

## **Iron, Iron Metallurgy And Megalithic Culture of Nilambur Valley**

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The iron age is the archaeological period generally occurring after the Bronze age and which is marked by the prevalent use of iron. The wide spread use of iron and other hard materials coincided with the socio-economic changes in the society and the lifestyle as well. The beginning of the use of the iron which dates back to the second millennium B.C. In Indian sub-continent brought the shifts in the agricultural practices, religious, beliefs, implements and artistically styles also. Thus the term iron age indicates the culture of a people, they were excessively engaged in the use of iron as their prime material for livelihood.<sup>1</sup> According to the three age system of C.J. Thomsen for classifying ancient societies and pre historic stages of progress the iron age was the third principal period.<sup>2</sup>

The iron ore resources are widespread in India but the introduction of iron did not mean totally new technological implements. It was really a socio economic transformation with the considerable knowledge and shift of the village economies to the productive manner or culture.

The Nilambur Valley is well known for its archaeological remains but the proper and scientific excavation was not carried out there so far. The material evidences and artefacts unearthed from there in different periods shows that, it was a centre of habitation or even a township. The best example and evidences for such an inference is the presence of Megalithic Burial sites which scattered in this region, the urn burials and umbrella stone burials are more common. There are about 24 burial sites in this region out of which 9 is located in KFRI premises. These sites are in the form of Cairn Circle Burials of Megalithic period. It shows the presence of the primitive people in this region, lived or settled between the period 3<sup>rd</sup> BC to 2<sup>nd</sup> AD, or belongs to this period. It may belong to the Iron Age. These burial sites are made with the paving of the circles of laterite stone and a granite slab lying in slanting position in the centre of the burial.<sup>3</sup> The radius and width of these is 2 metre to 5 metre respectively. The history of human race in

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Kerala stretches back into incredibly early periods. The explorations have exposed quartz tools and other artefacts from the Nilambur area that can be traced back at least to 50,000 years, which means the land was inhabited during the Palaeolithic period itself. The most prolific evidence of human habitation in Kerala comes in the form of stone structures called megaliths, which lie scattered all throughout Kerala and date as early as 3,000 years. This paper looks into the overview of this sites and its cultural significance. The megalithic monuments include the dolmens, cists, rock-cut caves, thopikallu, pulachikallu, kudakkallu etc. All of them are associated with burial system. 'nannangadi' was the burial jar. The important Palaeolithic sites are valuvasseri (Nilambur) and Tenkara (Palaghat).

A megalith is a large stone that has been used to construct a structure or monument, either alone or together with other stones. The word "megalithic" describes structures made of such large stones, utilizing an interlocking system without the use of mortar or cement, as well as representing periods of prehistory characterised by such constructions. The word "megalith" comes from the Ancient Greek. Megalith also denotes an item consisting of rock(s) hewn in definite shapes for special purposes. It has been used to describe buildings built by people from many parts of the world living in many different periods.

Megalithic tombs are above ground burial chambers, built of large stone slabs (megaliths) laid on edge and covered with earth or other, smaller stone. Megalithic tombs appear to have been used by communities for the long-term deposition of the remains of their dead, and some seem to have undergone alteration and enlargement.

Megaliths are large stone structures or groups of standing stones located at sites in various parts of the world are believed to have religious significance. The general meaning of megaliths includes any structure composed of large stones, and includes tombs and circular standing structures. There is a general consensus among historians that many were built in Neolithic and early bronze ages as burial sites or religious purposes. Megaliths are classified in to two general categories called Dolmens and Menhirs. Dolmens are also called Chamber Tombs and usually contain one or more chambers or rooms in which the dead were buried. Some dolmens also contain long stone chambers or halls which connect different rooms. Tombs which are covered with earth to form mounds are called Tumuli. A Menhir is a single standing stone located at particular site.<sup>4</sup>

Types of the burials Menhir (pit marked with single stone), Dolmen (pit marked with more than one stone) Capstone burial (pit marked with capstone), Stone Circle Pit burial, Stone Coffin or Sarcophagi burial, Port hole cist. But in Kerala the most commonly seeing burial site is Urn burials.<sup>5</sup>

There is an unalienable relation between megalithic people and the iron. The monuments and burials called Megaliths are the important megalithic archaeological remains of the age. Megalithic culture is considered as the iron age culture of south India. There were several methods for disposal of the dead. Sometimes the bones of the dead were collected in large urns and buried in pits.

The pit was marked by a circle of stones or a capstone or both. In some other cases, pit circles have been formed with stones for burying the dead.<sup>6</sup> The material remains of the graves give us an idea of their livelihood. In Kerala there is hardly any megalithic tomb without iron.<sup>7</sup>

As Jyon Poray opined, the primitive people of south India used iron with least carbon content as early as 4000 years ago. It is believed that the Dravida community started iron melting and fabricated iron tools and weapons during the period between 700-400BC. Iron sickles have been found from the rock cut at Vettikattiri and Vazhakad.<sup>8</sup> Similar iron sickles have been used by the agricultural labourers of Malabar. Broken pieces of knives have been found at Cherukavu and Muthukad in Nilambur village.<sup>9</sup>

Robert Sewell give us a detailed reports on the Archaeological remains of the Nilambur valley even from the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the publication of the work *ListsofThe Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras. (1882)*. He describes about one inscription a block of gneiss rock in the Cherupura River, about 1.1/2miles below the junction with karimpura, known as Eltu Kallu. The stone is in the middle of a forest, far from any habitation and the inscription is visible in extremely dry weather being below the ordinary low water level. In the Amarampullam desham of this village are twenty one dolmens, eighty four Menhirs, and twenty one rock cut caves, in Nilambur desham two Dolmens, eight Menhirs, and two rock cut caves, in kappin, a dolmen and a rock cut cave, in Nannampra, a rock cut cave and two topikals.<sup>10</sup>

'Kodakkal' is a unique mushroom-shaped megalithic burial monument of Kerala. Nowhere else in the world is this kind of megalithic burial site found, and the megalithic burial sites of Malappuram could be dated back between seventh century BC and third century AD. A 'kodakkal' is a megalithic hemispherical capstone resting on three or four dressed orthostats with convex external surface, a flat interior and a generally conical shape. A large urn will be buried under the 'kodakkal.' studies showed that 'kodakkals' were used for secondary burial and not found any evidence for a primary burial. All burial urns examined so far indicated secondary burial.<sup>11</sup>

The valley is well known for its variety of mineral deposits like the gold, in which the iron ore deposits has been found at different places. during the colonial period they could realize the inexhaustible quantities of the deposits and it became their primary concern of exploitation, the hills and plains of the area contains the rich iron ore deposits.<sup>12</sup> The descriptions of Buchannan a colonial authority on the iron implements was a well legitimisation of the deposits in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> He had noticed and reported the existence of the native iron industry in the locality. After him, various attempts have been made to regularise the industry and various reports have also referred the existence of the industry with indigenous iron smelting technologies and crude methods of classifications. Comfort reports hundreds of iron labour houses in 1844.<sup>14</sup> Their iron furnaces were there and produced iron artifacts for their own basic needs.<sup>15</sup> Ward and Conner also

reports about the iron ore deposits.

Iron was produced in this area on the traditional way from the early time to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The iron furnaces of the area were known as *Outhauls* and the remains of such manufacturing centres were very common in various parts of the locality and the colonial records also give us a neat description.<sup>16</sup>

The kollans were the traditional iron workers community and the cast duty of them was the making of iron implements.<sup>17</sup> The aspects and shapes of iron furnaces and technology were different in the world. The iron is an unalienable relation with the society and locality.

Conclusion: It is very clear and noted that the use of iron and the technological development and skill is intertwined with the growth and development of the locality. It was one of the legacies of the locality from the early period to the modern colonial period. Many place names of the area are named after the iron which is very evident that the impact and importance of iron.

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## Iconography of the River Goddesses in the Early Brahmanical Temples of Central India 4<sup>th</sup> Century CE to 6<sup>th</sup> Century CE

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The symbolisms and meaning of the river goddesses in early structural temples of Central India can only be conceptualized in the historical trajectory of their emergence and purpose. Alexander Cunningham noted the presence of the female figures occurring in pairs on the temple doorways which was initially identified by him as a queen paying a visit to a temple – a fancy of the artistic imagination repeated as architectural custom.<sup>1</sup> But Cunningham revised this opinion during his survey to the Central Provinces in 1873-74 when he identified the female figures on the doorway of the modest shrine of the Tigowa village (Katni Dist, Madhya Pradesh) as the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna guarding the entrance of the temple riding on their distinct aquatic vehicles (*vahana*), Ganga on crocodile (*Makara*) and Yamuna on turtle (*Kurma*). Moreover Cunningham included the positioning of the river goddesses on the entrance among the seven ‘characteristic features’ of what he designated as ‘Gupta temples’.<sup>2</sup>

Though representation of river goddesses became standardized on the entrance of the temples in the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, the beginning of the river goddess symbolism can certainly be traced much earlier in time rooted in the Buddhist context of the worship of the *yakshas* and *yakshis*. The cult of the *yakshas* and *yakhiis* was conceived as auspicious diverse anthropomorphic images of magical deities who bestow protection, fertility and benevolence to the visitor and devotee.<sup>3</sup>

The first appearance of the river goddesses on a Brahmanical shrine is noticed on the entrance of the rock cut cave complex of Udayagiri where the undifferentiated river goddesses adorn the upper door jambs of the Cave 6 of the Udayagiri complex of the Vidisha.<sup>4</sup> The Amrita cave or the cave no 19, the latest among the caves in the Udayagiri complex shows delicate balance. The tree goddesses are placed on

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the upper corners of the doorframes and the river goddesses though much ravaged by the test of time stood at the lowest corners of the doorways holding vessels in their hands but without their specific vehicles.<sup>5</sup>

Another very significant example of the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna with their specific attributes are visible in the monumental Varaha relief of the Udayagiri Cave 5 where they are clearly demarcated attending upon the colossal Varaha. Explaining the artistic magnanimity of the whole composition J.N.Banerjea has commented,

*The whole composition has been brilliantly planned and very artistically laid out by the master architect and sculptor of the early Gupta period and the massive dynamism of the god has been balanced with the quiescent attitude of his numerous attendants and worshippers with consummate skill.<sup>6</sup>*

In the Varaha panel of Udayagiri the river goddesses appear on their distinct vehicles holding a full vase in hand. The god of the water, Varuna is also shown standing amidst tides of the cosmic ocean. The rivers Ganga and Yamuna bear an association with Varuna as his consorts.<sup>7</sup>

The river goddesses carrying water vessel with or without their specific vehicles (*vahanas*) assumed popularity as a visual theme by the early 5<sup>th</sup> century CE. The Dasavatara temple and the Vishnu-Varaha temple of Deogarh (Lalitpur distt, Uttar Pradesh) display this convention however with a difference in the positioning of the river goddesses. In the Dasavatara temple of Deogarh which belongs to the first quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, both Ganga and Yamuna are projected on the upper corner niches of the doorframe standing on their respective vahana. Whereas in the Vishnu Varaha temple of the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century, the river goddesses are depicted in an undifferentiated manner without any distinguishable attributes at the bottom of the doorjambs. The only clue to their identification is the vase of water which indicates their association with fluvial deities<sup>8</sup>

The dimensions of political allegory projected through this image have been a recurring theme which is discussed in almost every work of Gupta art and iconography. Frederick Asher for example, holds the opinion that the association of royal endowments with this cult represents the “panegyric extolling the valor of the king more than his virtue and piety.”<sup>9</sup> The relief may have a political meaning in addition to the mythological one. It is said to be an allegory of the unification of India under Chandragupta II with the personified portrayal of the river goddess *Ganga* and *Yamuna* denoting the sphere of Gupta political influence<sup>10</sup> The appearance of the river goddesses on their distinct vehicles (*vahanas*) in the monumental Varaha panel of Udayagiri was explained as an embodiment of the geo-political heartland of the Gupta empire — the ‘Madhyadesa’ or the fertile land between the rivers and Yamuna as the cradle of the Gupta political hegemony.<sup>11</sup> The pioneering work of Odette Viennot on the Ganga and Yamuna representations on the entrance of the North Indian temples also projects a connection between the

geographical core of the Gupta polity and placement of the river goddesses on the temple entrances as an acknowledgement of their suzerainty and after the fall of the Guptas as a model symbol of power, a tool to seek political legitimacy.

On the other hand Heinrich von Stietencron offered a critique of Viennot’s ‘political iconology’. He argues in favour of the gradual development of the river goddesses from the *yakshi* and *shalabhanjika* prototypes of Bharhut, Sanchi and Mathura from the 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC onwards which attains a culmination in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century AD when adopted into the structural temples of Tigowa, Bhumara and Deogarh and into the rock cut shrines of Udayagiri (Stietencron 2010: 10-15). According to Stietencron,

*...the functional unit formed by the goddesses Ganga and Yamuna placed at the temple entrance can be interpreted neither as emblems symbolizing the unity of the empire nor as ‘joint patrons’ of the ruling house. It owes its existence to other factors, even if political events of the day may have played a secondary role to its spread.<sup>12</sup>*

The belief associated with the cleansing power of the holy waters of the rivers, the life bestowing power of the water, the notions of fertility, prosperity and abundance symbolized by the female images carrying water vessels or holding tree branches paved the way for the river goddess motifs. This argument is built in line of Calambur Sivaramamurti who pointed out the long trajectory of developments of the river goddesses ‘*nadi-devatas*’ and ‘goddesses of plenty’ from the art of Mathura and Amaravati before they were differentiated as Ganga and Yamuna by their distinct vehicle or vahana.<sup>13</sup> Stella Kramrsich underlines a specific reason for the placement of the river goddesses on the temple entrances from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. The door of the *garbhagriha* with the grace of the sacred rivers Ganga and Yamuna thus becomes a holy bathing place or *tirtha*, a passage through which takes away all the sins of a devotee. In the inimitable words of Kramrsich, “The entrance to the Garbhagriha is the sculptural metamorphosis of the natural Tirtha. The presence of the rivers purifies the devotee from all taints of his human state”<sup>14</sup>

The life size terracotta images of Ganga and Yamuna from Ahichchatra now kept in the National Museum New Delhi, also displays the urge to connect with the devotee. As has been pointed by Susan Huntington the slightly inward posture of the river goddesses suggest their probable placement at the entrance of a shrine where their duty was to guide the devotees inside the sanctum.<sup>15</sup> The late 5<sup>th</sup> CE Parvati temple of Nachna (Panna, M.P) witnessed a crucial development in the iconography of the river goddess and in its overall role in a completely structural shrine. The Parvati temple doorway is the first example of the positioning of the river goddesses on the lower ends of the door jambs.

The kind of micro study that has been attempted at Udayagiri by Michael Willis holds the key of understanding the ritual dynamics of a sacred enclosure.<sup>16</sup> There is something more than a mere coincidence of the placement of temples

near the available water resource or creating one for the purpose of setting up a temple. The Bhumara Siva temple of Satna, Dasavatara and Vishnu Varaha temple of Deograh show this consideration for the availability of water as a motivating factor for deciding the location of temple in this dry area of Bundelkhand. Bhumara temple is located on the high bank of a pond quite similar to Nachna Parvati temple.

In the Dasavatara temple complex of Deogarh the supply of water was ensured by a step well that was discovered at the temple compound. On the other hand the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century AD Vishnu Varaha temple of Deogarh located roughly a kilometer from the Dasavatara temple was built on an upland terrain where the river Betwa takes a semi circular bend.<sup>17</sup> Rock-cut flight of steps descends to the river from the site of the Vishnu-Varaha temple of Deogarh. If one climbs down to the river following the rock-cut stairway, the hillside cliffs are known as the Siddh –ka-Gupha (the cave of the saint/wise man), Rajghati and Naharghati in order. The Siddh-ka-Gupha is a small niche carved in the hillside where an image of goddess *Mahisasuramardini* (goddess Durga slaying the buffalo-demon Mahisasura) is portrayed.<sup>18</sup>

Though Deogarh Dasavatara temple is now held unanimously as the earliest extant evidence of a *panchayatana* temple, Alexander Cunningham did not mention this crucial feature of the temple structure in his account of the site.<sup>19</sup> This particular feature of the temple was first identified by Dayaram Sahni and later dealt in some detail M.S. Vats in his monograph on Deogarh.<sup>20</sup> The name of the temple 'Dasavatara' was attributed by P.C. Mukerji in his survey of the antiquities of Lalitpur published in 1899. However such nomenclature is also misleading in the sense that in the present state of its preservation all the ten incarnations of Vishnu are not found at the temple complex.<sup>21</sup> The dating of the temple has also its share of arguments. Pramod Chandra and James Harle suggest a late 5<sup>th</sup> century date for the Dasavatara temple.<sup>22</sup> On the contrary Michael W. Meister prefers to place the temple not before c.525 CE because of the presence of *shikhara* superstructure.<sup>23</sup> The exact nature of the superstructure is hard to determine in its present dilapidated stage. What is possible to surmise is that the spire/*shikhara* had rectilinear corners and successively stepped back. The superstructure of the temple was not that of a well-developed *nagara* variety but nevertheless anticipated the *nagara* development which Michael W. Meister prefers to label as '*protonagara*'<sup>24</sup>

According to Joanna Williams the upper limit of the first phase of the carving extends up to 500 CE when the door jambs were completed and the making of the four sides of the shrine commenced. The period from CE 500-520 is that of a hiatus in the sphere of art activity at the site caused probably by unstable political condition and turmoil that engulfed Central India when Huna invasion penetrated deep inside the Indian heartland as they entered up to Gwalior and Eran in Central India. After this interval the work resumes around 520 CE and the lintel of the doorframe, portions of the walls, the plinth and a number of *chandrasalas* were produced during this phase.<sup>25</sup>

The ruined temple of the Vishnu Varaha at Deogarh, a mid-6<sup>th</sup> century AD architecture, adopted a different scheme for the placement of the river goddesses. The in situ door frame lying on the site has standing female figures in rhythmic posture carrying water vessels. The water vessels in their hands suggest their fluvial association although they are devoid of other attributes of the river goddesses to differentiate them as Ganga and Yamuna, most importantly their respective *vahanas*. In this door frame of the Vishnu Varaha temple, the river goddesses evoke their initial meaning of benevolence and prosperity like the *yakshi* images. Their position at the lower corners of the entrance doorjamb, however, indicates their ritual function of guiding and purifying the temple devotee.

The placement of the fluvial deities at the lower ends of the door frames of the structural temples in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD appears to be a conscious decision on the part of the local artists motivated by the emerging religiosity of the temples and ritual significance of water in the temple ritual. The crystallization of the visual iconography of the river goddesses predates the establishment of the textual or scriptural conventions.<sup>26</sup>

A few facts emerged out of the previous discussion. Here is an attempt to summarize them systematically. The development of the positioning of the river goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna, on the bottom of the door frame of the temple entrance which was witnessed in Nachna in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century CE would become customized in subsequent times. The symbolism of the river goddesses and their role in the emerging institutionalism of the Brahmanical temples needs a fresh introspection. The presence and the prominence of the river goddesses on the entrance of the temple not only guide the devotee into the sacred domain of the temple but also invokes the institutional authority of a temple over the water resources in general by virtue of it possessing the mighty rives of Ganga and Yamuna guiding the devotees. A more detailed archaeological site to site survey of the structures and ruins of the 4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> CE temples of Central India would shed more lights on the dimensions of relationship of peoples with scared institutions in a historical scale. The present attempt in that sense just a scratch on a vast canvas.

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## Kapalikas in Malwa

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Malwa was one of the most important provinces of India in ancient times and its influence on Kapalikas has been profound. Physically, culturally and politically, we may call it the "Heart of India". It is the passageway from North India to the Deccan. Malwa has a glorious history, and its contribution to Indian culture is remarkable.

The four main sects among the saivas were, Saiva, pasupata, kaladamana (Kalamukha) Kapalika. The kapalikas professed to have their super natural powers sharpened by drinking wine and eating a special kind of food and always being embraced by the power of Kapalin i.e. Bhairva who is said to have been established at Ujjain.<sup>1</sup> The Kapalikas used human skull as their bowls, and bones as ornaments. They moved around naked.<sup>2</sup> The Kapalika system was extremely tantric. The Kurm Puran<sup>3</sup> mentions this school as ved-vahya.

The earliest literary refrence to the Kapalikas occurs in the Maitri Upanisad, wherein they are known as thieves. This upanisad also ordains that one should not reside with them.<sup>4</sup> Of course; there are some scholars which much older sect. In Buddhist cullavagga<sup>5</sup> we have a reference to the sage who carried skull and dressed themselves with pieces of cloth and were to be found in the cemeteries, They may, no doubt, be regarded as the forerunners of the Kapalikas but it can hardly be maintained on the basis of the above evidence that the Kapalikas lived as early as the time of the Buddhist work.

Wide spread existence of the Kapalikas almost all over India is attested by archaeological and literary sources. The drama *Malati Madhavam* provides us with an exhaustive account about the Kapalikas.<sup>6</sup> They had matted hair tied upward in a Knot. They always kept with them an internal weapon (Khatvanga) and fastened bells to it. The work informs us further that a Kapalin, Aghoraghanta by name, wanted to sacrifice to camunda the noble lady, Malati who had been procured for the purpose by his terrible female disciple Kapalakundala. Kapalakundala states

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the reason why malati is to be sacrificed – “My teacher Aghoragnanta calls me to aid him in the powerful rite that ends his toils; today he offers the gem of woman-kind, a victim to the Goddess.”<sup>7</sup>

In his *Mattavilasa-Prahasan* the Jain king *Mahendravarman* who was later on converted to saivism gives us a vivid description of the revolting character of the Kapalikas. The *Daskumarcarita* of Dadin depict the scene of the wizard kapalika – “His body is ornamented with glittering pieces of skulls; he is smeared with ashes or the funeral fires, he wears braids that look like a streak of lightning; with his left hand he is sacrificing steadily in to a fierce fire crackling sesame and mustard.”<sup>8</sup>

Krasnmisra makes a Kapalikas introduce himself in the drama “*Prabodhacandrodaya*”<sup>9</sup> in this way – “My necklace and ornaments consist of human bones; I lives in the ashes of the dead and eat my food in human skulls. A large number of episodes is to be found in the *Kathasaritsagar* where the activities of both male and female Kapalikas are mentioned. It is started in the text that human flesh confers the power to fly.”<sup>10</sup>

In the 9<sup>th</sup> century Anantanandgiri also a makes a kapalika introduce himself in the “*Samkardigvijay*”<sup>11</sup> Kapalikas had matted hair tide upward in a knot with New Moon. They always kept with them on skull (Kapal) and Kamandal. They are eating flesh and drink wine. It may also be noted that although the Kapalikas represented themselves as the followers of Siva, very ofen the dity of their worship was “Camunda.

The Kapalikas may broadly be divided in to two distinct groups Brahmanic and non Brahmanic. The division was probably due to the impact against the cruelty and ugliness of their own practices. One section of the Kapalikas gave up the horrible and demoniacal aspects of their rituals and discarded the very Kapala. This section of the Kapalikas also recognized the Vedic texts as well as the caste-system, while the other more left handed in practice ignored both. Thus Anantanandgiri in his *Samkardigvijaya*<sup>12</sup> states that among them one sect of Kapalikas had the following characteristic feature and doctrines. They wore sphetika the arddha-chandra (an ornament shaped like the crescent moon) and the Jata i.e. matted hair. Samkarcharya during his visit to Ujjain is said to have met with the Kapalikas in a disputation showing the prevalence of this sect in that region.

Harisen is also introducing the Kapalikas in his granth *Kathakosh*. He said the Kapalikas are present in Ujjaini during 931 A.D.<sup>13</sup>

Mandsaur stone inscription of Yashodharman of the year 532 A.D. refers to Siva as wearing a chaplet of bones on his head. The epigraph of the Udaipur dated V.S. 1229 deals with the construction of a monastery near the temple of Nityapramoditadera for the residence of the Kapilla ascetics i.e. Kapalikas.

Their God is Bhairva, the author of creation, protection and destruction. They believe that all other gods are subservient to him. Bhairava has eight different aspects, viz, Asitanga, Ruru, cand, krodha, Unmatta Bhairva, Kapala, Bhism and

Samhara-Bhairvava<sup>14</sup> Corresponding to Vishu, Brahma, Surya, Rudra, Indra, Candra, Yama and the Supreme Being respectively.

This class of Kapalikas was taken by Samkaracarya in to the fold of Brahmanism. But another subject of the Kapalikas headed by one Unmatta-Bhairava came to wrangle with Samkara; he had smeared his body with the ashes of the dead and wore a garland of skulls; his forehead was marked with a streak of black stuff. The whole of the hair of his head was turned in to Jatas. He wore a Katisutra and a Kaupina consisting of tiger skin and carried in his left hand a skull and in the right a bell.

### Bhairava sculptures in Malwa:-

According to the Visnudharmattara Purana, Bhairava should have a flabby belly, round yellow eyes, side-tusk and wide, nostrils and should be wearing a garland of skulls. He should also be adorned with snakes as ornaments. Besides these there should be other ornaments also. The complexion of Bhairava should be dark.<sup>15</sup> Bhairava's Vahana Dog is also shown near God who is holding a kapala and hala.

In the Malwa, Bhairva Images are very common and found in large numbers. Here we find both simple and terrific forms. The terrific form is better known as Kala Bhairava.

One important sculpture of Bhairava is from Indragarh (Mandsaur) it is made of sand stone and belongs to the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>16</sup>

One another sculpture of Bhairava is from Kagpur. It is made Sand stone and belongs to the 8-9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. He is carrying damaru and Rudraksh in hand. A dog on the Padapitha.<sup>17</sup>

One important sculpture of Bhairava is from Katakuta in Khargone Dist. It is made of sand stone and belongs to the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D. at present it is in the Indore museum. This sculpture measuring 110 x 45cm. This is a four armed standing figure of Bhairva. His arms and legs are broken. The divine face with its staring eyes and open mouth is showing its fangs. The two outside teeth are broken. He is wearing kundala, nagmala and katisutra of snake. In the broken hands he might have been carrying sula, Khadga, pasa and kapala. The eyes of the image are round and large side tusk are also seen. The sculpture appears to show that the artist in a very skillful way wanted to emphasize the pacific character of this terrific aspect of the God.

One another Bhairava sculpture of 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. was found at Katakuta This image in sandstone and measuring 130 x 60cm. Here the four armed Bhairava is holding damuru in right hand. His three arms is broken. It is and image of a four armed naked Bhairava. It should be dark complexioned and should wear Mundmala. The ear lobes have Kundals and srivats symbol on the chest (Vaksh-sthal). This image is of terrifying appearance.

A sandstone image of Bhairava found at Nemawar (Dewas District) measuring 50 x 55 x 45cm. It is an image of a four armed naked Bhairava most of his hands

are broken. It should wear nagamala and mani-muktahar. Bhairava's Vahana dog is also shown near God. One another Bhairava sculpture found at Nemawar Sidheshwar temple. Right hand is broken and left hands have a Kapala and Khopper. This image is of terrifying appearance.

A beautiful Bhairava sculpture of paramar period was found at Mandhata. The eight armed sculpture is fixed on the gate way as a Ksetrapal. It is decorated with ornaments like Kundala, hara, keyur, katimekhala and tiger skin. His hair is knotted with a serpent hood behind the deity head. He is holding sword, shield, skull and a khatavang one of the right hand is varad mudra while the other three arms are broken.

Another Bhairava sculpture of this period found at Badanwar (Dhar Dist.) This image in sandstone and measuring 37 x 36 x 15cm. This image preserved in the museum at Dhar. Here the four-armed Bhairava is holding damru, Khadag, Khetaka and Narmunda. He is standing in dvibhang. His right leg is broken. The face is mutilated, but the Karnakundala and head gears are noteworthy.

A white sand stone image of Mahabhairava found at Maudi (Mandsaur) measuring 136 x 65cm. is preserved in the museum at Indore. This is an image of fourteen armed naked Bhairava. He is adorned with a Jatamukuta surrounded by the jwalas. Most of his hands are broken. In two of his hands he is carrying a naga on the right side of Bhairava is his vahana dog and carved to the left is naked demon. All of them are damaged. He is wearing Sandals, garland of skulls and a Katisutra made of small bells is tied round his waist. He is wearing a big round kundala. This image is of terrifying appearance. The artist has kept the ambivalent nature of Siva, at once destroyer and protector, very much in mind.<sup>18</sup>

Another Bhairava sculpture found at Maudi (Mandsaur) during 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. it is an image of a two armed. One of the Right hand is in varad mudra and kamandal in the left hand. A dog on the padapitha is shown.

There is another beautiful Bhairava sculpture of paramar, period found at Garoth. This image in sandstone and measuring 40 x 20cm. on the right side of Bhairava is his vahana dog and carved to the left is a naked demon. His legs are broken. It should be wear Narmundmala in neck. Here Bhairava standing with a Khatvang in his right hand and left hand is in Taljangh-Mudra. He is wearing a big round Kundala.

A beautiful image of sitting Bhairava on the wall of Udayesvara (Vidisha) temple. One another Bhairava sculpture found at Gyaraspur Vidisha. Most of hands are Broken. He is wearing mundmala in neck. A dog on the padpitha in left side and women is in the right side. He is carrying Katar in one hand.

A beautiful image is found Biaora, Gindorhat, Bisoniya, Kalipitha in Rajgarh disti. They are preserved in Disti museum Rajgarh (Biaora). All images are terrifying appearance.<sup>19</sup>

There is another beautiful Bhairava sculpture of later paramar period in the puratattva Samgrahalaya Vikram University Ujjain. It is in black sandstone. It is

an image of a four armed naked Bhairava in dvibhang. He is carrying damaru in the lower left hand. A portion of the lower right hand is broken. It might have held a Ksurika. A dog on the padpitha is shown licking blood oozing from the just cut Narmund on the right side of the image there is a naked devotee with folded hand standing on the padpitha. The curly hairs of the deity are arranged in a very attractive style. There are a number of little bells hanging from the waist girdle of the deity.

All these references mentioned in the literatures, Inscriptions and sculptures demonstrate that the theories and practices of the Kapalikas were most revolting in character. The kapalika system was extremely tantric.

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## 4

## BuddhapadaWorshipAnd Its Representation In The Amaravati Art

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The ritual of *Buddhapada* worship is a sacred custom to the Buddhists. However, it should be noted that the custom of worshipping footprints had its antiquity in pre-Buddhist tradition as echoes of it were found in the Rig Vedic hymns.<sup>1</sup>The feet of *Trivikrama* that measured the universe gave special significance to the *Vishnupada* worship from which all the *pada* worship may be derived.<sup>2</sup>The unusual *Rudrapadas* of a later date are also derived from the early concept of *Vishnupada*. The *pada* concept is also found in the story of the *padukas* of Rama mentioned in the Ramayana. According to Cunningham in Buddhist tradition the custom of *Buddhapada* worship started with *Mahakasyapa's* homage to Buddha's feet after his *Mahaparinirvana*. But as seen earlier from *PaliNikaya* that during Buddha's life time the Buddhist laity used to pay their respect to the Buddha's feet. According to *Mahavamsa* Buddha left the impression of his feet to be venerated by his faithful followers.<sup>3</sup>It refers to the foot print as having been made by Buddha when he once flew to Srilanka by means of his psychic power (*Iddhi*). One of the most famous footprints is the depression measuring five and a half by two and three quarter's feet in the rock on top of Mount Siripada (*Adam's peak*) in Sri Lanka. The *Mahavamsa* adds that a Sinhalese king kittisiri Rajasinha dedicated a large flourishing village named *kuttapitiya* to the shrine of the sacred footprint of Buddha. The celebrated last foot prints of Buddha to which Ashoka paid his affectionate obeisance were supposed to be found on a stone in Pataliputra. Hiuen Tsang visited them.

Since *Buddhapada* was so auspicious to the Buddhists, the depiction of *Buddhapada* is often found in a number of Buddhist sites. Amaravati was no exception to this general pattern.

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Amaravati, ancient *Dhanyakataka*<sup>4</sup> (lat 16°34'N, long 8° 24E, Sattanpalli Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) was an important Buddhist center in ancient India. By 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE large prints of soles of feet were used as cult objects in the art of Amaravati. In this paper an attempt has been made to locate the various representations of *Buddhapada* and ascertain their symbolic significance, decorative pattern and iconographic uniqueness.

The representation of *Buddhapada* is found of different architectural components of the Amravati *Maha Stupa*. In this regard mention may be made of a *Buddhapada* sculpted on the obverse side of the dome slab now preserved in the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> The center of each foot bears *Dharma chakra* (wheel of law) with a double rim. The feet are further ornamented with a *Triratna* (symbol representing the three jewels of Buddhism) and a lotus at the heel. The *Buddhapada* is flanked by beaded *Swastika* and two Paris of six-petalled flowers. In the lower portion of the *Dharma chakra* is the single *swastika* flanked by a pair of hourglass shaped design decorated with beaded lines. This is the upper surface of the foot as toe nails are easily visible. The toenails on the right foot are designed with *svatika* but the left nails are abraded. The *Buddhapadas* are bordered with lotus blossoms, buds and twisting stems emanating from the mouth of a *Makara*.

Another impression of a *Buddhapada* from Amaravati carved in high relief on a small rectangular slab preserved in the British Museum.<sup>6</sup> At the center of each foot is a *Dharmachakra* (Wheel of law) and a *Triratna* at the heel of each foot. It is flanked by a pair of square angled *swastika*. At the front of each foot is a curling *swastika* with hooked ends flanked by a pair of hour glass shaped objects. The toenails are treated realistically and it is decorated with *swastikas* on smaller toes and *Triratna* on each of the big toes. The toes are bordered by lotus buds and flowers with undulating stems emanating from the mouth of a *Makara*. On the bottom right of the border sits a *gana* holding a vine in both the hands. This forms a part of the complex patterns with knotted garlands, lotus, beaded intersecting circles and round concave bosses with concentric circles. To the far left of the lower border is a pair of square plinth. The left hand area of the lower border bears the remains of an inscription. The word *danam* is clearly visible which indicates that it was a donative slab.

In another depiction of the *Buddhapada* preserved in the archaeological Museum, Amaravati<sup>7</sup> one can see a large *Dharmachakra* and a lotus with an inscription between them. *Triratna* design decorates the toes. It is an example of a highly decorated *Buddhapada* found at Amravati.

In several sculpture from Amravati one can see worshippers adoring the feet of Buddha. Here it may be said that Amravati witnessed *Theravada*, *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana* phases of Buddhism. Thus here the Master is chiseled both in anthropomorphic as well as aniconic symbolic form. In this context it may be said that the Master's presence is delineated by his footprints. It may be added that *Buddhapada* act as reminder that Buddha actually walked on the earth and left his

spiritual path for his followers. Thus they are seen as tangible links with him.

One such *Buddhapada* adoration scene is found on a frieze preserved in the Madras Government Museum, Chennai.<sup>8</sup> The frieze is sculpted on the upright illustrating women adoring the feet of Buddha. In the icono plastic rendering the women with *Anjali mudra* completely surrender themselves before the feet of the Master. Their drooping and reclining postures are exaggerated in such a way that the final linear movement turns into a circular curve.

An obverse side of drum slab from Amravati preserved in the British Museum, London consists of a curving of Enlightenment and on the reverse a richly decorated *Stupa*. The Enlightenment relief shows the empty throne under the *Bodhi* tree.<sup>9</sup> At the base of the throne is a pair of footsteps bearing *Dharmachakra*. Five worshippers surround the foot prints and a pair of *Kinnaras* hovers above the tree.

*Buddhapadas* are also visible on several scenes illustrating the worship of *Dharmachakra*. In this regard it should be stated that *Dharmachakra* signify the incident of Buddha's first sermon in the Deer park at Sarnath. Thus in these scenes *Buddhapada* symbolically signify Buddha's presence.

In one such narrative chiseled on the railing coping *Buddhapadas* are placed on the throne under the *Dharmachakra*.<sup>10</sup> On either side of the throne are standing and seated worshippers. Behind the throne is a pair of male attendants. At the top left are two flying dwarfs and to the right are two flying male figures possibly carrying musical instruments.

Several specimens of *Buddhapadas* are found on the decorative zones of the Amravatidome slabs. In one such relief preserved in the British Museum one can see two pairs of *Buddhapadas* each under a large umbrella.<sup>11</sup> The footprints are placed on a low throne. The *Buddhapadas* are ornamented with *Dharmachakras* Behind the throne are three worshippers. The heads of four worshippers are seen behind the top of the umbrella.

After a thorough study of the various beautiful representations at Amravati it can be undoubtedly stated that this/aniconic depiction of the Master was very popular among the contemporary people of Andhradesa. Now the question arises whether the use of several decorations on the *Buddhapada* was merely a decorative embellishment or whether it had a deep religious significance? It can be postulated that the auspicious *swastika*, lotuses, wheels or other signs are *Mahapurusha Lakshana* which the Master had on his body from his birth. Thus they are frequently carved on the *Buddhapada* Moreover these decorations also make the foot prints look very ornate. *Buddhapada*, as an aniconic representation of the Master also form an inseparable member of almost all the important events associated with the life of the Master. Hence in scenes illustrating Buddha's Enlightenment and his first sermon at Buddha's footprints are clearly visible at Amravati. This undoubtedly points to the awareness and knowledge of the contemporary people about the religious significance and iconographic uniqueness of the *Buddhapada*. In addition

to this it may be stated that the proportionate and realistic depictions of the footprints with toenails, the high linear quality and elaborate decorative refinement followed by the artists make the *Buddhapada* at Amravatiaesthetically very charming.

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## Ancient Art And Architectural Heritage of Jammu Region-A Probe

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### Introduction:

The art and architecture disseminated to the other parts of India and the region of Jammu did not lag behind as compare to other art and architecture of the cultural material. The remnants of art and architecture, coins and tools, as well as other archaeological objects, which have been discovered in appreciable quantities, serve as first hand pictorial and material sources for the ancient cultural history of Jammu region. The culture of the people of Jammu region has been blended out of diverse elements, both indigenous and exotic. This culture has its roots in the pre-historic modes of primitive human society, growing through various stages of evolution and enriched and polished by numerous tribes and communities entering the region from abroad and from within India. The traditions of culture, art and architecture, religion, craft folk art spontaneously flow uninterrupted from the popular activities of the past. The past generations of Jammu region seem to have left behind a rich legacy of all such socio-cultural aspects.

### I. Traditions In Architecture

The achievements of the people of Jammu in the sphere of art and architecture may be assessed from the remains of a variety of monuments in various stages of existence ranging from crumbling debris to fresh robust structures of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, which lies scattered in Jammu region. The earliest extant archaeological remains go back to as early as period of 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>1</sup> In Jammu region, temples form the chief wealth of architecture and in their evolution, we discover two rounds which exhibits ancient stone structures of *sikhara* type was prevalent all over northern India during 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. Secondly, brick structures with thin tapering lofty *æikharas* and *pradaksinâ* belong to the

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later, eighteenth and nineteenth century.<sup>2</sup> During the intervening period no temple structure worth the name were raised or at least have not been discovered so far, which sounds a strange phenomenon in the history of evolution of Jammu architecture. It may have been mostly due to the absence of architectural activity in this region because of recurring foreign inroads and the vandalism of invaders from the thirteenth century onwards until the death of Aurangzeb.

### ii. Stone Temples Of Ancient Period

#### Main features of ancient stone temples

These types of temples are entirely made of stone and are usually decorated with carvings, its conical spire or *æikhara* form that peculiarly is technically designed as the *æikhara* or a square cella, a small portico and a low platform. In the developed form a covered ambulatory or *pradakshinâ* and a low tower is seen added to the original concept. In the centuries to follow more improvements and additions were made as a result of the gusto of building activities during the early middle ages and it attained a definite and well laid down concept and came to consist of the following structural design, *saili*.

- (a). The *vimâna* or the shrine
- (b). The *antrâla* or vestibule
- (c). The *mandapa* or the assembly hall
- (a). The *vimâna* or the shrine

The *vimâna* is main structure, which contains inside the *garbhagriha* housing the idol of the deity to whom the temple is dedicated. The *vimâna* is surmounted by a high tapering tower called the *æikhara*, which in case of ancient structures is rendered somewhat circular in shape and curvilinear in case of temples of later centuries, both type being topped by an *amalaka* in some form crowned by a *kalasa* (finial), or only *amalaka* which is circular ribbed stone disk. The *garbhagrihâ* is dark, the only natural light it has is which enters it through its door from the *mandapa*<sup>3</sup>. A lamp is usually kept lighted, symbolic of the divine power illuminating the mysterious universe.

#### (b). The *antrâla* or vestibule

The *garbhagriha* is joined to the *mandapa* through the *antrâla* i.e. a small vestibule.

#### (c) The *mandapa* or the assembly hall

The *mandapa* is a pillared hall where the devotees gather to worship the deity. The outer door of the *mandapa* is sometime covered by a small verandah or porch called *ardha-mandapa*, which serves as the entrance portico and is in some cases open on all the three side, supported by two or four pillars in front. The *æikharatype*

covered *pradakūinā-path* or circumambulatory passage for going round the *garabhagrihā*, emanating from the left side of the *antrāla* and merging in it on the opposite side. This is to say the modified modern *æikhara* style, a result of the introduction of brick as the construction material.<sup>4</sup>

### (iii). Ancient Temples of Jammu Region

In Jammu region, *sikhara* temples both of ancient and recent origin are very common. These vary in this regard to, as they possess only the sanctuary or more parts of a typical *æikhara* temple. Some of the temple consist of a single cella in which the idol is housed and have an enter room or *mandapa*. The ancient temples, however, entered through an ornamented porch usually supported by two pillars. From outside the early medieval temples in Jammu region are two types.

- (i). Firstly, *triratha* embellished by a variety of carvings and architectural designs as in the case of temples at Krimachi and most probably the Devi shrine at Babour.
- (ii). The second type to be seen in all other temples at Babour, which are not *triratha* in construction but are equally decorated with carved embellishments and architectural design.

The temple of recent origin do not possess such outer formalities except that they have large curvilinear *æikhara*s with a small melon-type *amalaka* or simply a *bhumi* in some cases on the highest narrow point to serve as base for a metallic *kalacā*, set of three *ghâtās* diminishing upwards, topped by a lotus bud pointed upwards. The lower portion or *janghā* is invariably a rectangular construction, all constructed out of bricks, leaving no scope for carved embellishment, but only for architectural designs, embellishing niches, projections like eaves, *bandhanas*, *ardha-æikhara*s and the like.

Approximately all around the city of Jammu there exist a number of ancient temples almost all of them are built in *æikhara*<sup>5</sup> style.

### (A). Krimchi Group of Temples

About sixty km. from Jammu and 10 km from Udhampur on the north-west ranges, Ladhā is an ancient place of Krimchi, now merely a hamlet of a few huts, it was once a famous capital of Bhutyal<sup>6</sup> regime. It is situated on the bank of Birunala,<sup>7</sup> that flows on the east side of the town. It was known earlier as Bhutesvari<sup>8</sup> River and is still known by that name to the temple priest of that temple which is still under worship.

When we attempt to reconstruct early history of Krimchi particularly of the period to which the temples belong, we find that there are not reliable sources of information to be used as the basis. However, a few oral accounts and legends give some information about the place. The local people of the region say that the Raja

Kichaka, a warrior of *Mahābhārata* period laid the foundation of Krimchi.<sup>9</sup> Krimchi temples, according to the residents of the village, were erected by the Pāndva<sup>10</sup> brothers while in exile, Yudhishtira and his brothers lived incognito at the court of Raja Virāta of *Matsyadevā*.<sup>11</sup> As per the style of the architecture, the temples resembles with Bhuvaneśvara group of temples and Paraśurāmeśvara temple. As is well known during the period, Bhuvaneśvara group of temples belong to regional variations within the *Nāgara*<sup>12</sup> style of temples. The architectural style of the edifices point out the possibility of their construction during the eighth or ninth century A.D.<sup>13</sup>

In this context, it should be noted that by the time of 8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D. various texts dealing with temple architecture were composed. Few *ūlpāuāstras* were composed in Orissan region and therefore we find a different terminology related with the various components of temples applicable to that region alone. For example, if components of fully developed temples are known at Khajuraho as *Ardha-mandapa*, *mandapa*, *mahāmandapa* and *garbhagriha*.<sup>14</sup> They are known in Bhuvaneshvara as *bhoga mandapa*, *natamandapa*, *jagamohana* and *deul*.<sup>15</sup>

The Krimchi groups of temples belong to *Nāgara* style of temple architecture, which was popular in Orissa. Therefore, we have adopted the technical terminology in Orissan canons of architecture.

