्षतिपूर्ति भौम से होगी और इस बारे में किसी भी तरह का बहाना स्वीकार नहीं किया जाएगा। सभी भौमियों को व भौम संपत्ति को बंधक के रूप में स्वीकार करने वालों को उक्त आदेश से अवगत करा दिया गया था। इस आदेश के बावजूद भी भौमियां अपनी जमीनें बंधक रखते रहे, फलस्वरूप सन् 1849 में कर्नल डिव्सन को इस प्रकिया के विरुद्ध कड़ी आज्ञा जारी करनी पड़ी। सरकार ने इनको दिए गए शर्तनामों में यह लिख दिया था कि वे अपनी भौम का विक्रय नहीं करेंगे और न उसे बंधक ही रख सकेंगे।<sup>16</sup>

अजमेर के डिप्टी कमिश्नर मेजर रिपटन की अध्यक्षता में 27 जनवरी, 1873 ई. में एक समिति गठित की थी। यह समिति इस निर्णय पर पहुँची कि भौमियां को (प्रदत्ते) सेवाएं निर्धारित की गईं—

1. भौमियों द्वारा गाँवों की सुरक्षा का कार्य तथा उनके द्वारा चारों ओर डकैती की क्षतिपूर्ति की जिम्मेदारी समाप्त कर दी जाए।
2. गाँवों में दंगों की स्थिति शांत करने तथा चोरों और डाकुओं का पीछा करने में उनका उपयोग किया जाना चाहिए।
3. प्रत्येक भौमियों को सम्राट के जन्म दिवस पर डिप्टी कमिश्नर के कार्यालय में उपस्थित होकर नजराना भेंट करना होगा।
4. नजराना की राशि पुराने 'भौमबाब' कर की राशि 4100 रूपए वार्षिक के आधार पर निश्चित की जानी चाहिए और यह भौग की सभी जोतों में उचित रूप से मौजूदा पैमाइश के आधार पर विभाजित की जानी चाहिए।

5. उपर्युक्त शर्तों का उल्लेख करते हुए प्रत्येक भौमिये को सनदें प्रदान की जाए।

इस प्रकार सन् 1875 में सरकार ने भौमियों को सनदें प्रदान कीं जिनमें उनके भावी भू-भाग की शर्त निहित थीं। उसके बाद उनमें किसी तरह का परिवर्तन नहीं किया गया। अंग्रेज सरकार ने भौमियों को उनकी अधिकांशतः पुरानी जिम्मेदारी से मुक्त कर दिया था परन्तु उनके विशेषाधिकार कायम रहने दिए थे।<sup>17</sup>