(1). *The temple No. 1* is most intact in composition when compared with other temples of this group. It stands on the same platform on which all other temples except temple no. 5 are situated. The temple possesses *Jagamohana*, vestibule and deul. From inside *Jagamohana* is square in plan and measures 5'-0" x 5'-0".<sup>16</sup> For the entrance door to *Jagamohana* and foliated do not suggest that it possessed any more components adjoining to it. Moreover, therefore, whatsoever type of construction preceded *Jagamohana* it was constructed in latter days. The ground plan of present remains is simple. The deul is approached by a vestibule. From inside vestibule is square in plan and it measures 4'-0" x 4'-0". The deul is small and it is square in plan and measure 7'-0" x 7'-0". From outside the deul is *triratha* in plan and possessed the usual features of Orissan group of temples. It is divided into several *pagas* by the projection in *bada* and these *pagas* are carried up to the *beki*. In elevation, the deul contain all the features known to Orissan style of architecture. There are niches carved with beautiful motifs with overflowing flower petals and other structures in the temples.

(2). *The temple No. 2* is situated on the same platform adjoining to the temple no. 1. The temple possesses *Jagamohan*, vestibule and deul. From inside *Jagamohan* is square and it measures 21'-00" x 21'-0". The *Jagamohan* has three entrance doors- one in front. All the three entrance doors to the *Jagamohana* rest on four pillars. Each pillar has 16 inside shaft. These pillars have square base and above the base, there is round molding followed by the shaft of the pillar. Main ornamentation is at the top where we have one ornamental band followed by two moldings. We have on all four faces the *ghatamotifs* with overflowing flower petals.

The *Jagamohan* leads to deul through a vestibule. From inside, it is rectangular in plan and it measures 4'-0" x 5'-6". From outside it is *triratha*<sup>17</sup> in plan.

(3). **The temple No. 3** is situated at a plane little higher than those of no. 1 and 2. It is simple in construction and resembles with temple no. 1. The temple possesses *Jagamohana*, vestibule and *garbhagriha*. The entrance in the temple is through a small porch, which has been constructed keeping in view *Jagamohana*.

The *Jagamohana* is a small essential component of temple architecture of the period to which the groups belong. From inside, *Jagamohana* is rectangular in plan and it measures 8'-6" x 5'-0". From outside it carries similar to that temple no. 1. However, due to use of decorative motifs it differs slightly. It carries gable shaped roof but decoration of door lintel and gable is altogether different from the temple no. 1. The *æikhara* of the *Jagamohan* is mutilated but it provides the idea about the construction. On the side walls there are niches type projection having gable shaped roof. The deul is approached by a vestibule. From inside it is square in plan and it measures 3'-6" x 3'-6" from outside it is *trirathain* plan. It is divided into several *pagas* by the projection of *bada*. However, since on all the three sides on the *râhapagas* there are niches having gable shaped *æikharas*, which were meant to enshrine gods and goddesses. It is interesting to note that each niche has a small deul and *Jagamohana*.<sup>18</sup>

(4). **The temple No. 4** is situated on the same platform and faces temple no. 2. Thus, its entrance is from west. The shrine consists of a small *antarâla* and the sanctum. From inside, *antarâla* is rectangular in plan and it measure 5'-0" x 3'-6". The *antarâla* enters through a door bigger in size than that of deul. From inside it is also square in plan. It measures 5'-2" x 5'-2" on the left wall of the sanctum. There is a water outlet is of a typical shape common to *œaiva* shrines from *nirmalya* used to flow.<sup>19</sup>

(5). **The temple No. 5** is located adjoining to the water stream which used to flow earlier to the east of present temple complex. It is perhaps the earliest construction of the group and therefore was near rivulet. The temple consists of *Jagamohana*, vestibule and deul. From inside, it is rectangular in plan and its measures 8'-9" x 11'-0". From the present remains, *Jagamohana* appears to have been constructed with the help of pillars. From outside there are traces of niches which is common in all the intact temples of group. The deul is approached by vestibule. From inside the vestibule is rectangular in plan and it measures 2'-0" x 3'-6". From outside, the deul is *triratha* in plan. From inside it is square in plan and it measures 8'-0" x 8'-0". It has made feasible to know the technique employed to the construction of *æikhara*. From the certain traces of the back portion of the temple, it is suggested that there were decorative motifs on the *râhapagas*.<sup>20</sup>

(6). **Brick wall:** During the course of conservation work at Krimchi, Archaeological Survey of India encountered a brick wall. The wall, which was running in east-west direction and measuring 30 meters long and 1½ meter high, was found. This wall was found hidden inside the temple platform on the southern

side. To ascertain the actual nature of the brick wall and its relation with the temple building activity, the brick structure was thoroughly exposed and its extent was traced by lying trenches further south of the brick wall. In all, four trenches were laid and in all the squares, irregular bricks at floor ascribe to the Gupta period era encountered. The major portion of the floor level was either found missing or robbed. In the course of exposition of flooring and the brick wall, a good number of molded bricks, triangular and wedge-shape bricks were also uncounted. The standard size of bricks available is 6 x 12 x 24 cms. The above discoveries and the find indicate that the temple building activity started at Kirmchi sometime in the 4<sup>th</sup> -5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>21</sup> During the course of this small excavation, terracotta human and animal figurines, terracotta areca nut shaped beads, balls dabbers, iron arrowheads, nails, chisels and circular and rectangular copper coins<sup>22</sup> were found.

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## Origins of Indus Valley Civilization

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Around 4500 years ago a decisive revolution took place in four different areas of intensive agricultural activity and from where arose the first civilization of the world located in broad river valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, the Nile in Egypt, the Indus in India and Hwangho in China. The Harappa or the Indus valley civilization covered a vast area of around 1600km from Alamgirpur in Meerut in East to Sutkagendor on Makran coast<sup>1</sup> near the modern frontier of Pakistan and Iran in west and from north to south it covers around 1100 km from Manda in Jammu Kashmir to Daimabad in Maharashtra covers an area of 1299600sq, km which is triangular in shape. Around<sup>2</sup> 2500 B.C. this civilization was in full bloom. The earliest remains of a settled culture in the Indian sub continent are of little agricultural villages in central and southern Baluchistan and Sindh.<sup>2</sup> In 1826 an English Man Charles Masson visited a place called Harappa in west Punjab now in Pakistan where he found a settlement and concluded it as old as Alexander time then General Cunningham visited this area thrice in 1853, 56 and 1872-73, but the real importance of this area was highlighted when in 1921 Dayaram Sahni discovered Harappa and R.D Banerjee discovered Mohenjo-Daro in 1922. John Marshall the then director general of Archaeology published these striking news in a London weekly which gave sensations to the world and India got it deserving place otherwise it was being held a country of snake charmers and rope climbers and of saints who indulged in yogic practices and a country of backward people who had no history of theirs. From where and how this glorious civilization ultimately emerged is a question of great interest and importance and today we have different views regarding its origins like:-

1. Indigenous origins that are this civilization was originated and developed with in the Indian sub continent.
2. Foreign origin that is this civilization was originated from Mesopotamia (Sumerian civilization)

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3. Whether this civilization emerged abruptly or not: we can say it was not of instantaneous origin because it had well planned streets, pottery, drainage system, buildings, trade etc which could be achieved only in several centuries and not fortnightly on the other hand we can say it is of instantaneous origin also because there is no continuity in Archaeological findings from here and lack of continuity in different developmental phases till the script is undeciphered we can't say with surety about its origins. But before coming to any conclusion it is imperative to see if the arguments and evidences satisfy two conditions i.e. it precedes and overlaps the Harappa culture and whether essential elements like rudimentary town planning, minimum provisions for sanitation, minor knowledge of pictographic writing, knowledge of metallurgy and culture, of the Harappa type are anticipated

**Indigenous Origins Of Indus Valley Civilization-** Scholars like Allchin, Stuart Piggott, G. F. Dales, W.A. Fairbridge, Rafique Mughal etc. Hold the opinion of indigenous nature of Indus valley civilization. Pre Harappan's cultures are those cultures which are early or before Harappan and had some similarity with proper Harappan cultures i.e. cultures contemporary similar and within the boundary of this civilization under this group of pre Harappan culture lies the culture encompassing the Baluchistan cultures i.e. Kulli, Nal, Jhob and, Quetta cultures those cultures were before Harappa, when we discuss the characteristics of Harappan culture the foremost is .it would be urban, must have knowledge, of writing, town planning, use of metal, sanitation, wheel made pottery, Use of seals, inter as well as intra trade, ploughing of field, fortifications, terracotta figure etc. Kulli, Nal, Jhob, Quetta evidenced painted pottery like Harappa, then they also witnessed the terracotta figures and use of copper but they lack one important characteristic i.e. they are not urban but rural and Harappan was an urban civilization so we can't give them the status of Harappan Culture and keep them in the pre Harappan cultures:-

1. Jhob culture flourished in the Jhob valley of Baluchistan and extended in south ward into the Loralai district in the Bolan Pass, Important sites are *Rana Ghundai*, *Periano Ghundai*, *Dabar kot* etc. *Stuart Piggott* on the basis of *Rana Ghundai* remains divided the artifacts into five, phases.

The first phase shows evidences of Mesolithic age in which needles of bones and microliths of flints have found but there were no evidences of houses where as evidences of houses were present in Indus valley civilization.

In the second phase pottery was wheel made with pictures of bulls on picture Pottery was present in Indus valley.

Third phase was the continuation of previous stages and 4th, and 5th, stages were similar to post Harappan phases From Periano Ghundai evidence of linga and stone phallus, from Moghul Ghundai evidence of female vulva (Anticipate the Worship of sex organs of Rudra and Mother Goddess at Harappan beside use of copper also anticipate Harappan culture.

2. Quetta culture: This culture is marked by buff ware painted pottery with black Pigments. Kelli Gull Muhammad and Damb Sadat are the important sites *Quetta ware is painted with geometric design that anticipate the Harappan culture.*
3. Kulliculture: west of Indus delta is kulli culture this culture is marked by Pinkish buff ware culture of south Baluchistan. This culture design humped bull *this Humped bull was famous in Harappan culture.*
4. *Nal culture:* village sites of brahui hills belong to null culture. important Findings were *cemetery area* and residential area *while* to the south west of the citadel at Harappa for egg a cemetery known as cemetery H has come to light<sup>3</sup> which could anticipate Harappan Culture from here we have found evidence of trade with Persian gulf beside this, evidence of fortification is also present. Its important sites were Gumla and Rahman dheri .In short we can say bull figure on pottery, evidence of stone phallus, differentiation between. Cemetery and residential area, mud bricks houses, semi precious stone anticipate Harappan culture but they were rural *while Harappan cultures were urban which discourage in giving these pre Harappan cultures the status of Harappan culture*

**Proto Harappan Cultures-** These are definitely pre Harappan that is before Harappa and had some close resemblance with Harappan culture important sites are Amri, kotdiji and kali bangan.

1. **Amri-** N.G. Mazumdar discovered a pre Harappan phase in 1929 and the final phase is represented by one storey building. situated in Sindh in Dadu district one mile west of Indus and 300miles north of Karachi important finding were fragment of copper and bronze, and a chart blade industry, In the lowest level pottery was hand made but later it was wheel made and decorated from here we can see a sequence from the rudimentary phase towards developing phase i.e hand made to decorated wheel made which reflects in Harappan civilization.
2. **Kotdiji-** Protection by stone wall against the flood. A design on *pottery* in the form of *bands of loops* and *wavy lines* into the well known fish scale pattern which later *appeared on Harappan pottery*<sup>4</sup> but there are *no sighn of writings* which the Harappan had which *put a question mark again on Kotdiji graduating into Harappan culture.*
3. **Kali Bangan-** Situated on the bank of dry river (Ghaggar) pottery from here was first discovered. At kali Bangan there were five building phases (that could anticipate with the seven layers at Mohanzodaro) all structures were made of mud bricks of standard size (*That could anticipate the standard bricks size of Harappan civilization 3.5\*7\*14*).

**Theory of Foreign Origin of Indus Valley Civilization-** Scholars like John Marshall, Mortimer Wheeler, Garden child etc hold the view that Indus Valley had its origins out side the Indian subcontinent in Mesopotamia.

Points in favour of Foreign Origin OR similarity between Indus valley and Mesopotamian civilization.

*Firstly* Mesopotamians like Harappan used stone implements in addition to copper and Bronze both used wheel made pottery with terracotta figures, dockyard was used for Trading purposes, both had knowledge of writing then there was similarity between, Gilgamesh figure and the Bull man Enkidu (or Ea-bani)<sup>5</sup> and the supporters of this theory believes that Indus valley civilization was originated from Mesopotamians. *Secondly* Dilmun and Makran were the two trading stations between Mesopotamia and Indus Valley .from where we got the seals of Mesopotamian and Indus valley civilization. Which suggest that there was trade between these two civilizations and it is also possible that Indus civilization was the outcome of Mesopotamians. *Thirdly* Well developed city life, use of kiln-burnt bricks and vessels of copper and bronze in both the civilization. *Fourthly* Use of potters wheel and pictographic writings in both the civilization *John marshal was the first who propounded that Harappan culture Originated in Mesopotamia but this is not acceptable because mature Harappan phase comes earlier than Mesopotamian phase hence the later cannot be recognized as the mother culture of former.*

Points Against Foreign Origin Or Differences Between Indus Valley And Mesopotamian Civilization.

**Firstly** Harappan seals were square and rectangular in shape where as Mesopotamian seals were cylindrical. **Secondly** Technologically Harappan were inferior to the Mesopotamians. Sumerians knives and spear heads had ribs in the middle for extra strength but the blades of Harappan Knives were flat and could be bent easily. **Thirdly** Harappan houses were built on a systematic chess board and followed grid system While Mesopotamian houses were built on a haphazard's pattern. Fourthly Harappan used burnt bricks which were more superior than that of the Sumerians Fifthly Script of Harappan was different from those of the Sumerians. Sixthly Area covered by the Harappan civilization was much more or several times than that Mesopotamian. On the above said points we can say that Indus valley civilization is not originated from Mesopotamian civilization.

**Evolutionary phases of Indus valley civilization-** Mehargarh (excavation carried out by J.F.carriag and others in 1970s and 1980s<sup>6</sup> a Neolithic site of southern Afghanistan of 5500bc -3500bc around 150 km from Quetta on bolan river shows pre Harappan phase from a ceramic to ceramic to advanced pottery phase where potters produced large jars decorated with geometric patterns side by side graduating into advanced technology by introducing a drill used for drilling holes into beads that anticipates red stone torso from Harappa with sockets holes in the neck and shoulder for the attachment of heads and arms respectively.

Besides small terracotta female figures and seals were also found from mehargarh that closely linked it to Indus valley civilization. In addition to it at Rahman dehri, houses, streets, lanes were constructed in a planned fashion (could be a fore runner of grid pattern of Indus valley civilization). then at Mundigak a large building with rows of pillars has been identified with a palace just like

collegiate building at Harappa then naturalistic decorations of birds, pipal tree, animals figures, on pottery all anticipated Harappan pottery. Secondly at Amri all four stages of pre, early, mature and late found here from pre to mature stage Witnessed more establishment, more use of copper uniformity in pottery tradition then at kalibangan Except mother goddess we get every thing of Harappan like fortified city, dried bricks of symmetrical Size, sewage system, nicely decorated pottery etc this site even referred to proto Harappan rather than Pre Harappan. Lastly Lothal founded at much later stage perhaps it served long distance trade when the demand of raw material was at its height in Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Trade emerged at a later stage first, settlement, production, pottery etc then comes trade. This site was abandoned and declined which reflects the late Harappan stage.

**Conclusion-** After going through the indigenous and foreign origin we can say that the origin of Indus valley civilization lies with in the Indian sub continent some where between pre Harappan culture like Qulli, Nal, Jhob & Quetta which shows similarity with Harappan culture then proto Harappan culture including sites of Mehargarh, Amri, Kot Dizi, Kali bangan and Lothal reflect stages from early to late Harappan phase and encourage us to conclude that Indus valley civilization lies some where between pre and proto Harappan cultures within the Indian sub continent and not out side. Till the script of this civilization is not deciphered we can't say anything with authority regarding its origins.

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## Elite Women as Donors During Hoysala Period

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An attempt is made in this paper to highlight Elite Women as Donors during Hoysala Period. Dana has been interpreted in Indian tradition in different ways. The concept is also used as a means to attain different purposes in the life of the traditional Hindus. Here it is necessary to spell out the meaning of Dana as defined in important sources of Hindu tradition. In Hindu sacred books Dana literally means a gift but in the context of spiritual life of ancient Indian some special significance was attached to it. Manu in his law book says thus:

varidastruptimapnoti  
sukhamakshayamannadah  
tilapradah prjamishtam  
bhumido bhumimapnoti  
dirghamayur-hiranyadah  
grahadogryani vesmani  
rupyado-rupamuttamam  
casodacandra-salokya-  
masvi salokyamasvadah  
anaduddah sriyam pushtam  
godo-bradhnasya-vishtapam

This is translated to mean “one who gave water was said to achieve contentment; one who gave food, eternal happiness; one who gave land, government of the country; one who gave gold would attain longevity; one who gave silver would get physical beauty; one who gave clothes would reach Camdraloka; one who gave a house would attain the world of Ashvinidevas; one who gave bulls would get prosperity; one who gave cows would reach suryaloka”.

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P.V. Kane describing the importance of Dana says “the principle aspects of four Yugas viz Kruta, Treta, Dwapara and Kali are respectively tapas, metaphysical knowledge, sacrifices and Dana. House-holder’s stage is the most worthy because he gives food to all others in the other stages according to Manu “Rig-Veda also praises Dana”.

The inscriptions in India started recording Dana and give the genealogy of the donor. There is a religious reason for this. The third sutra of the 9<sup>th</sup> Chapter of Aswalayana-Srauta-Sutra says “kulamarge pariksheta ye matrutah-pitrutahsceti yathokta purastat” which means that kula, meaning birth or descent, should be examined from the mother’s side and also from the father’s side for purity. “Matrutah-pitrusca vidyadibhih dasa-purusha-suddhih-kulam” says Asvalayana-grihya-sutra which may be translated as kula means ten generations from the mother’s side and father’s side being pure due to education and such other things. Only man of such pure kula is eligible to give and also receive Dana. The genealogical descriptions in inscriptions try to establish the eligibility of the donor to give grants. There are 1) the donor, 2) the donee, 3) sraddha, or charitable attitude 4) the subject of the gift, which must have been acquired by the donor in a proper way, 5) a proper time and 6) a proper place. The donative inscriptions generally contain all these six limbs or parts of Dana.

A special feature of Dana in Hinduism is the conspicuous absence of the sense of obliging or helping the receiver on the part of the donor and feeling of being obliged or cringing on the part of the receiver or donee. This is because of the feeling that the donee is obliging the donor to get punya, or religious merit, by accepting his gift and on the part of the donor a feeling that he is doing a religious duty by giving the gift.<sup>1</sup>

Inscriptions record about the charities given by the ladies of the families of Upper Strata like those of generals, heggades, merchants, etc. For instance, Jakkale of Jakavve was the wife of Hoysala General Chavimayya. In 1155 A.D. she made endowments to the basadi for the purpose of eight kinds of ceremonies and repairs and also the distribution of food to the ascetics.<sup>2</sup> Machiyakka, the wife of Isvara Chamupati, in 1160 A.D. presented a tank got excavated by herself and called Padmavati kere and also some land to the basadi erected by herself at Mayadavolal. The purpose of this grant was to provide for the ceremonies of God, the repair of the basadi and the food for the ascetics.<sup>3</sup> In 1123 A.D. during the time of Vira Ganga Hoysaladeva, Demikabbe Setti, wife of Poysala Setti of Dorasamudra, endowed the Trikutajinalaya erected by herself with Arhanahalli, beside a tank, two oil mills and two gardens.<sup>4</sup> A record of 1185 A.D. contains an impressive list of pious ladies of upper strata like Mahadevi, Akkavve who was the mother of Hoysala Minister Chandramauli, Bachikave, Jakavve, Kamave, Nagave Heggadati, Marudevi, Somakka, Kannavve Heggadati and Dochavve or Dochave Nayakiti who pledged to give annually some amounts for the eight kinds of worship of the Chaturvimasti Tithankaras installed by Basava Setti of Mosale.<sup>5</sup>

The people of Asandinad offered land grants for the ceremonies of God Narasingesvara. To those grants a lady called maki-gavudi in 1230 A.D. added her share. Perhaps she belonged to a slightly upper social stratum. It is interesting to note that she came forward to increase the grants offered by the people.<sup>6</sup> Balikabbe Gaudi, the wife of Heggade, presented gifts of lands, gardens etc., to God Balesvaradeva and Mulasthanadeva of Tamedhade in 1033 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Bangabbe, wife of Hoysala general Gangaraja, with son of Echa made a gift of some land to a Saiva temple Gangesvara that built by Mahadeva Setti at Belhali in the year 1134 A.D.<sup>8</sup> Two records speak about the generosity and religious-mindedness of two ladies, a younger sister and perhaps also the mother of Permale-deva-dannayaka, the minister of the Hoysala king Narasimha. The sister Basaviyakka bought some land from the Brahmanas and in 1271 A.D. granted the same with the stipulation that the same should be utilised for plastering the kitchen of the temple of God Prasanna Madhava of Belluru.<sup>9</sup>

Manchiyakka, the mother of Perumala-deva, in 1280 A.D. purchased some lands from Srivaishnava Brahmins of Vijaya Narasimhapura after paying the proper price of the period, for the noble purpose of erecting Vrindavanas (i.e., tulasi plants), presenting flowery lavender to God Narasimha, feeding forty persons in the name of God and making provisions for the comfortable living of forty persons and also for varieties of offerings to God.<sup>10</sup> An undated record refers to a grant of Bekkana-Sime, to lord Gummatanatha of Belgula by Achaladevi, wife of Chandramauli, a minister of Hoysala Vira-Ballala.<sup>11</sup> An inscription, corresponding to 1118 A.D. registers Demikabbe, wife of Nolambi Setti (Pattanasvami of Dorasamudra) got built a Trikota-jinalaya at the Kattarighatta and made grant of land, house, as also the village Aranahalli, for the worship and other services therein.<sup>12</sup> Achiyakka, was the wife of Chandramauli, the minister of Ballala II. An inscription dated 1181 A.D. records the construction of a Basti at Sravanabelagola by Achiyakka and the grant of Bommeyanahalli for its upkeep by the king Ballala II. The Basti built by Achiyakka at Sravanabelagola is popularly known as Akka Basti and it exhibits the characteristic feature of Hoysala temple.<sup>13</sup> Rekavve Dannayakiti, the elder sister of the great minister Soma Dannayaka handed over the Siva temple of Bhairaveswara, erected by her to the north-east of Bommayakanahalli together with the four shares belonging to that God and other lands, to Mendaiya-Marayaka and his wife, her daughter Tippavve and to Tippavve’s daughter Sayakka in 1267 A.D.<sup>14</sup>

The mother of great minister Bimaya Dannayaka favourably considered the application of Pilleyanna for the repair of Chennakesva temple, constructed by Kuttana Heggade in mallayanahalli and 1286 A.D. caused it to be repaired through her physician Devappilleyanna, built a brick enclosure for the temple erected a Kalasa to it and a wooden rangamantapa in front, had the whole plastered, repaired the breach in the tank, had the God consecrated and invited the subjects and farmers of the old town to part-take of the consecrated food.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the epigraphical evidences make clear that elite women during the said period made liberal grants to temples, Basadis, constructed tanks and offering of foods to the Gods. It is true that at some period of their life, considerable number of ladies understood that all the material possessions were perishable and the everlasting and priceless was the spiritual wealth. The majority of women perhaps viewed this act of giving charities to temples as a means of acquiring Punya or religious merit. The epigraphically evidences also throw very clear light on the respectable position accorded to elite women during the said period.

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## 8

# Malwa Opium As A Commodity And Trade Pattern in Colonial Period

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Under the Quing Dynasty (Emperor Yangzheng 1729), China opened itself to foreign trade under the Canton system through the port of Guangzhou (canton) and traders from the British East India Company began visiting the port by the 1690s. Due to the growing British demand for Indian tea and the Chinese Emperor's lack of interest in British commodities other than silver, British traders resorted to trade in Opium as a high value commodity for which China was not self-sufficient. The British traders had been purchasing small amounts of Opium from India for trade since Ralph Fitch first visited in the mid-sixteenth Century.<sup>1</sup> Trade in Opium was standardized with production of balls of raw Opium 1.1 to 1.6 kg., 30% water content, wrapped in poppy leaves and petals, and shipped in chests of 60-65 kg. (One picul)<sup>2</sup> Chests of Opium were sold in auctions in Calcutta with the understanding that the independent purchasers would than smuggle it into China. Present paper focused mainly the trade pattern and the role played by Malwa Opium in Indian colonial period.

After the 1757 Battle of Plessey and 1764, Battle of Baxar, the British East India Company gained the power to act as Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha. This allowed the Company to exercise a monopoly over opium production and export in India. To encourage Ryots to cultivate the cash crops of Indigo and Opium, and to prohibit the 'hoarding' of rice. This strategy led to the increase of the land tax to 50% of the value of crops and to the doubling of East India Company profits by 1777. Beginning in 1773, the British government began enacting oversight of the Company's operations and in response to the Indian Rebellion of 1857, this policy culminated in the establishment of direct rule over the presidencies and Provinces of British India.

Some competition come from the newly independent united states, which began to compete in *Guangzhou* (canton), selling Turkish Opium in the 1820s.

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Portuguese traders also brought opium from the independent Malwa states of western India, although by 1820, the British were able to restrict this trade by charging *Paas duty* on the Opium when it was forced to pass through Bombay to reach an entraped.<sup>3</sup> From the moment of the inception of its Malwa Opium policy the company was confronted with the dilemma of not being a major territorial power in western and central India. Unlike Bengal Opium, this was produced mainly in areas over which the company ruled territory at this time. The acquisition of territory by the British in Western India had proceeded tardily till the early nineteenth century and it was not until after the third Anglo- Maratha war that further territorial expansion on a large scale took place. Even then direct British administrative control did not extend to the major Opium-yielding areas of western and central India. Export of Opium suffered a setback briefly between 1805 and 1809-10, which was attributed by warden partly to restrictive measures and partly to military occupation of Portuguese colonial settlements by the British which was an offshoot of the Napoleonic upheaval in Europe.<sup>4</sup> The Portuguese had been active in fostering the clandestine trade in Malwa Opium and had allowed the use of their possessions in western India, particularly Daman and Diu and Macaw in China for the purpose.<sup>5</sup> The Portuguese Ports were under some pressure during this period.

Trade in the commodity was soon backing on its feet when the Company emerged as the paramount power in western India after 1817-18, Malwa Opium was already well-entrenched. According to Owen it was between 1814 and 1818 that the competition between the Bengal and Malwa varieties in the china market becomes critical.<sup>6</sup> Contemporary official opinion was that around 1817 trade in Malwa opium became considerable<sup>7</sup>, amounting as far as ascertainable to 900 chests.<sup>8</sup> In 1823 changes in the system were decided upon, thus ending one phase of Britain's early Malwa opium policy. The new approach involved arrangement with rulers of opium-producing states of central India and Rajasthan under which the British government of India was to purchase from these states a specified quantity of opium annually at a stated price, and not in a free market any longer. These states for their part were to limit the cultivation of poppy in their respective territories.<sup>9</sup> At the administrative level too there was an important change. Bombay had so far overseen the Malwa opium agency. Bengal was visibly annoyed over the failure of the Bombay government to protect the company's monopoly. The view of the supreme government was that the 'injudicious mode, in which the officers under the Bombay government purchased opium has tended to encourage cultivator'.<sup>10</sup>

The Bengal government was thus led to taking the concern into their own hands. This despite Bombay does strong protect. A Bengal civilian, Samuel Swintan was appointed the company's opium agent in Malwa, with headquarters at Indore. He was directly answerable to Calcutta, corresponding with the supreme government through the board of customs, salt and opium.<sup>11</sup>

The Colonial economy where the English East India Company comes to hold sway over the textile trade and spices trade. The favourable situation of Bombay

along the Western coast equipped it for its development as a port, the geographical relationship of Bombay with Western and Central India was not a very close one. Few overland trade routes were directed towards Bombay. Down the eighteenth century the main overland routes linking northern and central India with the Arabian Sea terminated almost 300 kilometers north of Bombay. The Gulf of Khambat (Cambay) was the main catchment area for goods flowing towards the west coast for overseas shipment.<sup>12</sup> Khambat, Bharuch, Jambusar, Daman and Diu and above all Surat, were the destinations of caravans arriving from Agra, Ahmadabad, Burhanpur, Navsari, Ujjain, and Sironj etc.<sup>13</sup>

Bombay was depended on Sea-borne trade even for its basic necessities. This contributed to enhancing the extrovert character of Bombay's economy from the time of British occupation. To a large extent the weak political presence of the East India Company in Western India throughout the eighteenth century was due to, reinforced by Maratha power in the region. The last quarter of the eighteenth century provided the British with an opportunity for acquiring a firm foothold in Western India when the death of Peshwa Madhav Rao (I) led to a prolonged struggle over the question of succession.<sup>14</sup> By the end of century establishing British supremacy over Western India was very much on the agenda. In eighteenth hundred Surat, where British authority had been extensive since 1759, formally come under British rule. The third Anglo-Martha war (1817-1818) finally destroyed Maratha power in British India and established British supremacy in Western India. After 1818 A.D. the British organized the numerous princely States of central India into the Central India Agency. The Malwa Agency was a division of central India with an area of 23,100 km. it comprised the states of Dewas (senior or Junior branch), Jaora, Ratlam, Sitamau, and Sailana, together with a large part of Gwalior, parts of Indore and Tonk and about 35 small states and holdings. Political power was exercised from Neemuch.<sup>15</sup> Importance of opium for the Indian economy the British Indian empire and ultimately for the global economy of the Nineteenth century. Much scholarly attention has been directed at the opium trade to China.<sup>16</sup>

The Pecuniary interest of the Indian government in the drug trade however the profits and pervasive economic effect of the opium trade upon colonial India have not been as well understood. Proceeds from this trade benefited the Indian economy and some groups in the society more broadly than is generally recognized opium was one of the primary export products colonial India that rose steadily in value and volume until the late nineteenth century opium was a high profits margin product in direct and indirect ways large opium profit margins stimulated the Indian economy.<sup>17</sup>

The price paid by the ultimate consumer in China, Southeast Asia or elsewhere was considerably higher. Opium was not subject to the volatile swings in price that usually accompanied commodities produced for export. The government of India maintained reserve stocks of opium chest. The demand for smoking Opium was by those who had become addicted to it, grew steadily in large measure a response to availability. The Chinese addiction to opium conferred economic benefits on Indian and British alike.<sup>18</sup>

The official opium revenue also reflected returns from the export of Malwa opium through Bombay in Western India. Although poppy cultivation was illegal in most of British India, cultivators in the western India Princely states continued to produce opium. By 1831 the East India Company had devised a workable fee system to permit private production and state of Malwa opium. Malwa opium chest could only be shipped from Bombay to the world market. Every chest exported from Bombay paid a *Pass fee* that began at rupees 125 and rose to rupees 600 by the end of the century. The government carefully calculated the fee to make sure that it was low enough to prevent exporters from taking the longer route through Portuguese Daman from Karachi before the conquest of Sind.<sup>19</sup> Malwa opium was private enterprise and largely Indian enterprise. Opium was an economic mainstay for a large number of Indian Princely states in central India and Rajasthan. The British government prohibited poppy cultivation in British Indian district and permitted it only in specified Indian princely states. By the end of nineteenth century some ninety states engaged in opium production. These ranged in size from the largest in territory and population such as Indore, Mewar, Bhopal, Jaipur, Marwar, Gwalior, Alwar and Bikaner, to smaller states that dwindled to the size of Sitamau in Malwa with its few thousands inhabitants and one principal town opium department agents, weighed and inspected packed opium chests and levied a pass fee at ten central sites in the region.<sup>20</sup>

Opium export industry of colonial India played a central and complex part in the overall economy of the subcontinent. Opium export played a significant role in creating an annual favourable Indian trade balance. Throughout the nineteenth century opium was one of India's major products and contributed mightily to the export surplus for the first half of the century, India had only four major exports opium, indigo, raw silk and raw cotton in the 1830s and 1840s opium brought in over twenty five percent of all export earnings.<sup>21</sup> Opium payments sent a rising flow of silver and gold from Canton and Hong Kong to Calcutta and Bombay.<sup>22</sup>

**Conclusion-** The Unassailable position of Surat as a major center of foreign trade along the Western coast of India for most of the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century precluded the possibility of fully utilizing the potential of Bombay. Yet the declines of Surat by the middle of the eighteenth century open up opportunities for Bombay. It is well known that during the nineteenth century Indian opium was an important element in the Britain- China- India trade triangle. The third Anglo-Maratha war, soon after the end of the Napoleonic wars, established British supremacy in Western India. In the post 1818 period the company first tried to enforce the ban on Malwa opium exports more vigorously, but soon had to acknowledge that the trade was too voluminous. Malwa opium was auctioned at Bombay and Calcutta from the 1821 season. A large proportion of the produce of Malwa continued to be sold at Daman. There were thus two varieties of Malwa opium in the market: Company Malwa and

Daman Malwa. The Company's Malwa opium had to compete with Daman Malwa, while Bengal opium had to compete with both. Some groups in the society more broadly than is generally recognized opium was one of the primary export products colonial India that rose steadily in value and volume until the late nineteenth century opium was a high profit margin product in direct and indirect ways large opium profit margins stimulated the Indian economy.

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## Trade Patterns and Economy of India Under The Company Rule and its Effect on Bihar Peasants

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In the sixteenth century Mughal rule came from central Asia to cover most of the northern parts of India. Trade and commerce expanded in India during the seventeenth century due to a number of factors. An important factor was the political integration of the country under Mughal rule and establishment of condition of law and order over extensive areas. The Mughal paid attention to roads and sarais. Taxes were levied on goods at the point of their entry into the empire. Road cases or *Rahdari* was declared illegal, though it continued to be collected by some of the local Rajas. The Mughals minted silver rupees of high purity from mints scattered all over the empire. Any traders could carry silver to the royal mint and have coins in exchange on payment of a *batta*. The Mughal rupee became a standard coin in India and a broad and thus helped India's trade.<sup>1</sup>

During the sixteenth century a number of major towns had developed in the country. In this period Patna, Rajmahal and Dacca in the east, grew to become big towns. Patna had a population of two lakhs-a large size by the standard of those times. These towns developed as centers of trade and manufacture.<sup>2</sup> During the seventeenth century, many European traders, specially the Dutch the English and later the French came to India for purpose of trade. This enterprise was a direct result of the growth of the European economy consequent upon a rapid expansion in the field of agriculture and manufactures.<sup>3</sup> Like the Dutch, the English also had come to the east for the spice trade. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century, both the Dutch and the English were well set in the Indian trade and Portuguese control of the sea was broken forever.<sup>4</sup> The Dutch joined the English in their new venture, exporting both calico and indigo from the coromandel. In 1650 the English had set themselves up at Hooghly and at Balasore in Orissa, exporting from there

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raw silk and sugar in addition to textiles. Another item which was developed was the export of salt petre, which supplemented the European source for gun powder. It was also used as ballast for ships going to Europe. The best quality salt petre was found in Bihar. Thus the English and the Dutch companies opened up new markets and articles of export for India.<sup>5</sup>

Present research paper focused on trade patterns and economy of India under Company rule and its effect on Bihar's agrarian system and related Peasants Movements.

After the Battle of Buxar, 1764 which was fought in Buxar near Patna, the Mughals as well as the Nawab of Bengal lost effective control over the territories then constituting the Province of Bengal, which currently comprises the Indian states of west Bengal, Bihar Jharkhand Odisha and Bangladesh. The British East India Company was accorded the Diwani right, that is, the right to administer the collection and management of revenues of the Province of Bengal and parts of Oudh. The Diwani right was legally granted by Shah Alam, who was the sovereign Mughal emperor of India<sup>6</sup>, during the rule of the British east India Company in Bihar, Patna emerged as one of the most important commercial and trading centers of eastern India.

Under the British Raj Bihar particularly Patna gradually started to attain its lost glory and emerged as an important and strategic center of learning and trade in India. Beginning in the late eighteenth century and over the next century, large area of India were annexed by the British East India Company dissatisfaction with company rule led to the India rebellion of 1857, after which the British Provinces of India were directly administrated by the British crown and witnessed a period of both rapid development of infra-structure and economic stagnation. During most of British India Bihar was a part of the presidency of Bengal, and was governed from Calcutta. When separated from the Bengal Presidency in 1912, Bihar and Orissa comprised a single Province. Later, under the Government of India act of 1935 the division of Orissa became a separate Province: and the Province of Bihar comes into being as an administrative unit of British India.<sup>7</sup> In the remnant of the Mughal revenue system existing in pre 1765 Bengal, *Zamindars* or *land holders* collected revenue on behalf of the Mughal Emperor whose representative, or Diwan supervised their activities.<sup>8</sup> In this system the assortment of right associated with land were not possessed by a land owner but rather shared by the several parties with stake in the land including the peasants cultivator, the Zamindar and the state.<sup>9</sup> The Zamindar served as an intermediary who procured economic rent from the cultivator, and after withholding a percentage for his own expenses, made available the rest, as revenue to the state.<sup>10</sup> Under the Mughal system, the land itself belonged to the state and not to the Zamindars, who could transfer only his right to collect rent.<sup>11</sup>

On being awarded the Diwani or over lordship of Bengal following the Battle of Buxar in 1764, the East India Company found itself short of trained administrators, especially those familiar with local custom and law tax collection

was consequently farmed out. This uncertain foray into land taxation by the Company may have gravely worsened the impact of a famine that struck Bengal in 1769-70. The company provided little relief either through reduced taxation.<sup>12</sup>In 1772 under Warren Hastings, the East India Company took over revenue collection directly in the Bengal Presidency (then Bengal and Bihar), establishing a board of revenue with officers in Calcutta and Patna and moving the existing Mughal revenue records from Murshidabad to Calcutta.<sup>13</sup>The Company inherited a revenue collection system from the Mughals in which the heaviest proportion of the tax burden fell on the cultivators, with one third of the production reserved for imperial entitlement, this pre-colonial system the Company revenue policy's baseline.<sup>14</sup>

In 1793, the new governor-general Lord Cornwallis, Promulgated the permanent settlement of land revenues in the Presidency, the first socio-economic regulator in colonial India.<sup>15</sup> The Zamindars was one of two principal revenue settlements undertaken by the Company in India.<sup>16</sup> In southern India, Thomas Munro who would later become governor of Madras, promoted the *Ryotwari system*.

Land revenue settlements constituted a major administrative activity of the various governments in India under Company rule.<sup>17</sup>In all areas other than the Bengal presidency land settlement work involved a continually repetitive process of surveying and measuring plots, assessing their quality and recorded landed rights.

After gaining the right to collect revenue in Bengal in 1765, the East India Company, largely ceased importing gold and silver, which it had hitherto used to pay for goods shipped back to Britain.<sup>18</sup>In addition, as under Mughal rule land revenue collected in the Bengal presidency helped finance the Company's wars in other parts of India.<sup>19</sup> Consequently in the period 1760-1800, Bengal's money supply was greatly diminished; furthermore, the closing of some local mints and close supervision of the rest the fixing of exchange rates and the standardization of coinage, paradoxically added to the economic downturn.<sup>20</sup>

During the period 1780-1860 India changed from being as exporter of processed goods for which it received payment in bullion, to being an exporter of raw materials and a buyer of manufactured goods.<sup>21</sup> In 1865, at this time the East India Company's trade with China began to grow as well in the early nineteenth century demand for Chinese tea had greatly increased in Britain, since the money supply in India was restricted and the Company was indisposed to shipping bullion from Britain, it decided upon opium, which had a large underground market in China and which was grown in many parts of India as the most profitable form of payment.<sup>22</sup> However since the Chinese authorities had banned the importation and consumption of opium, the Company engaged them to the first Opium war and at its conclusion, under the treaty of *Nanjing*, gained access to five Chinese ports. Guangzhou, Xiamen, Fuzhou, Shanghai and Ningbo in addition of Hong Kong was ceded to the British crown.<sup>23</sup> Towards the end of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, opium export constituted forty percentage of India's exports.<sup>24</sup> Another major though erratic, export item was Indigo dye, which was extracted from natural indigo and which come to be grown in Bengal an Northern

Bihar.<sup>25</sup> Seventeenth and early eighteenth century Europe, blue apparel was favoured as a fashion and blue uniform were common in the military; consequently, the demand for the dye was high.<sup>26</sup> In 1788, the East India Company offered advances to ten British planters to grow indigo; however since the new (landed) property rights defined in the permanent settlement did not allow them as Europeans, to buy agriculture land, they had to in turn offer cash advances to local peasants and sometimes coerce them, to grow the crop.<sup>27</sup> The European demand for the dye, however proved to be unstable, and both creditors and cultivators bore the risk of the market Crashes in 1827 and 1847.<sup>28</sup> The Peasants this content in Bengal eventually led to the indigo rebellion in 1859-1860 and to the end of indigo production there.<sup>29</sup> In Bihar however, indigo production continued well into the twentieth century, the center of indigo production there, Champaran district became the staging ground in 1917, for Gandhi's first experimental in nonviolent resistance against the British Raj.<sup>30</sup> The peasants in Champaran were forced to cultivate indigo by the European planters as per the *Thinkathia system*. Indigo cultivation was profitable only for the British. The local peasants had only misery and penury and poverty.<sup>31</sup> Raj Kumar Shukla drew the attention of Mahatma Gandhi to the exploitation of the peasants by European indigo planters. They were forced to cultivate indigo on three by twenty part of their holding and sell it to the planters at prices fixed by the planters.<sup>32</sup> After the Champaran rebellion in 1917 to change its obstructionist policy towards Gandhi and accorded him all facilities in his work.

**Conclusion-** Trade and commerce expanded in India during seventeenth century due to a number of factors. An important factor was the political integration of the other countries and establishment of law and order over extensive area. During seventeenth century many European traders come to India for purpose of trade. This enterprise was a direct result of the growth of the European economy consequent upon a rapid expansion in the field of Agriculture and manufactures. Land revenue settlements constituted a major administration activity of the various governments in India under company rule. In 1865, at the time East India Company trade with China began to grow. In major product like opium, spices and indigo are export to abroad by India, but major though erratic export item was indigo dye, which was extracted from natural indigo and which come to be grown in Bengal and Northern Bihar. The reasons for the growth of indigo cultivation in Bihar is that, the British colonial policy was dictated by the needs of remittance as well as cotton textile industry in England for a coloring material. Politically, the British government becomes less enthusiastic in its support for indigo planters. The growing impact of newspaper exposures and the noise made in both the provincial and central legislatures by the antagonists were taken into consideration. Meanwhile consciousness of the peasants in Bihar had got heightened. They had become better organized and had leaders to guide them. Consequently the government attitude also underwent a change and there was clearly reflected in the orders of the high-ups to local administration in Champaran in 1917 to change its obstructionist policy

towards Gandhi and accord him all facilities in this work. Soon after, the government formed a committee with Gandhi as one of its members to look into the matter.

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## Agitations of Primitive Tribes of North Odishan State of Mayurbhanj During 1831-36

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Mayurbhanj is the largest tribal district of Odisha. It was a tributary kingdom under the British raj. When anti-colonial feelings arose against the British throughout India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the tribals of Mayurbhanj started protest agitation against the kings Mayurbhanj and their alien masters on 1831. The present paper is a rational effort to do micro study of causes, course, result and nature of this agitation.

### Causes of Agitation

#### Dak-Route Problem:

after the occupation of Orissa in 1803 the British found that Bamanghaty was a place of strategic importance since the Calcutta-Nagpur-Bombay mail route popularly known as Jackson road used to pass through this territory.<sup>1</sup> The rebellions were mainly concentrated in Bamanghaty Sub-division of Mayurbhanj which was the home of very strong warrior races like Kols and Santals. A group of ferocious Kols known as *Larka* Kols often used to create havoc on the passers-by. Kols used to attack the travelers and even the *dak*-runners (postmen) entered to their area. They protested against the intruders and sometimes involved in predatory raids, parcel loots and attack on armed guards posted in their territory. The British wanted to suppress the tribal people through the Raja of Mayurbhanj. Free movement of those tribes in Jackson road was restricted.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the innocents were punished by the British. Therefore they raised their traditional arms against the authorities.

**Economic Cause:** The intervention of non-tribal people who tried to appropriate the lands of the tribal people created hostile environment. The non-tribal like *Zamindars*, merchants and money-lenders were harassing the tribals.

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During the colonial period there was large scale immigration of non-tribal to the tribal areas took place because of the new land settlements and introduction of new market economy.<sup>3</sup> As a result of which large number of businessmen frequented these tribal areas and earned profit in dealing with various forest products like turmeric, sandalwood, honey, *lac* etc. In this new market economy the tribal were exploited by these merchants. The economic exploitation made them reactive and restive.

**Social Cause:** The Kols (a very ferocious tribe) and others could not tolerate any outside interference in their traditional exclusive society. They called themselves as the son of the soil. The non-tribals of the area were regarded as outsiders.<sup>4</sup> Kols loved freedom in isolation. The tribals rose to rebellion when the serene tribal atmosphere was disgusted by the presence of non-tribal elements and the interference and encroachment of their rights and privileges by non-tribals.

**Political and Administrative Problems:** The introduction of Roughsedge's new system of dual control of administration encouraged the Sarvarakar of Bamanghaty to proclaim his independence from the control of Maharaja of Mayurbhanj.<sup>5</sup> The British interference in the Kol pirs affairs not only placed Raja of Mayurbhanj in an embarrassing situation, but also gave scope to further dissension between the Raja and the Sarvarakar.<sup>6</sup> Roughsedge's arrangement without consulting either the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals or the Raja of Mayurbhanj was highly unjust and illegal and was actually the violation of 1805 Regulation.<sup>7</sup> In consequence an unhealthy rivalry developed between the Political Agent of Hazaribagh and the Commissioner of Cuttack in matter relating to control over Bamanghaty and the rivalry at once became so acute that it led to the resignation of G. Stockwell, the Commissioner of Cuttack.<sup>8</sup>

Taking advantage of the support of Hazaribagh Agency the Sarvarakar of Bamanghaty of took defiant attitude towards his chief the Raja of Mayurbhanj for which the relation between the two was bound to deteriorate further.<sup>9</sup> The Commissioner of Cuttack wanted to help to Raja but Hazaribagh Agent supported the Sarvarakar.<sup>10</sup> On 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1827 the nur Sarvarakar Medhar Das Mohapatra, son of Niranjan Mohapatra (Dharua tribal) complained that the Raja of Mayurbhanj Trivikram Bhanja had extracted a *Kabuliyat* for Rs. 701/- by deceitful means from his father and was coercing the Kols to pay him the dues through two of his agents named Ram Singh and Dina Singh.<sup>11</sup> Madhav Das sought British help to stop alleged oppression of the Raja and expressed his willingness to pay Rs. 121/- annually to Raja of Mayurbhanj. Apprehending the outbreak of disturbance in Bamanghaty the Political Agent of Hazaribagh Colonel Gilbert requested the Cuttack Commissioner Thomas Pokenham to ask the Raja of Mayurbhanj not to collect tax and exploit the tribal Kols.<sup>12</sup> He also wrote that the Raja would not extract revenue from the Kols because they had already made payment to Madhav Das and considered such actions highly improper.<sup>13</sup> Again Madhav Das appealed to Gilbert claiming Bamanghaty as '*Khasdes*' (rent free land) and holding up the threat of breach of peace by the ignorant tribesmen.<sup>14</sup>

In the meantime Maharaja Jadunath Bhanjadeo succeeded to the throne of Mayurbhanj in 1829. Trouble broke-out afresh between him and Madhav Das. Madhav Das made a petition before Major Mackenzie, the Political Agent of Hazaribagh on 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1829 against the Raja.<sup>15</sup>

From the above references we must admit that the rivalry between the Raja of Mayurbhanj and the Sarvarakar of Bamanghaty became the cause of Kol disturbance of 1831. They also instigated the Kols by giving tall promises from both sides.<sup>16</sup>

**Influence of Neighboring States:** Contemporary British officials like J. Master, Russel and Dent reported that the involvement of the local chiefs resulted in the Kol rebellion. The Kunwar (king) of Sareikala supported the cause of Madhav Das Mohapatra.<sup>17</sup>

**Immediate cause:** However the immediate cause of the revolt, according to Captain Wilkinson, was Raja's effort to capture Bamanghaty.<sup>18</sup>

### Course of Agitation And Actions of The Government

In December 1831 the four Kol pirs were placed under Cuttack and decided to remove the *Binjhua* guards.<sup>19</sup> Thereafter a terrible unrest started.

The Bamanghaty Kols were apparently instigated by the Sarvarakar against the Raja.<sup>20</sup> Two brothers of the Raja (Routray and Chhotray) were present in Bamanghaty to protect strategic places against likely Kol raiders. Madhav Das too roused his own kinsmen, the Dharuas and the Kols of Lalganj and Aula *pirs* (group of villages), and advanced with a view to wreck vengeance.<sup>21</sup> The Kols, between them, plundered and laid the entire countryside in ruins.<sup>22</sup> The *royts* (farmers) began to run away and by April 1832 the security of government *dak* was in serious jeopardy.<sup>23</sup> An eye witness to lawlessness prevailing in Bamanghaty is available from a report of Mudeelal, the '*Dawk Moonshee*' of Bamanghaty.<sup>24</sup>

The Bamanghaty became very hot dividing the allegiance of the Kols between the Raja and the Sarvarakar. Kols of Thai and Bharbharia supported the Raja whereas those of Lal and Aula were with the Sarvarakar. The result was loot, burning, depredation and other violent incidents.<sup>25</sup>

As Raja of Mayurbhanj did possess neither adequate troops nor moral courage to resist the Commissioner of Cuttack, Mr. Stockwell decided to help the Raja in enforcing his rightful authority over the Zamindar. He was asked by the Government to explain measures taken so far for restoring peace in disturbed area. The Government also authorized him to use the military forces stationed at Midnapur under the command of Colonel Doveton only in case of insurrection spreading to British territory or in the event of the communication between Midnapur and Sambalpur being cut off or in case he found that the insurrection could not be suppressed without exercise of military force.<sup>26</sup>

On 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1832 Stockwell reached Joka where under order of Madhav Das postal robbery had been perpetuated on 10<sup>th</sup> April. He received the report that his messengers carrying letters to Madhav Das were tortured and the guides had

been kidnapped and subsequently murdered.<sup>27</sup> A group of 200 insurgents were ready at Cordjoore pass to obstruct the advancing army. As Stockwell advanced through Sarinda more instances of rapine and plunder were brought to his notice. His attempts to communicate with Madhav Das bore no fruit.<sup>28</sup> Madhav Das secretly increased the strength of his followers.<sup>29</sup> Stockwell requested the government for more armed force for the control of rebellion. In the meantime Hazaribagh Agent Wilkinson invited the Sarvarakar on 11<sup>th</sup> May 1832 with assurance of restoration of peace and investigation of the dispute.<sup>30</sup> He also proposed a meeting of the leading Kols and Sarvarakar with the Raja to effect a reconciliation.<sup>31</sup> But this policy of appeasement naturally shocked Stockwell and on 1st June, 1832 he tendered resignation.<sup>32</sup>

After this a joint enquiry was made by authorities of Cuttack and Hazaribagh which recommended to the government that, <sup>33</sup>

- a) The 4 Kol pirs would be restored to the Sarvarakar of Bamanghaty;
- b) Sarvarakar would be under the Mayurbhanj Raja; and
- c) Sarvarakar would pay Rs. 101/- per annum as tribute to the Raja.

In their Despatch to the Court of Directors dated 31<sup>st</sup> July 1832 the government informed- This disturbance was suppressed in May and we have concluded an agreement which we trust will have the effect of preventing the animosities of the parties, from leading to further acts of violence."<sup>34</sup> The Court of Directors approved restoration on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1834.

But actually peace was not established between the Raja and the Sarvarakar. The tribal movement continued by the engagements of Madhav Das. Though a number of petitions and counter-petitions were filed before the British Government by both the parties asking for justice, the Government rigidly pursued a policy of non-intervention in mutual quarrel. This policy of the Government resulted anger and impatience, and provoked Raja Jadunath Bhanja to march with his troops into Bamanghaty in August, 1834 to expel the Sarvarakar Madhav Das along with his family and other leading members. Madhav Das fled to Ghatsila. The Raja was even determined to drive out the Kol insurgents from Bamanghaty where he established firmly.<sup>35</sup>

The involvement of Kunwar of Sareikala in Bamanghaty further complicated the situation apprehending the Mayurbhanj Raja's entry into Kuchang. Both the chiefs used the Larka Kols as mere pawns on the chess-board of rebellion and the Kols allowed themselves to be so used on account of their malleable nature. The Hazaribagh Agent Wilkinson led to the Kol Pirs with strong force in August 1836 to restore law and order. In his dispatch on 22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1836 he wrote that the Kols of Mayurbhanj were primarily responsible for the outrages. Afterwards both Ricketts and Wilkinson agreed that the best arrangement would be to place the Kol pirs under direct management of the British Government.<sup>36</sup>

**Consequence of Agitation-** The notorious plunderers were arrested during the military operations. The looted *daks* were recovered. The cattle's stolen from

neighboring areas were restored. All Moonda and Kol Sardars were forced to enter into direct engagement with the British. As a permanent solution the government took out the four Kol pirs of Mayurbhanj under direct administration and formed Kolhan. Lieutenant Tickell was appointed Assistant Political Agent and was given the charge of the newly formed administrative unit.<sup>37</sup>

The Kolhan was formed in 1837 comprising 26 pirs with a total of 622 villages. The villages were distributed among four rulers. Raja of Singhbhum got 357 villages, Kunwar of Sareikala got 51 villages, Thakur of Kharswan got 03 villages and Raja of Mayurbhanj got 181 villages.<sup>38</sup>

Captain Wilkinson also drew up a directive for the smooth conduct of administration of newly formed Kolhan free-state.

**Nature of Agitation-** While the colonial administrators and historians viewed the tribal movements as unconscious, non-political disturbances without any ideology, some scholars in the post-independence period consider tribal movements as a prelude to the freedom movement. The subaltern school of historians speaks about the history of the people and politics of the people, where the main actors were not the dominant groups of the indigenous society but the subaltern classes, tribes, peasants and landless labourers. It was an agrarian and anti-feudal agitation.

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## 11

## The Chamber of Princes-Genesis and Aims

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The British Empire sustained in India on the support provided by the natives of India. These natives assisted the British Imperial power either in way of providing services to it or in acting as their supporters and allies. Latter was the section consisted of native Indian Princes, which played significant role in providing consistent support and assistance to colonial regime in India.

The relation of the native Indian Princes and British Imperial power was based upon the treaties, engagements and sanads concluded between them at different times. Despite the assistance rendered by the native rulers, the British power upheld its supremacy as Lord Curzon said “The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged.”<sup>1</sup> This made the position of Indian Princes, who considered themselves sovereign, very critical as the British power even interfered in their internal matters also. Initially Indian Princes suffered the highhandedness of the British Imperial power but gradually the dissatisfaction among the rulers began to grow as their status and dignity was overlooked by the Imperial power.

A common platform for the Indian Princes to redress their grievances was needed as individual endeavour was meaningless in front of the great Imperial power but interestingly it was not possible due to the shrewd policy of the British. The distinguishing feature of the British policy regarding the Indian States was to maintain a policy of splendid isolation. Due to this policy, the Indian States could hardly have any opportunity to have relation with one another or with British India except through Viceroy and his Political Department. Even for attending informal social or cultural gatherings in neighbouring states, the Princes had to seek the prior permission of his Political Agent.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of a common platform for the Indian States as well as British India was somehow coined by the British Imperial power itself. After the assumption of the Imperial title of India by Queen Victoria of England in 1877, the British colonial power clearly noticed that if India was to remain an integral part of empire, the

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Indian States as well as the British India must have a definite place in the scheme. This led to the initiation of the proposal for the formation of an 'Imperial Privy Council' which had to be composed partly of selected ruling Indian chiefs and partly of the highest colonial officials.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the hindrances, eventually, the idea saw the light of reality in the form of 'Counsellors of the Empress' in 1877 by the endeavours made by Lord Lytton. It consisted of eight Ruling chiefs and twelve English officials. The Ruling chiefs who were selected as the counsellors were Kashmir, Gwalior, Bundi, Jaipur, Rampur and Travancore.<sup>4</sup> The council served no significant purpose except that it paved the path for the establishment of the Chamber of Princes.

The idea of forming a body of the Indian Princes resurfaced after a long hiatus during the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon and Lord Minto. Lord Curzon got successful in bringing out the Princes from their comparative seclusion to closer intimacy with the British Government. Lord Minto made attempts to organise an Imperial Advisory Council composed exclusively of the Princes and territorial magnates of British India.<sup>5</sup> This scheme was based on the interesting idea of guardianship of common and imperial interests both by Native States and British India. Apart from this, it could also serve as a counter poise to Congress aims.<sup>6</sup>

Surprisingly the scheme did not fructify due to the non-cooperation by the Indian Princes. The Princes were not comfortable with the idea of sitting together with the British magnates. Owing to their uneasiness to share a common platform with other party, the Viceroy also proposed an 'Imperial Council' composed of a less number of Native States for advising the Government of India on questions of an imperial character. The failure of this idea rested upon the complex feeling of supremacy of the native rulers. Some of the native Princes, who considered themselves 'more important Princes' than others, disliked the idea of collective consultation. They hinted at the difficulties which might arise during the meetings of the Princes due to their precedence.

The reluctance of the Princes provided an opportunity to the British Government which was not so keen to form a body of Princes and shelved the idea on the ground that "*it would be a mistake to push the project unless it commands a clear assent and approval of those whose presence in the council would be essential to its success.*"<sup>7</sup>

The scenario again began to change under the viceroyalty of Lord Harding. A hope to create an assemblage of Princes resurrected when the viceroy convened two conferences of Princes in 1913 and 1914. On one hand he tried to alleviate their apprehensions and on the other some of the educated rulers of middle sized states, who saw opportunities for social intercourse and exchange of thoughts on the occasions of durbars held by viceroy and in the meetings of the management of the Princes' Colleges<sup>8</sup> showed their enthusiasm for the idea. The First World War also played a vital role in the development of this idea as it created a necessity for closer administrative cooperation between the Indian States and the provinces. The viceroy Lord Hardinge reassured the Princes:

"We have made it our aim to cultivate close and friendly relations with the ruling Princes, to show by every means that we trust them as helpers and colleagues in the great task of imperial rule, and so to foster in them a spirit of responsibility and pride in their work which no external supervision can produce."<sup>9</sup>

In October 1916, Lord Chelmsford summoned the first regular conference of the Princes. The conference was attended by the Rulers of Baroda, Kashmir, Gwalior, Bhopal, Kolhapur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner and Patiala. At this crucial time of First World War, the Imperial Government made a declaration in August 1917 about "the gradual development of the self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as a integral part of the British empire."<sup>10</sup> The Princes also availed this opportunity to present their grievances for redress by the British Government.

The Princes held the conferences to attain the goal of early establishment of a constitutional chamber and eventually appointed a select committee to draw up a scheme for the consideration of the ruling Princes. The first meeting of the Select Committee held at Bikaner from 1<sup>st</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> December 1917 and the last meeting took place at Patiala in January 1918.<sup>11</sup>

The committee drew an outline for the proposed composition of the Chamber of Princes and discussed it with the Viceroy Lord Chelmsford and Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montague. Eventually these discussions culminated in the form of proposals for the formation of a council of Princes embodied in the paragraphs of 302 and 306 of the Montague-Chelmsford Report. This matter was referred also to the local governments, political officers and the Princes for providing their opinion. The states showed their interest in accepting the proposal but certain big states like Hyderabad, Mysore, Indore and Udaipur had their own reservations that such a council would be a problem for big states "to exercise their legitimate influence in the assembly and that its deliberations and decisions would contravene the essential principle that each Prince is a sovereign who is entitled to conduct his business direct to the British Government, without the intervention of Indian States, or of any legislative assemblies of British India."<sup>12</sup> Some of the local governments were also sceptical regarding the proposal of the council.

All these negative opinions could not affect the proposal and eventually the British Government and the Princes went ahead with the existing proposal. A conference of Ruling Princes and Chiefs was held in January 1919. A committee was appointed by the conference to form a permanent Council of Princes and its composition consisted of the Highness of Alwar, Dewas (senior), Gwalior, Jaipur, Kolhapur, Nawanager, Patiala, Bhopal, Kutch, Dholpur, Malerkotla and Sangli. This committee first proposed to call the assemblage by the name of 'Narendra Mandal'; in English 'The Chamber of Princes'. The British officials sought the acceptance of other Princes too on the recommendation of the name of the council of Princes. They asked whether the term 'Narendra Mandal' (Chamber of Princes) should be adopted as the designation of the proposed body.<sup>13</sup> Though some Princes found the term Chamber of Princes more appropriate as it would be well understood

in almost every part of the globe, some advocated the term 'Narendra Mandal'. Thus eventually both were used.

The composition of the Chamber was a much considered issue. The Viceroy Lord Chelmsford with the concurrence of His Majesty's Government propounded a scheme to form the Chamber. The scheme favoured the inclusion of the smaller states also in the Chamber but the Princes were not convinced with the idea. All this uncertainty led the matter to the formation of a committee of the Princes which also could not reach at any solution of the problem. Consequently the committee of the Princes recommended that a few representatives of the smaller states could be admitted to the Chamber of Princes.

Eventually, on the basis of the recommendation made by the committee, 12 members representing 127 smaller states were included in the Chamber of Princes as there were a large number of the smaller states.<sup>14</sup> These states were included in the Chamber on the basis of election for a term of three years. The representation of 127 smaller states through 12 members were divided like this – out of these 12 members four were to be elected by the Ruling Chiefs of Bombay, two by the Punjab, three by the Ruling Chiefs of Bihar and Orissa, two by the Ruling Chiefs of Central Province and one by the Chiefs of Central India.<sup>15</sup>

After a long process of discussions and drafts made for the purpose, the Chamber of Princes eventually came into existence. It was inaugurated by His Highness the Duke of Connaught through the Royal Proclamation on 8<sup>th</sup> February 1921, on behalf of His Majesty the King Emperor, in the historical Diwan-i Aam of the Red Fort at Delhi. In the proclamation the hope was expressed that:

*“the united counsels of the Princes and Rulers, assembled for formal conclave, will be fruitful of lasting good both to themselves and their subjects and by advancing the interests that are common to their territories and to British India will benefit my Empire as a whole chamber...the Chamber will be a means by which the bonds of mutual understanding will be strengthened and the growing identity of interests between the Indian States and the rest of my Empire will be fostered and developed.”*<sup>16</sup>

Initially the total membership of Chamber of Princes was consisted of 120. Later on, with the passage of time, the composition of the Chamber became different under the Reorganisation scheme. Eventually later the Chamber was composed of 135 Princes.<sup>17</sup>

The formation of the Chamber of Princes had its roots in the grievances of the Princes which they had against the system of British Government but it needed the support of the Imperial Government to form it. Thus the question arise that for what purpose did the British Government became instrumental in culmination of this platform for the Indian Princes? The Imperial Government very tactfully took the advantage of forming a body of Princes which was superficially working for the Princes but on the other hand it worked as the tool to keep the Princes aloof from the rising feature of nationalism. At the meeting of the Chamber, British

officials bestowed appraisals and delivered speeches which termed the Princes as a pillar of their power. The Princes, highly obliged for being called as loyal allies of British Imperial Government, assured their assistance to the British power as one of the Maharaja had stated:

*“ I am one of those who is firmly convinced of the sincerity and sympathy, and the goodwill and friendship for India which has inspired His Majesty's Government in regard to the declaration made regarding Dominion status...the sincerity, the sympathy, the affection which Lord Irwin entertains for India whom he is genuinely to serve, is beyond doubt.”*<sup>18</sup>

## Conclusion

The Indian Princes always played the role of the great supporters of the Imperial government irrespective of its attitude and approach towards their nation as long as it was not curtailing their rights and privileges. The Chamber of Princes was one such effort made by them to safeguard their own interests which also helped to serve the purpose of British Imperial power to keep the two parts of India –British India and Native Princely States, against each other.

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## 12

## Women In Tebhaga Movement In 1946-1947: A Case Study of The Northern Part of Bengal

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## I

There were popular slogans in the Tebhaga movement like-

“*Nijkholane Dhan Tolo*” and “*Tebhaga Chai*”.

*Adhi nay Tebhaga Chai*” (We want two third share of the harvest instead of Half)

“Jan devo to dhan devo na” (We would sacrifice our life but not rice).

The Tebhaga Movement is associated to the peasant movement particularly launched by the sharecropper during a period of prolonged intensity in the districts of northern part of undivided Bengal notably Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Malda in 1946-47. In September of 1946 the Bengal Provincial Kishan Sabha (Peasant Organization) called for a mass struggle among sharecroppers to keep ‘Tebhaga’ (two third) of the harvest. Young Communists went out to the countryside to organize peasants to take the harvested crop to their own threshing floor and make the two-thirds share a reality. The movement began in North Bengal and gradually spread throughout the rest of the province.

## II

In the national perspective many scholars like B.B.Choudhury, (*Peasant Movement in Bengal, 1850-1900*) (ed) by Alok Ray, Ratanlal Chakraborty- *Rangpurer Krishak Bidraha* (Bengali), Calcutta, 1973); Mesbah Kamal, (*The Nacholer Krishak Bidraha in Bangladesher Sasatra Pratirodh Andolan* (Bengali) Dhaka, 1986); S. Dasgupta, *The Tebhaga Movement in Bengal (1946-47)* (Occasional Paper No.89, Centre for studies in Social Science, Calcutta, 1986), Sunil Sen, (*Agrarian Struggle*

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*in Bengal, Calcutta, 1972, Peasant Movement in India 1982*), Suprakash Ray, (*Peasant Revolts and Democratic Struggle in India* (Bengali), Bharati, Calcutta, 1966); D.N.Dhanagare, (*Peasant Movement in India-(1920-50)*, Oxford, 1983) and others have particularly redefined this problem in multidimensional aspect in Indian History. We may refer Sunil Sen.’s *The Working Women and Popular Movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1985) and Peter Custer’s *Women in Tebhaga Uprising, Calcutta*, (1987) which highlight the historic role of the Indian women in various popular and working class movements in India. Both these works did not much attention on the women participations of North Bengal.

## III

### Causes of the outbursts

- The outburst of the women against the oppression and exploitation of the landlords. They also protest the existing system of land system and production relation of North Bengal even that of contemporary India.
  - In the British rule the peasants lost their independence and consequently the power of controlling the production system was being centered to the landed aristocrats (Zaminders, Landlord, and Jotedars) or the middlemen. This aristocratic society dictates or mobilizes the existing socio-economic or political system.
  - The peasant had to serve this class virtually in different manners and in numerous occasions whenever they needed.
  - Apart from payment of heavy taxes and tributes, the peasants had to experience the kidnapping of their wives, excessive flogging in their lots and even the use of their wives to fulfill sexual needs by the Zaminders.<sup>1</sup>
  - In some occasions, the Zaminders or the Jotedars themselves were overall charges (including expenses) or marriage of the peasant family and in lieu of this sacrifice, the respective Jotedar /Zamindar was allowed to enjoy the newly married wife sexually in the first night of the marriage held.<sup>2</sup>
  - In North Bengal the peasants are reported to have sold out their children (preferably girl) in order to meet essential needs of life. <sup>3</sup> It has informed that in utter economic crisis and indebtedness, the peasants were sometimes compelled to mortgage their teenage daughter in exchange of money.<sup>4</sup> These poor girls were subsequently turned into maid servants for serving the family of the Jotedars.
  - Jotedars had the facility to get married daughters of the peasant one after another and this was made possible by alluring the poor father for dowries. <sup>5</sup>
- From these points it is cleared that the poor section of people were being victimized double way by the feudalistic society in one hand and by patriarchy society on the other. They were exploited socially, economically, physically and mentally. So, the women participation in the movement was a result of spontaneous response against these oppressions with their male counterparts.

## IV

Rani Mitra Dasgupta, Manikuntala Sen, Renuka Chakraborty and other women who had worked as active volunteers of the "Mahila Atmarakha Samiti" during the famine years wanted to bring rural women into this movement. One of the striking features of the North Bengal Tebhaga movement was that the women actives belonged mostly to the Rajbanshi community.

The intensive areas of the Tebhaga movement in northern part of Bengal were the district of Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur and Malda in 1946-47. As to the case of Dinajpur ways at Chirir Bandar, where the situation became worst and the two local leaders named Samiruddin, a peasant labour and Sibrum Manjhi, a tribal peasant were died in Police firing on 04/01/1947.<sup>6</sup> It was perhaps the right moment when a young married girl named Bhandani appeared against the Police atrocities. The Peasant were organized by the leaders namely Postaram Singh and his wife Jaymini.<sup>7</sup> The police were faced a strong resistance from the peasant women.<sup>8</sup> Bhandani snatched away the gun from the 'Daroga', who was overpowered and confined to a house. Afterwards, she released him having advised so by the leader Gurudas Talukdar. It is interesting to note that Bhandani and Jaymani joined hands with Rani Mitra, community leaders of Dinajpur for their common programmes and mobilize peasant women in west Thakurgaon where a landlord was beaten up. The Police surrounded the village out and they had to leave the place and take shelter at a village in Bihar.

The year 1947 marked another transition in Dinajpur where in Khanpur near Balurghat (South Dinajpur) the volume of barbarism and level of Police atrocities were rampant on the peasants. Here the *jotedars* under the leadership of one Asitmohan Singh Ray offered tough resistance to the movement of Tebhaga. On the morning 20 February, 1947 when the police arrived the village at Khanpur and arrested the six leaders a renowned women personality Jasoda Rani Sarkar, mother of two children, came forward to lead the masses along with her women volunteers condemned the illegal arrest and appealed for release of the leaders.<sup>9</sup> Soon a large number of peasants under the leadership of Chiyarsai Sekh started demonstration. The Police preferred firing and it resulted in the loss of lives at least 22 peasants including Jasoda Rani and Chiyarsai Sekh.

The Tebhaga movement also spread to the adjoining district of Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Malda, Bogra of the then North Bengal. It concentrated to four Police station of Jalpaiguri district like Deviganj, Boda, Kotowali and Pachagarh; latter it crossed to Mal and Metelli.<sup>10</sup> The womenfolk under the leadership of 'Old Mother' originally named Purneswari Deba Barman came forward to lead the movement.<sup>11</sup> Soon the movement swept over other parts of the districts and peasant women like Ujani Barman, Lila Sen (Later Lila Mazumdar, wife of Charu Majumdar), Kalti Barmani Buri Barmani, Maili Majhan spontaneously responded to the call of 'Old Mother' joined the movement.

The Oraon women of Duars, Odalabari, Kanti and Damdin are of Jalpaiguri

equally contributed to the movement of Tebhaga. There was a 'massive participation of Oraon women in the Duars region who accompanied the men folk in raiding 'jotedars' stacks and facing the armed policemen.<sup>12</sup> Four women are said to have lost their lives by Police firing.<sup>13</sup> Mention may be made of Mangro Oraon who tried to snatch away the gun from a Police and has shot dead along with four women in 1947, 1st March. Likewise we may refer the name of Poko Oraoni and Maharni Oraoni the two sisters took part in the movement along with their brother. Poko Oraoni was a militant woman and said to have chased the Police who was ultimately tied to a tree.<sup>14</sup> She had the credit to mobilize a large number of tribal women in the movement. Another incident of Police firing had been occurred at Chalsa on 4<sup>th</sup> April 1947 where nine people including one woman and a boy died.

In Rangpur district Nilfamari, Dimla, Duars, Atiabari, Harichandra were the leading places of the movement. Here the main agitators were the peasants like Dinesh Lahiri, Kalipada Dey, Narayan Banerjee, Tarani Barman and few others.<sup>15</sup> Here we may refer to the dynamic leadership of one Rani Mukherjee who was a local school mistress but had mobilized the mass admirably and perfectly to the main direction.<sup>16</sup> So far as the movement at Dimla was concerned, we may refer to a women, voluntary organization called "Gain Bahini" (Organization of the pesters).<sup>17</sup> It is said that the movement of 'Jotedars' oppression, this 'Gain Bahini' used to come forward with their billhooks, brooms and Pestlers. Some of the outstanding figures are reported to be Mohini and Niroda who joined hands with Rani Mukherjee in different situations and devoted much to make the movement a success.<sup>18</sup> It is also said that women (Widow) aged 70 years popularly known as "mother of Babari Barman" had beaten Marwari Jotedar Koramal Daga, who used to torture the peasants of the area on various excuses.<sup>19</sup>

The militant spirit of the Tebhaga Movement also passed over to the sister district of Malda. Evidences are there to show the participation of Rajbanshi and Santal women of Gazole, old Malda, Habibpur etc. In Dinajpur and Malda, the Santal organized the movement under the leadership of Jitu and Samu. Unfortunately they were arrested and murdered by Police firing.

## V

Though the movement lasted for short period, it had a great significance that the participation of women was spontaneous having no political backing. D.N. Dhanagare<sup>20</sup> says that the weakness of the Tebhaga movement was not inherent in the class position and structural dependence of *bargadars*- the poor peasant in the agrarian social structure of Bengal. Rather, a communal politics and the general political development in the country turned out to be overwhelming decisive. He, however, lays emphasis upon the particularistic nature of the movement which had definitely circumscribed the scope of the cleavages within the Kishan Sabha viz cadres (mostly middle Peasants) and ranks (Bargadars, poor peasant).

Though the Tebhaga Movement could not become a popular movement but due to the participation of the tribal and non-tribal women and also a spontaneous response of the peasants of Bengal it could really reach to a culminating point and opened a challenge to the age long fortune and injustice of the *Jotedars* and their fellow men as well the socio-economic structure of the then rural Bengal. Their wholehearted participation and daring efforts brought the whole phase of the Tebhaga Movement in North Bengal to a forceful dimension.

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13

## Uniting Caste and Gender A Study of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Social Reforms in India

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The lives of women get redefined at every level of hierarchy. Together, caste and gender play an important role in shaping the experiences of women. On exploring the social reforms of the nineteenth century undertaken by liberal Hindu upper caste educated men, it is seen that gender and caste act as inseparable issues. Gender and caste, thus, should not be seen as unrelated themes evolving within Brahmanical hierarchies.

To begin, the debate between the orthodox Brahmanical elements and liberal reformers of the nineteenth century India became crucial because of the rise of the print culture which included newspapers and other modes of communication. These printed arguments became an integral part of the public sphere. Though these debates revolved around 'women', they failed to allot women the agency of constructing their own identity. This is not to say that all women lacked intervention in the public sphere. Examples like Pandita Ramabai stand out in the leaflets of history as they brought the question of women's own intervention in the public domain.<sup>1</sup>*Hindu Patriot*, *Tattvabodhini Patrika*, *Sambad Purnachandroday* and *Bamabodhini Patrika* are some of the examples of the native press which lent unconditional support to the reform efforts.<sup>2</sup>Some other women who took advantage of the prevalent print culture include Rashundari Debi, a housewife belonging to an upper caste rural background, which had clandestinely taught her to read and write and later authored an autobiography.<sup>3</sup>Tarabai Shinde of Maharashtra assailed the liberal reformers for not addressing some of the integral issues in a woman's life in her work, '*Stri-Purush Tulna*', where she revealed the concealed lives of women.<sup>4</sup>

In this era of social reforms, what is important to note is that a new kind of patriarchy was being evolved which served as a base for these reforms. The reforms

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introduced in the nineteenth century by liberal reformers did not seriously challenge the notions of existing patriarchy. As a result, there was a mere 'recasting' of male dominance.<sup>5</sup> These reforms lacked the space for women's voice to be projected out to the world. An important division became pronounced during this time. This was the 'public' - 'private' divide. The middle class ideological leanings gave support to this division. Consequently, ideologies of 'Hindu' and 'Indian' womanhood began to be constructed as opposed to the 'western' woman. It was these strands of ideology which were picked and driven forward by the liberal reformers.

The first half of nineteenth century was dedicated to the abolition of the practice of sati. After 1829, however, the attention was shifted to 'coerced celibacy' of upper caste Hindu widows. The control of a woman's sexuality after her husband's death became a central issue of the debate of the liberal reformers. It began with sati and then the question of widow re-marriage was also brought under this rubric.

This brings us to the crucial discussion of gender and caste as intertwined themes. The Widow Re-marriage Act of 1856 was composed of important clauses. For an upper caste Hindu woman, the clauses of this act discouraged her from remarrying. It prevented her from claiming her right to maintain or inherit her deceased husband's property 'as if she has died'.<sup>6</sup> It also shifted the guardianship of her children to the relatives of her dead husband. To say the least, the economic motives of the upper castes in not supporting the widows to remarry remained intact. Even if we were to consider that a widow was willing to forgo her right to property of her deceased husband, we cannot dismiss the predicament she would have faced of having to leave her children behind. Finally, she would become a victim of societal rejection and stigma. The condition of women of lower castes was dramatically different from their higher caste female counterparts. Before the Act was passed, the women belonging to castes other than the higher castes were allowed to remarry with their right to property remaining intact. Lucy Carroll studies how after the passing of this Act, the law got moulded, disallowing low caste women their right to property which earlier was granted to them.<sup>7</sup>

Inter alia, it was the notion of purity of women that laid the foundations of a caste's claim to high status. Men expressing their view against widow remarriage spoke harshly about the practice of widows willing to remarry. The orthodox Hindu upper caste men equated this practice with lower caste cultural norms, connoting a derogatory tone. The reality of the adoption of practices by lower castes of upper castes could be explained in terms of social mobility. However, the reverse, in their opinion, was 'unheard of and unthinkable'.<sup>8</sup> These clashes of opinion between the orthodox elements and liberal reformers were taking place within the parameters of Brahmanical patriarchy. The reformers with their liberal ideology could not break away from the shackles of patriarchy based on Brahmanical supremacy. For instance, in Bombay, the reformers could encourage widows to remarry but could not maintain any kind of social relation with the newly wedded couple thereafter. Such ambiguities existed in the tools of reconstruction of the women by the reformers. They failed to stand outside the coercive power of the Brahmanical

society. Thus, patriarchal hierarchies continued. It was only Jyotiba Phule who indeed broke away from the restraining parameters of Brahmanical patriarchy.

Jyotiba Phule's analysis is symbolic of a critical moment in the study of caste system in nineteenth century India as he lays emphasis on gender as well. He viewed the system as not only an instrument of humiliation but also oppression of the low castes. His ideological framework stood in sharp contrast with the general perception of the caste system. He emerged successful in breaking away from the clasp of Brahmanical ideology which in turn made his approach to address gender problems unique. Gail Omvedt carefully notes that the new challenge posed by Phule from below and the non-Brahmana cultural movement of the nineteenth century were exceedingly important.<sup>9</sup> Strands of arguments offered by polemic of Christian missionaries constituted an important element of Phule's assault on the Brahmanical hegemony of caste system. However, his critique of Hindu society cannot only be attributed to the writings of the missionaries for he drew his inspiration from a wide range of sources, including his own personal experiences. The unjust measures adopted by the society resulting in humiliation of lower castes made Phule develop his stance against Brahmanical patriarchy. Thus, the reconstruction of the caste system from a lower-caste perspective by shifting the focus from social mobility to the categorical rejection of the caste system is the most applauded work of Phule and the non-Brahman movement. *Jatibhed Vivekasar* by Tukaram Tatyapa Padaval's is the first Marathi work to be published with this view point.<sup>10</sup> Phule greatly assisted in its publication. It was Phule who encouraged the lower castes to take the agency of their lives in their own hands. He instilled in them a spirit of consciousness. He urged them to develop a voice of their own to defy repression and injustice. Phule's cognizance of the unjust Brahmanical caste system forms an important corpus of work from 1850s onwards until the 1880s. As regards the question of women and their subordination in society, Phule had a tool to offer to liberate them. This was the instrument of education. Jyotiba Phule was only twenty one years of age when he started a school for low caste untouchable girls in Poona in 1848.<sup>11</sup> It was the first education centre of this kind. The low caste girls experienced double subalternity; firstly they belonged to lower castes and secondly they were girls. Phule wanted to release them from this state of oppression. Another significance of starting up this school in Poona was to directly challenge Brahmanical orthodoxy, which was still the centre of Brahmanical conservatism.

We must draw our attention to the crucial link between education and the defiance of oppression. This link was not left untouched by other liberal reformers. However, it was Phule who brought in the question of female education under its ambit. The implication of Phule's efforts in educating low caste girls is exemplified in the case of a fourteen year old Mang girl studying in Phule's school, Muktabai. Her essay '*Mang Maharachya Dukha Visaiyi*' (About the Grief's of the Mangs and the Mahars) revealed the exorbitant degree of humiliation and oppression faced by the Mangs and the Mahars.<sup>12</sup> She also blamed the Brahmanas for restricting the sphere of knowledge to just the upper castes, keeping it out of the reach of low

castes. She comments critically on the hierarchies governing the Hindu caste system. The mode of education along with the prevalence of the print culture allowed Muktabai to deliver a scathing attack on the Brahmanical authority, firmly promoting hierarchical societal order.

A letter by Savritbai Phule in 1856 reveals that her brother urged her to give up practices not suitable to the customs of their caste for she was teaching the Mang and Mahar girls. Jyotiba Phule's efforts with respect to gender and caste are illustrated well enough by Muktabai and Savritbai, his wife. The other kind of intervention in women's sphere by Phule was his challenge to the humiliation imposed on Brahmana and other upper caste widows. This is explicitly revealed in his public support to Ramabai and Tarabai Shinde of Maharashtra. This was particularly important in light of non-Brahmana movement's lack of support for these women. Uma Chakravarti tells us that his assail on Bhalekar's views was as sharp as his criticism of Brahmanical social order.<sup>13</sup>

Thus, the fabric of nineteenth century social reforms is indeed a fascinating one. No longer do we see gender and caste as discrete themes of study. It is also a story of the challenge posed to the orthodox Brahmanical patriarchy led by Jyotiba Phule. He not only tried to break away and reject the Brahmanical dominance in the society, which the other liberal reformers failed to do, but also tried to link the important question of caste with gender. The inseparable relationship between gender and caste had seen a long history in pre-colonial India and it was to continue in the succeeding socio-political environment, the nineteenth century India.

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## New Perspectives In The Western Discourses On 1857 Revolt: A Historiographical Survey

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The Revolt of 1857 is one of those events which have been interpreted in different manners by different schools of historiography. Although immediate British reactions to the rebellion were fractured and multivalent, after the revolt a consensus began to emerge in imperialist historiography that blamed the rebellion on self-interested, reactionary Indian elites who feared the impact that the imposition of colonial modernity would have on their status and authority. But recent literature on the 1857 rebellion reveals that on the whole differences in approach persists and current literature have touched upon a deeper level which needs to be seen in their historiographical context. This paper is an attempt to explore the new developments which cover the different approaches and literatures in western historiography of 1857 revolt.

The "Sepoy Mutiny"—as seen by imperialist officials and writers initially—not only challenged colonialism, but also forced it to devise ways of reorienting itself to face a future shrouded with uncertainties and challenges. Those who focused on the "Mutiny" theme projected it as the work of a set of discontented 'Siphais' who were unhappy with the introduction, in 1857, of the new Enfield rifle, with its distinct ammunition, which required the bullet to be bitten before loading.<sup>1</sup> Rumors that the grease used on the bullet was either from the fat of cattle or pigs had serious implications. This created strong animosities and was located as an attack on Hindu and Muslim religious beliefs.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary official thinking was deeply affected by the idea of the rebellion being located as a "Muslim Conspiracy." Of course, contemporary writings generated political hysteria and racism, some "eyewitness" accounts in-fact inscribed inventions such as the rape of white women during the mutiny that reinforced the image of the "barbaric Indian."<sup>3</sup>

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Contemporary newspapers in England were condemnatory towards 1857. Nevertheless, there was a section of English opinion that supported the 1857 movement. One can refer to chartists such as Ernest Jones who hailed the rebellion.<sup>4</sup>The most serious dissenting voice was that of Karl Marx who linked exploitation of India to the anger that was displayed by the people during 1857.<sup>5</sup> Moreover both Marx and Engels hailed the unity displayed by the Hindus and Muslims who opposed British Colonialism during the rebellion. The colonial argument about 1857 largely control on the nature of India and the way it should be ruled. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, two European revolutionary politicians and writers, were the first to understand and note the 1857's relevance. Marx went as far as calling almost, the late 1850s, the 'war of civilization era'. Developing the theory and practice of revolutionary socialism or communism, Marx and Engels had taken part in 1848 European revolutions – critics of British/European Imperial policies, they were quick to revise their earlier position favoring colonialism's 'negative-positive' role and link resistance in colonies with European working class resistance and politic.

In England, however, Dickens joined the call for bloody vengeance against India at a time when conservatives like Disraeli were speaking against the East India Company and of British harshness to India. Dicken's 1857 stand remains one of the most enduring enigmas of world history. From an Asiatic viewpoint, it proves that European liberals were India's worst enemies: 'In the wake of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, Dickens' fictional response to that event reflected a culture of desired vengeance against the mutineers... and of Disraeli who "spoke with considerable sympathy of the Mutiny as a justifiable Indian protest against British harshness".... joining the vitriolic criticism of this viewpoint expressed by the majority of the public, Dickens dismissed the governing forces in India for procrastinating and failing to protect British subjects in India.<sup>6</sup> G.B. Malleon, the author of 'The Mutiny of the Bengal Army' and later, with Kaye, of 'The Indian Mutiny of 1857', incorporates the victory of the British in the war into the larger history of British victories.<sup>7</sup>

The Colonial discussions about the Rani Jhansi essentially tended to focus on two aspects. The first was whether she had in fact been driven to revolt by the unfair treatment meted out to her by the British; Culminating in the annexation of Jhansi and second was the study of her role against the Raj. Along with the occasional adulation, negative representations of the Rani were found in most of the Western historiography.<sup>8</sup>In fact over the next decade the image of the Rani was generally scripted negatively in colonial discursive writings and later reports and accounts tended to demonize the rebel queen. These later accounts of the 1880's and 1890's tended to dismiss Huge Rose's adulatory descriptions of her valour by remarking that she was "just the sort of daredevil women soldiers admire".<sup>9</sup> When imperial "Mutiny" historians like John Kaye and George Malleon wrote in their 'History of the Indian Mutiny (1896)', "Whatever her faults in British eyes may have been, her countrymen will ever believe that she was driven by ill-treatment

into rebellion; that her cause was a righteous cause", they were giving voice to this collective British guilt.<sup>10</sup> But she was not perceived as unambiguously "evil" as Nana Sahib to whom she was related by G.O. Trevelyan in his book 'Cawnpore'.<sup>11</sup> In any case, controversy surrounded the incident of the massacre in Colonial discursive writings especially by Joyee Lebra-Chapman in his book 'The Rani of Jhansi: A Study in Female Heroism in India'. The Rani always maintained that she was innocent of these killings but her protestations of innocence were never accepted by the British. Subsequent research, however, seems to support her claim. Eyewitness testimonies by European survivors, like Mrs. Mutlow, later testified to the Rani's innocence.<sup>12</sup> Yet another eyewitness, T.A. Martin subsequently wrote a letter to the Rani's son, Damodar Rao, saying that she "took no part whatever in the massacre of the European residents of Jhansi in June 1857. On the contrary, she supplied them with food for two days after they had gone into the fort."<sup>13</sup>Early imperial "Mutiny historians", like John Kaye and George Malleon too generally tended to echo this perception about her bravery. In their 'History of the Indian Mutiny (1896)', they described her as "the resolute woman, who alike in council and on the field, was the soul of the conspirators. Clad in the attire of a man and mounted on horseback, the Rani of Jhansi might have been seen animating her troops through the day."<sup>14</sup>

Eric Stokes commented on the heat of reactions even in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century to the rebellion of 1857-58. It was one of a wave of revolts from Europe in 1848 to Taiping and Nien after 1858; but all they had in common was failure.<sup>15</sup> He referred to the notorious scene of the massacre in Kanpur, the well down which victims were stuffed, and the site of a memorial from which Indians other than Christians were barred until independence. It was then replaced by a bronze effigy of Nana Sahib's general Tantia Topi. This "singularly tasteless and vicious reprisal" was curious evidence of the power of symbols, according to Stokes. The memory of European dead was desecrated while more numerous Indian victims of British atrocities went without memorial. For both India and Pakistan, rebellion had become "the formative violence of their national history, the proof that colonialism had been withstood even unto blood, as Stokes argued."<sup>16</sup>

Recent studies which have focused on the local manifestations of the revolt, show that its reverberations extended deep into Southern and Eastern India. A nascent literature has also emerged that is attentive to the global dimensions of the uprising.<sup>17</sup> Peter Putnis explained how developments in communications in the mid nineteenth century resulted in the news of the events of 1857 in India to spread across the World....making it one of the first global media events.<sup>18</sup> Marina Carter & Crispin Bates correlate the socio-economic factors with the Indian uprising. They consider that the uprising coincided with dramatic increases in the world market price for sugar, prompting British colonial producers to extend cultivation of cane and their political agents to suggest that the need for further plantation labour be met out from among the likely Indian convict transportees.<sup>19</sup> Carter and Bates went on to show that in aftermath of the revolt, a sharp increase in emigration

to the sugar colonies was recorded from parts of northern India that were most adversely affected by the conflicts. Notwithstanding the diversity of responses repercussions in distant colonies of the Empire, Endersen, Carter and Bates acknowledged that during the rebellion, panic-stricken Europeans in the Straites settlements (specifically Singapore), who had grown suspicious of Indian inhabitants settled there, were the most vehement opponents to the transportation of convict-rebels.