1. नHKZ

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विश्व की तमाम प्राचीन सभ्यताओं का विकास नदियों के किनारे हुआ इसके साक्ष्य हमें प्राचीन सभ्यताओं के खुदाई अवशेषों से प्राप्त होते हैं। चाहे वह मिश्र की सभ्यता हो, रोम की सभ्यता हो, हड़प्पा की हो या मोहनजोदड़ो की सभ्यता हो। ये सभी मानव सभ्यताएँ नदियों के किनारे ही स्थित थी एवं नदियों के किनारे स्थापित होकर ही विकसित भी हुई।<sup>1</sup> मध्य युग के मानव ने अपने समय में जल को सहेजने एवं संवारने की ऐसी युक्तियाँ खोज ली थी जो अल्प वर्षा के पश्चात् भी उसे जल संकट से ग्रस्त नहीं होने देती थी। प्राचीन भारत में उत्कृष्ट जलीय निर्माणों के साथ-साथ जल संग्रहण ढाँचे भी पाए जाते थे।<sup>2</sup> लोगों को वर्षा पद्धति और मृदा के गुणों के बारे में गहरा ज्ञान था। उन्होंने स्थानीय पारिस्थितिकीय परिस्थितियों और उनकी जल आवश्यकतानुसार वर्षा जल, भौमजल नदी जल और बाढ़ जल संग्रहण के अनेक तरीके विकसित कर लिये थे।<sup>3</sup> पहाड़ी और पर्वतीय क्षेत्रों में लोगों ने 'गुल' अथवा 'कुल' (पश्चिमी हिमालय) जैसी वाहिकाएँ, नदी की धारा का रास्ता बदलकर खेतों में सिंचाई के लिए बनाई थी।<sup>4</sup> पश्चिमी भारत, विशेषकर राजस्थान में पीने का जल एकत्रित करने के लिए छत वर्षा जल संग्रहण का तरीका आम था। राजस्थान के अर्ध शुष्क और शुष्क क्षेत्रों विशेषकर बीकानेर, फलोदी और बाड़मेर में लगभग हर घर में पीने का पानी संग्रहित करने के लिए भूमिगत टैंक अथवा (टॉका) हुआ करते थे। इनका आकार एक बड़े कमरे जितना हुआ करता था। फलोदी के एक घर में 6.1 मीटर गहरा, (4.27) मीटर लंबा और (2.44) मीटर चौड़ा टॉका था।<sup>5</sup> टॉका प्राचीन राजस्थान मुख्य रूप से मरूस्थलीय राजस्थान का सुविकसित छत वर्षाजल संग्रहण तंत्र का अभिन्न हिस्सा होता था, जिसे मुख्य घर के आँगन में बनाया जाता था। वे घरों की ढलवाँ छतों से पाइप द्वारा जुड़े हुए थे। छत से वर्षा का पानी इन नलों से होकर भूमिगत टॉका तक पहुँचता था जहाँ इसे एकत्रित किया जाता था। वर्षा का पहला जल छत और नलों को साफ करने में प्रयोग होता था और उसे संग्रहित नहीं किया जाता था। इसके बाद होने वाली वर्षा का जल संग्रह

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किया जाता था। टाँका में वर्षा जल अगली वर्षा ऋतु तक सुरक्षित एवं स्वच्छ रूप से संग्रहित रहता था। टाँका का जल ग्रीष्म ऋतु जिसमें जल की कमी पड़ जाती है किन्तु यह जल की कमी वाली ग्रीष्म ऋतु तक पीने का जल उपलब्ध करवाता था। वर्षा जल अथवा 'पालर पानी' जैसा कि इन्हें इन क्षेत्रों में पुकारा जाता था, प्राकृतिक जल का शुद्धतम रूप समझा जाता था।<sup>6</sup> कुछ घरों में तो टाँकों के साथ भूमिगत कमरे भी बनाये जाते थे क्योंकि जल का यह स्रोत इन कमरों को भी ठंडा रखता था, जिससे ग्रीष्म ऋतु में गर्मी से राहत मिलती थी

आज भी भारत के कई ग्रामीण और शहरी क्षेत्रों में जल संरक्षण और संग्रहण का यह तरीका प्रयोग में लाया जा रहा है। कर्नाटक के मैसूर जिले में स्थित एक सुदूर गाँव गंडाथूर में ग्रामीणों ने अपने घर में जल आवश्यकता पूर्ति छत वर्षाजल संग्रहण की व्यवस्था की हुई है। गाँव के लगभग 200 घरों में यह व्यवस्था है और इस गाँव ने वर्षा जल संपन्न गाँव की ख्याति अर्जित की है। इस गाँव में हर वर्ष लगभग 1000 मिलीलीटर वर्षा होती है और 10 भराई के साथ यहाँ संग्रहण दक्षता 80 प्रतिशत है। यहाँ हर घर लगभग प्रत्येक वर्ष 50000 लीटर जल का संग्रह और उपयोग कर सकता है। 20 घरों द्वारा हर वर्ष लगभग 1000000 लीटर जल एकत्रित किया जाता है।<sup>7</sup> राजस्थान की ही तरह अलग-अलग प्रान्तों में जल संग्रहण की भिन्न-भिन्न प्रणालियाँ प्रचलित थी। पश्चिम बंगाल में बाढ़ के मैदान में लोग अपने खेतों में सिंचाई के लिए बाढ़ जल वाहिकाएँ बनाते थे। शुष्क और अर्धशुष्क क्षेत्रों में खेतों में वर्षा जल एकत्रित करने के लिये गड्ढे बनाए जाते थे ताकि मृदा को सिंचित किया जा सके और संरक्षित जल को खेती के लिये उपयोग में लाया जा सके।<sup>8</sup> राजस्थान के जैसलमेर जिले में 'खादीन' और अन्य क्षेत्रों में 'जोहड़' इसके उदाहरण हैं।<sup>9</sup> मेघालय में नदियों व झरनों के जल को बाँस के बने पाइप द्वारा एकत्रित करके सिंचाई करने की प्रणाली प्रचलित थी। लगभग 18 से 20 लीटर सिंचाई पानी बाँस पाइप में आ जाता है तथा उसे सैंकड़ों मीटर की दूरी तक ले जाया जाता था। अंत में पानी का बहाव 20 से 80 बूँद प्रति मिनट तक घटाकर पौधे पर छोड़ दिया जाता था। इस प्रकार यह बाँस ट्रिप सिंचाई प्रणाली मेघालय में लंबे समय से प्रचलित रही है।<sup>10</sup>