Gregory Ferment – Barnes says in his book “The Indian Mutiny 1857-58” that support for the mutineers was largely confined to the cities and whole swathes of the countryside remained either passive or supportive of attempts to restore British rule. But this book ignores the socio-economic causes of disaffection which are generally focused by the most modern historiography. Rosie Llewlyn Jones in ‘The Great Uprising in India 1857-58’ tries to convey that mutineers not only attacked the British residents but also attacked those Indians who opposed the mutiny. On the other side there were some Europeans who supported the mutineers.<sup>20</sup>

Jill Bender explores the new areas of the British Empire and has noted that the Indian mutiny was the cape’s moment to shine. The violence provided the colony with an opportunity to play an integral role in protecting the empire and had a profound impact on imperial policy in the white settler colonies.<sup>21</sup> Peter Robb’s ‘A Brief History of an Idea: On the Indian Rebellion of 1857’, focuses on the characterization of the revolt in an effort to highlight the impact of the rebellion on perceptions and terminology. He situates the rebellion against a broad canvas. This includes a wave of revolts from Europe in 1848 to the Taiping and the Nien movements (both in China) after 1858 in the ex-colonial world, pointing to their failure as a common element. As Robb argues, the Indian uprising mattered greatly because British rule was restored, but would have mattered much more if the British had been thrown out of India. Robb’s contribution emphasizes the way 1857 had an impact on the mind more than on the “material world”, and in this sense directs our attention to an area that is normally ignored.<sup>22</sup> Michael H. Fisher’s ‘The Multiple Meanings of 1857 for Indians in Britain’, points to the diversities as well as the sifts associated with 1857 that had an influence as the way in which Indian’s within British society related themselves to 1857. At the same time, Fisher notes certain specificities that involved shifts and changes in the attitudes of British women towards Indians over the 1850s, during the rebellion and after it ended.<sup>23</sup>

Metcalf argues that in upper India, it was more in the form of a turbulent agrarian upheaval gathering together a wide variety of discontents. The rebellion had not yet taken the form of an organized movement against the British but it commanded extensive popular support, especially in Awadh, throughout the North-Western Provinces and Western Bihar. Sepoy discontent was an essential ingredient of the rebellion but the Mutiny derived its strength from the civil population.<sup>24</sup> Metcalfe further emphasizes that it was not merely a mutiny nor was a war of independence. For him 1857 was “a traditional movement in which those who had the most to lose in the new sought the restoration of the old pre-British order.”<sup>25</sup>

Antonio Gramsci impressed by the concept of hegemony. He consider that the popular Dalit literature on the participation of Dalit especially women can be seen to represent alternative and dissident voices, co-existing with and simultaneously challenging hegemonic ideologies.<sup>26</sup>

The most recent work is by Clare Anderson who sets out to explore prisons as sites of cultural contestation between the Raj and its native prisoners. Her book fills certain important gaps in the historiography of this great event of colonial India and accords prisons a centrality beyond the clichéd descriptions of prisons as sites for the surveillance and incarceration of native elements that were detrimental to the stability of the Raj. Strangely, Anderson does not attempt to locate the attempt to launch significant prison reforms in the broader colonial context. The 1820s and 1830s were a time when the colonial state was making forays into domains that had been hitherto considered sacrosanct. The fact that the jail became a site for a considerable amount of social churning was one of the pivotal factors behind jails acquiring a huge symbolic value, according to Anderson. Jails for the rebels symbolized a space where the customs and traditions of indigenous society were under sever threat. She posited that their hostility was influential in the British Indian Government’s decision to setup a penal settlement for Indian convicts in the Andamans.<sup>27</sup>

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## 15

## Consolidation of Holdings in Patiala And East Punjab States Union (1948-56): Relocating its Impact on Social and Economic Life

### Part II

(Continue from Cijhar 6<sup>th</sup> issue April-June, 2013)

\*Roopam Jasmeet Kaur

Patiala and East Punjab States was formed on 5 May 1948, and was formally inaugurated on 15 July 1948 by S. Vallabh Bhai Patel, the then Deputy Prime Minister of India.<sup>1</sup> PEPSU consisted of eight east Punjab princely states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Faridkot, Kapurthala, Malerkotla, Nalagarh and Kalsian. It covered an area of 10,119 sq. miles and had a total population of 34.93 lakhs. 81% of its population lived in rural areas.<sup>2</sup> The union was divided into eight districts- Patiala, Barnala, Bhatinda, Fatehgarh Sahib, Sangrur, Kapurthala, Mahendargarh and Kohistan. The union existed in total for eight years, and it was finally merged with the Punjab in 1956.

In Part I of the paper<sup>3</sup> an attempt was made to highlight the problems arising out of the fragmented allocation of holdings amongst peasants. It also discussed various phases through which the legislation and consolidation of holdings had to pass before its final settlement. In the second part of the paper, a humble attempt is made to relocate the effects of the consolidation on the social and economic life of masses.

For a quick review of the facts presented the first part of the paper, it would be rather convenient to have a glance on the procedure adopted by the Government of PEPSU for consolidation of holdings as given in Table I below.<sup>4</sup>

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**Table I: Stages in Consolidation of Holdings Adopted in Pepsu**

- I. Preliminary Steps;-
  - (a) Initiation of Consolidation Proceedings
  - (b) Formation of Village Advisory Committee
  - (c) Appointment of Guardians of Minors etc.
  - (d) Correction of Records
  - (e) Preparation of Preliminary Statements
- II. Rectangulation and Measurements:-
  - (a) Marking of Rectangles and Sub-rectangles
  - (b) Adjustment of Obstacles in Rectangulation
  - (c) Preparation of Village Map which includes marking of Blocks and numbering of rectangles and sub-rectangles
- III. Classification and Valuation of Land
- IV. Preparation of the Consolidation Scheme
- V. Repartition of Village Land
- VI. Prepration of Final Papers and their Final Attestation

Source: *Planning Commission on Consolidation of Holdings*, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957

Even before the introduction of first five year plan, an area measuring 1, 26,524 acres had been consolidated in PEPSU. The work was seriously taken up in the year 1951-52 in a planned manner. Till 1956, the consolidation work had been completed in 1551 villages in the union, comprising an area of 13, 67,190 acres against a target of 13, 33,333 acres of the first plan.<sup>5</sup> The agricultural and other developments in that time had necessitated the consolidation of the entire workable area. The remaining area in the state measuring around 47, 29,165 acres was planned to be consolidated with in the period of second five year plan.<sup>6</sup> Table II, states the total area consolidated and expenditure for the same in PEPSU from 1951-1956.

**Table II: Total Area Consolidated and Total Expenditure on Consolidation in Punjab and PEPSU**

Year	Punjab		PEPSUT	
	Total Area	Total	Total Area	Total
	Consolidated (in acres)	Expenditure (in Rupees)	Consolidated (in acres)	Expenditure (in Rupees)
1951-52	9,44,203	42,09,470	89,748	3,42,196
1952-53	9,95,768	45,00,511	87,775	11,39,302
1953-54	13,78,135	57,,29,316	3,65,922	17,84,332
1954-55	13,33,100	54,41,886	1,66,379	28,59,551
1955-56	N.A.	N.A.	5,30,862	38,50,000

Source: *Planning Commission on Consolidation of Holdings*, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, p. 72

### **Impact of Consolidation of Holdings on Rural Life in PEPSU**

Consolidation of holdings stands as an important precondition to rural development activities and was therefore being included as an important part of both the first and second five year plans of the union. It adds to the operational efficiency of both the farm and the farmer. The village records were simplified as the number of *Khasras* was appreciably reduced. Litigation in the village on land disputes too was reduced.<sup>7</sup> The time thus saved was utilized in the care of crops. Irrigation facilities could also be easily arranged in consolidated fields. When a tiller had all his farms at the same place, he could easily plan for a well or a tube-well and thus could attain better yields.<sup>8</sup>

The area under irrigation also increased as is clear from Table III. More wells and tube wells were sunk in the villages soon after the consolidation operations. Mechanized farming became easier. In villages, where consolidation had been completed, the produce also increased up to one and a half times and much time and money which used to go waste before was now saved.<sup>9</sup>

Consolidation results in increase in total area under cultivation. In a scattered holding, a considerable area is wasted in embankments and boundaries. Once consolidation is effected, this area was also brought under cultivation.

Large chunks of wastelands were also reclaimed as they were distributed among the land owners. Sometimes a cultivator left some parts of his land uncultivated either due to its distance from the other fields of the owner or due to its size being too small to be economically cultivated. After consolidation, these fragments were dealt away with and thus a large area of uncultivated land was brought under cultivation. In 1948, total net area sown in Pepsu was 43, 53,000

acres and it increased to 46, 25,000 acres in June 1954. The cultivable area lying fallow decreased from 15, 25,000 acres in 1948 to 12, 48,000 acres in 1954.<sup>10</sup> The details of the increase in Land Utilization statistics can be viewed in Table III.

**Table III: Land Utilization in Patiala and East Punjab States Union (1948-54)**

(Figures in thousand Acres)

Year	Total Land Area	Net Area Sown			Area Cultivable but not Cultivated	
		Total	Irrigated	Un-irrigated	Total	Current Fallows
1948	6,463	4,353	N.A.	N.A.	1,525	702
1949	6,491	4,386	N.A.	N.A.	1,559	656
1950	6,371	4,115	1,845	2,270	1,811	876
1951	6,372	4,402	1,786	2,616	1,470	592
1952	6,370	4,186	1,803	2,384	1,641	847
1953	6,371	4,305	2,055	2,250	1,564	752
1954	6,371	4,625	2,211	2,414	1,248	483

Source: *Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics*, Issued by Directorate of Economics and Statistics, PEPSU, Patiala, 1955, p. 9

Consolidation leads to the development of land and agriculture too. The farmer feels more safe to invest in a big holding than small and scattered ones. He works and invested in a more enthusiastic way to improve the quality of his land. On his consolidated block of land, a farmer sinks a well and builds a homestead. Cultivation of vegetables, keeping of poultry and milch cattle, coupled with intensive cultivation and manuring further added to the income of the farmer. It improved the quality of land too.<sup>11</sup>

The consolidation and the resultant increase in produce and income of the farmer also decreased the indebtedness problem in rural areas. Low production was one of the chief causes of rural indebtedness in PEPSU. The low production could be further attributed to the causes like sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, lack of irrigation facilities and the poor quality of soil.<sup>12</sup> To increase the production, the most helping factors could be the extension and improvement of irrigation facilities, reclamation of culturable waste land, consolidation of land holdings and increase in the number of co-operative societies. It's interesting to note that all these factors required for the increase of production are inter-related either directly or indirectly.<sup>13</sup>

The consolidation of holdings opened a new chapter in the lives of the farmers. The whole process and planning of consolidation, paved way for the restructuring

of villages. These lay outs provided for three standard types of houses- for land allottees, their tenants, and village artisans and agricultural laborers. The dream of a planned and a prospering village was realized.<sup>14</sup>

The most significant contribution of the Consolidation was the change it brought in the social life of the villages. It provided a unique opportunity for the development of village communications, planning of the village *abadi*, provision of social amenities and works of social utility. This provided better market facilities, better education and occupational opportunities too. Thus the consolidation of holdings was a significant step towards the over all development of villages.

With the opening of National Extension Blocks and Community Development Projects the social and economic life of the village was undergoing a decisive transition. Priority was therefore given to the consolidation of areas falling under the Community Development Projects. Realizing that the consolidation programme was the basis of rural re-organization, areas were reserved for the common need of the villagers such as schools, play grounds, *panchayat ghars*, hospitals and veterinary centres. Circular roads round the villages and roads linking the villages with the other villages and with the main roads were also laid.<sup>15</sup> Considering the overwhelming majority of small peasant proprietors who form the major sector of rural population, consolidation of holdings, followed by a programme of sinking of wells and tube-wells was the principal need of the densely populated villages. The advantages of consolidation had been fully appreciated by the proprietors of land and there was such a keen demand for the same that the revenue staff could not cope up with it. A village, after consolidation, presented a different look. Straight roads were provided. The villages were now well planned and hygienically safer. Infact it would not be an exaggeration to say that the 'Consolidation of Holdings' was one of the most efficient and required measured of the 'Grow More Food' Scheme.<sup>16</sup>

Landless persons whether they were *Harijans* or belonged to other castes, were given a free gift of five *Marlas* each (1/32 acre) of *Abadi*, provided they were helpful to the cultivators directly or indirectly. Such persons included carpenters, washer men, barbers, weavers and shoe makers etc.<sup>17</sup> Manure pits were laid outside the *Abadi* areas for compost making and keeping the village clean. The other departments of the state such as education, agriculture, public welfare, health and irrigation helped to erect suitable buildings on the reserved plots by subsidizing towards the funds contributed by the villagers for raising those buildings. The scheme was intimately developed with the community development projects and the national extension service programmes. The consolidation process changed the entire shape of the village. An antiquity village became a modern village, humming with life and activity.<sup>18</sup>

In conclusion, it would be apt to remark that In Punjab and PEPSU, the plan of consolidation touched almost every aspect of rural life and planning. Before 1948, only

7, 00,000 acres of land had been consolidated in Punjab and PEPSU. In contrast to it, by the end of first five year plan in 1956, 12, 40,686 acres of land had

been consolidated in PEPSU alone. The total expenditure for the same amounted to Rs. 99, 75,381.<sup>19</sup> A landmark was set in the history of land reforms in India; When Punjab (including PEPSU) became the first state to achieve 100 percent consolidation of holdings in 1969. In other words, it had a total area of 41, 67,000 acres under cultivation and the whole of its had been consolidated by the end of 1969.<sup>20</sup> This reform introduced a turning point in the history of growth and development in this region. A chain of a variety of prospects for development in the villages of Punjab and PEPSU was now unleashed, which brought far reaching changes in the social and economic life of its inhabitants.

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## 16

# Communalism in The Light of Muslim Consciousness

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The Partition of the country on 15th August, 1947 was the biggest tragedy in the history of India. Despite the efforts of different political parties the partition could not be prevented. The historic Lahore Resolution passed on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1940 by the President of All India Muslim League, Mohd. Ali Jinnah was result of Muslim Consciousness in India. However the origin of the word Pakistan was not new as the idea of forming a separate Muslim State was mooted as early as December 1883.<sup>1</sup>

It will not be wrong to say that the Muslim League was the outcome of educated Muslim consciousness. This consciousness was generated through the socio-educational reforms propagated by Sir Sayyed Ahmad Khan (1817-1889). It would be apt to say that Mohd. Ali Jinnah realized his dream of creating separate homeland for Muslims and the prophecy made by John Bright in 1877 also came true. Communal consciousness among Muslims evolved during the colonial period.<sup>2</sup> The insecurity among Muslims propagated their problems. They Were fed with the teachings that misery and ill-fate of Muslims have Risen out of their deviance from the fundamentals of Islam and only a Strict religious following of the Islamic code: namaz, Roze etc. will Bring change. The question of their loyalty, discrimination in services and the communal riots compelled them to resort to seclusion, which Can easily be exploited by the communalists.<sup>3</sup>

Amongst Indian Muslims and thereby a consciousness of Muslim political identity. After passing through a series of upheavals, the Muslim community shed its minority complex and declared itself a nation, asserting its separateness.<sup>4</sup>

The fear of Muslims reflected in the revivalist movement started by Sayyed Ahmed's Jihad (AD 1831) and Haji Shariatullah's Faraizi to purify Islam of Hindu rituals and customs. Their ultimate goal was to establish an Islamic state in India and to unite Muslims into one community on the basis of religion. Two factors

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played an important role in reinforcing the creation of a separate identity amongst Indian Muslims. They were,

Firstly, the activities of Christian Missionaries and secondly the Hindu reformist and revivalist movements. Muslims felt threatened by both. The fear of Muslims being converted into another faith, and of being dominated by others, led the Ulama to organize themselves 'to save Muslims from extinction'. Recognizing the authority of the Ulama, Muslims turned towards them for guidance. They sought fatwa over whether they should learn the English language, serve the East India Company, and regard India as Dar-ul-Islam (under which they could live peacefully) rather than as Dar-ul-Harb (which imposed upon them an obligation to rebel).<sup>5</sup> Thus, external and internal challenges brought the Muslims of India closer together. Religious consciousness paved the way towards their separate identity. The madrasa, mosque, and Khanqah became symbols of their religious identity. However, the hopes that they placed in religious revivalism as the path to political power came to an end when Sayyid Ahmed was defeated and his Jihad Movement failed to mobilize Muslims to fight against British rule.<sup>6</sup>

Indian Muslims were demoralized after the failure of the rebellion of 1857. Sadness and gloom prevailed everywhere. Muslims felt crushed and isolated. There came a challenge from British scholars who criticized Islamic institutions as being unsuitable for modern times. Never before had Indian Muslims faced such criticism of their religion.<sup>7</sup>

"In Bengal, the landlord is Hindu, the peasant Muslim. The money lender is Hindu, the client is Muslim. The jailor is Hindu, the prisoner is Muslim. The magistrate is Hindu, the accused is Muslim." By remaining aloof from the Western oriented education system, the Muslims alienated themselves from the many new avenues opening up for the emerging middle class. This self-imposed isolation led to an intensified awareness of their minority role. Curiously, however, it was Muslim opposition to the extension of representative government—a political stance taken out of fear of Hindu dominance—that helped to re-establish rapport with the British, who by 1900 welcomed any available support against mounting Hindu nationalism.<sup>8</sup>

With the establishment of the British rule Muslims with their wounded Psyche of having been pushed out of the ruling status, became victims of historical forces that would leave them lagging far behind the majority Hindu community in material terms. All India Muslim League was the political party representing the Muslims of India.<sup>9</sup> Prof. Wilfred Smith says that by 1941 Aligarh had become the emotional Centre of Pakistan; whereas Sir Aga Khan claims that the independent, Sovereign nation of Pakistan was born in the Muslim University of Aligarh.<sup>10</sup> Richard Symonds who came out with his book *The Making of Pakistan*, (Faber & Faber, London 1949) on the morrow of the Emergence of Pakistan has written: In politics he (Syed Ahmad Khan) had stated that Muslims were a nation who could not and must not be submerged in a system of government by majority vote. The Pakistanis rightly claim him as one of the fathers of their country.<sup>11</sup>

In the Aligarh Institute Gazette at 22 Sept. 1893, Sir Syed wrote: "Mahomedan

may accept English supremacy, because they have been Conquered by Englishmen, but who is to make them submit to the supremacy of the Hindus, whom for 700 years they regarded their slaves. Sir Syed laid down as a matter of policy for the Muslims: Undiluted loyalty to the British regime; no truck with the Indian National Congress; and pursuit of modern education. This was followed by Muslims until 1906.<sup>12</sup> K.M. Pannikar is also of the view that "the Aligarh Movement brought Islamic renaissance in India. It was the Aligarh man who was the spearhead of Muslim Movement in every corner of India. Aligarh also elevated Urdu to the position of a national language for Indian Islam. This led the Muslims, in due course of time to claim for a separate nation (*A Survey of India History*).<sup>13</sup>

Communist feelings in both Communities were deepened by revivalist movements of the 1920s.<sup>14</sup> In 1928, in response to the Shuddhi (purification) and Sangathan (Hindu unity) movements of Hindus, the Muslims formed Tabligh (proselytizing) and Tanzim (organization) movements to protect Muslim peasants from reconversion to Hinduism.<sup>15</sup> In order to 'purify' the Muslim peasants, Muslim preachers visited far off villages and thus made them conscious of their religious identity.<sup>16</sup> The Muslim elite, in order to get a better share in the name of the Muslim community, made full use of appeals to Muslim identity.<sup>17</sup>

The Ulama also contributed to the infusion of religious feelings amongst ordinary Muslims by organizing milad festivals and giving a call to go 'back to the Quran, Back to the Prophet'. They mobilized the common people to take an active part in the religious and political issues concerning the interests of the Muslim community.<sup>18</sup>

The political developments of the 1930s promoted further the Consciousness of a Muslim identity. The propaganda of the Muslim League, the success of the Indian National Congress in the 1937 election, and the emergence of Jinnah as the sole spokesman of Indian Muslims, widened the political gulf between the two communities that led ultimately to the partition of the subcontinent.<sup>19</sup>

So, triggered by the Islamic morals and led by their 'Quaid-e-Azam' Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Muslims of India marched to their destiny of sovereign status and won the battle for Pakistan not with an army but with the power of words written with their determination. In his words "It is not only a religion but it contains law, philosophy and politics. In fact, it contains everything that matters to a man from morning to night. When we talk of Islam we take it as an all-embracing word. We do not mean anything will. The foundation of our Islamic code is that we stand for liberty, equality and fraternity."<sup>20</sup>

It was Jinnah who guided his people to the cause of the freedom. It was Jinnah who stood steadfast for the rights of Muslims of India. And it was indeed Jinnah who led his devoted followers to victory. He believed in moderation, ordered progress, democratic norms, Islamic ideals, integrity, dedication, honesty and hard work.

But Jinnah was not the only Muslim leader of United India who exercised deep influence over the Muslims of the sub-continent. It is true that Jinnah's determination and his excellent organizing skills were highly important contributing

factors, but Jinnah could never create Pakistan, had not the Muslims masses believed in his ideal and faithfully worked with intense zeal for the realization of the same. This consciousness came in the shape of works of literature of poet like Iqbal, which reached and touched the hearts of masses. He is credited for initiating the idea of Separation, as he was the first prominent public figure to bring forth the demand of Pakistan in his presidential address to the Muslim League's Annual session at Allahabad in 1930 as President of the Punjab Muslim League in words which resounding the minds of every Pakistani even today and which by 1940 became so loud that Jinnah adopted it as the ultimate goal.<sup>21</sup> It is true, that the birth of Pakistan was triggered by factors like political, religious, economic and cultural, but had it not been for the will of people, the vision of Pakistan could never be realized. Muslims were fortunate to have leaders like Jinnah, Sir Syed, Iqbal, Ali Brothers and Liaquat Ali Khan during the struggle for Pakistan.

These leaders were responsible in creating consciousness among Muslim masses for the realization of their vision of Pakistan and for Muslims they were glimmers of hope in the era of disappointments and deceptions. Where Iqbal sought a modernized country relying on the principles of Quran interpreted from a fresh angle. Likewise Sir Syed and other leaders also encouraged Muslims to seek western knowledge and mould themselves according to the modern advancements to keep up with the world yet remaining within the limits laid by Islam. Perhaps Jinnah best represented the concept of the state of Pakistan envisaged by these leaders and their followers in his own words as 'Let us lay the foundation of our democracy on the basis of truly Islamic ideals and principles'.<sup>22</sup>

The vision of Pakistan does not only lie in history but it also forms a part of our national life. Crescent and star on the national flag is an Islamic symbol signifying progress, enlightenment and knowledge. Even the national anthem reflects Jinnah's vision of Pakistan aspiring for a destiny that is strong and shining, a land that is pure, resolve, leading the way to progress and perfection, glorifying the past and present.<sup>23</sup> Thus, in the last phase, consciousness of Muslim identity was exploited by the leadership not so much for a religious cause but for achieving political goals. The leadership was privately secular, but in public they greatly emphasized religion and its values.<sup>24</sup> It is here that the foundations of hypocrisy in appeals to religion were laid, which has persisted to this day.<sup>25</sup>

This propagation by the communalists both amongst Hindus and Muslims are in confirmation with each other as they are hammered with a purpose of separating and maintaining distinct identities of the respective religious communities. Both wish to claim that these communities have distinct identities and therefore distinct interest and therefore conflicting interests. Hence, they were in conflict, are in conflict and will (have to) remain in conflict.

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## Gandhi And Environment

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The vast potential of human intelligence has led to unprecedented scientific and technological advancement in modern times. But the cost imposed on environment through depletion of natural resources is causing serious concerns. In our quest for progress and prosperity we have played havoc to our natural resources - polluting air, water, soil, causing climate change, rise in sea level and depleting ozone layer. There are problems of poverty, economic inequality, social injustice and unemployment. Polluted cities, rivers, polluting industries and pathetic state of our villages are examples of our cruel indifference. The state of our environment is alarming and threatens human survival. However, the world has now awakened to the need and urgency of checking over-exploitation of nature and consequent degradation and devastation of our environment. Hence the search for solutions.

While looking for solutions to this ecological crisis we are bound to look back. Then Gandhi's thought on environment seems to bring some of the solutions. In fact, Gandhi seems to be the messiah whose whole life is a message to the mankind. He was not an environmentalist in the modern sense of the term. His ideas on Truth and Non-violence, development, technology and village Swaraj are proof enough of his environmental concerns. He is often referred as 'apostle of applied human ecology'.<sup>1</sup> He was a political leader, thinker and a visionary. He rejected the solutions of the western model of scientific and technologically advanced civilization for the problems of India. He firmly believed that the solutions for the problems of India cannot be imported from the west. Instead, we will have to find our own solutions to mitigate the poverty and penury of Indian people. Mechanization, technology and industrial development may be the solution for problems of the west as there are few hands to work. But in India where hands are surplus, the need is to find labor intensive and cost effective development. His emphasis was on simple tools which do not complicate the very existence of man.

His ideas published in 'Hind Swaraj' in 1909 more than a century ago are a reflection of his insight and foresight about ecology and environment. The document

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is indispensable in its profound ecological wisdom. In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi criticized modern civilization and said that, if India imitated the Western civilization, all the resources of the earth will not be enough to sustain our large population. He also cautioned against what was later to be known as the 'consumerist culture' and a 'waste-centric society'. As early as the beginning of the 20th century Gandhi was against unbridled industrialization and materialism.<sup>2</sup> He warned the western society against its ill effects. To him entire problem of modern civilization originates from the technological advancement leading to industrial developments. The result is socio-cultural upheavals. He opined that undoubtedly, industrialization has brought tremendous material pleasure and prosperity in modern times but simultaneously it has done irreparable damage to the health and harmony of human society. It is posing serious problems not only for humans but also for all the creatures on our planet earth. Gandhi keenly understood the essence of man-nature relationship. His whole philosophy of life, his thoughts about society and politics are indeed all in consonance with it. The reverence for nature is fundamental to human existence. It is this understanding which makes him an environmentalist par excellence.

In Gandhi's time there was no articulation of environmental or ecological problems. But his emphasis on human connectedness and harmony with nature is a guiding philosophy of environmental movements today. He was clear that a civilization based on cooperation with nature and hence on renewable resources like agriculture and forestry is far superior than a civilization built on non-renewable resources.<sup>3</sup> His famous quote that "the earth provides enough to satisfy everyman's needs, but not for anybody's greed" sums up his perspective on environment. He emphasized the distinction between need and want. It derives from the ethical position Gandhi takes almost on all issues. Reverence for nature, its protection and preservation, simplicity of life style and limiting of wants are some of the tenets of Gandhian thought and philosophy. The reckless pursuit of industrialization and materialism worried him. He believed that science which does not respect nature's needs, and development which does not respect people's needs threatens human survival. Gandhi's thoughts provide us a new vision to harmonize nature with the needs of people. The spirit of Gandhi has undoubtedly moved Indian environmentalists. There is a general agreement that Gandhi inspired and to some extent fathered the environmental movement in India. Noted author Ramchandra Guha though skeptical about viewing Gandhi as "early environmentalist", agrees that he influenced the early Indian environment activists viz. Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Vimla Bahuguna and Sunderlal Bahuguna of chipko movement, Baba Amte and Medha Patkar of Narmada Bachao Andolan and others.<sup>4</sup> Gandhi's ideas on environment have influenced many environmentalists viz. Arne Naess, Johan Galtung and E. F. Schumacher as Thomas Weber has referred to in his paper 'Gandhi and deep Ecology'.<sup>5</sup>

Gandhi's cardinal principle of life is simplicity. Man must learn to distinguish between want and desire. He considers earth a living organism and the entire universe a single entity. The Hindu concept of Advaita (non-duality) is fundamental

to his belief. It relates to the essential oneness of the entire universe. There are fundamental laws which govern the universe viz. cosmic law and the law of species. If there is complete harmony between living and non-living phenomenon nothing could go wrong, Gandhi believed.<sup>6</sup> Gandhi belongs to the school which believes in remedy rather than cure. He is akin to Plato in his idea of ideal society.<sup>7</sup> He envisions a kind of civilization which will never lead to environmental problems. Gandhi's economic ideas like swadeshi and trusteeship

differ from the conventional economics. They are closer to 'ecological economics' and sustainable development. His concept of sarvodaya i.e. welfare of all, basically safeguards the rights of all and of future generations as well. J.C. Kumarappa considers Gandhian economic ideas as constituting philosophy that sought to create an "economy of permanence".<sup>8</sup>

Gandhi's concepts of satya and ahimsa are fundamental to his whole philosophy. Ahimsa i.e. non-injury in thought, word and deed, is a means towards finding truth which is the ultimate end. For Gandhi truth is God and God is truth. He is environmentalist with a difference. His real importance lies in the fact that he practiced what he preached. His devotion, dedication and sincerity to the causes he took up is duly demonstrated by the life he led. This makes him a true environmentalist. Hence, his thought is relevant for all times.

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## Chandernagore & The Revolutionary Movement of Bengal: A Study

**\*Sachin Chakraborty**

Swadeshi Movement greatly fuelled up the anti-British sentiment in different parts of Bengal. French occupied Chandernagar, formerly known as Chandernagore or Chandernagor (French: *Chandernagor*), was an important place amongst them. The youths of Chandernagore (in the present article this spelling will be used), like the others from Bengal, Vehemently protested against Lord Curzon's proposal of Partition of Bengal. But initially, those protests were not armed or violent. The young activists of Chandernagore rather prepared themselves through intellectual and physical activities for the future movements. Afterwards, activists of 'Chandernagore Group' were able to build connections with foreign similar forces through north India. British Intelligence agency was certainly not unaware of the uprising of these groups, their activities, the persons involved with the groups and their whereabouts. British Intelligence agents meticulously kept detailed records of 'Chandernagore Group' and their activities, which could be found in different archives. On the basis of these records to find out the origin of revolutionary movements in Chandernagore and their activities is the main objective of the present article.

In this regard an intelligence report has mentioned, "In 1908 a band of youths styling themselves as 'Satpathabalambi Sampradaya' (this means society of those who have chosen the True Path) started a sort of a club with Babu Charu Chandra Ray M.A as its president where drill and other physical feats such as lathi play, dagger play etc. used to take place. It subsequently divided itself into two groups are for the northern section of the town with Matilal Ray as its head at Borai Chanditola and with Basanta Kumar Banerjee as its head of Gondalpara in the southern section."<sup>1</sup> Many youths joined these centre of which Purna Chandra Dey, Srish Chandra Ghosh and Basanta Kumar Banerjee were made state prisoners. On account of the political activities subsequently during the Alipore Bomb Case Charu

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Chandra Ray was arrested but let off on political grounds (took sheltered the French Law). Matilal Roy, Jyotish Chandra Ghosh and Narendra Nath Banerjee were suspected to be concerned in the Dalhousie Square Bomb outrage (directed against Mr. Denham). During the investigation of Dalhousie Square Bomb Case the Intelligence Department Depicted the organization of Chandernagore Revolutionary Party as follows:

X (an Unknown Person)  
I  
CharuChandra Roy  
I  
Srish Chandra Ghosh

I	I
Basana Kumar Banerjee (Associate with Calcutta group)	Matilal Roy (Associate with Chandernagore group) <sup>2</sup>

But before this incident happened the British Intelligence Department were well aware about the activities of 'Chandernagore Group'. Another Intelligence report mentioned that "Our attention was first drawn to Chandernagore in 1907 in consequence of certain disturbances which took place there and information was at the same time received of the connection of Bengal revolutionaries with the Chandernagore party."<sup>3</sup> So it has been cleared that the activities of 'Chandernagore Group' was a part of the broader revolutionary movement of Bengal. The earlier report also said that "Chandernagore is well known has always been a stronghold of the Bengal revolutionaries and a center from which some of their most important and daunting scheme has been controlled."<sup>4</sup>

Due to the Muzaffarpur incident (happened on 30.04.1908) British Police searched the different secret places of Calcutta where the revolutionaries' activists took sheltered. Total number of 41 revolutionaries activists were arrested of whom 3 from Chandernagore Group, they were (1) Upendra Nath Bondopadhyay, (2) Charu Chandra Roy, (3) Kanailal Dutta. Upendra Nath Bondopadhyay was arrested from the main center of the Yugantar Group i.e, 32, Muraripukur Road <sup>5</sup>Kanailal Dutt From 15, Gopimohan Dutta Lane <sup>6</sup>and CharuChandra Roy from French Chandernagore. Matilal Roy described that the arrest of CharuChandra Roy was a great loss of their group.<sup>7</sup> Upendra Nath Bondopadhyay described in his autobiography about the arrest of Charu Roy that-----*The name of Charuchandra Roychowdhury was written in a notebook of our garden. We called Indubhusan of Khulna as Charu..... His main crime was that Kanailal Dutta and me both of from Chandernagore and his student. As the students of Charubabu connected with the anti-government activities, it does not matter whether he is Roy or Roychowdhury, and he must be arrested.*<sup>8</sup>

Kanailal Dutta assassinated approver Narendra Nath Goswamy (well known

as Naren Gossain) within the Alipore Jail with the help of Satyendranath Basu, the activist of Midnapur Group. The revolver used for this work was supplied by the "Chandernagore Group" In the intelligence report we saw the name of Srish Chandra Ghosh, Matilal Roy and Basanta Kumar Bondopadhyay was closely associated for the smuggling the revolvers to the Alipore Jail.<sup>9</sup> There were two revolvers used for the assassination. The post-mortem report of Naren Gossain indicate that his death has been done by the small bored revolver used by Kanailal Dutta. The Pioneer wrote that "One of the revolvers that were used by Dutt is a Charles Osborne 3.80 bore and other is a Royal Irish Constabulary 4.50 bore webley. The former is neat and small while the latter is large and cumbersome."<sup>10</sup>

Mati Roy formed a party of his own at Borai Chanditola while the Gondalpara party became separate and worked independently. Noted political absconders such as Rash Behari Bose, Vinaik Rao Kaple, Atul Chandra Ghosh, Amarendra Nath Chatterjee, etc took shelter in Chandannagore through Mati Roy's agency and Mati Roy was actually responsible for negotiation between the British Govt. and himself which ultimately led to the release of Atul Ghosh and Amarendra Nath Chatterjee from French Exile. Mati Roy published newspaper named "Prabartak" and "Nava Sangha" which were banned under the sea custom Act from entering into the British Territory due to their extreme tone. Mati Roy wrote books named "Kanailal", "Satabarser Bangla" which were proscribed by the Govt. of Bengal. Lately Anukul Chandra Das a Sree Sangha absconder was traced to Mati Roy's shelter in Borai Chanditola and later arrested in Calcutta.

After released from the 'Alipore Bomb Case' Aurobindo Ghosh took shelter at the house of Matilal Roy at Chandernagore. During this time Matilal Roy came to the close association of Aurobindo Ghosh and learned the knowledge of spiritualism. Aurobindo Ghosh went to Pondicherry from Chandernagore. Mati Roy was in to connection with Aurobindo Ghosh in Pondicherry and actually visited him on several occasions previously. In the Akshya Tritiya Celebration of Mati Ray's Party which was held annually, violent speeches were often delivered during the meetings. . A separate file has been found about the activities of 'Prabartak Sangha'.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. A.N. Mitter, Inspector of police, I.B. reported on 10.09.33 about the political situation of Chandannagore that "Since I submitted my report dt, 18.11.32 regarding the terrorist organization in Chandannagore the situation in Chandannagore has change for the worse. I noted in my previous report that there were two terrorist organizations working independently of each other in Chandannagore. One of them is the Prabartak Sangha whose leader is the well-known Matilal Ray of the Rowlatt Act fame. I may be mentioned here that Srish is the touch which Rash Behary Bose in Japan".<sup>12</sup> The report also mentioned that, "Sometime ago Durga Das Sett sent Jyotish Chandra Sinha, a member of the Juba-Samiti, to Japan to meet Rash Behary Bose there and to arrange for smuggling of arms for the terrorists party from Japan to India, if possible."<sup>13</sup> The revolutionary activities of Rash Behari Bose have been started from Chandernagore. With the association of Srish Chandra Ghosh he planned various program of their party.

Rash Behari Bose was closely associate to the bomb outrage case at Delhi against the viceroy Lord Harding .<sup>14</sup> Mahindra Nath Nayek, member of Chandernagore Group made that bomb and another member Jyotish Chandra Sinha borrowed it to Delhi. Apart from these there are so many files about Chandernagore and revolutionary movement. The British intelligence Department made a file regarding the revolutionary activists of chandernagore where they mentioned the detail about 32 members of the said party.<sup>15</sup> The member of chandernagore Group often took help from the officials of French Administration. <sup>16</sup> But apart from that some incident happened e.g., the raid of Charles Tegart against the member of Chittaganj absconder case. In the unequal fight Makhanlal (Jibon ) Ghosal died and Ananta Sinha, Loknath Bal, Ganesh Ghosh arrested by the British police. So, it has been shows that 'Chandernagore gang was an integral part of the main conspiracy in Bengal.'<sup>17</sup>

Therefore, after analyzing these reports, it could be said that this revolutionary movement arising from a small part of Bengal later established broader connections in the struggle against the British Raj and groomed many competent and dedicated soldiers of the freedom movement. Judging from these reports, it could be doubtlessly said that, Chandernagore occupies an important place in the history of Indian revolutionary movements.

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## Indians In Southeast Asia: A Historical Perspective

(Nineteenth Century - Twentieth Century)

\*Sunaina pathania

India's contacts with Southeast Asia go back to pre-Christian era.<sup>1</sup> There are references to Suvarnavdipa in Brhatkathamajari and Kathakosa as the "Golden Island". In the third century B.C., Emperor Asoka sent the Buddhist missionaries to Suvarnabhumi the present lower Burma. The countries of lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula were known as lands of gold to the people of east coast of India. Indian traders were sailing to these lands and down through the islands in search of gold and tin.

Since then for more than thousand years, there was a frequent movement of Hindu and Buddhist traders and priests to these areas. The flow was in all likelihood paralleled by the movement of Southeast Asian traders and others across the Bay of Bengal which resulted into the formation of the states that were culturally dependent on India. Several of these Indianized states prospered and featured prominently in Southeast Asian affairs, during the first millennium A.D. This age of the states represented the highest point of Indian influence in Malaya.<sup>2</sup>

In the course of time, Indian influence gradually declined, though occasional references do occur here and there. Though some of the state in the region, continued to survive, the majority of states, tended to decline. The depression in the fortunes of the states coincided with the gradual degeneration of Hindu and Buddhist influence in India.<sup>3</sup> The transformation appears to have been brought about by the rise in the power of the Brahmans.

Concurrent with the degeneration of Indian society was the erosion of Hindu political power in the North and the rise of the Muslims as a political power, arrival of Arab and Central Asian merchants and also the conversions.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that

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these changes in Indian homeland would have contributed to the decline and eventual demise of the Indianized kingdoms to the region and the rise of Islam in Southeast Asia.

With the conversion of Malacca early in the fifteenth century<sup>5</sup>, Indians (Muslims) played a significant role in its rise as a big market, the premier Malay port city of the region. Besides being traders, they brought along with them Mullas and set Islam on the march across the Malay world.<sup>6</sup> Through diplomatic marriages, erection of mosques, these Muslims became 'great favorites with the rulers and obtained whatever they wanted'. Gradually they became prominent in the commerce of the Malay port as they held high administrative positions in the ports and customs.<sup>7</sup>

Indian and the Hindu shipping gradually fell in to the hands of Muslim conquerors. Due to this, the Hindu merchants were increasingly bound to their homeland<sup>8</sup>; giving place to the more powerful and better equipped Muslim merchants of Bengal, Golconda, CoroMandal and Gujarat. While Muslims were cornering the Hindu shipping, their vessels were passing into European control and were steadily being edged out by the Europeans as the principal suppliers and carriers of goods across the Bay of Bengal. Indian merchants lost control of their trade staples (spices and textiles) as well as their principal markets and sources of supply.

The period of modern Indian immigration into Malaya dates from the foundation of Penang in 1786. It however, became a significant feature in Malayan demography only in the latter half of the nineteenth century, following the establishment of British paramountcy in India and the consolidation of British power in Malaya. Furthermore, whereas the earlier immigrants were primarily financiers and traders, the modern Indian migrant, until the Indian government ban on assisted labour emigration in 1938, was chiefly an uneducated labourer going to work on some plantations or government project. So, the pre-modern contacts were initiated by the Indian themselves, for their own benefit; but in modern times, the movement of people was to serve the interests of a third party.<sup>9</sup>

With the acquisition of Province Wellesley<sup>10</sup> in 1800, Malacca in 1824 and the foundation of Singapore in 1819 by the East India Company, the demand for labour always exceeded the supply. As the indigenous people of Malaya appeared quite happy with their customary farms and fishing stakes and were reluctant to work fixed hours of labour day in and day out<sup>11</sup>; the colonial powers turned to India for cheap labour force which was satisfied by labour migrants, although such migration was seasonal. Further, the shortage was partially offset through the employment of slaves and Indian convicts.<sup>12</sup> With the abolition of slavery in the British territories in 1833, there was an even bigger demand for labour which was precipitated by the Industrial Revolution and the development of large-scale production in Britain. Majority of Indian labourers migrated to Malaya as assisted labourers, via the indentured<sup>13</sup> labour system and the *Kangany*<sup>14</sup> system, while a few as free labourers.

The indentured migration to Malaya was essentially a South Indian phenomenon, the others being only a few hundred recruits from the Bengal area of the Ganges valley. It is not possible to measure exactly how many Indians entered Malaya as indentured labourers from the origin of the system to its abolition in 1910. Statistical data are available only from 1866. From this year until the abolition, 250,000 indentured Indian labourers had gone to Malaya. One of its worst features was that it imposed on the labourers a criminal liability for the most trivial breaches of the contracts in place of the civil liability which usually attached to such lapses.<sup>15</sup>

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a parallel system of labour recruitment through a *kangany* was evolved for Malaya. The advantages of this method over other methods of professional recruiting was that as the recruitment was done by a person known to a community, there would be a greater willingness to volunteer as emigrants. Besides, there was also now scope for the migration of families rather than individuals.<sup>16</sup>

*Kangany* labour immigration into Malaya was also a South Indian phenomenon; predominantly Tamil with a learning of Telugu from Andhra Pradesh and Malayalis from the Malabar Coast areas. From the statistical data available from 1898; between 1898 and 1938 we get the figure of 1,186,717 *kangany* recruits who landed in Malaya.<sup>17</sup> In spite of the services done to Malayan labour market by *kangany* recruitment, the system soon became the center of criticism. Bribery was frequently used to buy favors and it invariably entered into the several phases of immigration, especially where a lowly paid authority, as for example the village munsif was in a position to dispense privilege. Since the system was exploitative, the Indian nationalist leadership also began to raise the question over the condition of Indian migrants. In the face of mounting criticism, the *kangany* system was suspended during the Great Depression of the early 1930s. Formal abolition of the system, however, came in 1938 when the Indian government placed a ban on all assisted labour emigration.

Besides labour immigration, there was also the non labour immigration to Malaya to fulfil the growing demand of clerks, security personnel. There were few people with a competent knowledge of English in Malaya. English knowing Indians therefore became the natural choice for the government and the private employers in Malaya. Due to the better wages offered to clerks, teachers and technical assistants, promise of a steady job in a not too distant country and with the assurance of government pension; attracted the large number of Tamils, Malayalis and the Telugu speaking English educated South Indians to Malaya.

Just as South Indians proved to be invaluable in the clerical and technical services, similarly North Indians, particularly the tall, sturdy Sikhs, were much sought after for such employment as soldiers, policemen, watchmen and caretakers. They were sufficiently mobile and poor at home and were quite prepared to migrate and work for three to five years for such low wages as \$9-15 per month, in the hope of living frugally and saving enough to return home to buy newland.<sup>18</sup>

There was also a continuous stream of petty Indian entrepreneurs, businessmen, moneylenders, merchants and such like, who found increasing scope in Malaya. These were named as commercial immigrants.<sup>19</sup> Although North Indians were among the first commercial immigrants into British Malaya; South Indians also made up the majority of these immigrants. Until the early years of the twentieth century the North Indian commercial immigrants consisted wholly of Bengalis, Parsis and Gujaratis. But with the increasing Sindhi and Sikh immigration in the ensuing years the Gujaratis, Parsis and Bengalis were superseded by these newcomers, together with a few Marwaris, both numerically and gradually commercially. With the exception of occasional fluctuations and the total cessation of these immigrants during the Japanese occupation the annual movement of commercial immigrants into Malaya increased substantially from the early years of the twentieth century.

The estimated number of Indian immigrants in the Straits Settlements<sup>20</sup> increased from an estimated total of less than 2,000 in 1786 to 15,073 in 1831, which further increased to 33,389 by the time of the first population census in 1871. By 1891, the Indian population had jumped to about 76,000 and ten years later to some 119,000. The number of Indians in Malaya increased sharply to 268,269 by 1911 and 470,180 in 1921. The increase of more than 75 per cent on the Indian population between 1911 and 1921 was much higher than that for any other community. But such a high rate of increase was not maintained in the coming decades. With the outbreak of World War II and finally by the Japanese occupation of Malaya in 1942, only 599,616 Indians enumerated in 1947.<sup>21</sup>

The trend of immigration shows several fluctuations, with six periods. The first, running approximately from the 1840s to 1900, the period of relatively unrestricted indentured immigration, representing by and large a steady rise in immigration until about the beginning of the twentieth century. The second period, from 1901 to 1922, saw the increasing regulation and final abolition of the indenture system but on the other hand rise in the *kangany* and other individual contact methods. The third period, from 1923 to 1929 represents the spurt of immigration. The fourth, from 1930 to 1933, marks the reversal of flow, as a result of the Great Depression and economic hardships in Malaya. The fifth, from 1934 to 1938, witnessed the revival of the migratory flow towards Malaya, largely because of the dampening aftermath of the Depression. The final period, 1939 to 1947, shows not only the disruption of the Japanese invasion, but also the restricting influence of the Indian government's ban on labour emigration and the increasingly selective immigration policy of post war Malaya.<sup>22</sup>

Thus we note a historic continuity in the relation between these two countries from the early centuries of the Christian era to the present day. The contact is almost unbroken but alters its nature to fit changing conditions in both countries.<sup>23</sup>

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17. Kernail S. Sandhu, pp 95/96.
18. Ibid, pp69-72.
19. Vast majority of these immigrants were salesmen, petty entrepreneurs, traders and shopkeepers, street side vendors, stall holders etc.
20. Strait Settlements – Penang, Malacca and Singapore
21. Kernail S. Sandhu, pp 182-184.
22. Ibid, pp 157/158.
23. Sinnappah Arasaratnam, p-8.



## Economic Development of Depressed Class In Madras Presidency—A Study

\* Revanna M.L

In 1921 A.D., the word depressed class was used and the following nine castes were brought under the depressed class group. They were as follows: Adi-dravida, Parayan, Pallan, Chessman, Holeya, Madiga, Male and Semman.<sup>1</sup> M.G. Raja, an important Dalit leader of Adi-Dravida community, clearly stated that educationally backward was to be called as backward classes. The educationally, economically and socially backwards should come under the term of depressed classes.<sup>2</sup> The imposition of untouchability on the depressed class people further worsened the position of depressed class and they were suppressed and oppressed by all possible means. They were depressed in social and economic matters and their educational condition was very poor due to their ignorance and poverty. The advent of the Christian Missionaries to India since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century paved the way for the conversion of the natives particularly the depressed classes. Accordingly the first social action of Catholic in India was concerned itself with the relief of poverty and disease.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the Christian Missionaries contributions to the depressed classes, the British government also took keen interest to uplift the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency.

The British administration in Madras made a soft corner on depressed class people by giving them appointment in Military and butlers in their houses. Through this appointment they learnt English easily and moved freely with the British. The learning of English helped these class people for getting additional employment opportunities in the British officers' houses. In 1818 A.D., The Board of Revenue prepared a minute about the conditions of depressed classes and submitted to the Madras government for considering them in the field of their socio-economic development. Education, advocating minimum wages etc. On these basis the British government took elaborate measures for the upliftment of depressed class society.<sup>4</sup> In 1899, Rev. Sharock, gave application to Board of Revenue for the grant of a piece of land in the village of Jayankonda Cholapuram in Trichy district for

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establishing an agricultural settlement of depressed class in Madras state. The Board of Revenue approved and sanctioned of land for the agricultural settlement of depressed class in Jayankondacholapuram.<sup>5</sup>

The Board of Revenue wanted to improve the economic conditions of depressed classes. Normally the depressed class agricultural labourers were drunkards. They spent most of their earnings for this purposes. The Board of Revenue and collectors of Tanjore and Guntur decided to introduce some rehabilitation work. Accordingly the Board of revenue discouraged the opening of liquor shops in the depressed class settlement as an experimental measures.<sup>6</sup> On 16th march 1916, there were serious discussions in the Imperial Legislative Council on the degraded conditions of the depressed class in Madras Presidency. M. Dadabhoy moved a resolution in the imperial Legislative Council for the improvement of these class people.<sup>7</sup> The non-official members of the council also wanted the government of India to issue instructions to the provincial governments to initiate policies for the material improvement of these class people. On these bases the Madras government entrusted Rev.A. Andrew of the United Free Church Mission, Chinglepet to conduct survey and enquiry related to the conditions of these class people. He submitted the report to government. In most cases, the local bodies expressed the opinion that they were aware of the problem being faced by the depressed class. The government realized to release finances for the acquisition of house sites and drinking wells and tanks.<sup>8</sup>

In 1918, The Madras Government made a survey to find out the socio-economic conditions of the depressed classes. The survey revived that they were socially, economically and politically depressed and the government collected large volume of useful information related to depressed classes. In the meantime the Board of Revenue recommended the establishment of a separate government agency for promoting and protecting the interests of the depressed class.<sup>9</sup> Finally the government acted on the advice of the Board of Revenue and decided to place C.F.Paddison I.C.S. on special duty for a term of two years to deal with measures necessary for improving the conditions of depressed class in Madras Presidency. A special officer as a protector of depressed class with needed establishment was first appointed in the Madras state in 1919. His main duties were; 1.To study the economic conditions of the depressed class to submit to government proposals for improving it, to see the philanthropic bodies working with the same object received from the government assistance as must be studied. 2.To rise the depressed class standard of living by providing them with house sites and wells (provision for drinking water) village roads, burial grounds, latrines and the assignment of waste lands for their cultivation, and 3.To deal with the problems connected with the education of the depressed class people in Madras state.<sup>10</sup>

The Labour Department started to function in 1920.<sup>11</sup> The first time the Labour Commissioner was appointed on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1920. C.F. Paddission was the full time commissioner of the department. His main work was taking ameliorative measures for depressed class people in Madras state.<sup>12</sup> The Labour department started

work in Tanjore, Godavari and Chinglepet in 1920 and subsequently extended to Kistna, Guntur, Bellary, South Kanara, Madras, Tiruchy, Vellore, Malabar, North Arcot and West Godavari.<sup>13</sup> The formation of Labour department was the pioneering for the socio-economic upliftment of the depressed class effort. Two qualified depressed class students were appointed in the Labour commissioner's office itself and collectors of district were advised to appoint qualified depressed class students to suitable vacancies in their offices. Depressed class were given preference in such appointments. List of all depressed class students in schools and colleges who passed out prepared and was circulated to various officials for considerations.<sup>14</sup> The formation of Labour department in 1920, gave a little impact on the economic development of depressed class in Madras Presidency.

Meanwhile, in the Madras Presidency, the Theosophical society targeted the children of the depressed class labourers employed in the tanneries and brick-kilns. However the poverty and spread of diseases prevailed among the depressed class due to unhygienic surrounding. The Theosophical society tried to overcome these problems by conducting door to door campaign in the areas inhabited by these classes. They also started gruel kitchens to feed hungry and destitute.<sup>15</sup> The Madras Government through the Board of Revenue granted to the Madras Municipal Commission 1.72 acres of land in Tandiarpet for the purpose of erecting a block in the model of dwellings for depressed classes.<sup>16</sup>

The formation of Co-operative societies for the depressed classes was another milestone for their socio-economic development in Madras state. The first depressed class Co-operative society had more than 100 members from scavengers, sweepers, lamplighters and drain flushers of the Salem municipality. It was organized by Vedachalam Ayer in 1912 with the support of government of Madras. The government approved the scheme of making advances to the Co-operative societies as intermediaries for the purchase of house sites for the depressed classes. The Registrar of Co-operative societies sent proposal to form societies and Register in the district of North Arcot, Chinglepet, Ganjam, Godavari, South Arcot and Trichinopoly.<sup>17</sup>

In 1917-18, there were only 43 depressed class Co-operative societies in the whole Madras Presidency. The main purpose of the co-operative societies was the acquisition of house sites by the payment of easy installment, loans for agricultural purposes, flood relief, rural credit and collect bargaining. More than 50,000 Rupees was drawn for the acquisition of house sites by the depressed class themselves and they pledged themselves to pay installment rupees two lakhs and a half.<sup>18</sup> By the extension of labour department and Co-operative societies large number of houses were built for the poor labourers in the city of Madras and few other towns. The city Tenants Protection Act of 1922 was passed at the instance of labourer Commissioner, which provided special benefit to the depressed class. By this act many tenants of these communities in Madras city had erected buildings on their own hand and were subjected to constant threat of exaction by the land lords.<sup>19</sup>

The British government also felt that the education was considered as the key factor for socio-economic development. So that the British government introduced free education to these people from 1892 onwards. The British Government provided scholarships, fee concessions, and construction of schools, hostels and appointed teachers for their educational development. These paved the way for their betterment in the society.

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## Incursion of British Ideas In The Education Organism In Colonial India

(Late 18<sup>th</sup> Century to Early 19<sup>th</sup> Century)

\*Dr. Sweta Singh

Education is the base of a society. The pattern in which its children are educated determines how the underlying culture will be carried forward. Education helps develop the tender brains of children which ultimately after maturity establish the strong structure of a society. In traditional education system of India, Sanskrit was used as language for script. We have our Vedas, epics and all old religious books and documents preserved in Sanskrit itself. Hindi which is being used as one of the common language today is also erupted from *Sanskrit*. However we can see different regional languages in different states of the country. Punjabi is used in Punjab, Gujarati in Gujarat, Marathi in Maharashtra and Bengali is used in Bengal and so on in our daily communication. These regional languages are largely spoken and used as a medium of education at very elementary level by the states. *English* is one and only common language throughout the country, which is officially used and is, also determined as International language. English is now used as a part of our education system.

Let us have a look back in the history that made it possible. The introduction of Modern Education was an event of great historical significance for India. It was definitely a progressive act of British Rule. Modern European education came to India with the arrival of British Raj. India was introduced to the western education system at the time of European colonial rule over the country.<sup>1</sup> While penetrating in India the British first of all expanded their way in Political and Economical sphere. Later they moved in field of Education and then they deeply observed the old education system of the country and found a lot of work to be done in the old education pattern. The educational reforms in old education system of the country were performed through three agencies:-

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1. The British Government.
2. The foreign Christian Missionaries.
3. The progressive Indians.

The advent of British Government introduced something novel in this field. *Warren Hasting (1772-1785)*, the then Governor General of India greatly appreciated the value of oriental culture and education in India.<sup>2</sup> In 1792 the Court of Directors stated that “the Hindu had a good as system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conservatism”. It was the priority of British to first of all win the faith of Hindus. So they moved to it very gradually and silently. At the time of *Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793)* first step was taken in this reference and a Sanskrit college was established in Benares. So many Sanskrit colleges were soon opened throughout the country. The aim was to create an educated society. This British view of imparting indigenous learning gave considerable impulse and vigor to our ancient Hindu Culture those days. In this way they easily won the faith of Hindus that the British can never make any harm to their culture and religion.<sup>3</sup> The aim was to prepare the English Educated Indian labor class at lower wages in their work. In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century the penetration into the field of education was half done. British really wanted to prepare the people, to be engaged in their lower administrative machinery. The introduction of *Charter Act 1813* was first such measure in this reference. As per its recommendation a clause was inserted in the Act stipulating that “a sum of not less than 1 laths each year shall be set apart” for the revival and improvement of literature and for the introduction and promotion of knowledge of science among the inhabitant of the British territories in India. Further to win over the faith of Hindus a committee of 10 members was constituted by the *Charter Act 1833*. This committee constituted the supporters of both English and oriental language. As per its recommendations Sanskrit Colleges were established in *Calcutta, Madras and Banaras*. The Sanskrit teaching among the teaching staff was encouraged by the act.<sup>4</sup> *Thomas Babington Macaulay* introduced English education system in India through his famous minute of February 1835. He called an education system which would work same as cultural intermediaries between the British and the Indians.<sup>5</sup> Macaulay succeeded in implementing ideas previously put forward by Lord William Bentinck, the Governor General since 1829. Bentinck favored the replacement of Persian by English as the official language. Bentinck ideas were rejected by the Court of Directors of the East India Company and he retired as Governor General.<sup>6</sup>

British Government completely stepped down in the field of Education after the declaration of “*Woods Dispatch*”-1854. Charles Wood became the president of the Board of Control of East India Company in 1854. He sent the “*Wood's Dispatch*” to the Governor General Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856). As per its recommendations:-

1. An education department was to be set in every province.<sup>7</sup>

2. At least one government school to be opened in every district.
3. Affiliated private schools should be given grant in aid.
4. In accordance with Wood's Dispatch "Education Department" were established in every province and Universities were opened at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857 on the Model of the London University.
5. Later more Universities were opened Punjab in 1882 and Allahabad 1887.

As per its recommendations several preparatory, primary and middle level schools were soon opened throughout the country.<sup>8</sup> Wood's Dispatch is therefore called the "*Magnacarta*" of English education in India. The medium of education was English in these schools. It was not an easy task for the government to make the primary education compulsory for lower age children from rural areas but ultimately the work was done well.<sup>9</sup> To expand more in the field of primary education the government also started several schools at Municipality level.<sup>10</sup>

In 1885 it was felt that the work of Education should be handed over to the "*District Board*" throughout the country.<sup>11</sup> The target was that the expansion of English education in their rein. The District Board opened several schools in their district. The teachers were trained to teach in these schools. The output was better and to promote them their payments was increased year after another.<sup>12</sup> The entire management was inspected by the staff of Board. The grants-in-aid were also provided by the district board to run these schools well.<sup>13</sup> Many of the secondary schools were now converted into Intermediate College so that the English education could also reach at high level.<sup>14</sup>

British Education system finally solidified into India after 1820s after the establishment of many missionaries' schools throughout the country. New policies after 1835 gave rise to the use of English as the language of instructions for advanced topics. Consequently by 1887 there were some 21,000 mid-level civil service appointments.<sup>15</sup> There were several primary and secondary level schools were inaugurated throughout the country which could impart English education to the children at very elementary level. In this way it took very short time for British Government to penetrate and establish into the field of basic level education in the country. By adopting above measures it became very easy to run their administrative machinery smoothly.<sup>16</sup>

Beside primary and secondary education, British Raj also took several hard steps in the field of higher education. India soon established a dense educational network with a western curriculum based on instruction in English. To further advance the country and their careers as well many ambitious upper class men including Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohammad Ali Jinnah went to England, especially to obtain a legal education in our country. Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1857, right before 1857 Revolt. In later years the British Raj working with local philanthropist opened 67 colleges and 4 Universities in 1882. By 1887 of 21,000 mid-level civil service appointments, 45% were held by Hindus, 7% by Muslims, 19% by Europeans (European father

and Indian mothers) and 29% by Europeans. By 1901 there were established 5 Universities throughout the country and there were 145 colleges opened with 18,000 students. The curriculum was western in these all institutions.<sup>17</sup> These number increased year after another and by 1922 there were some 14 Universities throughout the countries and 167 colleges with 46,000 students. The raise in this number can further be noted that by 1947, 27 Universities were opened throughout the country and there were 496 colleges. At first the Universities only conducted examination and gave out degree, they did no teaching and research work but they expanded their work soon.<sup>18</sup>

In this way India established a dense educational network soon with a western curriculum based on instruction in English. Modern education was finally the medium for spread of modern science and ideas of equality and liberty. It becomes less religious; besides, many new branches of learning were introduced. Finally India has made progress in terms of increasing primary education attendance rate and expanding literacy to approximately two thirds of the population.<sup>19</sup> The impersonal communication of ideas throughout books, journals and other mediums to the people gave birth to an intellectual class. India's improved education system is often cited as one of the main contributors to the economic rise of India. This all could never be possible without these novel efforts. Between 1867 and 1941 the British increased the percentage of the population in primary and secondary education from around 0.6% to the population in 1867 to over 3.5% of the population. The British by these measures got English educated workers in their lower administrative machinery which made them easy to rule in India for a long time. Nevertheless by the 1920s, the student bodies had become hotbed of Indian Nationalism, which resulted in the Freedom struggle of our country and an Independent India.

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## Infrastructure, Communication Development in Jammu Region During Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Its Role and Impact

\*Surbhi Jamwal

Jammu region saw great infrastructural development activities under the Dogra rule with Maharaja Pratap Singh in power from 1885 to 1925 and Maharaja Hari Singh from 1925 till accession of the state with Indian union.

Valuable mineral deposits and various small scale industries like cottage industry, sericulture and handlooms existed in the State but it had not been yet reached a point where it could be exploited profitably on a large commercial scale. The greatest need required for these sources was improved roads and communication without which no real development was possible. The principal requisites for the development of the region completely dependent on sound system of communication by lands. Besides this, there were several causes which compelled the Government to take the projects of road construction.

Several floods continued to hit the region intermittently. They damaged crops to great extent thus causing the widespread scarcity of food and fodder. Though all of them did not cause major damage to the property, yet they played their role in effecting gradual change in geography. Natural calamities, like famines and epidemics, also had their negative impact on living organisms.

Natural calamities, like floods and impact of famines and epidemics were reported at different periods in the region. They not only affected the state exchequer but also forced migration of people within and outside the state. Several animals died due to scarcity of food while many others lost life to various diseases following their reduced body resistance.

It was only after these natural calamities especially after famine of 1877-89 in Jammu, and during the rule of Maharaja Pratap Singh, the government realized

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about the necessity of road communication in swiftly providing relief material to the affected areas. New experiments in the system were made to meet similar crises in future.

Thus, the government felt the need and importance of roads and soon undertook the construction of cart road in order to facilitate the import during the time of urgency.

Onset of 20<sup>th</sup> century saw a fast paced infrastructure development in Jammu region as the erstwhile Royal government started several road construction projects in Jammu region, besides Banihal Cart Road for connecting Jammu to Srinagar directly.

There was no direct road link between two major cities of Jammu and Srinagar. To reach Srinagar, people from Jammu used to take rail journey up to Rawalpindi, with natural change at Wazirabad junction. Travel to Srinagar used to be tiresome because they had to make transport arrangements on their own for their onward road journey from Rawalpindi. This necessitated a direct road link between two major cities of Jammu and Srinagar.<sup>1</sup>

In 1901-1902 the Government of Jammu and Kashmir started work on the Banihal Cart Road from Jammu to Udhampur. This project was completed in a year. A tunnel was constructed on this road (Nandani Tunnel) which is still in use.<sup>2</sup>

In 1911-12, government formulated a scheme to widen the route from Udhampur to Banihal in order to make it fit for cart traffic. Next year the work was began on the road, but afterwards the state government decided to make entire stretch from Jammu to Banihal, and thence forth up to Srinagar, fit for wheeled traffic. The road, which passed over Banihal Pass through 660 feet long tunnel, was first opened to traffic as special case, from May 2, 1921, in connection with annual Durbar Move from Jammu to Srinagar. For the people, the Jammu-Srinagar road was opened a year later in May 1922. The 300-km-long Jammu - Srinagar road, which passed through Patnitop at around 7000 feet and descended to the Ramban Valley and ascended to Banihal Pass and then dropped again to the Valley.<sup>3</sup>

Like the Jhelum Valley Road, it was also described as "the triumph of modern road engineering". Banihal Cart Road gave a considerable boost to trade by providing a cheaper route, bringing Jammu and bigger towns of Punjab like Lahore, Sialkot, Amritsar, etc, closer to Kashmir Valley. This road was used during winters because the Banihal pass was closed for a number of months in winters.<sup>4</sup> This road gained great importance as the volume of traffic had increased a lot. In 1931, 14,017 motar lorries, 3,612 motar cars, 495 tongas, 63 ekkas and 197 bullock carts travelled on this road in a single year and the road toll received an average to rupees 2,00,000 per annum.<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, Jammu region was connected with Punjab by the construction of motar road, 18 miles long from Jammu to Suchetgarh. Katra which was route to revered shrine of Mata Vashno Devi was made accessible from Jammu by Tonga road while another road was constructed from Jammu to Akhnoor. Similarly, remote Ramban was connected to Reasi town through a footpath.

To facilitate trade from Samba to Jammu, a road was constructed and thus, Samba became a center of trade which flourished till 1947.<sup>6</sup> Till 1931 only 17 miles out of 21 miles of this road was metalled and wire netting had been spread over the sandy portion to facilitate traffic.<sup>7</sup> This road reduced the travel time between Jammu and Samba to one hour.

Again there were few roads and paths which were constructed by the Forest Department to facilitate the transfer of forest products to different markets. Besides helping the Forest Department, these roads also proved to be of boon to the travelers and traders. The greatest beneficiaries of the roads constructed by the Forest Department were the people of Udhampur district in Jammu region.<sup>8</sup> The Forest Department of the State was not at all unreasonable in claiming in 1904 that the roads made by it in the Udhampur district proved of great use to public as they opened up various villages where previously no roads existed along which it was not possible to ride, and where the main tracts were dangerous in places for foot travelers.<sup>9</sup>

In the road building history of the Kishtwar *tehsil*, 1899-1900 formed a very significant year. As it was this year that the construction of a road from Simal to Desa was started and 11 miles of it was completed. But the main work was the construction of road from Kishtwar to Padar. Of the new road, about 30 miles were completed during 1899-1900 and the remaining work was completed in 1902-03. In the year 1909-1910, the Forest Department of the State made a narrow path of 7 miles and 3 in width in Reasi District of the Jammu region. This path was mostly used by the local residents of the area.<sup>10</sup>

Subsequently, the Forest Department established a web of some new roads in the entire Jammu region for the development of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. A new road linking the Gurkhan area to Brari area of Ramban was constructed by the Forest Department in 1939. The above mentioned road was 6.25 miles long. Five miles long road connecting Hammer Gali to Hingni Gali in Ramban was also established by the Forest Department. From Hammer area to Hum Gali in Ramban, one mile long road was constructed for connecting both the areas together.<sup>11</sup>

In Bhadarwah area of Jammu region, 0.48 miles long Kahra-Kewa road was made by the Forest Department for establishing connectivity between these two areas. Another 2.59 miles long road was erected from Thathri towards Dunadi which runs along the KalnaiNala in Bhadarwah area. Another important road constructed in the Bhadarwah area was 3.90 miles long road running from Malhuthi towards SekhiGali.<sup>12</sup>

Some more significant roads were constructed by the Forest Department like, in Billawar area about 4.60 miles long KishenpurPalai road was established to lay connectivity in the area. Similarly, Budhi –Barwal road which was 5.10 miles long linked the area with the rest of the areas of the Jammu Provision.<sup>13</sup>

The construction and expansion of roads and other means of communication especially in mountainous region is impossible without bridges. The bridges played an important role in crossing various streams and rivers especially in

mountainous State of J & K. In 1907-08, a cantilever bridge was built over Tawi River in Rajouri. In 1930, the Assessment commissioner recommended in the assessment Report of Akhnoor Tehsil, an early construction of bridge over Chenab river in order to bring Budhal, Poonch, Kotli, Rampur, Rajouri, Hamirpur-Sidhra and Nowshera closer to Jammu. Hence, two bridges were constructed, one over Chenab river at Akhnoor and other over Tawi river at Jammu at the cost of eight lakh rupees.<sup>14</sup>

There were number of other bridges in Jammu region. Important among them were Karai suspension bridge on Marwa River on Kishtwar Symthan Pass and suspension bridge over the Chenab at Doda. <sup>15</sup>The bridge over the river Tawi in Rajouri was washed away in 1928.

A railway line connecting Jammu with Sialkot in Punjab was laid down in 1890 with the British government in India bearing half of the funding. It was an ambitious project undertaken by the government of Jammu and Kashmir which connected other parts of British-ruled states of India to the princely state. Nearly 10,000 passengers boarding the train for starting two days determines the popularity of railways among people during princely regime.

This railway service proved to be of great value as trade with Punjab was lifted. Almost whole trade between Jammu and Punjab was carried on by the Jammu Sialkot railway line.<sup>16</sup>As the duration of the journey was reduced, so people prefer to travel through the railways.

The development of roads and transport system in the state led to the development of industries in the state. It is because of the development, the isolation of the different parts of country was broken, villages were brought into closer contact with the towns and cities, trade was encouraged, agricultural, mineral and industrial resources were speedily developed and the effects of such natural calamities as earthquake, floods and famines were mitigated. Due to these developments, the standard of living of the people of Jammu also improved economically and socially.

The transport facilities encourage trade and boosted agriculture as well. With the opening of Banihal Cart Road and Jammu Sialkot Railway line, Jammu became the center of trade hub because the entire trade from Sialkot to Kashmir was passed through Jammu. The extension of railway line up to Jammu gave a fillip to the trade activities by facilitating the trades of both private and public sectors. Extension in the road length has brought many areas within the approach of the traders and people of these areas had benefitted to considerable extent.

No doubt these developments proved boon to the state at the same time the road rail connectivity greatly possessed threat to rich flora and fauna of the region. Not only for roads/ rails but for the timber of the state forests several acres of land were cut down to use land for agricultural purpose and meet the increased requirements of growing population of the state.

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## The Port of Baruva And Sea-Borne Trade During The British Raj -(A.D.1766 -1936): Some Reflections

**\*Prabhakara Mahapatra**

South Odisha in the 19<sup>th</sup> century A.D. meant the southern part of modern Odisha consisting of the erstwhile undivided districts of Ganjam and Koraput.<sup>1</sup> The English East India Company got its first foothold in South Odisha on 12<sup>th</sup> November, 1766 A.D.<sup>2</sup> South Odisha, as a part of Madras Presidency, remained under the British from 1766 A.D. to 1936 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The district of Ganjam, thus, formed the Northern part of the British Madras Presidency till the formation of Odisha as a separate state on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1936. EdwardCots ford was appointed as a Resident and Engineer at Ganjam. He was also asked to take necessary step establishing a Trading Factory in Ganjam.<sup>4</sup>

The British Ganjam had a good number of ports big and small on her coast, namely *Gopalpur, Ganjam, Sonnapur, Baruva, Pundi, Bhavanapadu, Kalingapatanam* (i.e. *Calingapatam*) and the *Chilika*. While Gopalpur was the chief port of Ganjam<sup>5</sup>the *Sonnapur*port was a small transit port.<sup>6</sup> Similarly the port of Baruva provided better trade facilities.<sup>7</sup> The port of Baruva depended on some of the nearby villages such as *Magigaluroo, Katuroo, Kanchili, MoguliKaturu, Sompeta, Palwalsa, Palasapuram, Wenkili* and *Jadipudi*for the said trade.\*

The Baruva port being important sea-port of Ganjam district during the British period used to lie along latitude 18 51' North, and longitude 84 34' East, and was 50 Kms. away from Berhampur by road.<sup>8</sup> It stood at the mouth of river Mahendratanya. The holy river Mahendratanyawhich originates from the Mahendragiri flowing to the east of Mahendragiri mountain fall in to the way of Bengal near Baruva.<sup>9</sup> The port was marked by two columns, black and white, each 50 feet high, built on a site 15 feet above the sea, bearing north-west from the usual anchorage. To the south-west of Baruva, there were large topes of coconut trees. Baruva formed part of the proprietary estate of that quarter of the nineteenth century. The trade of the port increased and it became a flourishing business. The native passengers from Burma frequently landed at this port.<sup>10</sup>

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From the accounts of Ptolemy, it is known that the port of Baruva was one of the trade centres on the east coast during the ancient period.<sup>11</sup> The principal items of export from Baruva consisted among others coconuts, coir ropes, coir yam, etc.<sup>12</sup> Basudev Somayaji, the author of *Ganga Vamsanu Charita*, has described that he went to Puri from Baruva, a port in Ganjam District by a boat and returned on land to Khalikote after crossing Chillka Lake in a boat in the year 1762 A.D.<sup>13</sup>

Previously Baruva was in the district of Ganjam during the British period. But after 1<sup>st</sup> April 1936, it remained in Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh along with other ports like Pundi, Bhavanapadu and Kalingapatanam.<sup>14</sup>

The port of Baruva played an important role in the sea-borne trade during the period under review. Regular exports of merchandise were made to Ceylon and Burma from this port.<sup>15</sup> The principal items imported through this port were matches, boots and shoes, metal and ores.<sup>16</sup> The articles exported from this port were fruits and vegetables, coconuts and non-essential seeds like til, tobacco and other articles.<sup>17</sup> The volume of exports was more than the importsat the port of Baruva. Total value of merchandiser (country) worth Rs. 1, 13,437 was exported<sup>18</sup> from the port of Baruva to Rangoon in the official year 1911-12 A.D. The following table exhibits<sup>19</sup> the value of merchandise and treasure imported into, and exported from, the port of Baruva in each official year from 1877- 78 A.D. to 1881-82 A.D.

**Table No.1:**

### Imports

Baruva Port	1877-78 AD Value in Rs.	1878-79 AD Value in Rs.	1879-80 AD Value in Rs.	1880-81 AD Value in Rs.	1881-82 AD Value in Rs.
Merchandise (Country)	27,136	1,591	482	2,165	2,352
Treasure	4,026	1,100	2,000	4,000	4,700
<b>Total</b>	<b>31,162</b>	<b>2,691</b>	<b>2,482</b>	<b>6,165</b>	<b>7,052</b>

### Exports

Baruva Port	1877-78 AD Value in Rs.	1878-79 AD Value in Rs.	1879-80 AD Value in Rs.	1880-81AD Value in Rs.	1881-82 AD Value in Rs.
Merchandise (Country)	1,94,383	48,817	1,00,961	57,960	42,844
Treasure	—	—	500	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,94,383</b>	<b>48,817</b>	<b>1,01,461</b>	<b>57,960</b>	<b>42,844</b>

The sea-borne trade of Baruva port during the period from 1921-22 A.D. to 1925-26 A.D. was indeed very significant. The value of merchandise imported to Baruva port in the official year 1922-23 A.D. was worth Rs.1400/-. The Volume of export from the port of Baruva between 1921-22 A.D. was very considerable. The following table<sup>20</sup> shows the volume of export of merchandise from the port of Baruva to other ports during the said period.

Table No.2

Baruva Port	Year	Merchandise Exported Value in Rupees
	1921-22 A.D	2,84,637
	1922-23 A.D	2,32,450
	1923-24 A.D	1,90,315
	1924-25 A.D	1,76,667
	1925-26 A.D	41,037

Similarly, the quantities and value of chief articles imported to, and exported from, the port of Baruva in the average of five years ending 1925-26 A.D. have been shown in the following table.<sup>21</sup>

Table No.3

Average of five years ending 1925-26 A.D

#### Imports

Baruva Port	Name of the Article	Quantity	Value in Rs.
	Boots and Shoes	90 Pairs	80
	(Metals and Ores) Iron and Steel	8 cwt.	140
	Other Articles	—	60
	Total	—	280

#### Exports

Baruva Port	Name of the Article	Quantity	Value in Rs.
	Animals, living	1,765 Nos.	27,972
	Coconuts	27,64,360 Nos.	1,47,298
	Seasamum (gingelly seeds)	2tons	552
	Unmanufactured tobacco	2,301 lbs.	567
	Other articles	—	8,632
	Total		1,85,021

The following table exhibits the volume of merchandise imported to, and exported from, the port of Baruva in each official year from 1921-22 A.D. to 1932-33 A.D.<sup>22</sup>

Table No.4

Year	Merchandise imported into Baruva port value in Rs.	Merchandise Exported from Baruva port value in Rs.
1921-22 A.D.	—	2,84,637
1922-23 A.D.	1400	2,32,450
1923-24 A.D.	—	1,90,315
1924-25 A.D.	—	1,76,667
1925-26 A.D.	—	41,037
1928-29 A.D.	—	90,618
1929-30 A.D.	—	1,88,629
1930-31 A.D.	2467	1,39,001
1931-32 A.D.	3785	57,794
1932-33 A.D.	3796	88,892

The quantities and value of chief articles imported into, and exported from, the port Baruva in the average of five years ending 1932-33 A.D. have been shown in the following table.<sup>23</sup>

Table No.5

#### Imports

Baruva Port	Name of the Article	Quantity	Value in Rs.
	Matches	810 Gross of Boxes	1,012
	Other Articles	—	997
	Total	—	2,009

#### Exports

Baruva Port	Name of the Article	Quantity	Value in Rs.
	Animals, living	1388 Nos.	29,970
	Myrabolams	49 cwt.	350
	Fish dry, unsalted	30 cwt.	444
	Fish dry, salted	128 cwt.	1,997
	Coconuts	15,39,315 Nos.	74,969
	Unmanufactured tobacco	7,612 lbs.	2,320
	Other Articles	—	2,937
	Total		1,12,987

Thus, in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, through Baruva Port, there took place the export of a good volume of articles such as seeds, gingelly, fresh fruits, coconuts, both salted and unsalted fish, unmanufactured tobacco and living animals. The imported articles mostly consisted of boots and shoes, metals and ores, iron and steel, match boxes and other articles.

The British Government levied sea anchorage duty at different seaports of the Ganjam region. These were realized at the ports of Ganjam, Gopalpur,

Kalingapatanam, Sonnapur, Baruva, Pundi, etc. In the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency, all the ports were subjected to the general control of the Collector of Customs. For the purpose of further control, the littoral was divided into circles, placed in-charge of Inspectors of Customs. The Chief Collector inspected annually very minor port.<sup>24</sup>

The following table exhibits the tonnage duty collected at the port of Baruva during the period from 1850-51 A.D. to 1854-55 A.D.<sup>25</sup>

Table No.6

Baruva Port	Year	Tonnage duty collected		
		Rs.	A.	P.
	1850-51 A.D.	55	03	0
	1851-52 A.D.	15	10	6
	1852-53 A.D.	25	04	06
	1853-54 A.D.	30	09	6
	18-54-55 A.D.	29	04	0

The following table exhibits gross amount of customs duty collected on imports and exports at the Baruva port of the Presidency of Madras in each year, from 1874 A.D. to 1876 A.D. and 1903-04 A.D. to 1907-08 A.D.<sup>26</sup>

Table No.7

Year	Baruva Port					
	Duty on imports			Duty on exports		
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.
1874-75 A.D.				55	03	0
1875-76 A.D.				15	10	6
1903-04 A.D.				25	04	06
1904-05 A.D.				30	09	6
1906-07 A.D.				29	04	0
0907-08 A.D.						

The British Government imposed sea customs duty not only to regulate the maritime trade but also to collect more revenues at every port on all imported and exported articles of merchandise to meet their own colonial interest. The ports of south Odisha along with the port of Baruva which provided an ample scope for caring trade with the overseas countries gradually declined in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century AD. The decline was invariably noticed both in the value of imports and exports. It was mainly due to the competition of the railway companies which

offered special low rates for the transport of goods by rail.<sup>27</sup>

The port of Baruva was one of the important shippingcentres for the navigators<sup>28</sup> on the Ganjam coast. American, British and French ships visited this port at regular intervals. Thus, the contribution of Baruva port in the sea-borne trade was significant in South Odisha in particular and in Eastern India in general.

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7. Ibid. p. 167.
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17. Ibid.
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21. Ibid.,p .78
22. (a) Madras District Gazetteers, Ganjam, Vol. II, Madras, 1930, p.77  
(b) Ibid., Madras District Gazetteers, Ganjam, Vol. III, Madras, 1930, p.64
23. Ibid., Vol .III, p. 66
24. Ibid.,
25. Ibid. Vol. III, p-67.
26. Ibid., Vol .III, p. 69
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## An Account of Ivory Carvings in Assam

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Religious institutions also playing secular roles has been a fact represented in the historical evolution of such institutions. The Church, for instance, provides a very good example of how a primarily religious institution could play a significant secular role as is seen in the European world through the centuries. In the same context one can mention the role of the Christian Missionary organizations in India. The same can be said of the *Gurudwaras* in Punjab or the temples of South India as well. Such religious institutions, besides their proselytizing and purely religious activities, also played a secular role for the uplift of the society, and thus invariably became involved in political and economic affairs as well. This paper primarily deals with the Neo-Vaishnavite *Satras*<sup>1</sup> of Assam, a medieval religious institution, that how far they were able to play any secular roles for economic and social development of the area particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth century and its significance in the societal uplift. For our convenience of the study we shall take up the example of Barpeta Satra.

Barpeta, presently a district of Assam<sup>2</sup>, was a business center since long before and the same reputation is still prevailing. Sankardeva and Madhavadeva, two great religious reformers of Assam, established a *Satra* in Barpeta, which later came to be known as Barpeta *Satra* or Barpeta *Thaan* (holy place). In due course of time a large number of pockets of artisan industries grew up especially in the Lower Assam, centering the Barpeta *Satra*. For example Barpeta grew up as a commercial town in Assam; Sualkuchi developed as Silk center; Hajo and Sarthebari excelled in the production of Bell and Brass Metal artifacts and many such. It's definitely a great curiosity for researchers how far Neo-Vaishnavite *Satras* are responsible for this growth of industries in this part of Assam.

Ivory carving was a flourishing profession in Assam during Ahom rule. The ivory artisans were popularly known as *Baktars* or *BaktarKhanikars*. During the Ahom rule this Ivory work was concentrated principally in the Upper Assam area and the artisans were mainly Muslims. Ivory articles constituted a major portion of royal gifts to the dignitaries visiting the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> It was officially ascertained that towards the closing years of the nineteenth century majority men skilled in ivory

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carving were concentrated principally in Goalpara and Kamrup.<sup>4</sup> Thus the thriving profession of Upper Assam till the end of eighteenth century shifted its location to Lower Assam in the end of nineteenth century. This booming craft became a languishing craft within a very short span of 70 to 80 years and it became a work of individual initiative especially in the Upper Assam<sup>5</sup> because towards the end of the century none of the ivory carvers found who were solely depend upon ivory carving for their livelihood. Many of them shifted to agriculture which required less labour.<sup>6</sup> But surprisingly it was not totally dead and gone. When ivory carving was getting weaker in Upper Assam the same was successfully flourishing in Lower Assam especially in Kamrup and Goalpara district. Atmaram Mistry who was a *bhakat* (disciple) of Barpeta *Satra* took the lead in this field. He went to Majuli carrying the news (*SatrarBatori*)<sup>7</sup> of Barpeta *Satra*. During his short stay in Auniati he learnt the technique of ivory making and brought the same to Barpeta for the first time. He was followed by Radhanath Das, Bhagavan Das, Jagannath Das and others who had commercialized the ivory carvings. They opened up some artisan workshops in Barpeta principally dealt with ivory and ivory works. These workshops flourished around the *satra* campus. Five such ivory houses were situated in the *GaliyaHati* (1) and *GaliyaHati* (2) of the Barpeta *Satra* and in some unit 30 to 35 artisans were working day and night.<sup>8</sup> Thus Barpeta *Satra* took a lead to revitalize a dying industry of Assam. They probably faced no competition from foreign products as the weaving and other such industries had faced. Towards the later part of the British period these artisan works suffered heavily due to scarcity of elephant tusks. These sufferings of the ivory artisans were mainly because of Government's new policy of animal preservation which had led to the implementation of Elephant Preservation Act 1879.<sup>9</sup> The act prohibited random killing of elephant and this caused acute shortage of elephant tusk which resulted abnormal price hike of ivory in the market.<sup>10</sup> Thus decline of this flourishing craft of Barpeta was hastened. This death blow was not because of lack of a market as Dr. Rajen Saikia stated<sup>11</sup> but because of the insufficiency of raw materials. Doubtless, that with the decline of the old aristocracy in Assam, these artisans had lost a big buyer class of ivory items. They used these items in day to day life. For example they preferred combing with an ivory comb, they kept their ornaments in the small ivory box, they used a knife having ivory *naal* (handle), and offered their betel nut in ivory *sarai* (tray with stand) etc which were measured as sign of aristocracy. But the new middle class had inclined to show off their aristocracy by keeping these items safely in showcases in their beautiful drawing rooms and bed rooms.<sup>12</sup> Thus ivory shifted its nature from luxury utility items to luxury showcase items but never completely lost its market as Dr. Saikia has stated. They now produced ivory stick, weaving shuttle, ivory handle of knife, ring, earring, neck-lets, and show pieces of Taj Mahal, figurine of some gods and goddesses and also of some animals. They even produced small ivory coast-badges depicting rhino, elephant, deer and also flower and tree, ivory cases to keep cigarettes etc.<sup>13</sup> Thus although the old buying class lost its capacity to buy the luxury utility ivory materials but soon they were replaced by a new buyer class who nurtured a fashion of buying decorative ivory items. So a market developed with a little

change of nature of the ivory products. The newer versions of products were obviously finer to suit the need of the time. In an ivory comb (4 X 2.6 inches) Radhanath Das carved the image of Queen Victoria with two lions at the top.<sup>14</sup> His son Jagannath Das beautifully carved pigeon birds of Ivory and then sold outside the province. He also beautifully carved Lord Krishna riding on a horse chariot presently in the custody of London Museum. Radhanath Das was awarded a Silver Medal in 1910 by the British Government. The Government also awarded Jagannath Das with Silver and Gold Medal in 1923 and 1930 respectively.<sup>15</sup>

Table: I

## Ivory Workshops established around Barpeta Satra

Name of the Unit	Name of the Founder	Year of of Estd. Estd.	Present Status	Name of the Hati	Remark
Radhanath Ivory and Art House	Jagannath Das	1890	Active	GAliya Hati (1)	Radhnath awarded Gold Medal in 1910 and achieved recognition of excellence from British Govt in 1922. Jagannath got Gold Medal from Govt. in 1930.
Bhagabati Ivory and Woodcutting Works	Tiken Bayan	NA	Active	Galiya Hati(2)	President awardee and Government <i>Silpi</i> Pensioner.
Assam Ivory Works	Bhagaban C. Das	NA	Not active		Achieved gold Medal in the Congress session at Pandu in 1926.
New Ivory Works	Narahari Das	NA	Not active		
Nirupama Ivory GHouse	KARuna Kanta Das	NA	Not active		

Source: Field Visit, date: 12.09.2009 -18.09.2009\*

When we visited Barpeta we saw only two firms functioning actively till date. They were 'Radhanath Ivory and Art House' and 'Bhagabati Ivory and Woodcutting Works'. But both the firm has stopped ivory works and now concentrates mainly on wood works. The firm owners Sri Soilen Das and Tiken Bayan, latter is awarded with government pension for excellence in ivory art, became nostalgic remembering the good days of their predecessors and lamented on the government

policy of post-independence period. They had stated that till 1946 the British regularly supplied elephant tusks (4 mounds per year<sup>16</sup>) at the cost of Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- per Kilogram. Even till 1956 they irregularly received some amount of tusks. But since 1956 the government stopped supplying all types of ivory which resulted heavy price hike of the raw materials. Tiken Bayan proudly informed that large number of foreigners and high government officials came to his firm as customers of the ivory items. They used to sell their products in front of the *Kirtanghar* especially at the time of festive occasions.<sup>17</sup> Sometimes the government placed order of ivory items to gift it to some VIPs or VVIPs. We may have a little idea of the government's concern over the matter from an official letter of Sri Bisnuram Medhi, the Chief Minister of Assam to the Directorate of Small Scale Industries Department referring to a letter of Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India who visited Assam in 1956 and had been gifted an ivory stick. He (Mr. Medhi) wrote "The Prime Minister (Jawaharlal Nehru) is under the impression that we get several mounds of tusks every year but we have no ivory industry. The people of the type (artisans of ivory works) need encouragement by all possible ways and must have working capital."<sup>18</sup> On November 12, 1963, K.C. Nandi, the Joint Director of Department of Small Scale Industries, wrote a note to the Chief Conservator of Forests—"The ivory industry of Barpeta is gradually dying for want of regular supply of ivory at reasonable price. It will be highly appreciated if you please ensure the supply of ivory to the artisans of Barpeta."<sup>19</sup> But all this government concern was in vain. The *Baktars* now shifted their concentration from ivory to wood carving. Tiken Bayan and Soilen Das, the only two living ivory artisans are now earning their livelihood by making wooden sculpture and *Guru Asana, Thapana, Manikuta etc.*<sup>20</sup>

As described above it is a fact that behind the growth of the Ivory carvings of Assam, immense support of the Neo-Vaishnavite *Satras* was always seen. It was the Barpeta *Satra* which had saved the industry from death and brought necessary changes in its nature of products to suit the time. It was not the only artisan industry that Barpeta *Satra* supported. As a result Barpeta has become a business town with glorious past. It is certain that the living *Baktars* may be the asset of the state and Government may take timely steps to revive the ivory heritage with the help of the *Satriya* knowledge.