इसी तरह ईसा से एक शताब्दी पहले इलाहाबाद के नजदीक श्रिंगवेरा में गंगा नदी की बाढ़ के जल को संरक्षित करने के लिये एक उत्कृष्ट जल संग्रहण तंत्र बनाया गया था। चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य के समय वृहत स्तर पर बाँध, झील और सिंचाई तंत्रों का निर्माण करवाया गया। इसी प्रकार कलिंग (उड़ीसा), नागार्जुन कोंडा (आंध्रप्रदेश), बेन्नूर (कर्नाटक) और कोल्हापुर (महाराष्ट्र) में उत्कृष्ट सिंचाई तंत्र होने के सबूत मिलते हैं। अपने समय की सबसे बड़ी कृत्रिम झीलों में से एक भोपाल झील 11वीं शताब्दी में बनाई गई। 14वीं शताब्दी में इल्तुतमिश ने दिल्ली के सिटी फोर्ट क्षेत्र में जल की सप्लाई के लिये हौज खास (एक विशिष्ट तालाब) बनवाया।<sup>11</sup> उदयपुर के महाराजाओं ने भी कई तालाबों एवं झीलों का निर्माण पेयजल एवं कृषि हेतु अपने शासनकाल में करवाया जिनमें मुख्य रूप से महाराणा प्रताप के पिता उदयसिंहजी जिन्होंने उदयपुर शहर की स्थापना की उन्होंने प्रजा हेतु उदय

सागर, इन्हीं के वंशज भोपालसिंहजी ने भोपाल सागर एवं फतेहसिंहजी ने फतेहसागर तालाबों व झीलों को निर्मित करवाया।<sup>12</sup> इसी तरह मध्य युगीन छोटी-छोटी रियासतों एवं रजवाड़ों के राजाओं द्वारा अपने-अपने शासन काल के दौरान तालाब, बावड़ी एवं छोटे-छोटे जलाशय अपनी रियासतों में खुदवाते थे। इसका सुफल तालाब एवं बावड़ियों के निर्माण के रूप में प्राप्त होता था।

जल के संरक्षण और प्रबंधन हेतु प्राचीन काल से सिंचाई के लिये पत्थरों और मलबे से बाँध, जलाशय अथवा झीलों के तटबंध और नहरों जैसी उत्कृष्ट जलीय कृतियाँ बनाई थी। हम यदि इन मध्ययुगीन जल स्रोतों एवं तरीकों को वर्तमान समय में प्रयोग करने में सफल होते हैं तो भावी जल संकट से निजात पा सकते हैं। इसी संदर्भ में हमें इज़राइल जैसे देश से भी प्रेरणा लेनी चाहिये जहाँ 25 सेमी. औसत वार्षिक वर्षा वाले इस देश में जल का कोई अभाव नहीं है, दूसरी ओर 114 सेमी. औसत वार्षिक वर्षा वाले हमारे देश में प्रति वर्ष किसी न किसी भाग में सूखा अवश्य पड़ता है।<sup>13</sup> देश में जल की उपलब्धता और उसके स्वरूप के अनुसार समुचित जल प्रबंधन न होने के कारण ही वर्षा का जल नदी नालों में तेजी से बहकर समुद्र में चला जाता है जिससे वर्षा के बाद के लगभग 9 महीने देश के लिये पानी की कमी के होते हैं। इस संदर्भ में तमिलनाडु राज्य हम सभी के लिये एक आदर्श उदाहरण हो सकता है जहाँ पूरे राज्य में हर घर में छत वर्षा जल संग्रहण ढाँचों का बनाना आवश्यक कर दिया गया है।<sup>14</sup> तमिलनाडु देश का एकमात्र ऐसा राज्य है जिसने जल संग्रहण की इस प्राचीन प्रणाली को पूरे राज्य में लागू किया है।