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1. The *satras* are the Vaishnava monasteries for religious practices which resembled the Buddhist monasteries, the Vaishnavite *Mathas*, Sikh *Gurudwaras* or the Christian *Churches*. These religious congregations are the center of Assamese art and culture too. A model *satra* is marked by the existence of the – i) a *namghar*- prayer hall, ii) a *manikut*- the sanctum sanctorum, iii) a *karapat*- the gateway, and iv) *Carihatis*- two to four rows of cottages (*boha/baha*) for the *bhakats* or devotional inmates. Each *satra* consists of three principal parties or categories of persons intimately connected with

- the welfare and management of the *satras*. These parties are – i) a *satradhikars*, - the head of the *satra*ii) the *bhakatas* – the devotional inmates of the *satra*, iii) the *sisyas*-the religious disciples.
2. Barpeta was a part of old Kamrup district of Assam. British created Barpeta as a Civil Sub-Division in 1841 and John Batlor was the first administrative officer of it. Present Barpeta District was carved out of the erstwhile Kamrup district in the year 1983.
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  7. This was a regular event of the *Satras* of Assam. The system was known as *satrarbatorisodhaniyam*. By this way the *satras* built up a network among them which had developed a socio-economic cooperation too.
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  9. Act for the preservation of wild elephants. [22nd March, 1879]. The Act has been extended to the following places of Assam, namely the Districts of Kamrup, Darrang, Naugong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Cachar, (Assam Gazette. 1880, p. 340) ; the Garo Hills (with the exception of certain portions of the estates of the zamindar of Bijni) (Assam Gazette, 1899, Pt. II. D. p.431) ; the Eastern *Duars* in the District of Goalpara. (Assam Gazette, 1883). The act prohibited killing and capture of wild elephants. No person shall kill, injure or capture, or attempt to kill, injure or capture, any wild elephant unless- (a) in defence of himself or some other person; (b) when such elephant is found injuring houses or cultivation, or upon, or in the immediate vicinity of, any main public road or any railway or canal; or (c) as permitted by a license granted under this Act.
  10. U. Nath. *op.cit*. 2001. p.347. (At the time of interview, the carvers confessed the same problem as the chief cause of decline)
  11. R. Saikia. *Social and Economic History of Assam*. Manohar. 2001 New Delhi. p.56.
  12. G. Das. "Asomor Hatidat Silpa". *Doinik Asom*. 28th September. 1968.
  13. A part of a Letter-pad of Jagannath Das s/o Radha Nath Das recovered from the house of Soilen Das can give us a light on the articles which were available in the unit.
  14. D.K. Talukdar. *Barpetar Loka Silpa Kalat Abhumuki*. Subhrajyoti Das (ed). *Souvenir for Silver Jubili of Barpeta Press Club*. 2008 Barpeta. p. 80. [Dhruba Kumar Talukdar is a *Grihasthi Bhakat* (resident disciple) and a firm devotee of Barpeta Satra. Himself being a member of a *hati* his works deserve importance for our study.]
  15. *Ibid*, p. 80.
  16. One *mound* is equal to 40 Kilogram (KG)
  17. The information was received from Sri Tiken Bayan at the time of interview; Also see *Doinik Asom*, 28th September, 1968.
  18. *Doinik Asom*, 28th September, 1968.
  19. *Ibid*.
  20. *Ibid*, p. 291: (Interview with Mr. Tiken Bayan).



## Contribution of The Bhuyan Leaders To Orissa

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**Introduction:** The political organization of Bhuyan has several significant components. There are folklores, norms, customs, sanctions and customary laws for social control and social order. Norms and customary laws and social sanctions are culture specific. They have specific functionaries and territorial political organizations.<sup>1</sup> Among the Northern tribes the territorial units are called Pirha<sup>2</sup> and among the Southern tribes, it is called Mutha<sup>3</sup> and among the North-western tribes, the said Mutha is called Pargan.<sup>4</sup>

The traditional political organization of Bhuyan tribe has three components, namely (i) norms, customary laws, and social sanctions, (ii) functionaries and (iii) territoriality. Norms, customary laws and social sanctions are culture specific, and hence their similarity among the tribes of Orissa can be obtained at a level of abstraction.<sup>5</sup> Functionaries and territorial organization, also show considerable amount of uniformity among the tribes of Orissa.

The inter-village political organization of Bhuyan tribe is called *pirha*. But in real situation the lineage and the village are effective political machineries among all the Bhuyan communities, and indeed these are the guardian and custodian of tribal customs, norms and customary laws. The traditional political organization up to the village level is still in existence and is functional among the Bhuyan. The roles of all the functionaries are important, but that of the lineage-heads and the village headman is very crucial in the maintenance of social order.

### Leadership Pattern:

Now it becomes significant to analyze the leadership pattern of the Bhuysans. There was organized political life with social delimitation. There are both secular and religious functionaries to administer and arbiter on various issues. A shaman, a sorcerer, a witch-doctor have their hold on tribal both on sacred and profane ambits.

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When the Bhuyan were under the teeth and nail of the Britishers at this critical juncture Dharanidhar Naik and educated young man had taken the leadership to operate the mission against the British hegemony and the Raja of Keonjhar.

In the meanwhile under the supervision of Bichitrananda Das, the assistant manager of the state the local Bhuyan of Dangapani, Thakurdiha, Jamudia, Medinipur and Anjar had worked under *bethisystem*, without any remuneration. The inhuman activities of Bichitrananda Das had created a great havoc in the mind of Dharanidhar Naik. Under the leadership of Dharanidhar the Bhuyan became furious against raja Dhanurjaya NarayanaBhanja on January 1891. At that time Dharanidhar sent a petition to the superintendent of tributary Mahals Cuttack, the manager of Mayurbhanj as well as the Government of Bengal in which he had clearly mentioned the oppressive measures of the Raja upon the innocent Bhuyans. Thus the injurious shock of the Bhuyan led to Dharanidhar to operate open rebellion against the Raja and the British.<sup>6</sup> On 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1891 about 1,200 Kols and Bhuyans belonging to Keonjhar, Bonai and Singhbhum had assembled at Chamakpur and Dandapala and arrested the beat constable and Paikas of that place. Besides the insurgents under Dharanidhar killed the former Dewan Nanda Dhal and shut out all the communication of Keonjhar. After the ruthless measures at the village Chamakpur the number of insurgents increased up to 5,000 and assembled at Kalika Prasad dandapala.<sup>7</sup> The insurgents then had attacked the garh and had released the prisoners from the jail.<sup>8</sup> When the uprisings reached at its momentum the commissioner of Cuttack Tributary Mahal George Toynbee appointed the Deputy Commissioner of Chainbasa H. Dawson as assistant to the superintendent of Tributary Mahal for suppressing the rising at Keonjhar. But the insurgents were more rebellious in their activities, where the numbers increased up to 20,000. At that time both the Paikas of the Zamindars and the Tributary kings also joined with the insurgents. As a result, the insurgents had attacked on the fort of the kings and plundered the royal treasury. Therefore the whole Keonjhar came under the jurisdiction of the insurgents. But it could not live long. Because Dharanidhar the transparent character was able to enter in the tricky policy of Fakir Mohan Senapati. And according to the plan and programmes in between the village Putulia and Ruchri a place where the British soldiers arrested him.<sup>9</sup> And the two faithful supporters of Dharanidhar, Nagendra Mahapatra and Balaram Singh were sentenced to jail at Dhenkanal. Unlike Dharanidhar Naik another two Bhuyan characters Bipra Amat and Senda Fadkar showed their tough resistance against the Britishers in 1843-44 in support of Veer Surendra Sai.<sup>10</sup> As a token of bravery and mighty chivalrieness Surendra Sai had given Sword and Dhal to them<sup>11</sup>. These two traditional war weapons are being adored in each and every Bhuyan community in Orissa even today. Every year on the occasion of *Bijayadasami* these two tools are worshipped with due reverence.<sup>12</sup>

No doubt sometimes some of the leaders transform themselves as arbitrary rulers. But there is always a check in the growth of such propensity.<sup>13</sup>

**Contribution of the Bhuyan leaders to Orissa are given below:-**

- (1) Dharanidhar Naik, Paudi Bhuyan, At-Kusumita, Po-Raisuan, Dist-Keonjhar.<sup>14</sup> From 1891-93.
- (2) Ratna Naik, Paudi Bhuyan, At-Tarapur, Po-Banspal, P.S.-Nayakot, Dist-Keonjhar, from 1867-68.

In course of observation it is found that large numbers of Bhuyan leaders contributed to the smooth running of Orissan politics before and today. After India's independence, the Orissa politics was represented by a number of Bhuyan leaders as follows:

- (1) Gangadhar Pradhan (Praja Bhuyan), At – Chemthapada, P/o – Bargaon, Dist. – Sundargarh, Orissa had become a Minister of Home (jail and reformatories) agriculture (animal husbandry and fisheries). The fourth assembly 1967 assumed charge of office on 8<sup>th</sup> March 1967. Minister of co-operation and forestry, agriculture (animal husbandry and fisheries) as on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1967.<sup>15</sup>
- (2) Bhagbana Patra (Paik Bhuyan), At-Sargidihi, P/O – Bamphei, Via – Bamra, Dist. – Sambalpur, Orissa had become a Sarpanch, Baunslaga Panchayat, Sambalpur.
- (3) Devanand Amat (Paik Bhuyan), At/P.O. – Lathikata, Dist.-Sundargarh, Orissa, had become Member of Parliament from 1967 to 1971, 1977 to 1980, 1989 to 1991.
- (4) Hemanand Biswal (Praja Bhuyan), At – Thakurpada, P.O. – Bhalupatra, Dist. – Jharsuguda, Orissa had become Minister of Health and family welfare as on 30<sup>th</sup> May 1985, become Chief Minister of Orissa from 7<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1989 to 5<sup>th</sup> March 1990. Then 6<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1999 to 5<sup>th</sup> March 2000. At present he is a Member of Parliament represented from Sundargarh Constituency, Orissa from 2009 onwards.<sup>16</sup>
- (5) Dr. Prafulla Majhi (Paik Bhuyan), at present M.L.A. (Member of Legislative Assembly) Talsara Constituency, Orissa. From 2009 onwards.
- (6) Mrs. Sabita Patra (Paik Bhuyan), At – Sargidihi, P.O. – Bamphei, Via – Bamra, Dist. – Sambalpur, Orissa had become Sarpanch, Baunslaga Gram Panchayat. From 2007-2011.<sup>17</sup>
- (7) Hemananda Sa (Praja Bhuyan) young political leader (31 years), At – Gurla, P.o. – Gurla, Via – Bamra, Dist. – Sambalpur, Orissa had become Samiti Sabhya and Block Chairperson Bamra, within 2007 to 2011. At present Samiti Sabhya of Bamra from 2012 onwards.<sup>18</sup>

**Conclusion:** It may be concluded that the contribution of the Bhuyan leaders in Orissa could be viewed with interest not only by social scientists alone, but also by administrators, social workers and political leaders, both tribal and non-tribal. For last two decades anthropologists have advised on tribal problems. Their approach has often been misinterpreted to mean that they are trying to

keep the tribes receded from progress and preserve them in museum. As my observation is concerned regarding the above, that much before the emergence of the concept of democracy and constitution as the parameter of political consciousness, the Bhuyan in Orissa could have been able to generate the right not in a means of hartals, strikes, picketing but a method of bloodshed and the technique of militia. To strengthen the theory the Bhuyan tribes under Dharanidhar have used the traditional instruments like bow and arrow, sword and dhal.

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## Social Dimensions of Punjabi Migrations To Bahrain

\*Anchal Sharma

There has been continuous relationship between India and Bahrain at almost all stages of Indian history.<sup>1</sup>The migration of Punjabis in the modern period to Bahrain however, can be traced back from 1929.<sup>2</sup>Since then the chain of migrations is ongoing. Until 1932, the police force of Bahrain was dominated by Punjabi soldiers as they were considered loyal and brave.<sup>3</sup>The Indians were appointed as clerks and technicians in Bahrain Petroleum Company named BAPCO in early twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>By 1945, there were 580 Indian workers in the company.<sup>5</sup>The oil boom of 1970s totally transformed the scenario of oil production and developments in the Gulf as well as in Bahrain.<sup>6</sup>By 1975 there were 17,250 Indian migrants in Bahrain which increased to 130,000 in 2001.<sup>7</sup>At present there are about 300,000 Indians residing in Bahrain (data given by Labour Market Regulatory Authority of Bahrain, 2012). The Indian migrants in Bahrain belong to different regions and states of India, out of which 25,000 are from Punjab. They constitute around 10 per cent of the total Indians on the island. The migrants from Doaba tract of the Punjab constitute the majority with 46.4 per cent followed by those of from Malwa with 32.8 per cent. The migrants from Majha constitute a little over 20 per cent of the total. Nearly fifty per cent Punjabis have migrated to Bahrain as skilled workers, one-sixth as unskilled workers, and one-fourth as professionals and only one-tenth as businessmen. The level of earning of the Punjabis can be estimated on the average monthly savings in each of the category stated above. Around 47.2 per cent of Punjabis save between 4,000 and 10,000 INR per month, 43.2 per cent between 10,000 and 100,000 whereas less than 10 per cent are those who save above 100,000. Composition of the Punjabi migrants is varied as they are the Jat, Brahmin, Rajput, Muslim, Khatri, Gold Smith, Ramgarhia, Parjapati, Ramdasia, Majhabi Sikh, Harijan, Kamboj and Kinger belonging to the districts of Amritsar, Tarn Taran,

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Gurdaspur, Jalandhar, Hoshiarpur, NawanShehar, Kapurthala, Ludhiana, Chandigarh/ Mohali Moga, Sangrur, Ferozepur, Bathinda, Patiala and Ropar. The migrations have imparted the Punjabi society in several different ways. The present paper therefore, deals with some of the social dimensions of Punjabi migrations to Bahrain. Our findings are based on a field-work among the migrants in Bahrain and their families back home.<sup>8</sup> They were interviewed on the basis of a structured questionnaire. In addition to the pre-formulated questions, several points emerged during our conversations with the subjects.

Punjabi migrants, predominantly males have migrated to Bahrain in search of green pastures. A majority of them (62.4 per cent), have left their families in Punjab who are largely dependent on the money sent by them. It, therefore, becomes incumbent upon us to look into migrants' relations with their families, kinship group and the neighbourhood. There are some of the basic questions that the families of the migrants face. Our survey revealed that the most affected subjects of the male migration are the females. The wife and children living either as a part of joint family or on their own have to be dependent upon the money sent to them by the husband, son or father. In this scenario, most of the social and economic responsibilities and the pressures to run household fall on the wife of the migrant worker. She has to carry out all the chores of the household. She is responsible for the education of the children. She is supposed to look after the aged father and mother-in-law and also in many cases the younger brothers or sisters of the worker. She fulfills all the social obligations like attending weddings and funerals, pays 'neonda' on the weddings of children of relatives and friends.<sup>9</sup> To sum up, the responsibilities are more than what she can bear upon herself. She is also held responsible if the children do not do well in studies and in many cases is the object of scorn of the husband and the family of the in-laws. It is even more difficult for a woman living as a nucleus unit with children. She is constantly under watch of every relative and the neighbourhood for all the right and wrong reasons. It has been also noted in our field work that 41.6 per cent of Punjabis in Bahrain are engaged in lowly paid jobs earning less than 100 BD<sup>10</sup> per month which is approximately 13,000 INR (depends upon the exchange rate), 32.8 per cent have an average income (BD 101-1000) whereas, the high income group constituted 25.6 per cent (BD 1001-2000 & Above). It is however, important to know that a majority of migrants remitting small or large part of their income to their families back home. Such families nevertheless keep, rotting under the same conditions from which they aspire to come out.

Now, the question arises that how the money sent from abroad and in our case from Bahrain is used? There are several studies which suggested that foreign remittances are used for various purposes like construction of houses, study of children, establishing a new business or industry or in the real estate.<sup>11</sup> In case of Bahrain all these elements of expenditure are visible but with a difference. For instance, a majority of Punjabi migrants are engaged in unskilled and skilled works and thus their savings are not very high. Only a few of migrants, particularly the

professionals and businessmen have reported to establish business or industry in India and a rare of them have contributed in the welfare of the community and others. Our survey revealed that money sent by the migrants has been utilized by the families in construction or renovation of houses, education and marriage of children and in solving health problems of elders. It is, however, interesting that a major portion of the remittances (31.2 per cent) has been utilized for construction of new houses or renovation of the old ones.

Another important issue need to be emphasized is whether the raised economic status of the lower castes ensures their high social standing? We know that the traditional Indian society has always been classified on the basis of caste and occupational groups. Studies have shown that each caste and occupational group lived in clearly demarcated localities and had well defined relationships between the high and lowly evaluated castes and occupational groups.<sup>12</sup> The lower castes gradually understood that their low social status and poor economic condition is due to the menial nature of their work. They were not allowed to leave their calling nor were they permitted to enter into any new trade.<sup>13</sup> An important characteristic of this system was that there was no exchange of cash for the provided services.<sup>14</sup> The distinction began gradually to melt away under the pressure of commercialization during the colonial period. For instance, about 25 per cent of all castes had discarded their traditional occupations and 25 per cent entered into new occupations but did not break up with their hereditary occupations by 1931.<sup>15</sup>

The state policies of empowerment of lower castes in the post-independence period furthered the process, but the process of migrations has contributed significantly in this context. Traditionally, the lower caste people were not welcomed in the locale of the upper castes; as they claimed their superior social position in the society and time-to-time instruct the lower classes to remain within their limits. But our survey revealed that remittances have brought changes in the old caste identities to some extent, especially in urban areas of Punjab.

The regular inflow of money has made the lower castes more confident. Their children are getting education and turning towards new occupations. The upwardly mobile individuals and groups tried to achieve a higher social status for themselves by emulating the customs, manners and eating habits of the groups traditionally superior to themselves.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the attitude of the upper castes, especially the young and educated ones has been changing. With this, the acceptability of the lower classes in the localities of high castes has increased. There is another tendency emerging among the economically mobile members of the lower castes

Respondents, especially in urban areas say that in schools and colleges, no one bother about the caste of their friends or classmates and there are rare incidents of passing comments on students of low castes. A former student of Jat caste observed that:

*"Boys from all castes study in my college. I interact with them as there is no place for orthodoxy. If anybody is gentle and clean, I will strike up friendship with him or her. But if anybody is Jat and wearing shabby clothes, I would avoid him".<sup>17</sup>*

During our survey, a majority of the respondents say that they prefer to marry their children in the families who have equal economic status and are not depended on their kinship group for the matrimonial ties. They feel that they belong to a self-sufficient group whose members have an equal social and economic standing.<sup>18</sup>

A majority of the respondents however, also felt that the lack of unity within the lower castes is the reason behind their slow progress or success. Satish Sabarwal also pointed out the same by mentioning a statement of a Balmiki respondent who says that, “anyone who has been drawn to our community has fallen. They don’t like you to rise”.<sup>19</sup> The respondent compares the situation with Ramgarhias and commented that Ramgarhia community supports the fellow caste people and enables them to be the beneficiaries from the new emerged opportunities. It is quite interesting to share that a majority of our respondents also agree with the above statement. They acknowledge Mansa Singh’s contribution in raising them to their present level.<sup>20</sup> But in some cases it has been seen that migrant and his family remains associated with its community due to the compulsion.<sup>21</sup>

### Conclusion

It has been noticed that the male migration from different parts of Punjab has brought changes in the social and economic standings of the family back home. The family comes face to face with new situations in their social relationships with other communities as well as their own. Those who improved their economic conditions with the money sent from abroad by the migrant, they want to attain a high status in the society. The lower castes also try to copy the customs and life styles of the upper castes. These days, especially in the urban areas of Punjab, it has been seen that the upper castes, particularly the young elite have become less restricted towards the lower castes, but it is too early to say that the Indian society is moving towards a more open society.

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17. The respondent is the younger brother of the migrant who works as a heavy vehicle driver in Bahrain shared his experience with us. He lives in NawanSehar district of Punjab and studying in a college. When he was interviewed, a number of students from other castes (Brahmin, Ramgarhia & Khatri) were also sitting nearby. They also participate in the discussion and commented that it is true that the attitude of the upper class young elite is changing towards the low caste students. They do not abuse with them and spend nice time in the colleges or schools but they do not visit each other’s houses often or without any reason.
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## British Interest In The Environment In Punjab

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Colonial rule over India had a wide variety of consequences for both those who ruled and those who were ruled. Historians of modern India have spent considerable amount of efforts studying the political, social, economic and cultural impact of colonialism. But the impact of British rule on the environment of the country needs intensive study. This paper analyses the process and pattern of environmental degradation in colonial Punjab.

The colonial interest in the environment in India came through the writings of those who identified the economic exploitation of the environment by the British through policies encouraging commercialization of agriculture and thereby affecting the web of life, especially human, woven around land. These studies were mainly agro oriented. The ideas of the British regarding these activities kept on changing over time. They involved many borrowings from Britain and from the Indian culture and practice. The study will be concerned with these aspects.

The expansion of British rule in Punjab and its consolidation was substantially guided by a desire to exploit the resources of the land and the people for their own interests. "To the young administrators", wrote S.S. Thorburn, "the Punjab, with its thirsty plains, unutilized rivers, and willing, manly population, was like a newly discovered country with great natural resources awaiting development".<sup>1</sup> By seeking to "develop" the natural resources of Punjab, the British in fact created a new regime for control over access to and exploitation of environment in Punjab. This new regime was a result of various activities. To these people the exploitation of resources and their co modification was nothing more than a source of "strength" and "development". Their desire to control and administer, to win the support of Punjab peasantry and to increase revenue, were also a part of activities which resulted in the formation of this new regime. According to Donald Worster, the most dramatic environment alternations came from the massive conversion of natural ecosystems into arable i.e. into crop lands.<sup>2</sup> No other province of British

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India can illustrate this point so well so than Punjab. It is estimated that in Punjab the gross cultivated area over the total area increased from 23% in 1849 to 45% in 1901 and 53% in 1947.<sup>3</sup>

Development of Fisheries in Punjab was yet another way in which the waters in Punjab were put to use. The various surveys regarding the condition of fisheries in Punjab were conducted which were able to convince the Punjab government regarding the possibility of the fishery industry in Punjab.<sup>4</sup> The fisheries department, started in 1912, introduced new fishes in Punjab. Nurseries, hatcheries, sanctuaries were developed with a view to stock streams for increasing fish population.<sup>5</sup> Forest operations came under consideration soon after annexation of Punjab in 1849. Other than the development of agriculture, the construction of buildings and communications like railways, bridges etc. the importance of forests made itself felt. The government apprehended that little timber remained in the Rawalpindi mountain tracts. By 1854 some species of timber in Punjab had already become scarce by constant demand.<sup>6</sup>

The attention of the government was then drawn to the shortage of trees in plains. About trees in Punjab, Dalhousie had remarked: "In all these plains west of Jumna nothing is more striking than the absence of trees of all kinds... Every beam I put into a barrack from Mooltan upwards comes from the Jummo hills... The Punjab does not produce a stick".<sup>7</sup> The government thus sought to encourage plantations throughout the province with help of agencies-official and private. Wherever a canal was dug, a road made, or government building constructed, trees were ordered to be planted. Moreover the action of individuals in planting trees was stimulated by the prospects of rewarding them.<sup>8</sup> But Dalhousie had ordered that care should be taken that tree planted should be those calculated to become useful timber. "We have planted thousands of trees," wrote Henry Lawrence, "so that in few years the reproach of want of verdure will be wiped off".<sup>9</sup> In the successful years tree plantation was rapidly carried out. It was thus the annexation of Punjab that provided a context for both exploitation of forests and state arboriculture or conservation for the commercial interests of the British not for environmental purpose. They had only colonial interest. The appropriation of land for cultivation, canals, railways, roads and human habitation affected the forest cover.

As we saw above the colonial British certainly had an important commercial interest in the environment of Punjab but there was something more as well. The British were keen participants in sports like hunting, angling and shooting. During the British period, the emphasis was largely on animal games and *shikar*. During the past, extensive undisturbed area of jungle and forest gave safe harborage to wild creatures. Under the Sultans the province was full of dense jungles and the game was found in abundance in every part of Punjab. There were well known hunting grounds called "qamargahs" in the vicinity of Sirhind, Machhiwara, Bajwara, Kahnuwan, Lahore, Lakhi Jungle and Dipalpur.

With the Europeans affirming their presence in Punjab, the open area of land around cantonments became their favorite areas for pastime. The residents armed

with guns accompanied by native beaters, coolies, fanned into the length and breadth of Punjab plains and hills. The early morning and evening saw various sporting activities getting under way and one of them was hunting with hounds. It was in the post-mutiny era that sport came to be more highly regularized and institutionalized. In this period, it was felt, that in order to enjoy a high degree of sport, an organization was essential. As a result various tent clubs were formed at Allahabad, Calcutta, Cawnpoere, Meerut, Muttra and many more. Punjab had its own tent club called the Lahore tent club. Every tent club had a master and committee, to conduct the affairs of the club. The club possessed its own mess tent, utensils, servants and a head *shikari*.

In Punjab, there were two important hunts around Peshawar and Lahore, which popularly came to be known as the Peshawar Vale hunt and the Lahore Hunt. The Peshawar Vale Hunt and the Lahore Hunt were the two important hunts organized by the military service in Punjab. In Peshawar time was chiefly spent by an occasional run with the hounds. Those in the military usually spent their time in inspections, parades and field days, varied by an occasional run with the hounds. During the 1870, the country around Peshawar was generally acknowledged as "the real hunting country in India."<sup>10</sup> It was mainly due to the sport shown by the large number of regimental packs which had hunted continuously. Apart from the Peshawar Vale Hunt and the Lahore Hunt, various regiments also had their packs at Ambala and Jalandhar. The Britishers hunted regularly on Thursday and Sundays. They afforded "capital sport" to the large garrisons of Peshawar and Lahore.<sup>11</sup> In Punjab, hunting and shooting were one of the ways by which the Britishers were able to establish some contact with the Punjabi upper class landholders and princely states.

Patiala was a premier Sikh state to have played the host and various places were reserved by the Maharaja for the purpose of *shikar*. These reserves abounded in game. There were barking deer, leopard, chital, hog deer, goral, blue bull, wild boar, hyena, kalij pheasant and jungle fowl. The reserve was normally called a "bir". There were four important "birs" in the plains controlled by the Maharaja-Bir Moti Bagh, Bir Bhunerheri, Bir Sanaur and Bir Bahadurgarh.<sup>12</sup> The Maharaja also went ahead with experiments as regards introducing animals and birds like, pheasants, red deer, merino sheep and Australian hares which were not indigenous to the state. The British and the princes were perhaps aping each other. The British believed that they were able to use "natural sports" to build bridges with Punjabis. For entertainment, the Maharaja gave the visitors an excellent day for hunting, shooting, pig-sticking and riding. In 1922 a shoot for the entertainment of the Prince of Wales was planned and various guests were invited for a general shoot at Patiala. This made "altogether a most imposing warlike spectacle". In all on that day 254 head of game, big and small were killed of 11 different species.<sup>13</sup>

The British did detailed study of water bodies in Punjab and their flora and fauna with the hope of being able to introduce their favorite species here.<sup>14</sup> The Punjab Fisheries Act was passed in 1914 regulating fishing in the province under

a license.<sup>15</sup> This act was a critical turning point in transforming the context of fishing and enabled the government to dramatically increase its control over fisheries. The legislation provided for a more rigid concept of fishing and the government had wider powers now since it invested the government with the power to regulate access to fisheries. Several methods of fishermen like poisoning, use of fixed engines, erection of dams, weirs and traps for killing fry and fish, which the British considered were instrumental in diminishing the fish supply were prohibited. This act gave a very rigid notion of techniques or methods to be used for fishing

The British efforts at increasing the value of commercial forestry, fishery and agriculture had brought about important ecological changes within Punjab. New lands had been brought under cultivation by extension of irrigation which further resulted in the creation of the problems of water logging, salinity and seeming to increase the incidence of malaria in Punjab. Wild life also suffered because of the colonization of various waste and scrublands in Punjab. With the sports activities by the British, the many animals started to disappear from the Punjab. Such interventions would have complex results for the environment in Punjab.

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## Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy And National Movement

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Appointment of Sedition Committee headed by Sir Arthur Rowlatt was a legal ploy to suppress revolutionary nationalist movement in India. This was condemned by the people and national leaders like Pt Madan Mohan Malaviya, M.A. Jinnah, B.D. Shukla and Muzharul Haq who resigned from Imperial Legislative Council . The Rowlatt bill made appearance early in 1919 (Feb) . This was a measure intended to deal with the situation arising from the expiry of the Defence of India Act . It was framed to enable anarchical offence to be tried expeditiously by consisting of three High Court judges with no right of appeal. Local government were given powers to arrest persons believed to be connected with certain offences. Further dangerous characters already under control or in confinement could be continuously detained under the bill.

The second Bill was meant to cause a permanent change in the ordinary criminal Law of the land. The possession of seditious documents with the intention to publish or circulate was to be made punishable with the imprisonment.

“Rowlatt Bill were introduced in the Supreme Legislature Council on 6<sup>th</sup> February, 1919 and while the second was dropped and only the first passed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> week of March, 1919. Gandhi toured the country extensively and was received with great respect everywhere. He announced that he would lead a passive resistance of Satyagraha movement if the bill was passed. He was confident that he would be able to coerce the government into abandoning the Rowlatt Act. The country took to the new idea readily.<sup>1</sup>

The Government ignored the fact that Indian troops had just returned from the various war fronts where by their superior prowess and self sacrifice, they had helped to defeat the highly disciplined troops of Germany, Austria, Russia and Turkey.

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The change in Mrs. Besant's attitude with regard to the Black bills is known fact. We put it under four heads. They are her present view of the unobjectionable character of the Black Act, the leadership of Gandhi, the legitimacy of Satyagraha and the general doctrine of the inevitableness in civilized countries of the bullets following brickbats. The last proposition has been so as emphasized to reach the conclusion that many innocent lives “ might have been saved if the rioting at Amritsar has been stopped as promptly at that as Delhi”. What has astonished the public most is the radical change in the Mrs. Besant's attitude.<sup>2</sup>

The first Bill increases the power of the Panel Code and the code of Criminal procedures already too harsh. The second establishes a new Court, Presses all power in political matters in the hands of the Governor-General in Council and the Local Governments enabling them to seize anyone they suspect, with or without warrant, to impose on them any restrictions or conditions they please to keep them indefinitely without trial, to search any place at their own sweet will. In fact the second bill established reign of terror , even in areas where no offences against that State have occurred. The “ liberty which exists at the will of one man –a man not even chosen by the people –is not liberty at all , but slavery Liberty will cease to exist in India when these bills become Acts.” Mrs Besant was beyond doubt a staunch adherent of the Declaration of Rights demanded at the Special Session of the Congress, which she assisted in formulating. It read “ that no Indian subject of His Majesty shall be liable to suffer in liberty, life, property or in respect of free speech or writing, except under a sentence by an ordinary Court of justice. This is the position from which Mrs Besant cannot rightly retreat. But on what grounds she oppose the Bill ? These extracts are sufficient to show that the contentions that Mrs Besant is wrong and incredibly self-contradictory in the final formula that there is nothing wrong in the Bill. The select Committee which is said to have converted her consistency and fidelity in a matter this kind of highest importance as it involved human values.<sup>3</sup>

The First World War ( 1914-19) ended with the declaration of armistice of 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1918 and the Indian National Congress quoted the pronouncement of President Wilson Lloyd George and other British Statesmen stressed that the principle of self determination be applied to all progressive nations and resolved that it be applied to India and that all repressive laws be repealed.” Before the next session met at Amritsar, the Rowlatt Bills and the Satyagrah movement, the shooting at Viramgam and Delhi and the Jallianwala Bagh Tragedy, Martial Law and the Punjab and Sir C. Shankran Nair' resignation from the Government of India, the Hunter Commission and its failure, - these were chief occurrences that engaged and even disturbed the national mind.”<sup>4</sup>

The poverty of India was perennial and probably unparallel throughout the World. The labourer who were always in debt and their income might be placed generally 2 per annum, the industrial and middle class was not much better off in those days.

Dadabhai Naroji ( 1825-1917) a selfless Indian patriot went to England started his business and became member of the House of Commons, reveals facts about poverty of India through his ‘ Drain Theory’ “ whatever Revenue is raised by other countries , for instance, the Pound 70,000,000 by England, the whole of it returns back to the people and remains in the country and therefore the National Capital, upon which the productions of a country depends, does not suffer diminution, while on account of India being subject to a foreign rule, out of Pound 50,000,000 of revenue raised every year sum of Pound 12,000,000 or more are carried away to England and the National Capital- or in other words its capability of productions – is continuously diminished year after year.”<sup>5</sup>

Satyagraha vow activated the Indians to an unprecedented alacrity of agitations against the Rowlatt Act. Hartal and mass fasting strengthened the people of Punjab in their fight against the colonial rule. In Amritsar the British felt that their rule was over, and on Baisakhi day ( 13 April, 1919) they sprayed bullets on the people to silence the voice of Indian protest against colonialism. Survivors of the LAHU-LUHAN BSAKHI were also flogged, humiliated and insulted ; in short the reign of terror was let loose.

With tearful adieu to the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh , the saga of Indian independence became more and more vibrant. Not only was the Rowlatt Act repealed and O’Dwyer felled, the flame at Jallianwala Bagh rose and consumed in it all that was oppressive and inhuman. No doubt, if the ‘skirmish’ at Plassy had laid the edifice of British empire in India, savagery at Amritsar shook it.

The Home Department, Government of India, November 1919 disclosed about the distribution of a pamphlet published by “Indian Mirror” on Punjab disturbances etc.” pro.No.133 Early in the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup> April notices under the Defence of India ( Consolidation) Rules were served on Dr. Saif-ud-din Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal of Amritsar. Those two local agitators had delivered a series of inflammatory speeches against the Rowlatt Act and by their activities during the previous weeks had brought about general unrest at Amritsar. They were removed by motor and train to an unknown destination and no sooner had the news spread, then a large crowd, numbering ten to twenty thousand, assembled and endeavoured to rush to the civil lines. The local authorities anticipating possible trouble, had taken the precaution of posting picquets at the Railway over-bridge and level crossing connecting the city with the civil lines. The crowd arrived at the over-bridge and was requested to disperse peacefully. The mob not only refused to do so but began throwing stones at the men of the picquet , whereupon the District Magistrate found it necessary to order the men to fire upon the mob.<sup>6</sup>

A study in British imperialism shows Hailey writes, “ a serious confrontation had taken place in Delhi, and the hartal, or shut down at Amritsar had been both orderly and successful. Second, Sir Michael O’Dwyer had nevertheless ordered the arrest of the two leaders, Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal, while prohibiting Gandhi from entering the province : actions that were said to be provocative. The atmosphere had been tense, Hailey explained and further agitation” was likely to have very undesirable

consequences- given the character of the people in the Central Punjab- on the rural areas.” In short it had seemed like a replay of the canal colony revolt of 1907,” and a fair estimate of its probabilities seems to indicate that their ( the doctors) removal was far more likely to disorganize an agitation rapidly growing dangerous, than to lead to open disorder. The case was almost exactly parallel with that of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh, “ he conclude – and the reasoning remained just as circular.”<sup>7</sup>

### Conclusion:

The Government had appointed a Seditious Committee to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, headed by Justice Rowlatt with two Indians and three Britishers, on 10<sup>th</sup> December, 1917. They took up Poona murder case where Mr Rand, plague Commissioner and Ayerst were murdered. Tilak published the article in his influential Marathi paper and was convicted. Shyam Krishan Verma started ‘ India Home’ in London to create public opinion there for ‘Home Rule’ for India. Khudi Ram Bose threw Bomb at Muzaffarnagar to kill an unpopular magistrate, Madan Lal Dhingra connected with India House assassinated William Curzon. He said, “I attempted to shed English blood to protest against the inhuman transportation and hanging of Indian youth.”

These and such similar acts were a protest against the tyranny of British Rule. Punjab Government arrested two leaders in 1919 at Amritsar. They were leading popular movement, were not carrying arms. They had delivered speeches no doubt but no stronger than members of the Legislative Council, had made in the presence of the Viceroy, without protest. The law of sedition in India is comprehensive. It embraces practically anything that can bring the Govt. into discredit’ hatred and contempt’ are the words. The official witness before the Hunter Committee have been unable to produce any evidence or rebellion or conspiracy against the State at all.

There did not seem any justification for Martial Law in Punjab, where the official machinery lacked the quality of statesmanship, otherwise the situation could be saved.

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## Infrastructure Development and Changing Pattern of Settlement in Jammu Region During 1891-1947

\*Suneeta Sharma

### Introduction-

The evidence of the earliest settlements of the world was found in the river valleys like Mesopotamia, Egypt and Indus Valley. However, in India most of the settlements have been found on the river banks like Harappa, Mohenjodaro, Kalibangan and Lothal etc. In Jammu region the evidence of the earliest settlements of Harappan civilization was found from Manda.<sup>1</sup> After that, the pattern of settlements changed as we find the remains of Kushan settlements from Ambaran, Chatta, Damana, Nagbani and Palaura etc.<sup>2</sup> Some artifacts pertaining to Gupta period have been discovered from Akhnoor.<sup>3</sup> The early history of settlements in Jammu region is traced from the date of foundation of Jammu city which was actually founded in 14<sup>th</sup> century B.C by Raja Jambh Lochan.<sup>4</sup> Jammu is not prominently reflected in Indian History till the invasion of Mughals. It was to the close of 16<sup>th</sup> century Jammu came under the subjugation of Mughals and they turned Jammu a tributary state.<sup>5</sup>

### Results and Discussion.-

With the advent of Sikh rule<sup>6</sup>, the prosperity attained by Jammu region under the predecessors<sup>7</sup> began to decline due to the constant wars and consolidating activities of Raja Gulab Singh. In 1835, Baron Charles Hugel an Austrian traveler visited the state. He was impressed by the grandeur of two large buildings. The city itself was a mass of ruins, depilated and broken buildings showing the sign of wilderness and poverty. Hugel also gave the reference of Akhnoor town which was now lost their ancient importance as indicated by the remains of the ruin palace. Besides them, there were scattered settlements in the road side area especially in the area between Pathankot to Jammu.<sup>8</sup>

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After four years, another English traveler G.T Vignie visited the state. Like Hugel, Vignie also made the main focus on the two major buildings of Jammu region and that was the royal palace and Bahufort. Unlike Hugel, Vignie said that the main Bazaar was in good condition, consisted of numerous streets and houses inhabited by 7000 or 8000 people. Another populous town was Ramnagar which was also called as "city of refuge". It was inhabited by 700 or 800 people. Apart from this, he also described the conditions of the forts of Basholi, Monkot, Jagan and Kishtwar.<sup>9</sup>

Besides the travelling accounts, the renowned local writers Thakur Kahan Singh Baloria, Narsingh Das Nargis<sup>10</sup> and Shiv Nirmohi had given the reference of forts<sup>11</sup> which were the major buildings at that time. Thakur Kahan Singh Baloria wrote that there were 70 fort buildings in the Jammu Province.<sup>12</sup> Another writer, Narsingh Das Nargis had given the history of 22 Duggar states<sup>13</sup> in that he gave the reference of the major forts of these states.<sup>14</sup> Contrary to these writers, Shiv Nirmohi the present writer and the scholar had given the reference of 128 forts in Jammu region. Maharaja Gulab Singh paid the special attention on the maintenance of forts, he got build the fort of Samba, Lakanpur, Ajmirgarh and Gulabgarh.<sup>15</sup> At present there are only few forts left which are in good conditions.

The Palaces, forts and Bazaars were the mirrors of the settlement pattern as these were the major buildings, which determine the growth of settlements. But the above mentioned foreign travelers or writers have given a rare mention of the forts. They generally described the conditions of forts which came on their way. Their work generally deals with the growth of towns.

The condition of Jammu towns further improved with the introduction of developmental reforms by Maharaja Ranbir Singh the successor of Maharaja Gulab Singh. This is evident by the admission of the students from Wazartum, Tasilum and Cheklone in these institutes.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, during this period Jammu was turned into a city of temples. He built the temples of Gadadharji and Raghunathji at Uttarbehni, Laxmi Naryan temple at *pahkidhaki* and Baldevji's temple at Dhownthly. The presence of these temples gave a vertical shape to the settlements of Jammu town and this pattern still dominates the present city structure.<sup>17</sup>

The rapid expansion of economic activities brought a brisk growth in Jammu and other towns. This is evident by Fredrick Drew's<sup>18</sup> observation that Jammu was the flourishing town, contained a big market extending from Gumat to Mubarak Mandi and from Jogi Darwaza to Panjteerthi. After Jammu the next populous towns were Mirpur, a famous trading centre especially for the wheat export. A large portion of the town covered by the spacious houses of Khatries (class of traders) indicates that a larger portion of population was of traders who settle there for trade purpose. Kotli was another populous and trading center. The town had 250 houses and was mostly inhabited by 800 people. Akhnoor was also emerging as a centre of navigation and timber business. Beside this, the town of Basholi, Ramnagar, Bhadarwah and Kishtwar were known for the manufacturing of cloths and woolen products.<sup>19</sup>

Charles. E. Bates another foreign writer also presented the condition of Jammu region. He described that Gumut gate was the entry door of Jammu town in the south. The town was entered by a paved road about 30 feet wide, consisted of shops on either side. After Jammu, Poonch was another populous town. At that time, the town was comprised of 750 houses and they were mostly of traders. Apart from this, Bates mentions about settlements in other towns of Jammu region which included Kotli 2600 houses, Reasi 300 houses, Krimachi 400 houses and 100 houses in Kishtwar.<sup>20</sup>

However, the turning point in the settlement pattern came in the period from 1890 onward when the process of modernization started in Jammu region and this process remain continued till 1947. The opening of new departments such as accounts, public work, and education gave further boost to the infrastructure development. In 1889, Persian was replaced by Urdu as official language. This led to inflow of people from other states especially from Punjab.<sup>21</sup> The laying of railway line and opening of Banihal cart road gave impetus to the growth of settlements.<sup>22</sup> On the basis of the growing development, the census of 1901, declared the town of Jammu as the III class town.<sup>23</sup>

The economic growth and speedy infrastructural development further initiate the process industrialization in Jammu region. At that time Jammu emerged as a biggest industrial town. In 1936 pottery industry was established and the products like Jars, mortars, pestles and tea tumblers began to be manufactured.<sup>24</sup> The other prominent industries were of ice, tent, proclama and tannery etc.<sup>25</sup> At that time Miran Sahib also grew as an industrial town. Factories of cricket bat making and resin and turpentine were established at Miran Sahib.<sup>26</sup> Beside this, there were other small industries of soaps, phenyl, paints, and polishes etc.<sup>27</sup>

When new factories were sprawling, we found an expansion in the traditional industries such as cotton textile and woolen industries. Now cotton textile industry was not remain confined to Samba and Jammu but extended to other towns of the province. The woolen trade also flourished in the towns of Basholi, Doda, Baderwah, Kishtwar, Reasi, Ramnagar, Udhampur and Kathua.<sup>28</sup>

Besides this, the opening of various canals such as Satwari canal, Jogi canal, Pratap canal, Ranbir Singh canal<sup>29</sup> and Basantpur canal<sup>30</sup> gave boost to the growth of commercialization of agriculture which in turn gave impetus to the growth of canal colonies. This added impetus to the growth of population and also to the density of population. In 1941 Jammu district shows 15.0% increase in the growth of population against 7.82 % in 1931. This also led to an increase of 376 persons per square miles in 1941 against 327 persons per square miles in 1931.<sup>31</sup>

Constant improvements in the urban areas of Jammu region attracts not only the locals but also the people of other Indian states to migrate and settle in these regions. At that time, Jammu district was the only districts where the maximum number of immigrants from British India. About 15708 people from Sialkot, 6695 persons from Punjab migrated to Jammu. Similarly Kathua, Udhampur, Reasi and Poonch witnessed the 7,849, 1508, 1021 and 1136 immigrants respectively.<sup>32</sup> The

continuous inflow of people leads to haphazard growth of settlements resulting in the overcrowding and congestion in Jammu city. This also extends the municipal limits from 2.5 square miles<sup>33</sup> in 1941 to 5.2 square miles in 1946.<sup>34</sup> The rapid expansion brought change in the status of Jammu town from class III to class II town in 1941.<sup>35</sup> It has also been found that there was an immense increase in the growth and density of population from 1891 to 1947. In 1941 the density of population in Jammu was increased to 376 persons per square miles against 275 persons per square miles in 1891.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, we can infer that the settlement pattern is not static but a changing phenomenon. It has been proved in the present paper that pattern of settlement is changing since ancient time. However, it was from 1890's onward the turning point in the settlement pattern observed with the beginning of the period of modernization in the state. This accelerated the pace of infrastructural development which brings change in the settlement pattern. The process of change in the settlement pattern does not stop after 1947. But, it is still continuous in the present settlement pattern.