आजादी के बाद हमारे प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री ने इसी परिपाटी को बड़े बाँध निर्मित करके जारी रखा था और उनके कार्यकाल में अधिकतर नदियों के बेसिनों में बाँध बनाए गए। नेहरूजी का मानना था कि इन परियोजनाओं के चलते कृषि और ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था, औद्योगिकरण और नगरीय अर्थव्यवस्था समन्वित रूप से विकास करेगी, तभी तो बाँधों को नेहरू जी भारत के आधुनिक मंदिर कहा करते थे। इन मेगा परियोजनाओं के साथ यदि हम मध्ययुगीन जल प्रबंधन की प्रणालियों को जीवित रखते हुए अपनाने में कामयाब रहे तो इस मिथक को तोड़ने में अवश्य सफल होंगे जिसमें कहा जा रहा है कि सन् 2025 तक भारत का एक बड़ा हिस्सा जल की नितान्त कमी महसूस करते हुए जल ग्रह युद्ध से ग्रसित हो जायेगा।

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भारत के मध्य भाग में स्थित बघेलखंड उच्च पर्वत मालाओं की सीमा से सुरक्षित है। यहाँ की साहित्यिक परंपरा की प्रस्थान जनिक का आल्हाखंड तथा बांधवेश कर्णदेव के शासन काल में लिखा गया ज्योतिष ग्रंथ, सारावली को माना गया है। सोलहवीं शताब्दी में महाराज वीरदेव, रामचंद्र और वीरभद्र के काल में पुनः साहित्य सृजन को गति मिली पर ये नरेश कवि न होते हुए भी इनका साहित्य के प्रति प्रेम बघेलखंड, के साहित्य का मील का पत्थर है।<sup>1</sup> इस काल में लोकव्यापी सगुण और निर्गुण भक्ति धाराओं से युक्त बघेलखंड के साहित्य की झलक दृष्टिगत होती है। बघेलखंड के विश्वनाथ सिंह और रघुराज सिंह जो 19 वीं शताब्दी के अग्रणी साहित्य सृजन धर्मी कहे जाते हैं। इनका हिंदी और संस्कृत में समान अधिकार था। उनकी श्रेष्ठ कृति आनंद रघुनंदन को हिंदी का प्रथम नाटक माना गया है। इस प्रकार हिंदी के प्रथम नाटक का श्रेय बघेलखंड को प्राप्त है। उनकी रचनाएँ हैं—परमत्व, आनंद, रघुनंदन, संगीत रघुनंदन, गीत रघुनंदन, व्यंग प्रकाश, विश्वनाथ प्रकाश, अहिक यष्टयाम, धर्मशास्त्र त्रिशंत श्लोकी, परमधर्म निर्णय, पाखंड मंडिनी कवि, शस्त्र शतक, ध्रुवाष्टक, अयोध्या, अवध नगर का वर्णन, फुटकर भजन, संस्कृत में लिखी गयी रचनाएँ तत्वमस्यर्थ सिद्धांत भाष्य, रामगीता की टीका, सर्व सिद्धांत का टीका, राम रहस्य का टीका, राम मंत्रार्थ की टीका, सुमार्ग स्त्रोत, वैष्णव सिद्धांत, धनुर्विद्या, राम सागराहिक, संगोत रघुनंदन, मुक्ति—मुक्ति रूदानंद संबोध, राम चंद्राहिक, दीक्षा निर्णय, सुमार्ग की टीका ज्योत्स्ना, राम परत्व, वासुदेव सहस्त्रनाम मुक्ति प्रभा। इस प्रकार महाराज रघुनाथ सिंह के रचनाधर्मिता विरासत से मिली उनकी निम्न रचनाएँ हैं—आनंदामबुनिधि, रूक्मिणी परिणय, भ्रमर गीत, हनुमान चरित्र, रघुपति शतक, परम प्रबोध, शंभू शतक, जगन्नाथ शतक, रघुराज मंगल,