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## Development of Higher Education In Punjab: 1947-56

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Exodus of students from the West Pakistan as a result of the partition threw great pressure on the enrolment of non-government affiliated Colleges and their expenditure on staff equipment, libraries contingencies and accommodation, etc. increased considerably. Financial assistance to them became essential and was sought vigorously.<sup>1</sup> Displaced students from West Punjab were given financial assistance by the government in the form of loans and grants. These loans were distributed to those students who (i) had been compelled to discontinue their studies or training and (ii) were such deserving persons that would prove an asset to community if their education or training was not discontinued, Therefore in order to provide relief in the most expeditious manner, the concerned head of the departments functioned as the sanctioning and disbursing authorities.<sup>2</sup> The Punjab Government made a provision of 20 lacs under loans to students and 8 lacs as grant. In view of liberal policy recommended by the High Power Committee, a provision of Rs. 30 lacs may be made for education. The high power committee had recommended that instead of loans, the students were to be granted stipends.<sup>3</sup>

Grants to the amount of Rs. 3080000 were paid to the East Punjab University to enable them to maintain and run their main activities. Tara Devi related to the East Punjab Boys Scouts Association, was paid an annual grant of Rs. 90000 towards maintaining and improving boy's scout's work of the province. Similarly a grant of Rs. 7000 was paid to the Punjab Girls Guide Association to help them to efficiently carry on the Girls Guide movement of the province.<sup>4</sup> Considering the paucity of the available resources, the tendency to multiply universities on local or regional grounds needs to be checked. There was much force in the recommendation of the University Commission in favour of bringing University education under the concurrent control of the state and the centre and setting up a University Grants

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Commission. The University Commission also expressed itself in favour of the establishment of Rural Universities.<sup>5</sup>

Over crowding in Universities was becoming an acute problem. Many of the students who join the Universities were not able to profit from higher education. Vocational guidance and aptitude texts were get in an underdeveloped stage in India.<sup>6</sup>

The education in Punjab shown considerable progress since the partition. The two colleges at Mahalpur and Gurusarsudhar had 339 and 170 students respectively.<sup>7</sup> The number of Colleges in Punjab increased from 40 (1947-48) to 47 in 1948-49 and 50 in 1949-50. Among these eight colleges were meant exclusively for women. Out of 50 colleges 36 imparted general education and the other 14 colleges trained the students in different professions.<sup>8</sup> One law college was at the Jullundur.<sup>9</sup> The agricultural college had completed two years of its existence at Ludhiana in the hired building of the Malwa Khalsa High School. The total number of students in the college was 208.<sup>10</sup>

On the 31st October, 1952, the Khalsa College had enrolled 1488 students. This strength was the highest record of students ever admitted in the history of the institution. The number of students in master degree courses i.e. Economics and Punjabi also increased.<sup>11</sup>

With a view to impart practical training to the cultivators, in the improved methods of agriculture, a school was opened at Sirsa. The school started functioning in February, 1952, when 33 students were enrolled in this session. The total number of students enrolled in the school on 1st July, 1952, was 36. Fifth students were enrolled for the year 1953.<sup>12</sup> During 1956 there was a large increase in the number of students in Universities and Colleges. At the end of the first five year plan the number of students was 720000 was compared to 420000 five year ago. The number of students qualifying in degree and higher examinations in the faculty of arts, commerce and science streams was increased 41000 to 58000.<sup>13</sup>

The number of Colleges in Punjab increased from 40 (1947-48) to 47 in 1948-49 and 50 in 1949-50. Eight colleges were meant exclusively for women. Out of the fifty colleges and the courses for different professions imparted like law, medicine, teaching, engineering, agriculture, commerce, physical training veterinary science and oriental studies.<sup>14</sup> In the joint Punjab there was a first rate Veterinary College at Ludhiana, with huge buildings well-equipped laboratories, clinics and a hostel. After the participation, a temporary camp college was opened at Hissar. The camp college at Hissar was made permanent in March, 1949.<sup>15</sup>

During 1950-51, the government of India allotted a sum of Rs, 4784-13.0 to 42 students as loan. Later on the amount was extending to Rs, 145465-4.0. Under the revised scheme of the government stipends, of Rs. 30136 were given to 106 students.<sup>16</sup> The arrangement regarding teaching to the vernacular classes were continued at Gurdaspur District. In order to impart required standard of the training during 1952, the duration of the classes was increased from six months to one year where fifty students took training.<sup>17</sup>

The scheme for aid to the displaced students was revised by the Government of India. Under this scheme refundable stipends at the rate of Rs. 30 and Rs. 20 per month were paid, respectively to the F.Sc. and B.Sc. students.<sup>18</sup> Regarding the College students taking up non-technical courses of studies, the Government of India provided certain exceptions under which meritorious displaced students were to be assisted to complete studies from the matriculation up to the post-graduation. The Punjab Government on the 11 August, 1949 had decided not to give effect to these exceptions and assistance. Only to the competition of education which was interrupted due to petition.<sup>19</sup>

Loans were given in monthly or quarterly installments. The following rates of loans provided to students for different classes were:<sup>20</sup>

Class	Rs. per month	Plus Tuition	Fees
F.A.	40	do	do
B.A./ B.Sc.	50	do	do
M.A./ M.Sc.	65	do	do
Teacher Training	60	do	do
M.B.B.S/B.D.S	100	do	do
Veterinary	75	do	do
Agricultural	70	do	do
L.L.B	80	do	do
Engineering	125	do	do

The various heads of Departments disbursed Rs. 72128 as loans to displaced students during March 1950 and Rs. 667328 during the financial year 1949-1950.<sup>21</sup> The department took particular interest in the education of the Harijans. Consequently 'Harijan Welfare Scheme' was initiated. Under this scheme stipends were awarded to the Hindu Harijans and Backward Sikh classes, those were studying in High recognized schools and affiliated colleges in the Punjab. The scheme was extended for the students studying in technical institutions of the province as well and to such refugee students which were studying in the East Punjab University Camp College, New Delhi.<sup>22</sup> Financial aid had also been provided on a large scale to students. Up to the end of 1949 the Punjab Government had provided over two million rupees in loans and three and a half million in grants to students of East Punjab. Most of these were provided for students to complete ordinary college courses which had been interrupted by the event of 1947. In a few special cases aid was also provided for boys and girls of proved ability who wish to undertake courses in engineering, medicine or agriculture. Such special assistance for refugee students was to continued till March, 1953.<sup>23</sup>

The growing number of colleges in the state warranted enhancement of the state aid. Necessary provision was therefore, made to make available financial assistance to affiliated private colleges on the basis of the difference between their income and expenditure. The expenditure was estimated at Rs. 15 lacs at first and then at Rs. 14.95 lacs. Aid was, however, granted during the plan period as under:<sup>24</sup>

Year	1951-52	1952-53	1953-54	1954-55	1955-56	Total
Amount of Aid Rs. in Lacs	3.48	3.38	2.75	5.94	5.43	20.908
No. of Colleges aided	31	35	34	40	41	180

The Punjab University maintained 17 teaching departments besides conducting examinations. The income from examination fee was inadequate to meet the expenditure on examinations and maintenance of (i) the Punjab University Camp College, New Delhi (ii) Law College, Jullundur, and (iii) Punjab University College, Hoshiarpur. Financial assistance to the University was therefore, found to be essential and a grant was paid:

Plan provision of Rs. 22.83 lacs.  
Actual expenditure Rs. 22.83.<sup>25</sup>

In education, too, improvements were made in the distribution of grants and in the pay-scales and provident fund and facilities for training of teachers. Changes in curriculum were introduced and vernacular schools were placed at par with Anglo-Vernacular schools.

### Conclusion

No doubt, the actual progress of education, qualitative, in this period was not very satisfactory. Still, a purposeful beginning had been made, the basis of future development has been laid, and parents had started realizing the value of educating their children and even their daughters. It is true that the actual achievements were not great and much leeway still remained to be made up in the field of education but it was a satisfactory feature of the period (1947-56) that the main lines along which the educational set-up ought to have been re-organized were clearly marked out and that a firstly good start was made in what could not but be a long and difficult journey.

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## A Historical Perspective of The Marine Survey of India Up to 1900 A.D

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### Introduction

Marine surveying is the art, science and technology of hydrographic surveying and nautical charting of the seas. It deals with surveying of various oceanographic parameters; hydrographic relating to navigation in particular, and their spatial distribution and quantification. The oceans which occupy three-fourth of earth's surface are not only storehouse of food and energy but are also excellent medium for international commerce, trade, cultural contacts and foreign relations. This paper is an attempt to trace the evolution of the marine surveying in India in different historical periods.

### Early Marine Surveying in India (from the earliest times till 1600 A.D)

Marine surveying has been a very old activity in India. India was the first country outside of Europe to be mapped accurately. The excavation of a dockyard at Lothal made by the Indus Valley people corroborates the evidence of pre-Vedic navigation. The pre-Aryan people navigated, both according to the system of Pauranics, and of the astronomers. The early Sanskrit writings and Vedic literatures do mention about some traveling, voyages but there are no records about specific surveying. The hymns of the Rig-Veda and Satapatha Brahman mention navigation in 'Purva Samudra' (Eastern Sea – Bay of Bengal) and 'Paschim Samudra' (Western Sea – Arabian Sea).<sup>1</sup> The Rig-Veda describes sea voyages by 'Varuna' and 'Vashishta'. It also mentions that 'Tugra', a Rishi king, sent his son 'Bhojyu' on a sea voyage, who was caught in a rough sea and was subsequently rescued by the twin god 'Ashwins' in their ship of hundred oars. The rescue of 'Manu' the Indian Noah and incarnation of 'Vishnu', whose ship was dragged by fish in the flood, is evidence to the Indian shipping during the later Vedic period.<sup>2</sup>

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The earliest knowledge of India was acquired by the Greeks. According to Greek historians Hecataeus (B.C.500) and Herodotus (B.C.443) (Father of History), King Darius of Persia sent Scylax on voyage to India. Encouraged by the fabled wealth of India, Alexander, the king of Macedonia came to India from Greece (B.C 325) on a conquest as far as Great Bay. He was accompanied by geographers who made detailed reports after collecting various observations. On the basis of these observations, Greek Geographers, Megasthenese and Eratosthenes later attempted the first map of India.<sup>3</sup>

Another Greek Geographer Ptolemy wrote 'Geographia' in the second century B.C. He prepared a foreshortened outline of India. He described the busy port of Heptanesia. The rest of India was little known at that time. It is said that Exdocus (B.C.115) sailed to the Malabar Coast with the help of an Indian pilot. Legend, however, credits Hippalaus as having sailed across the Arabian Sea from Berenike and Crangnore in A.D. 47, as recorded by Pliny. Anemohydrography was used for sailing across the Arabian Sea by Hippalaus. However, the Indian seamen were well aware of the monsoon much before Hippalaus discovered it for Mediterranean sailors.<sup>4</sup>

The Periplus or the pilot for coastal navigation, described landmarks, routes, currents, anchorages and the entries to ports. The Chinese scholars Fa Hiuen (399-415 A.D.) and Hiuen Tsang (629-645 A.D.) who visited and traveled extensively in India described the social, religious, economic and political conditions of the people of India. The land was described as broad in the north with a narrow apex to the south 'much like the faces of the inhabitants'.<sup>5</sup> Gole, S., 1976, Early Maps of India, Delhi, pp.37-38.

Nautical cartography was said to have originated in China in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Wubei Zhi, a treatise on military preparations, talks of the seven expeditions into the Indian Ocean led by Ming Admiral Zheng He between 1405 and 1433 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

Ptolemy's 'Geographia' was translated into Arabic in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Arab Geographers Ebn Haukel (real name Muhammad Abu-l-Qasim, left Baghdad on his travels in 943 A.D.) and Al-Batany attempted a few location maps of India. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. the Arab cartographer Al-Idrisi produced a map of the East from data given by Arab and Indian navigators, using the grid system for the first time in the. A true shape of peninsular India appears in the 14<sup>th</sup> century map by Hamdullah Mustauffi in his book Naghatu-l-Qualb.<sup>7</sup>

The Pallavas, Cholas and Pandyas, the dynasties on the East Coast of India sailed extensively in the Eastern Seas. The Chola dynasty ruled on the East Coast since 3<sup>rd</sup> Century B.C. The East coast was ruled jointly by Cholas and Pandyas and they traded with East Indies. The name of the East Coast 'Coromandel' was derived from 'Chola Mandalam' – places of the Cholas. Some types of maps and sailing directions would have existed of which we now have a little record. The later Cholas ruled supreme and by the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D., Rajaraja Chola followed by his son Rajendra Chola, extended their empire over the Andaman and Nicobar Island, Srilanka, Lakshadweep, Maldives, Pegu, Sumatra, Singapore and Malaysia.

The tales narrated by adventurous explorers excited the imagination of Europeans who had tremendous urge to reach India. The Portuguese made many attempts to reach India by the sea routes, because they were not allowed to trade with India through land. Though Marco Polo, in 1205 A.D., has mentioned the Ports of Columban (Quilon), Parca (Pulicat) and Supara and also talked about Chola maps and expeditions on the East Coast of India their real entry began in the 16<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

It was the invention of printing which gave a great stimulus to the advancement of surveying. Ptolemy's maps were printed in 1477 A.D. at Bologna. The invention of magnetic compass (12<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) helped them. Bartholomew Dias (1488 A.D.) attempted in futile to reach India through Cape of Good Hope. Pedrade Covilha (1489 A.D.) took passage in Arab boat to Cannanore. He visited Calicut and recorded this new knowledge in his 'Sea Carde'. The king of Portugal sent Vasco-da-Gama who reached Calicut on the coast of Malabar in 1497 A.D.

The Mughals arrived in India in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. They made no attempt to build any sea power and their short-sightedness in this direction helped the intrusion of the European traders in India. Despite an organized navy, the Mughals did not clearly appreciate the importance of sea power which resulted in directly influencing India's destiny

Portuguese (1502 A.D.) assisted by Arab trader Abdul Majid visited India with a fleet of 20 ships. For the next hundred years the Portuguese were the only Europeans in strength in the subcontinent and they established trading stations on the west coast at Goa, Diu, Daman, Bassein, Chaul, Cambay, Cannanore, Quilon and Cochin and prepared sketch plans for these ports.<sup>8</sup>

### **Marine Surveying (from 1600 to 1874 A.D)**

The English traders witnessing the profit earned by the Portuguese and the Dutch, attempted to have a share of wealth and formed the East India Company on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1600 A.D which set forth a voyage almost every year during the next twenty years. The increasing British maritime supremacy in the Indian Ocean was primarily responsible for the decline of Dutch power in India. The observations of bold and talented seamen of the East India Company bore fruits in the shape of 'Plots'(charts) and 'Rules of the Indian Navigators'(Sailing Directions) by John Davis.<sup>9</sup> Richard Hakulyt, the historiographer of the Company was the first to produce the old charts. Rev. Samuel Purchas published his 'Purchas his Pilgrims' in 1625 A.D. The English cartographers not only prepared sketch plans of ports but also reproduced the plans of the ports published in Atlases by Ortelius, Gerardus Mercator, Waghenaer, Hondius, Bleau supplemented with information collected by the East India Company.<sup>10</sup>

The journals and logs of the East India Company were numbered in two series-the first, consisting of 68 volumes extending from 1606 to 1708 A.D and second, containing logs of the ships from 1708 to 1832 A.D.<sup>11</sup>

### **The Bombay Marine and The former Indian Navy – Hydrographic Organizations of British East India Company (1700 to 1873 A.D.)**

The Indian Marine or the Indian Navy came into existence in 1613 A.D. However it gained All India stature when the British took control of the entire subcontinent. On its change of base in 1686 A.D from Surat to Bombay, the Indian Marine took the name-the Bombay Marine-the name which was derived from the place of its Headquarters.<sup>12</sup>

**Thornton's (1703-1750 A.D.)** - John Thornton and Samuel Thornton, hydrographers of the East India Company, published, 'The English Pilot' for 'Oriental Navigation' (1703 A.D.). Thornton's 1745 A.D. Edition carried 42 maps (with plans of Bombay & Hooghly) & coastal stretches with location of ports on small scales with 'Portolan' look. Cardinal lines were drawn from many positions along with few soundings and sea was filled with few ships.

**Dutch and French Cartographers-** Fer, Aa Valentyn, Halley, Van Kenlen and Herbert published maps of Pondicherry (1705 A.D.), Gulf de Bangale and Combaye (1714 A.D.), Malabar and Coromandel Coast (1723 A.D.), Malabar, Choromandel, Cape Comorin, Dabul, Suratte, Cananor, Cranganour (1726 A.D.) (1728 A.D.), Bombay, Cranganor, Hugle (1753 A.D.) and Orissa Coasts (1758 A.D.)

The Hooghly River Surveying Service was actively engaged from 1748 A.D. in carrying out hydrographic surveying of the Hooghly River under a River Surveyor Lacam was the River Surveyor in 1770 A.D.

**Captain John Ritchie** - (Hydrographical Surveyor of East India Company - 1770 to 1785 A.D.). He surveyed the coast of the Bay of Bengal, Orixia, Hooghly, Nicobars, Coromandel and Andamans. His work formed a part of the material for Rennell's map of Hindustan. Rennell, who was the Surveyor General of India, also compiled and published charts using Ritchie's surveys.

**Alexander Dalrymple** – (Hydrographer to the East India Company - 1779 to 1806 A.D.) – Dalrymple published 'Essay on Nautical Surveying' (1771 A.D.) and 100 maps of Indian Waters which were engraved by himself. Harrison and John Walker were other engravers.

Lieutenant Archibald Blair was actively engaged between 1777 and 1795 A.D in surveying the ports of Andamans, Kattywar, Salsette etc.<sup>13</sup> He along with Lieutenant Colebrooke produced a voluminous record of the area in the form of "Selections from the Records of the Government of India, 1859".

On his return to the mainland he submitted his report which had a very favorable reception. In view of the possibilities of improving this area for the use of the British he was sent in 1858 A.D to carry out a survey and establish a settlement. Thus sprang up a settlement on the Andamans, and the port was named after the enterprising Captain and came to be known as Port Blair.

Captain M. Topping compiled a chart of the Bay of Bengal in 1788 A.D. Warren surveyed Coringa and Vizagapatnam in 1805-06 A.D. Captain Court was appointed Marine Surveyor General at Calcutta (1806-23 A.D.).

**Horsburgh** – (Hydrographer to the East India Company 1810-1836 A.D.) - Horsburgh innate love for cartography and publication of sets of charts in the first edition of East India Directory put him in the first rank of hydrographers. His East India Directory comprised of maps of Goa, Bombay, Port Meadows, Point Palmyrus, Sauger Roads, False Point, Angenwell', Laccadives, Kutch, and Diu Harbour, Indian Ocean, Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea, Pulicat to Armegon Hill and Kattiwar to Dwarka. Hydrographic Surveys were carried out by Court, Ross, Brucks, Maxfield, Haines, Morseby.

**Daniel Ross** - Marine Surveyor General - Calcutta (1823-33 A.D.), (known as Father of Indian Hydrography) introduced scientific methods in hydrographic surveying (sextant; triangulation, astronomical observations, 10 foot rod & telescope).<sup>14</sup> The Bombay Marine was converted into Indian Navy (1832 A.D.). Malcolm founded the Bombay Geographical Society under the Presidentship of Ross.

**Walker** – (Hydrographer to the East India Company 1836-61 A.D.): - Walker re-published the charts of his predecessors and published sets of small-scale maps of West Coast and Malabar Coast. He carried out a number of Hydrographic surveys.

Captain Lloyd became Marine Surveyor General at Calcutta (1833 A.D.) and surveyed Saugor to Calcutta, Sunderbans and discovered 'Swatch of no ground'. Captain Fell surveyed Coromandel (1841-1848 A.D.) and compiled coastal maps from Pulicat to Bimlipatnam (1851 A.D.). Captain Ward in 'Krishna' surveyed in Bay of Bengal (1836-62 A.D.). Heathcote compiled map of Bay of Bengal (1861 A.D.) and Sweny compiled map of Point Calimere to Pulicat (1860 A.D.). From 1853 to 1859 A.D., Lieutenant Taylor in 'Ponwah' and 'Bheema', admirably conducted coastal surveys of South Concan, Canara and Malabar, which were compiled in six sheets.

### Characteristics of Charts

Charts up to Dalrymple's period (1806 A.D) were plain and simple in outlook. They were not drawn on a uniform size. Most of the plans were un graduated. Projection was not quoted but latitude/longitude divisions were equidistant. The titles were simple in look. The charts contained very little topographical details. The local names of historical places were given but the impact of British pronunciation is seen in the spellings.

The charts by Horsburgh and Walker also had the cartographic style and symbology similar to that of Dalrymple. However, their style of drawing of tiles, names, symbology, soundings etc., was comparatively bolder and looked more efficient.

### Establishment of Marine Survey of India (1874-1953 A.D)

The Indian Navy ceased to exist in 1861 A.D. after the abolition of East India Company. First wreck map of India was produced in 1865 A.D. at Surveyor

General's Office. The map contents consisted of birds-eye-view sketch of coastline and newly discovered ports, islands, etc. with beautifully drawn titles, legends, compasses, and panoramic and artistic views of hills, forts, sailing vessels and fantabulous sea monsters. The locations of place names were symbolized either by circle or by symbolic drawing of general building. The sea area was symbolized by dots. The Marine Survey of India was established in 1874 at Calcutta, which carried out Hydrographic surveys enabling the rulers to maintain their trade channels through the sea routes. The Marine Survey of India was re designated as Naval Hydrographic Office in 1954 A.D. and shifted to Dehradun. The NHD carried out systematic hydrographic surveys of Indian waters and produced a series of Nautical Charts and publications.

**Conclusion-** In summing up we can say that marine surveying have been a very old activity in India which is attested by the reference of marine surveying in our ancient texts. Early marine charts available with us have been beautifully designed and depict great cartographic skills of those times. However, the foundations of the Marine Survey of India triggered the process of systematic and accurate cartography.

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## Conditions of The Agricultural Labourers In The Princely State of Mysore Between 1881 To 1947

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India from the very early period of her history has been primarily an agricultural country with a rural economy. During the ancient and medieval times, particularly, land formed the stronghold of her people and was the very basis of the economy of the country i.e., the economic life of the people largely depended upon land. The majority of the people, in the past as at present, lived in villages and earned their living directly from land, which was the major means of production and on which largely depended also the trade and the industry of the country. Indeed played a very important role in the economic as well as social life of our people in ways more than one. That is why its private, social or state ownership has been of great importance.

Land has always been a source of power, prestige, social influence and a means of land relationship, control and utilisation of land and the nature of relationship between different agrarian classes via-a-viz, land will have a deep impact on the land and caste based social order. As land could feed people, people grouped themselves in families and castes so as to work on land for material production. Here "the lower one goes in the economic scale, the lower the caste in the social scale"<sup>1</sup> Kosambi defines, "caste is class on the primitive level of production". In other words, the caste who owned the land and the caste who tilled the land were the basic factor for deciding the status of caste in India, because caste is generally a "Status Group".

Caste and customs in the village played a vital role in organizing the agrarian production and controlling the system. With regard to this variable of the agrarian system and laws based on it determined occupation. The depressed castes remained attached to the land for agricultural operations in a deplorable way. The caste system worked in the agrarian system in such a way that a fixed labour reserve was always assured. According to Irfan Habib low castes were never to aspire to the status of

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peasant holding or cultivating land on their own. In many parts of Princely State of Mysore this caste custom prevailed. Shivaram Karant's novel "Chomanadudi" describes how a depressed or low caste Choma failed to realize his dream of becoming an independent cultivator in a remote village of Karnataka. His two sons later converted to Christianity and became farmers, getting land from the Church. The traditional force on Choma was such that his attempt to cross over to Christianity ended in failure. That is only to indicate the impact of the caste system on the agrarian structure of the country.

As the Princely State of Mysore was predominantly agrarian and rural in character, one of its main working populations was agricultural labour. There were two forms of labour system in Princely Mysore – they were "Free" and "Unfree" labour system. This class of labourers mostly belonged to the lower social group i.e., Holeyas and Madigas.

Holeyas are the agrestic serfs (A member of the lowest class, attached to the land owned by a lord and required to perform labour in return for certain legal or customary rights or a person in bondage or servitude). The term Holeyas may be derived from "Hola" a dry field, Holeyas meaning thence a field labourer. But it more probably comes from "Hole" which means pollution, since they are regarded as of unclean habits in eating and drinking. But this caste was sometime styled as "Kulvadi" (he who directs the ryots) was so closely identified with the soil that his oath accompanied by certain formalities and owe inspiring solemnities, was considered to give the coup-de-grace to long existing and vexatious boundary fights. He has a potential voice in the internal economy of the village and was often the **fidus achates** (a faithful friend or companion) of the Patel.<sup>2</sup> Sir.W.Elliot makes them Holayats, remains of the Early race to whom the Deccan impure classes belong. In proof, that in Mysore, Holayaru are sons of the soil that is they are the earliest remaining race. Edgar Thurston and Rangachari write "Their customs indicate that the Holeyas were once "Master of the Land".

The Holeyas are chiefly employed as labourers in connection with agriculture and manufacture with hand-looms, various kinds of coarse or home-spun cloth which are worn extensively by poorer classes. In some parts of the Mysore district, considerable numbers of the Holeyas are specially engaged in betel and wine gardening.

In the Maidan region of the Princely State of Mysore, "Free Labour" system was prevailed which can be further divided into Jeetha (bonded labour) and Cooli (casual labour or general labour). The Jeetha system has been defined as the practice under which a man pledges his own person or a member of his family against a loan (either in cash or in kind). The pledger or his nominee is released only on the repayment of the loan. Until then, the man or the member of his family was required to work on low wages. In this system there was a scope for Jeethadalu becoming free if he paid off his debt, but it was rarely done in traditional socio-economic system. The bonded labourers, in turn were expected on certain occasions

to make offerings to their masters, as a manifestation their allegiance to them. Such a relationship was even cherished in concepts like Halemakkalu (old children) or Halemaga (old son) or Hiremaga (elder son). The Gangadikara Holeyas call themselves the Halemakkalu (house servants or slaves) of Gangadikara Vokkaligas. The Morasu Holeyas similarly consider themselves the Halemakkalu of the Morasu or Reddi Vokkaligas<sup>3</sup> which prevailed in the Maidan parts of the State.

In the Malnad, however, the Holeyas had degenerated into an agrestic slave and till a few decades ago under the British rule, not only as regards his property but also with regard to his body, he was not his own master. The Vargadar or landholders owned him as a hereditary slave.<sup>4</sup> In most of the purely Malnad or hilly taluks, each Vargadar or proprietor of landed estate owns a set of servants styled "Huttalu" and "Mannalu". The former is hereditary servitor of the family born in servitude and performing agricultural work for the landholder from father to son. The Mannalu is self-attached to the soil and changes lands with it. Although the colonial system abolished slavery with the British India Act V of 1843, it did not bring substantial changes in the native situation of the depressed caste labourers. It could be further explained that there not only was a class difference between the landlord and tenant but also a caste difference. The difference both in caste and class made the peasant an inferior creature in the society. He was not even permitted to use sophisticated language before his landlord, as Malik says: one constant factor of Hindu Society has been that depressed castes and landless labour have always had to do very degrading work, by and large they have been expected to do a fixed kind of work or occupation, and have served as a reserve force for agricultural production.<sup>5</sup>

**Table 1: The average wages paid to these people are<sup>6</sup> -**

Daily	1 Kolaga of Paddy for males 4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Kolagas of Paddy for females 1 meal of cooked food.
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For a male annually

Rs	A	P	
1 Turban	0	6	0
1 Hachada	2	0	0
1 Doti	0	6	0
1 Kambli	1	4	0

For a female annually-

	Rs	A	P
1 Sadi	2	8	0
1 Bodice	0	4	0
1 valli	0	12	0
1 Kambli	1	4	0

The Madigas are another class of labourers, is a village cobbler he removes the carcasses of the village cattle, skins them and is bound to supply the village community with agricultural articles made of skin or leather such as the thongs of bullocks, buckets for lifting water etc. The Madigas were also employed as village watchmen; they enjoy Inam<sup>7</sup> (Inam, originally an Arabic word which stood for favour or beneficence essentially denoting financial awards or robes of honour given to the troops or commanders in particular as a means of forestalling mutinies. But generally it represents a land gift with a document by the ruler recognising the meritorious service of an individual) for their works and other kinds of free service such as carrying government property from place to place and acting as guide from village to village.

#### Impact of the British Rule on Agricultural Labourers:-

The profound consequences of the establishment of the British rule, whether direct, are inescapable. In a sense, the British framework of administration, and political philosophy was diametrically opposite to that of traditional indigenous one. The novel administrative organization, introduction of public school, uniform rule for land revenue collection, property rights in land, introduction of modern means of transport and communication and civil justice, rule of law, etc., are of great social significance. As a result of the penetration of all these forces into the traditional society, some changes occurred in the hereditary occupation. This was mainly affected in two areas namely; education and land transfer.<sup>8</sup> The new concept of land transfer and property rights made a considerable impact on these classes, particularly, in Maidan parts of the province. The Holeyas and Madigas were to be found as sub-tenants and independent farmers in the latter half of the 19th century in a small way.<sup>9</sup> The following Table give us information about the amount of assessment paid by a Holeyas and Madigas in the districts of Princely Mysore.

**Table 2: The Range of Assessment Paid by the Agricultural Labourers**

Districts	Amount of Assessment paid by a Holeyas Highest			Amount of Assessment paid by a Madigas Lowest
		Lowest	Highest	
Bangalore	279-00	0-30-10	166-00	0-4-0
Kolar	151-00	0-0-6	66-00	0-1-0
Tumkur	40-00	0-2-0	108-00	0-4-0

Mysore	124-00	0-0-6	161-00	0-0-11
Hassan	150-00	0-1-0	57-00	0-1-0
Shimoga	66-00	0-4-0	41-00	0-4-0
Kadur	40-00	0-1-3	31-00	0-12-9
Chitradurga	52-00	0-4-3	88-00	0-8-6

According to the Census Report of 1891, the highest amount of land revenue paid by an individual Holeya was Rs.279 in Bangalore district and the lowest was 6 pies in Kolar and Mysore district. Among the Madigas was Rs166 in Bangalore district and 11 pies was the minimum amount paid in Mysore. It is noted in the Census Report that a few members of this class had risen to the position of money-lenders and enjoyed comparative affluence.

The above facts speak for themselves and offer a reliable index to how an enterprising individual of the depressed class would rise to a higher socio-economic position in the society, if an equal opportunity were given to them. Such changes were solely generated due to the economic and political framework of the British, it was open to any man whatever his social origin, to enjoy the fruits of his labour and to rise to a position that his energy and mental ability might fit him to attain. Thus, the British administration, which made no distinction between man and man on the basis of birth or ritual purity, was a strong factor in effecting the occupational change among the members of this class. It should be noted here that this change was quite marginal and never wholesome. However, it was a significant break from the traditional bonded labour system.

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## An Analysis of ‘Vernacular Modernities’ Through Sikh Journals (1873-1920):

### A Case-Study through British Punjab

\*Guntasha Kaur Tulsi

This paper will begin with an understanding of “vernacular modernity”; as a specific set of responses; on the part of the members of Sikh community towards the end of the nineteenth century; in response, to the measures introduced by the British colonial administration. The specific focus would be on the radical overhauling of infrastructure of the Punjab; and innovations introduced mainly in the field of Education and Printing.

Sisir Kumar Das; in the third part of his multi-volume *History of Indian Literature*; makes a case for an understanding of “modernity” in Indian literary culture. In his formulation; it arrives in the form of numerous responses, which the native Indian communities begin to make, to the introduction of English education and culture.<sup>1</sup>

The ones which are of chief interest to this paper are:

- Infrastructural Modernisation (introduction and streamlining of railways, telegraph, postal communication, road transport etc)
- Introduction of English Education (streamlining of the higher education system through the establishment of universities in the three Presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras; along with introduction of English as a medium in government examinations)
- Incentives provided to the expansion of Print technology

Interestingly then; it was mainly in the field of Printing and Education; that the British colonial administration was also highly encouraged by the efforts of the missionaries. Thus; translations of the Bible by the Christian missionaries, and consolidation of the Serampore Mission; provided an impetus to the situation of printing in India in general; while also introducing the basis of prose in most Indian languages especially during the years of 1800-35.

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The effect of all of this was rather interesting in the case of nineteenth century colonial Punjab. Existing in a nascent form from the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; it was provided the much needed expansion by the British. Thus, as N.S. Kapoor has noted in his remarkably written, *Punjabi Patarkari da Itihas*; first newspaper in Punjabi Journalism; is usually considered to be a newspaper known as the *Darbar Sahib*; issued from the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Davis Emmett has also done a detailed study highlighting that; how the Christian Mission Churches and the British rulers of imperial India; were the pioneers in introducing the sleeping Punjab to the Press, and most of the government inspired printing was designed to be an elite medium. Most importantly; in order to teach English to the Punjabis; the government aided in establishing schools and colleges. In fact; publishing history was made in 1835; when Ludhiana Mission set up a printing press in the city. The American Presbyterian, John Newton; published a Punjabi grammar in 1851; and three years later, co-produced the first English-Punjabi dictionary.<sup>2</sup>

Thus; in response to these measures that were being introduced, as well as encouraged by both the missionaries, and colonial administration; the emergence of an identity conscious movement was almost indispensable in the case of the members of Sikh community. Understandably; this was both in response to the encouragement provided to Western education, and culture by the British colonial administration; as well as an assimilation of their modern measures. When the Singh Sabha Movement was then initiated in 1873 from Amritsar; one of the major impetus to its emergence was the conversion of four Sikh youth to Christianity.

These included; inclusion of encouragement to Punjabi language and culture, along with formations in an exclusive Sikh identity; as being the foremost aims; published in the manifestoes of the Singh Sabha after 1873. Not only had more number of Sikh education oriented institutions begun to be set up (including some which were to become much prominent later, such as the Oriental College at Lahore and the Sikh Kanya Maha Vidyalaya); but a very consciously crafted movement in indigenous identity begun to take shape. The members of the Sikh community were encouraged to read and write in Punjabi language in the Gurmukhi script; journalism oriented towards community interests expanded; and distinctive practices and markers related to formations in an exclusive Sikh identity begun to be encouraged.

This paper chooses to bring all these developments under the conceptual rubric of “vernacular modernity”. This is because; while being fashioned as movements in identity consciousness by the members of the native communities; these developments were basically in response to so much that colonial modernisation had done in Punjab; be it the encouragement to Western education and culture; or incentives to the printing technology in Punjab. Interestingly then; when the members of the Sikh community responded; they were both fashioning new responses in identity consciousness, and also assimilating the ‘modern’ element intrinsic to the British administration.

The element of “vernacular modernity” then becomes of special interest to the expansion and growth of Sikh Journalism towards the end of the nineteenth

century through the Singh Sabha Movement. Here; it would be interesting to note that some of the early journals issued by the members of the Sikh community though stretch back to the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; yet none of them were directly related to Sikh interests. The first major newspapers; considered to have cemented Sikh Journalism; were only issued towards the end of nineteenth century; by the members of the Singh Sabha Movement. They were mainly in Punjabi, English, or Urdu; and were commissioned in the nature of newspapers, tracts, periodicals, or weeklies, with monthly and bi-monthly formats. The earliest of these journals were very clearly in the nature of documents on Sikh identity and religion; with these either being issued by Singh Sabha luminaries or scholars. Gradually; they however also became tied to the larger community interests of reformist nature such as language, literacy, female empowerment and democratic representation of members of the community.

Some of the most prominent newspapers in circulation during this period (1873-1920) were- *Gurmukhi Akhbar* (1880-1895), *Khalsa* (C: 1899-1901), *Khalsa Akhbar* (C: 1883-1905), *Khalsa Samachar* (C: 1899-till date), *Nirgunayara* (R: 1902-11), *Punjabi Bhain* (C: 1908-30) and *Singh Sabha Gazette* (C: 1892-95)- amongst many more.<sup>3</sup> One looked at three primary sources of interest during this period- *Khalsa Akhbar*, *Khalsa Advocate* and *Khalsa Samachar*. The three sources have been chosen on grounds of availability, background and interests of this paper.<sup>4</sup>

*Khalsa Akhbar* (1883-1905), was a Punjabi language periodical, with weekly circulation, edited by Bhai Gurmukh Singh and then Ditt Singh. The samples indicate the nature of contents where sections range from the nature of “khabran” (meaning news of general interest); to those on “Sri Guru Granth Sahib- de – Updesh”; with articles on the nature of Sikh identity such as “Sikhan de haal di baaki”. The periodical- belonging to the earliest period in Sikh Journalism- is without editorial commentary or advertisements; and the emphasis is on articles belonging to the realm of Sikh religion or identity.

*Khalsa Advocate* (R: 03-11)<sup>5</sup> was an English language periodical with a weekly circulation wherein it came to be associated with the interests of the Chief Khalsa Diwan.<sup>6</sup> The formatting and contents of the paper highlight an increasing level of professionalism, with, sections devoted to insertions of advertisements and editorial commentary. The chief undertaking of the newspaper seems to be an analysis of educational interests of the Sikh community; with articles like those on Khalsa College and importance of Sikh Education; entries of the nature of increase in number of girls’ schools in the districts (K/A MF Sept. 1910); discussions on the significance of Punjabi language, and extensive writings on Sikh literature (chiefly on Macauliffe’s works).

*Khalsa Samachar* (1899); owned by Bhai Vir Singh was a Punjabi periodical; with weekly circulation. A major part of the periodical has been concerned with discussions about community consciousness; with news featuring celebrations of *gurpurabs*; talks about the Singh Sabha, and on the martyrdom of Banda Bahadur (1899 via MF). Also, female literacy and community empowerment seemed to be

a pre-occupation with a separate section titled “Istri Sudhar” (meaning female reform). In terms of the format, the newspaper consisted of sections like, “Amritsar dian khabran”/ “Jungikhabran”/ “Ishtihar” and so on (News from Amritsar/News from the Battlefield/Advertisements). The paper consisted of strongly worded articles on Sikh identity (such as details about Singh Sabha events; articles of the nature of “Sikh Hindu Hai ki nahin...”); and sections of specifically religious nature such as “Dharam Prachar”/ “Gurmat anusaar chalana” and so on.

The point of interest after looking at these primary sources, then, is that; formations of “vernacular modernity”; through Sikh Journalism; came to be evolved through specific notions of language, identity, culture and rituals. Interestingly; it was this period in question (1873-1920); when an understanding of Sikh identity came to be evolved through numerous activities of the Singh Sabha; such as issuing of the *rahitnamas*; streamlining of exclusive Sikh rituals, calendars, and places of worship; as well as a specific language/script (Punjabi/Gurumukhi) affiliated to community interests. That this was both a response, as well as, an assimilation of measures introduced by the colonial administration has already been mentioned. An understanding of the advancement of Western civilisation, on the one hand; and the necessity to protect their culture on the other; led the Sikh community members into specific forms of “vernacular modernity”. The Sikh journals issued at the time of the Singh Sabha; in their appreciation of the spirit of reform on the one hand; and representative of evolution of a specific Sikh identity on the other; then became an interesting example of the same; elucidating complexity of interactions in nineteenth and early twentieth century British India.

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6. This has almost been a century old central organisation of various Singh Sabhas spread across Punjab mainly overseeing the educational, cultural and social interests of the community.



## Re-Assessing Nehru's Non-Alignment Policy

\*Dalbir Singh

In the present-day international scenario, the role and usefulness of non-alignment in general has become a highly controversial and debatable issue and the movement is passing through a critical phase. It finds itself today at the crossroads and seems to be finding it difficult to understand the path it has to take. It is trying to find its identity, reorient its perception and make an effort to determine the role it has to play in the changed context of international relations.

Throughout the Cold War era, a few leaders from the developing world, concerned over being drawn into the power struggle between the West (essentially the US) and the Eastern Bloc (essentially the Soviet Union) called for a movement where countries would not have to be aligned to any of the two power blocks. When Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru became the Vice-President of the Interim Government of India in 1946, the future foreign policy of India began to take shape. Although major aspects of India's foreign policy—except perhaps non-alignment which was an off-shoot of the Cold War—was articulated by Jawaharlal Nehru as early as 1927-28.<sup>1</sup> He declared that India will follow an independent policy in sphere of foreign affairs and will work for international co-operation and good will without exploitation of one nation by the other.<sup>2</sup> The term “non-alignment” was coined by Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech in 1954 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The founding fathers of the movement were: Josip Bros Tito of Yugoslavia, Sukarno of Indonesia, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, and Jawaharlal Nehru from India. However, Nehru denied being the originator of the policy of non-alignment he played the most important role in its evolution and proliferation.<sup>3</sup> The fact that Nehru became the undisputed leader of NAM was not only his own achievement but also reflected India's position in Asia.<sup>4</sup> It was largely the product of India's efforts which was aimed at organizing a collective answer to “bloc politics” of the great powers in international affairs. It also aimed to develop friendly relations among the nations who were struggling to free themselves from colonial domination and to promote peace in the world.<sup>5</sup> Non-Aligned Movement originated from a meeting in 1955 of several Asian and African countries in Bandung, Indonesia.

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However, it took concrete shape with the holding of its first conference in 1961 that was convened in Belgrade, largely through the initiative of Tito. After returning from Bandung Nehru sent for the U.S Ambassador to say that he was not hostile to U.S.A and that the world could not be divided into communists and non-communists and also there were no clear affirmatives and negatives but shades of opinion.<sup>6</sup>

The policy of Non-alignment meant taking independent decisions on issues of international importance without being tied to any particular country or group of countries. Thus, Nehru and India's subsequent foreign policy has been in favor of peace and disarmament, racial equality and international cooperation for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.<sup>7</sup> Non-alignment ushered a new world order after the Second World War. It was a strong standpoint taken against power blocs. NAM was a movement that proved to be a safety-valve for the suppressed and subjugated nations. 'Standing on our own feet' and 'not being a plaything of others' was the essence of the policy of non-alignment.<sup>8</sup> At least two factors were responsible for Nehru's adoption of non-alignment as India's foreign policy. Firstly, he was intensely concerned about the opportunity costs of defense spending. Any involvement with the two emerging blocs, he feared, would draw India into struggle and divert critical resources from economic development.<sup>9</sup> Secondly, he was intended on maintaining India's hard-won independence. Moving into the ambit of either superpower could compromise such freedom of maneuver.

Unfortunately today, NAM<sup>10</sup> is at the turning point of survival and relevance. With the end of Cold War, collapse of the Soviet Union, rise of multi-regional organizations and trends towards disarmament it has suffered a major setback. With the disappearance of the bi-polar system followed by uni-polarity and now the proliferation of new power centers, questions are being raised as regards its validity.

There are various reasons which can be attributed for its decline. The statesmen who led this movement had a vision and a foresight. But today there is a void of ideologies and beliefs. There is no leadership on global issues the result of which is that it is nearing its rapid fall. Multi polarity has also destroyed its very nature because the nations once committed to it are now repulse from it due to the new found powers. NAM today faces tough competition from various organizations like G-77, G-8, ASEAN, SA ARC, BRICK, BIMSTEC, Commonwealth and others. These groups are more vocal about the economic issues and issues like terrorism, child exploitation and gender issues which have led to comparisons which are definitely undermining NAM.