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व्यगार्थ, चंद्रिका, विनय प्रकाश, भक्तमाल, भक्ति विलास, विनय पत्रिका, गद्य शतक, राम स्वयंवर, राम रंजन, जगदीश शतक, नर्मदाश्टक, सुधर्मा विलास, राष्टायम। मधुर रचना युगल विनोद लोक मानस की धरोहर है। बघेलखंड के साहित्य परंपरा ने तत्कालीन सामाजिक, राजनैतिक और सांस्कृतिक पृष्ठभूमि से रस ग्रहण किया है। इसका प्रमाण डॉ. गोपाल शरण सिंह का कृतित्व है। उन्होंने ऐसी कविताएँ लिखी जो उन्हीं के विरुद्ध चली गयी। उन्होंने अपनी कविताओं के केंद्र में गरीब, मजदूर, शोषित और पीड़ितों को रखा है। बघेलखंड के माधवगढ़ (सतना) के हरशरण शर्मा, शिवा राधिका राधिकेश के पुत्र अंबिका प्रसाद, अंबिकेश, अंबिका प्रसाद दिव्य की साहित्य साधना बघेलखंड साहित्य अक्षुण्ण धरोहर है।<sup>1</sup> संत कबीर, तुलसीदास, रविदास, धर्मदास, सेन, प्राणनाथ इत्यादि लोगों का यह कार्य क्षेत्र रहा है। इन सभी संतों के स्थान शिष्य परंपरा साहित्य और विचार आज भी इस क्षेत्र में बड़ी जीवंतता के साथ विद्यमान हैं। चित्रकूट और दण्डकारण्य वैष्णव संस्कृति की याद दिला रहा है। देउर कोठार के बौद्धकालीन शैलचित्र एवं बिहार तथा भरहुत क्षेत्र के बिहार बौद्ध मत के साक्षी हैं। कबीर मत को बांधवगढ़, अमरकंटक और रीवा की गद्दियाँ (स्थान) तथा प्राणनाथ का पन्ना स्थित मंदिर और गंगेव रीवा तथा अन्य मंदिर आज भी क्रियाशील हैं।<sup>2</sup> महात्मा बुद्ध के पश्चात् इस देश में यदि कोई महान् तेजस्वी महापुरुष पैदा हुआ है तो वह युगपुरुष कबीर हैं। बुद्ध के जन्म के लगभग दो हजार वर्ष बाद कबीर ने ही जनसामान्य को आंदोलित किया। उनके विचारों को लोगों ने बड़े पैमाने पर ग्रहण किया। बांधवगढ़ के तत्कालीन नरेश श्री वीर सिंह जू देव पर कबीर का अत्यधिक प्रभाव पड़ा और वे उनके शिष्य हो गये। महाराजा वीरसिंह बघेल ने ही काशी में कबीर चौरा का निर्माण कराया है, जिसका विवरण यहाँ एक शिला पर उत्कीर्ण है। वीर सिंह जी के पुत्र वीरभान सिंह बघेल ने ही संत कबीर से विधिवत दीक्षा ली थी जिसका उल्लेख यहाँ के साहित्यकार रहे स्व. गुरु रामप्यारे अग्निहोत्री जी द्वारा लिखित “रीवा राज्य का इतिहास” एवं हस्तलिखित ग्रंथ ‘वीर सिंह’ में किया गया है। महाराज वीरभान सिंह के पुत्र महाराज राम सिंह जी के कबीर के विचारों से प्रभावित हो कर बांधवगढ़ में संत कबीर के मठ का निर्माण कराया। उन्होंने ही अमरकंटक में कबीर का चौरा बनवाया जिसकी प्रसिद्धि अभी है। बघेलखंड एवं बुंदेलखंड दोनों में ही आज लाखों की संख्या में कबीरपंथी हैं और जगह-जगह उनके स्थान अर्थात् (गद्दियाँ) हैं रीवा नगर में भी एक गद्ददी फोर्ट रोड पर है। फोर्ट रोड पर पंथ का मठ जीवंत और क्रियाशील है। गीर मठ रीवा के प्रथम महंत संत अमर साहब (संवत्-1850) हुए हैं तथा कबीर मठ के महंत संत सनाथदास जी 1993 से बहुत समय तक क्रियाशील रहे। बीजक के प्रथम टीकाकार सद्गुरु पूरन साहब ने यहीं रह कर 1947 से 1986 तक के 12 वर्षों में टीका पूर्ण की है। यह रीवा नरेश महाराजा विश्वनाथ सिंह का राज्यकाल था। विश्वनाथ सिंह जी ने भी “पांखंड खंडिनी” नाम से बीजक की टीका लिखी है। जिसकी हस्तलिखित प्रति जीर्ण स्थिति में कबीर मठ में मौजूद है। महाराज विश्वनाथ सिंह के पुत्र महाराज रघुराज सिंह रीवा दरबार के कवि ‘युगलेश’ जी तथा महारानी

कीर्तिकुमारी ने भी कबीर पर अपनी लेखनी चलाकर संत साहित्य को बरकरार रखा। संत कबीर के प्रधान शिष्य संत धर्मदास का कार्यक्षेत्र भी विंध्य क्षेत्र ही है। ये कबीर पंथ की छत्तीसगढ़ी शाखा के मूल प्रवर्तक रहे। इनकी प्रसिद्धि रचना 'सुखनिधान' है। इस रचना को कबीर पंथी अत्यधिक महत्व देते हैं।<sup>4</sup> संत प्रवर सेन का जन्म भी बांधवगढ़ में हुआ था। ये बांधव नरेश के सेवक थे। इनके गुरु रामानंद जी हैं। इनका एक पद 'आदिग्रंथ' में संग्रहित है। इनके अतिरिक्त इनकी फुटकर बानियाँ कई मराठी एवं हिंदी संग्रहों में पाई जाती हैं। कबीर के समकालीन संत रैदास का भी आगमन विंध्य क्षेत्र में हुआ है, ये क्रांतिकारी विचारक थे। इनकी बानियाँ देश के अन्य भागों के साथ विंध्य क्षेत्र में भी बड़ी भाव भक्ति से गायी जाती है। स्वामी प्राणनाथ जी का आगमन भी विंध्य क्षेत्र से हुआ है उनके पंथ के अनुयायी समस्त विंध्य क्षेत्र में आज भी अत्यधिक संख्या में हैं। स्वामी प्राणनाथ जी एक अत्यंत जागरूक युग गुरु थे। वे विश्वधर्म की स्थापना करना चाहते थे उनका प्रणामी धर्म अथवा निजानंद संप्रदाय व्यापक मानव धर्म का ही एक रूप था इस धर्म के उपास्य ही क्षर-अक्षर से परे परमब्रह्म श्रीकृष्ण माने जाते हैं। मूर्तिपूजा उनमें स्वीकृत नहीं है। संप्रदाय का एकमात्र ग्रंथ 'कुलजम स्वरूप' है। इन्होंने सभी धर्मों का समन्वय किया है। इन संतों के अतिरिक्त मुक्त कवि तुलसीदास जी के इस क्षेत्र में भ्रमण किया तथा चित्रकूट में रहकर अपनी अमरवाणी उद्घोष की यद्यपि तुलसीदास का चिंतन मध्ययुगीन संतों से भिन्न है। फिर भी उन्होंने सगुण और निर्गुण दोनों की स्पष्ट व्याख्या की है।<sup>5</sup>

उपर्युक्त साहित्यिक अवदान के अतिरिक्त बघेलखंड के ऐतिहासिक परिदृश्य में लोकप्रिय कवियों में बैजनाथ बैजू, सैफूददीन सैफू, रामदास प्यासी और हरिदास का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। उन्होंने सुक्तियों, लोककथाओं आदि के माध्यम से बघेलखंड के साहित्य में वृद्धि की वही डॉ. रामदास प्रधान व लखन प्रताप सिंह उरगेश ने बघेली लोकगीतों का संग्रह कर बघेली लोक साहित्य की श्री वृद्धि की। विद्रोही कवि शेषमणि रायपुरी ने अपने काव्य सौंदर्य से बघेलखंड के साहित्य को उकेरा। बागी के डायरी और कैकयी खंड काव्य उनकी श्रेष्ठ कृतियाँ हैं, सिद्ध विनायक द्विवेदी, आदित्य प्रताप सिंह का गद्य काव्य, कविताएँ कहानी, जापानी छंद हाइकू की तर्ज पर बघेली, हाइकू की संरचना की है। ज्योति प्रकाश सक्सेना, भगवान दास सफाडिया, धन्य कुमार सुदेश, प्रभूति रचनाकारों ने बघेलखंड की साहित्यिक परंपरा को निरंतर गतिशील रखा। महावीर प्रसाद अग्रवाल रामसागर शास्त्री, कुँवर सूर्यवली सिंह, अख्तर हुसैन निजामी, हरिकण्ठ देवसरे, प्रद्युम्न सिंह, राममित्र चतुर्वेदी की सृजन क्षमता और साधना दृष्टि से बघेलखंड का साहित्य लोक आलोकित हुआ। काव्यमंच के माध्यम से बघेलखंड के साहित्यिक परंपरा को गति देने वालों में शंभू काकू, बेधड़क, गिरिजाशंकर गिरीश, कालिका त्रिपाठी, सुदामा शरद, राजीव लोचन, नूर रिवानी, नदीम रिवानी, रफीक रिवानी, बाबूलाल दाहिया, अरुण नामदेव, श्रीनिवास शुक्ल सरस, पारस नाथ मिश्र, रामचंद्र सोनी, विरागी, प्रमोद वत्स और अकेला का नाम विशेष रूप से उल्लेखनीय है। घनश्याम सिंह की सिकंदरम, कृष्ण नारायण सिंह, धन्य कुमार सधेश,

उर्मिला प्रसाद, भैरवदीन मार्तण्ड, रेवा प्रसाद तिवारी, डॉ० चन्द्रिका प्रसाद, डॉ० आर्या त्रिपाठी, डॉ० श्रीमती विनोद तिवारी, डॉ० अभयराज त्रिपाठी, रामदर्शन राही, कमला प्रसाद ने बघेलखंड के साहित्य को निखारा।<sup>6</sup> डॉ० शुक्ल ने बघेलखंड के कोने-कोने में जाकर लोकगीतों, लोककथाओं का संग्रह कर तथा जन-जीवन के रहन-सहन उनकी मानसिकता का गहन परीक्षण कर साहित्य रचना की। उन्होंने प्रारंभ में काव्य को अपना साहित्य का विषय बनाया बाद में आंचलिक उपन्यासों के माध्यम से बघेलखंड के ऐतिहासिक सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक परंपरा को उजागर कर एक नयी दशा की ओर उन्मुख किया।<sup>7</sup>

देखा जाए तो बघेलखंड के ऐतिहासिक परिदृश्य में यहाँ का मध्यकालीन हिंदी साहित्य अत्यंत समृद्ध साहित्य की श्रेणी में रखा जाता है। महाराजा जयसिंह देव से राजवंश की अखंड साहित्यिक परंपरा रही है। उनके द्वारा रचित 28 ग्रंथों की जानकारी उपलब्ध है जिनमें हरिचरित्र कांडिका व कृष्ण तरंगिनी अत्यंत लोकप्रिय रही है। निष्कर्ष यह है कि बघेलखंड का इतिहास साहित्यिक समृद्ध से भरपूर है। यहाँ के साहित्यकारों ने प्रचुर मात्रा में साहित्य सृजन किया जिसमें लोकप्रिय पौराणिक आख्यान और भक्ति, धर्म और नीति से संयुक्त रहे हैं।<sup>8</sup>

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