A further criticism has followed NAM which says that India, who had shown the light to this movement, has of late shown a bias towards the Russia. It has failed to observe the principle of neutrality and non-partisan role. Thus, it is the western powers which criticize it for being a hypocrite and pursuing a policy of 'double standard'.<sup>11</sup>

Though NAM holds that it will not align itself or surrender its foreign policy before any power bloc, yet on the other hand it yearns for recognition from the

West. Instead of being strong adherents of 'Panchsheel' and 'Non-alignment' they are secretly getting favors from the developed countries. Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Somalia are military allies of the USA and countries like Vietnam, Laos Cuba, Ethiopia and Angola get support from the communist camps. Thus, this has led to multi-polarity because now each nation oils with the other to get a face-left in its economic and social structure.

Moreover there is practically nothing innovative or fruitful as regards its meetings and conferences. NAM summits are merely a repetition of the resolutions of the UN and its agencies. Conferences entail heavy expenditure from 118-poor developing participating nations. Thus unless NAM decides to redefine and restructure itself it will continue to be looked upon as opportunistic and unrealistic. Till the time NAM realizes the importance of real core issues it will continue to face detractors from all quarters. NAM should assume a new role in the international canvas and should make realistic goals as its aims.

The world has become a unified society where all nations depend on each other for trade and commerce. Non-alignment policy which was professed to keep away from power groups during cold war era holds relevance due to economic benefits.

NAM still holds high symbolic significance. This policy of non-alignment gave the people of India in general a certain role-feeling and a sense of purpose in world affairs.<sup>12</sup> There is no doubt that NAM is also facing challenges while having its own weaknesses. NAM has its own strengths and their importance should not be downplayed. The movement puts the emphasis on the principle of cooperation among nations and continues its support for maintaining peace. It encourages disarmament, insists on the nations' right to self-determination, emphasizes on the need for structural changes in the United Nations, especially the Security Council, in order to encourage optimal participation of the international community in international processes related to the fate of humanity, insists on the adoption and implementation of multilateral policies as well as focuses strongly on unanimity on issues such as human rights and cultural pluralism.

Thus in summing up we can say that although the cold war has ended there is no end of justice. In fact cold war has assumed a new dimension with the recent emergence of Russia as the world is witnessing the ongoing confrontation between US and Russia over issues like eastward expansion of NATO, Kosovo's independence as well the Georgian crisis. In reality, until the world is not free from war and world peace is not guaranteed, the real development of the Third World countries will remain only a distant dream. Further as colonialism has been replaced by the phenomenon or neo-colonialism in the form of economic exploitation by the multinational companies (MNCs) because of the process of LPG (liberalization, privatization, and globalization) the role of NAM must play the positive role in making the globalization inclusive and must strive to achieve a faire, just international economic order.

Therefore, Non-Alignment has not lost any of its relevance rather it has stood the test of time. It would be a severely narrow-minded approach to completely dismiss the political importance of an international congregation of 120 states, a gathering second only to the United Nations in membership. It has served the useful purpose of protecting and preserving the interest of the Third World. Thus the philosophy of NAM is as relevant as ever for the Third World. Two-thirds of the countries of the world are today members of the non-aligned movement; it has rightly been described as the world's largest peace movement. That constitutes a fitting tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru's vision and wisdom. Thus, the Non-Aligned Movement, faced with the goals yet to be reached and the many new challenges that are arising, is called upon to maintain a prominent and leading role in the existing international relations in defense of the interests and priorities of its member states and for achievement of peace and security for mankind.

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## The Great Depression of 1929: An Analysis

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The Great Depression of 1929 was a grave economic crisis spreading outwards from the United States to almost all the countries in the world. It has been described as "the largest earthquake ever to be measured on the economic historian's Richter scale." The history of depression is very interesting because it is a reference point for economic misery and fear.

British economist J.M Keynes observed in 1931: "We are today in the middle of the greatest economic catastrophe-the greatest catastrophe due almost entirely to economic causes-of the modern world."<sup>1</sup> It resulted in severe dislocation in the form of falling prices, declining production, shrinking trade and growing unemployment. It also had profound political and psychological impact. The economic historians have provided various explanations regarding the causes of this depression and they still disagree on points of detail. Nevertheless, it is possible to provide a brief synthesis of generally accepted arguments.

The common sense explanation of this crisis is that which attributes it to excessive optimism and pessimism. Up to a point optimism is justified and it is when anticipation becomes exaggerated that they become dangerous. However those who believe that the crisis of 1929 to 1933 is the repetition of the classical pre-war crisis are inclined to overlook the fact that in broader sense, the crisis was not preceded by a speculative boom. Although Wall Street and United States experienced an unprecedented period of prosperity, there had been little trace of either prosperity or boom in most other parts of the world.

Many economists opine that the sharp decline in international trade after 1930 helped to worsen the depression, particularly for countries which were significantly dependent on foreign trade. Most historians and economists partly blame the USSmoot-Hawley Tariff Act passed in 1930 for worsening the depression by seriously reducing international trade and causing retaliatory tariffs in other

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countries.

According to Waddill Catching's and William Trufant Foster, two economists of the 1920s, unequal distribution of wealth throughout the 1920s caused the depression. They held that the economy produced more than it consumed, because the consumers did not have enough income. They believed that the root cause of the Great Depression was a global over-investment in heavy industry capacity compared to wages and earnings from independent businesses, such as farms.<sup>2</sup>

One of the most popular explanations of the crisis was that, the depression and the falling prices were due to monetary factors. According to this view, the supply of monetary gold was inadequate to the requirement of the world. Although gold stocks available for monetary purposes were considerably higher in 1929 but a large part of this stock was hoarded in a few countries like United States and France. Many countries imported armaments from United States. The countries defeated in the First World War also took loans from United States in order to pay war indemnity. But United States refused to take back this in kind. So these countries paid their debt in the form of gold. France received a large amount of gold from Germany as war indemnity. It has been held that French demand for gold was largely responsible for preventing Britain and other countries from expanding their credit to a sufficient extent to replace the funds attracted from Europe to Wall Street. As a result of this the margin of gold reserves in Britain and other continental countries tended to narrow down further. Therefore, it may be said that the all-round increase of bank rates in Europe during 1929 was due to the French demand for gold.<sup>3</sup>

Recent studies from a neoclassical point of view lay emphasis on the decline in productivity that caused the initial decline in output and a prolonged recovery due to policies that affected the labor market. This work, collected by Kehoe and Prescott,<sup>4</sup> decomposes the economic decline into a decline in the labor force, capital stock, and the productivity with which these inputs are used.

This study suggests that theories of the Great Depression have to explain an initial severe decline but rapid recovery in productivity, relatively little change in the capital stock, and a long-drawn-out depression in the labor force. This analysis cast off theory that focus on the role of savings and posit a decline in the capital stock.

Along with these explanations, the moral factor has also been argued for the crisis according to which the crisis was due to the lack of confidence on the part of the public, brought about by a series of disappointments suffered during the last few years. As a result the public became distrustful and adopted for a time, a reserved attitude. Besides these, it has been argued that the world crisis was the outcome of the coincidence of a number of factors such as the untimely increase of wheat production, the demonetization of silver and the suspension of American foreign lending. Though all these factors were completely independent of each other, the combined effect was responsible for the crisis.

During the 1920s two things were, then apparent. One was that the world's

economies were closely linked to the United States. The other was that they were all vulnerable. Consequently, an upheaval in United States would set off a chain reaction. Or to use a contemporary adaptation of an old metaphor: 'When America sneezes, the rest of the world catches cold.'<sup>5</sup>

This actually happened in 1929. After 1925 stock market speculation became common and when in 1928, the Federal Reserve Bank tried to impose some sort of order by increasing the interest rate, large capital invested overseas were immediately brought back to the US market to swell domestic holdings. As long as the domestic boom continued, this degree of speculation would not harm the economy. But the peak of production was reached in July 1929, thus ending hopes that growth could be permanent and uninterrupted. The fundamental reason was that the supply of goods had finally exceeded the consumer demand which necessitated a reduction in output. The slump resulted into a crash as the stock market reflected an abrupt loss of confidence by the investors. The Wall Street Crash, in part a reaction of the slump, also reacted with the slump. Gradually the crisis intensified as banks went under and the national income fell sharply.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Great Depression was centered in United States it diffused rapidly to other countries. Only two European countries held out against depression. One was France, which had highest gold reserves after United States. The other was Soviet Union which was protected from the international economy by the isolationist policies of Stalin.<sup>7</sup>

To sum up we can say that the over-stimulated economic euphoria of 1920s, the harsh monetary policy followed by the Federal Reserve Bank from 1930 to 1933 and the sudden rise of global protectionism leading to the collapse of world trade were contributing factors for the Great Depression.

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## History of Women's Suffrage in British India with Special Reference To Princely Mysore

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“The women's Movement in India was both a necessary antecedent and a consequence of the changing social and political environment”.<sup>1</sup> Many organizations had sprung-up in the later part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century emphasizing social and educational reforms for women such as Poona Seva Sadan, Servants of India Society etc. In 1917 the Women's Indian Association was established. In 1927 All India women's Conference was organized. Both the organizations had branches throughout the country and they were non-political organizations interested in promoting educational opportunities for women and improving their position by social and legal reforms. These organizations became increasingly involved in the question of women's right to vote and were largely responsible for organizing the suffragette Movement.

Indian Suffragette Movement was inspired by a similar movement in England. In England women were enfranchised only after I World War and in 1928 equality of sexes were granted. Margaret Cousins, the founding member of the Irish Women's Franchise League took the lead in organizing the Suffragette Movement in India. Soon Sarojini Naidu, Dr. Muthu Lakshmi Reddy, Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, Lady Sadasive Iyer etc. joined and started emphasizing for voting rights. Rameswari Nehru in a speech delivered at a women's college in England emphasized the difference between the two movements. “Indian Suffragette Movement was against orthodoxy, ignorance and reaction and not against the other sex. Indian women desired the vote not from a sense of self-aggrandizement but from a desire to fulfill their duties and responsibilities in public life”.<sup>2</sup> Infect Indian National Congress and the Muslim League supported women's cause and has passed resolutions<sup>3</sup> to that effect.

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In 1917 when Montagu came to India to study the conditions of India for postwar reforms, a deputation of women met him and pleaded for enfranchisement of women. Sarojini Naidu was the Chief spokesman of this group. Though Montague was sympathetic the Southborough Franchise Committee of 1918 proclaimed that the social conditions of India made it premature to extend franchise to Indian women, as a result the proposal was given up. Soon after a committee consisting of Sarojini Naidu, Annie Besant and Heera Bai appeared before the joint committee of both the houses of English Parliament and demanded for the extension of Franchise to women. Parliament, however, decided to leave this question to the elected legislatures. This proved a blessing in disguise.

Madras Legislature took the lead in passing the women's suffrage resolution in 1921 with a considerable majority. From then onwards one province after another brought forward resolutions demanding enfranchisement of women. Bombay gave it in 1921 and the United Provinces made a World Suffrage record by unanimously voting in favour of the women's franchise resolution in 1923. Travancore was the first princely state to grant voting rights for women in 1920 even before Madras Council.

Smt. Parvathamma Chandra Shekar Iyer, the founder of Mahila Seva Samaj in Bangalore was one of the delegates who met Montagu in 1917. <sup>4</sup> She organized a deputation of Ladies in Mysore and met the Diwan of Mysore in 1920 and pleaded for the enfranchisement of women. <sup>5</sup> In 1921 the subject was placed in the Representative Assembly. Though the “discussion on the women's right to franchise was marked by sobriety and candour” <sup>6</sup>, it was defeated by 39 voting for and 58 against. The opposition felt it was not the proper time to give voting right to women. Because the literary level among women was very low and they did not have property qualifications. Conservatives argued that women should stay at home otherwise men will have to take to cooking. But those who argued for felt that social legislations concerning women could be effectively implemented if women participated in Councils and Assembly. They argued very sincerely. In his concluding remarks Diwan Kantharaja Urs felt “..... at no distance date a strong body of public opinion will be created in favour of women, who possess the necessary qualifications, being enabled to take their legitimate share in the direction of public affairs”. <sup>7</sup> In 1922 the resolution was passed in Legislative Council, in the Dasara Session of the same year. Reform measures were announced<sup>8</sup> and women were given voting right but they could not stand for election. Only in 1927 the sex disqualification was completely removed and women were made eligible to stand for assembly, District Boards and Municipalities.

Smt. Sakamma and Smt. Kamalamma Dasappa entered the assembly in 1930 representing women's interest. They did their best for the improvement of education among girls. In 1930 Sakamma moved a resolution recommending appointment of women lecturers to speak to the women in villages on matters relating to education, sanitation, child welfare etc. <sup>9</sup>

They pleaded for the enhancement of employment opportunities in various fields for women. They wanted two more ladies to be nominated for the Council.<sup>10</sup> On behalf of women's interest they influenced the passing of Hindu Law of Inheritance bill seeking rights for women. They also worked for passing maternity benefit schemes for women in factories. <sup>11</sup> The voting right did enable women to express their opinion in legislatures and councils and determine the outcome of social legislation.

The suffragette movement made women politically conscious and they swelled into the mainstream of National movement. But the literary and property qualification in franchise undermined opportunity for all and women's population as a whole was not affected. As usual the movement remained basically elitist consisting of urban educated women. Vote was a symbol of equality but it was not a means of bringing about change in the structure of society. Anyway it was a noteworthy beginning ascertaining women's rights and this paved the way for universal adult franchise after independence.

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## Swaraj In The Plantation

**\*Dr. Aprajita**

Beginning of Plantation industry in India dates back to early nineteenth century. But towards the end of the eighteenth century, under the influence of European enterprises, production of indigo began to develop in India with its centre in Bengal. In 1831 there were 300 to 400 indigo factories in Bengal.<sup>1</sup>

Other plantation is coffee, rubber and tea. Tea is the principal plantation industry in India. Regular production of tea started since 1851 and by 1869, the industry got firmly established.

With the extension of the plantation, the number of labourers engaged in this industry recorded a considerable increase. In the coffee plantation in 1903, the number of workers was 82,000. In the tea plantation it was-<sup>2</sup>

Year	Permanent	Temporary	Total
1895	450,926	102,895	553,811
1919	900,695	72,660	973,355
1928	831,438	75,349	906,787

The plantation Industry mainly existed in Assam, Bengal and southern part of India. These plantations were entirely monopolized by British Capitalists and they extorted a fabulous fortune through brutal exploitation of labourers. The working class in the plantation was perhaps the most oppressed in the organized sector of economy. Low wages, poor housing and lack of avenues for social mobility have been a recurring theme since the inception of the plantation. These workers are poor, innocent, illiterate and suppressed by their masters (European Planters). These workers had to pass a solitary and distressful life. Their melancholy, remorse and repentance in the typical plantation environment were beyond description. The geographical settings, ethnic diversity, longer age barrier restriction to go back to their ancestral places and many other socio economic compulsions forced them to lead an unpleasant life. They could not exchange freely their grief to their fellow

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workers. They had lost their freedom. Plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission, under the Indian Emigration Act of 1859. They were rarely given such permission. After the First World War, economic condition of the workers became miserable. The signs of unrest appeared on September 6, 1920 in Doom-Domma Company.<sup>3</sup> Thus the tolerance of the labourers was coming to an end.

The tea workers were rootless and disorganized in the early stage, and could not convey their feelings against their European masters. But they could realize the sympathy expressed in their favour by British administrators. For example C.A. Cotton, the Chief Commissioner of Assam spoke on many occasions regarding their poor wages and hard life of the tea estate. C.A. Cotton was a great sympathizer of the tea workers of Assam. The workers too looked upon him as god father. When he was passing through Fenchuganj, to Silchar, the road for a distance of 30km were lined up with the workers holding lantern and crying out Cotton Sahib Ki Jai.' At every 3km a labour standing with a banner- 'Mr. Cotton, the Protector of Dumb Coolie'.<sup>4</sup> This is an indicator of their social awareness and political consciousness too.

In 1921, when the entire country was being flushed by the wave of Non-Cooperation, the plantation workers also decided to get out of this slavery and return home.

Gandhiji's clarion call of Non-Cooperation kindled the dormant spark of nationalism among the Indian masses. The tea garden workers of Cachar did not remain far behind. The name of Mahatma Gandhi spread like wild fire and every worker knew that Mahatma was born to liberate India. The word 'Gandhi Maharaj Ki Jai' echoed in every line of the tea estate. They were eager to have the glimpse of such a prophet.

The fifth conference of the Surma Valley Political Conference held at Sylhet in September, 1920, under the president ship of Abdul Karim and addressed by Bipin Chandra Pal and Dr. Sundri Mohan Das, and there it was solved to encourage tea garden labourers to boycott the British dominated tea plantation. This resolution created sensation among the tea workers. They became to launch Non-Cooperation Movement in the tea garden of Surma Valley.<sup>5</sup>

In May 1921, there was a general strike of Plantation workers in Assam who wanted to be repatriated to their homes as they had lost all hopes of improvement in their condition. The Government and the planters suspected Non-Cooperation movement responsible for the exodus of the workers but it was not true. The Non-Cooperators had only rendered help to the workers after the atrocities inflicted on them at Chandpur. Gandhi was convinced that it was purely labour trouble.<sup>6</sup>

The Assam Tea Garden Coolie exodus and the Chandpur outrage were the glaring example of Non-Cooperation propaganda among the agrarian classes. The coolies were paid very low wages, tortured and treated inhumanly by the European planters. The Coolies believed Gandhi to be an Avatar.<sup>7</sup> The extremely

low paid coolies of Tea Gardens had developed the faith that Gandhi had come on earth to free people from the bondage.<sup>8</sup> Their determination to follow the line of Gandhi was the outcome of their sufferings and hardships. They decided to go back to their homeland to spin charkhas and lead a pure and simple life.<sup>9</sup> While on their way home, the 12000 strong crowds of men and women were shouting 'Gandhi Maharaj Ki Jai'.<sup>10</sup>

An article special to the Statesman describes the story thus, 'More than 50% of the coolies employed in the Gardens in the Chargaola Valley, Sylhet have left and are making their way home. The number is between four and five thousand and their sufferings are described as appalling. Cholera has already broken out at Asansol and Naihati. Hopes were entertained up to yesterday that the exodus would be checked but latest advices are that another batch of about 400 coolies rushed the steamer at Chandpur. Cases of assault have been reported. Planters state definitely that the unrest is not due to inadequate wages but to a deliberate political propaganda'.<sup>11</sup>

But a few political speeches could not have driven them out of the tea-gardens. There was sufficient evidence that the exodus was due to the hardships inflicted on the workers.<sup>12</sup> Several hundreds of stranded coolies tried to board the steamers at Chandpur on the night between May 19 and 20, 1921 without tickets but were prevented to do so. The Agent of Tea-Gardens and Sub Divisional Officer ordered disconnection of the Gangway.<sup>13</sup> While on their way home, the coolies came to a halt at Chandpur and found themselves stranded there. Armed Gurkhas specially called from Narayan Ganj were ordered on the night of May 20, 1921 to drive away the coolies who were at that time sleeping on the Railway Platform. They assaulted the men, women and children with bayonets and butt-ends of the rifles.<sup>14</sup> Relief parties and camps were organized by Public for some 4000 coolies stranded there. Andrews and the local leaders under the leadership of Har Dayal Nag collected funds from public and managed to send them to their homes.<sup>15</sup>

The British Government blamed Non-Cooperation as the cause of this large scale desertion by the coolies. By this, they tried to conceal the limitless exploitation and ill-treatment which exhausted the patience of the coolies. Diwan Chamanlal challenged this and asserted "The causes were not political..... the causes were purely economic, in a word, starvation and ill-treatment."<sup>16</sup>

In fact, the resistance of the plantation workers so long against the inhuman treatment and exploitation, found favourable circumstances in the Non-Cooperation Movement and burst out in the form of strike. Workers too had their own understanding of Mahatma Gandhi and the notion of Swaraj. Imaging it to be a time when all sufferings and all trouble would be over, they interpreted the term Swaraj in their own ways. They were identifying with a movement which went beyond the limits of their immediate locality, when they acted in the name of Mahatma Gandhi or linked their movement to that of congress.

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## The Indigo Movement: Farmer Struggle For Social Justice In Bihar During 20<sup>th</sup> Century

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Bihar is a state in northern India. It is bounded by Uttar Pradesh to its west, Nepal in the North, Northern part of the west Bengal to the east and by Jharkhand to the South. Bihar is a state in northern India. Bihar was subdivided the southern part becoming the state of Jharkhand. Bihar played a very important and vital role in the Independence of India. Many revolutions took place in Bihar during the freedom Movement of India. Champaran is one of the biggest places of freedom Movement in India.<sup>1</sup>

After the Battle of Buxar (1764), the British East India Company obtained the diwani rights (rights of administer and collect revenue or tax) for Bihar, Bengal and Odisha. The rich resources of fertile land, water and skilled labour had attracted the foreign imperialists, particularly the Dutch and British, the Eighteenth century. Bihar remained a part of the Bengal presidency of British India until 1912, when the province of Bihar and Orissa was carved out as a separate province.

The present paper attempts to assess the contribution of Gandhi in the context of Indigo farmer Movement of Bihar as well as eastern India. Indigo plantation by the European began in the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> Indigo was important from West Indies and South American colonies and was used in the English textile and for coloring the British naval costumes. But as a result of the French revolution the emancipation of Negro slaves in the French colonies took place especially into Santo Domingo, and the production of Indigo sharply declined. Earlier about the year 1847 most of the planters in West Indies, particularly Jamaica, gave up Indigo cultivation owing to the high duty imposed on it. A number of planters then came to India and began Indigo plantation.<sup>3</sup> For Indigo cultivation high and un-inundated land was considered suitable. Indigo cottage industries were built mostly on the banks of the lakes because they needed ample water supply for the manufacture of dye.<sup>4</sup> Champaran was on the North-Western corner of the Bihar provinces. The river changed its course from time to time, leaving large lakes along its dried up course. It was along the banks of these lakes the Indigo factories were set-up. This was an important reason for Indigo farming was going on there for almost two centuries.

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**Cause Indigo revolt-**The Indigo revolt was a peasant Movement and subsequent uprising of Indigo farmers against the Indigo planters that across in Bihar in 1916-17. The Indigo revolution was one of the greatest struggles against the British colonial power in twentieth century. The peasants in Champaran were forced to cultivate Indigo by the European planters as per the *Tinkathia system*. In the beginning the land was owned by the local people. But the white people from Britain grabbed the land and instead of the traditional sugar cane cultivation, the land grabbers compelled the people to enter into Indigo cultivation. The British Indigo planters coerced the poor people to grow indigo on fifteenth percent of their land and part with the whole crop for rent. Indigo cultivation was profitable only for the British. The local peasants had only misery and penury and poverty.<sup>5</sup>

**Role of Gandhi-**Raj Kumar Shukla ruined peasants took up the cause of Indigo peasant's movement. In 1916, he participated in the Lucknow session of the congress and spoke about the sad plight of Indigo peasants. It was on hearing about this predicament of the poor farmers there that Gandhiji decided to go there. He brought Gandhiji to Champaran.<sup>6</sup> The tenant peasants goals not explicitly stated. When Gandhiji joined, his main goals was to inquire the truth and fact of the conditions of the peasants in Champaran, in order to take the necessary steps to be taken in order to eradicate the problem.<sup>7</sup>

On April 9, 1917 Gandhi and Raj Kumar Shukla left Calcutta for the Champaran region. As an ex-lawyer Gandhi was aggravated by the expensive change of lawyer on concluded that action via the law courts would be slow and impractical in this case. He pointed out the primary solution was to free the peasants from fear.<sup>8</sup> Gandhiji decided that his project would be a very detailed study and survey of the 2,841 villages in Champaran, to investigate the condition of the peasants and to know the truth and facts.<sup>9</sup> First on April 11, Gandhiji interviewed the planters association Secretary Mr. Wilson. Wilson said that Gandhiji was an outsider who had no right interfering. Gandhiji then informed Mr. Wilson, that he left he was a part of the Indian people and that he had every right to inquire into the peasants conditions if they wished him to do so.

During the trial, Gandhiji read aloud his statement as to why he disobeyed the law willingly and submitted to the penalty of disobedience without protest. Not knowing how to properly respond to civil disobedience, the court was reluctant to imprison him. The magistrate offered to release Gandhiji on the bail of hundred one rupees but Gandhiji said he had no bailer. That night, Gandhiji was released on the magistrate's personal recognizance. Furthermore the Lieutenant-Governor ordered the case to be withdrawn before Gandhi had to appear back in court to receive sentence. Legally, Gandhiji was allowed to continue with his work. By June 12, Gandhiji and his co-workers had recorded over 8000 statements, and began to compile an official report. They also held several meeting with planters and peasants in various places such as *Bettiah and Motihari*. The gatherings were somewhere between 10,000 and 30,000 people. On Oct. 3, they submitted a unanimous report favoring the peasants to the Government. On Oct. 18, the government published its resolution, essentially accepting almost all of the report's recommendations.

On Nov. 2, Mr. Maude introduced the Champaran agrarian bill that was passed and become the Champaran agrarian law (Bihar and Orissa act I of 1918). The Government accepted the law's in March of 1918.<sup>10</sup>

**Conclusion-**The agrarian relations varied in different parts of the country. The high land revenue demand exorbitant- rents, forced labour, low wages for agricultural labour and indebtedness were the grievances faced by the peasants all over India. Some important peasants movements emerged in India in which one of them Champaran Movement in Bihar. The peasants of Champaran were forced to cultivate Indigo by the European planters as per the *Tinkathia system*. The peasants of Champaran had campaigned several times before for an end to the Tinkathia system, but had not been successful. It was the peasants themselves who called in Gandhiji for support. In 1917-18 under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the Indian National congress led two significant peasants' struggles. It organized the struggle of the peasants of Champaran in Bihar against the Indigo planters, most of whom were Europeans. Gandhiji began to massively support him after he was arrested. This is one of the Mahatma Gandhi's first exercises in non-violent civil disobedience in India. Farmers in Champaran had revolted against Indigo cultivation in 1914 (at Pipra) and 1916 (at Turkaulia). In April 1917 Mahatma Gandhi visited Champaran, where Raj Kumar Shukla had drawn his attention to the exploitation of the peasants by European Indigo planters. The Champaran Satyagraha that followed received support from many Bihari nationalists, such as Rajendra Prasad and Anugrah Narayan Sinha. At last Nov. 2, Maude introduced the Champaran agrarian bill that was passed and became the Champaran agrarian law. The Government accepted the laws in March of 1918, and peasants of Bihar the eastern part of Bihar finally found social justice with the help of Mahatma Gandhi.

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## British Colonial Attitude And Formation of Haryana

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The declaration of the independence of India was received with mixed feelings. It led to the unprecedented exchange of a considerable portion of the populations on both sides of the newly fixed border and there were widespread communal riots. The region of Haryana also witnessed a series of communal riots, particularly in the districts of Karnal, Gurgaon, and Rohtak. The felling of revenge and retaliation reigned supreme and the love of plunder added fuel to the fire. These riots created a feeling of insecurity and fear.

There was a considerable Muslim population in the region of Haryana as indicated by the table given below:<sup>1</sup>

Districts	Percentage of Muslim	Percentage of Sikhs	Percentage of (other Approx.)
Hissar	28.2	6.0	64.8
Rothak	17.2	0.1	81.7
Gurgaon	33.5	—	66.8
karnal	30.6	2.0	67.0
Ambala	31.6	18.4	48.7

As the above table indicates, the maximum number of the Muslim population was in the Gurgaon district. About 1,25,000 Meos from this district shifted to the refugee camps. But they were evacuated in a limited number. The Government of India decided to keep them in India. The area of Nuh and Ferozepur-Jhirka tehsils was declared non-refugee area.<sup>2</sup> Merely 10,000 Hindus and Sikhs refugees who were allotted land in this area were asked to vacate it.<sup>3</sup>

Teacher, G.T.O, Rawanwas Khurd, Teh & Dist. Hisar (Haryana)

### Migration and Rehabilitation

Nearly 50 lakhs, Hindus including Sikhs from West Pakistan left for India during August-September 1947. Within a week after the 15<sup>th</sup> August 1947 nearly 11 lakhs refugees had arrived in East Punjab and in the following weeks another 25 lakhs were received.<sup>4</sup> The evacuation work was done by trains, road transport and on foot. Nearly 673 trains evacuated 27,94,368 refugees from August 1947 to November 1947. Similarly about 12 lakhs came through road transport, and nearly 8,49,000 reached East Punjab for shelter and security on foot. They brought with them the sad tales of atrocities, murder, looting, arson and blood shedding.

The government decided to construct 4,000 houses in 12 towns at an estimated cost of Rs. 2.50 crores.<sup>5</sup> It included several towns of Haryana namely Jagadhri, Karnal, Panipat, Sonapat, Gurgaon, Rewari and Palwal.<sup>6</sup> Then proposal was also made to build 200 houses at Hissar and another 200 houses at Ambala. Hansi, Sirsa, Bhaiwani, Bahadurgarh, Samalkha were considered for the sub-urban development. Three new townships were considered for the accommodation of 1,20,000 of refugees. Sites selected for the purpose were Faridabad, Ballabhgarh and Sonapat.

The approximate number of refugees accommodated in Haryana region is given district-wise as follows:<sup>7</sup>

District	Refugees accommodated
Ambala	1,94,403
Karnal	3,25,173
Rohtak	1,41,695
Hissar	1,55,959
Gurgaon	60,794

Keeping in view the above table, it can be summarized that the region of Haryana accommodated a good number of refugees. Whereas the people who left Haryana were mostly artisans, the bulk of the new immigrants consisted of the Jat Sikhs of the formerly canal colonies and the Hindus and Sikhs belonging to business and professional classes. While concentration of the Sikhs took place in the western part of the East Punjab, the bulk of non-Sikhs settled in the Haryana region. These immigrants considerably affected the prevailing conditions. They had brought with them a different way of life. The struggle for survival further aggravated the situation. In fact, they were not satisfied with their present lot. Their presence encouraged the emergence of new social groups, conflicts and tensions. The resentment was soon reflected in the shape of the language and religious conflicts. The language problem soon became a bone of contention and center of all political activity. The refugees soon became an significant factor in the future political considerations of the state,<sup>8</sup> and eventually gave impetus to the demand of statehood for Haryana.

### Origin of the Demand for a Separate State

The origin of the demand of the Haryana State can be visualized in its historical perspective. The seeds of dissatisfactions can be seen among the Haryanvis due to the step-motherly treatment given by the British from 1857 onwards and the Punjab Government during the 1950's. The Haryana region was tagged with the Punjab in 1858 as a 'political punishment' to the people of this region. Of course, it was only their political isolation but they were still more related socially and culturally to the people of Delhi and the western U.P. With the transfer of the Capital to Delhi, the Haryana region was further isolated. In 1920's certain changes in Delhi State were suggested. The Muslim League also suggested the extension of the boundaries of Delhi with the inclusion of Agra, Meerut and Ambala Division in it.<sup>9</sup> In 1928, All Parties conference at Delhi again made demand for the extension of the boundaries of Delhi.<sup>10</sup> In 1931 at the second Round Table Conference, Sir Geoffrey Corbert, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab Government and Secretary of the Indian Delegation of the Round Table Conference, suggested the reorganization of the Punjab boundaries and the separation of the Ambala Division from the Punjab.<sup>11</sup>

In 1932, Lala Deshbandu Gupta of Panipat forcefully stated that, 'Hindi speaking region had never been a part of Punjab. Even since its inclusion in Punjab, the region had been suffering economically, politically and culturally. It was essential for the development of the region to separate it from Punjab proper and form a new state by uniting with it certain adjoining parts of Delhi, Rajasthan and of the U.P.'<sup>12</sup>

In fact, the demand of the creation of the 'Greater Delhi' or 'Vishal Haryana' was actively supported by several leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Asaf Ali, Sir Chhotu Ram and Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.<sup>13</sup> The Government of India appointed an All India State Reorganization Commission on 29<sup>th</sup> October 1953 to view the reorganization of the Indian Provinces. Its members were Justice Fazal Ali, Shri Kavelem Madhava Panikkar and Hriday Nath Kunjru. The Delhi Vidhan Sabha passed a resolution recommending the creation of Maha Delhi or Vishal Haryana. The Commission considered the question of reorganization and recommended the merger of the PEPSU area into Punjab region and the districts of Mahendergarh and Jind into Haryana region.

However, the Commission rejected the demand of greater Delhi or Vishal Haryana on the ground that 'the separation of Haryana areas of Punjab which are deficient areas will be no remedy for any ills, real or imaginary, from which this area at present suffers. Similarly the State Reorganization Commission rejected the demand of creation of a separate Punjabi Subah. Meanwhile the Government of India made another attempt to prevent the division of Punjab. A new system known as Regional Formula was introduced. It was to accept the respective claims of the Hindi and Punjabi language without the division of the State. In the formula both the languages were given the status of the official language up to the district level.

Consequently the separate regional committees were set up.

However, this system did not succeed in the coming five years 1960-1965. Demand of the Punjabi speaking Province became more pressing. Nearly 40,000 people including Master Tara Singh were arrested. Even the Prime Minister of India, criticized the Punjabi Subah Agitation and called it a 'tamasha' in his Red fort speech of 15<sup>th</sup> August 1960. In 1961 he again said that the Punjabi Subah is a 'communal demand even though it is given a linguistic base. During the communal strife and agitation, the Government of Punjab gazettes the establishment of the Haryana Vikas committee on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1961. It was to give suggestions for the social and economic uplift of the region. Shri Ram Sharma was appointed its chairman with Choudhary Chand Ram, Rao Nihal Singh and G.L. Bansal as its members. It sent its recommendations after nine months.

On sept. 23, 1965 the Government of India appointed a Parliamentary Committee under the Chairmanship of Sardar Hukam Singh, Speaker Lok Sabha, to study the question of the division of Punjab. This Committee submitted its report on March 18, 1966. This committee recommended the creation of a Punjabi speaking state and also proposed the establishment of a Hindi Speaking State of Haryana. It also recommended the inclusion of Chandigarh and Kharar Tehsils in Haryana.

The Government of India accepted most of its recommendations and set up Shah Commission popularly known as 'Punjab Boundary Commission' to settle the boundaries of the new states. The Punjab Reorganization bill was passed by the Parliament on 10<sup>th</sup> September 1966 and on November 1, 1966 Haryana as the seventeenth state of India came into existence.

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## Partition of India (1947): Causes And Effects

\*Varinderjit Kaur

The partition of India a signal event in the world history of the Indian subcontinent. British rule became established in eastern India around the mid-18th& by the early 19th century, the British tightened their grip over considerable operations of the country. The separation of Indian revolt of 1857-58 ushered in a period, which would last ninety years, when India was directly under crown rule. Communal Tensions highlighted in this period, especially with the rise of nationalism in the early 20th century.

### Background:

**Partition of Bengal (1905)**: In 1905, brilliant and indefatigable the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, in his 1<sup>st</sup> term had built an impressive record of archaeological preservation and administrative efficiency, now, in his 2<sup>nd</sup> term divided the Bengal Presidency, into the Muslim-majority province of East Bengal & Assam & the Hindu-majority province of Bengal. The large Bengalis Hindu middle-class, upset at the prospect of Bengalis being outnumbered in the new Bengal province by Biharis and Oriyas, felt that Curzon's act was punishment for their political assertiveness. The pervasive protests against Curzon's decision took the form predominantly of the Swadeshi ("buy Indian") campaign led by two-time. The violence, however, was not effective, most planned attacks were either preempted by the British or failed.<sup>1</sup>

- **World War - I, Lucknow Pact: 1914-1918:** World War-I would prove to be a watershed in the imperial relationship between Britain and India. 1.4 million Indian and British soldiers of the British Indian Army would take part in the war and their participation would have a wider cultural fallout: news of Indian soldiers fighting and dying with British soldiers, as well as soldiers from dominions like Canada and Australia, would travel to distant corners of the world both in newsprint and by the new medium of the radio. India's international profile would thereby rise and would continue to rise during the 1920s.<sup>2</sup>

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- **Montagu-chelmsford Reforms: 1919:** Montagu and Chelmsford presented their report in July 1918 but it was passed in December 1919. It is also known as or Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The new Act enlarged both the provincial and Imperial legislative councils and repealed the Govt. of India's recourse to the "official majority" in unfavorable votes.

**Muslim Homeland, Provincial Elections, World War-ii, Lahore Resolution: 1930-1945:** The Govt. of India Act 1935 introduced provincial autonomy, increasing the number of voter in India to 35 million. More significantly, law and order issues were for the first time devolved from British authority to provincial governments headed by Indians. The Muslim League conducted its own investigation into the conditions of Muslims under Congress-governed provinces. Although its reports were exaggerated, it increased fear among the Muslim masses of future Hindu domination. On the last day of its session, the League passed, the Lahore Resolution, sometimes also "Pakistan Resolution," demanding that "the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in majority as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent by units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

- **Cabinet Mission, Direct Action Day, Plan For Partition, Independence 1946-1947 :** Jinnah proclaimed 16 August 1946, Direct Action Day, with the stated goal of highlighting, peacefully, the demand for a Muslim homeland in British India.<sup>3</sup> The direct action day, also known as the Great Calcutta Riot, and "The Week of the Long Knives", started on August 16, 1946. This protest triggered massive riots in Calcutta, instigated by the Muslim League and its Volunteer Corps against Hindus and Sikhs, followed by retaliatory attacks on Muslims by Congress followers and supporters led to further riots in the surrounding regions of Bengal and Bihar. In Calcutta, within 72 hours, more than 4000 people lost their lives and 100,000 residents in the city of Calcutta were left homeless.
- **Other Reasons For Partition Of India:** The other reasons for partition of India is as under: -
  - India contains large percentage of Hindus. If India get independence, then the ruling government is obviously decided by the majority (Hindus). To live under the rule of Hindus, Muslims thought they may get injustice and may not be treated well. So they thought of forming a new country.
  - The idea of Partition of India is strengthened year after year. It can be divided into four phases:
    - 1920-1932 i.e. Root for Partition Idea: In 1930, Jinnah had begun to despair of the fate of minority communities in a united India and had begun to argue that main stream parties such as the Congress, of which he was once a member, were insensitive to Muslim interests.
    - 1932-1942 i.e. Growth in partition Idea : Hindu organization such as the Hindu Mahasabha, though against the division of the country, was also insisting on the same chasm between Hindus and Muslims. In 1937 at the 19th session of

the Hindu Mahasabha held at Ahmedabad, Veer Savarkar in his presidential address asserted: India cannot be assumed today to be Unitarian and homogeneous nation, but on the contrary there are two nations in the main the Hindus and the Muslims.

- 1932-1942 i.e. spread of Partition India :At the 1940 AIML conference in Lahore, Jinnah made clear his commitment to two separate states, a position from which the League never again wavered. The Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature... To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so build up for the government of such a state.<sup>4</sup>
- 1942-1946 i.e. partition at its peak :Politicians and community leaders on both sides whipped up mutual suspicion and fear, culminating in dreadful events such as the riots during the Muslim League's Direct Action Day of 16th August 1946. As public order broke down all across northern India and Bengal, the pressure increased to seek a political partition of territories as a way to avoid a full-scale civil war.

**Geographic Partition** : After Direction Action Day, everyone felt that it will be better to divide India. The actual division between the two new dominions was done according to the Mountbatten Plan.

- **Indian Independence Act**: On July 18, 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act that finalized the partition arrangement. The Indian Independence Act 1947 was the legislation passed by the British Parliament that officially approved the independence of India and the partition of India.<sup>5</sup>
- **Radcliffe Line**: The task of dividing India is given to Sir Cyril Radcliffe. The dividing line between India and Pakistan is called Radcliffe line. He was not willing to draw the line in three months but he was forced to draw the line. The hard task to allocate Lahore. Lahore is a big city with diverse secularism. He took the help of his private secretary, Christopher Beaumont who was familiar with the administration and life in the Punjab. The immediate consequence of partition were horrendous for both countries though it is doubtful that anything Radcliffe could have done would have made a great difference; Even the most carefully crafted border would have provoked the massive population migrations which resulted Viceroy Mountbatten, who turned out to be ill prepared for the consequences of the partition.<sup>6</sup>

### Effects of Partition of India (1947)

- **Population Exchanges**: Massive population exchanges occurred between the two newly-formed states in the months immediately following Partition. Once the lines were established, about 14.5 million people crossed the borders to

what they hoped was the relative safety of religious majority. Based on 1951 Census of displaced persons, 7,226,000 Muslims went to Pakistan from India while 7,249,000 Hindus and Sikhs moved to India from Pakistan immediately after partition.<sup>7</sup> At least 12.5 million frightened people, displaced from their ancestral homes, fled across newly delineated borders depending upon their faiths. Hindus and Sikhs exited from lands demarcated as "Muslim" Pakistan into the "new" India, while Muslims departed Hindu-dominated India into the new state called Pakistan (West and East).<sup>8</sup>

- **Riots**: Amid the massive confusion and panic, up to 1 million people (perhaps many more) died; while untold numbers of women suffered a fate worse than death - - they were raped, sometimes tortured, gang-raped and murdered. Indeed, the partition of India and Pakistan, a decision made by lawmakers far from the front-lines, unleashed an episode of brutal depravity that might be unmatched in recent history. These atrocities primarily occurred in Punjab and Bengal and involved venal criminality on the part of all parties concerned: Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs.<sup>9</sup>
- **Violence Against Women** : Women of all ages, ethnic groups and social classes were victimized, tortured and raped - some even were stripped naked and paraded down streets to intensify their trauma and humiliation. In many even more tragic cases, fathers, fearing that their daughters would soon be raped (and converted to another faith), pressured and coerced the girls to commit suicide lest such an event "taint" their family's "honor" and standing in the community - - or they killed their own female relatives themselves.<sup>10</sup> During the partition of India women faced with the brunt of the partition violence, a woman you dishonor the religion, honor, and culture of the man associated with the women, women also defile the purity of the other race by impregnating their women and forcing sex. Nearly 75,000 women faced with some sort of violence.
- **Refugees Settled In India** : Many Sikhs and Hindu Punjabis settled in the Indian parts of Punjab and Delhi. Hindus migrating from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) settled across Eastern India and Northeastern India, many ending up in close-by states like West Bengal & Assam, Tripura. Some migrants were sent to the Andaman Islands. Refugee camps were set up. However non Sindhi-Hindus had very little help from the Government of India and many never received compensation of any sort from the Indian Government. Delhi received the largest number of refugees. The refugees were housed in various historical and military locations such as the Purana Qila, Red Fort and Military barracks in Kingsway. The camp sites were later converted into permanent housing through extensive building projects undertaken by the Government of India from 1948 onwards. A number of housing colonies in Delhi came up around this period. A number of schemes such as the provision of education employment opportunities, and easy loans to start businesses were provided for the refugees at the all - India level.

**Resettlement of Refugees In Pakistan: 1947-1957** : Refugees or Muhajirs in Pakistan came from various parts of India. There were a large influx of Punjabi

Muslims from East Punjab fleeing the riots.<sup>11</sup> despite severe physical and economic hardships, East Punjabi refugees to Pakistan did not face problems of cultural and linguistic assimilation after partition. However, there were many Muslim refugees who migrated to Pakistan from other Indian state. These refugees came from many different ethnic groups and regions in India, including Uttar Pradesh (then known as "United Provinces of Agra and Awadh", or UP), Madhya Pradesh (then Central Province or "CP"), Gujarat, and Bihar, what was then the princely state of Hyderabad and so on. Large numbers of non-Punjabi refugees settled in Sindh, particularly in the cities of Karachi and Hyderabad. Most of those migrants who settled in Punjab, Pakistan came from the neighbouring Indian regions of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh while others were from Jammu and Kashmir and Rajasthan.

**Rehabilitation of Women:** Both sides promised each other that they would try to restore women abducted during the riots. The Indian government claimed that 33,000 Hindu and Sikh women were abducted, and the Pakistani government claimed that 50,000 Muslim women were abducted during riots. By 1949, there were governmental claims that 12,000 women has been recovered in India and 6,000 in Pakistan. By 1954 there were 20,728 recovered Muslim women and 9,032 Hindu and Sikh women recovered from Pakistan. Most of the Hindu and Sikh women refused to go back to Pakistan.<sup>12</sup>

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## Socio-Economic Profile of Tribal Populations In Birbhum District of West Bengal

\*Kartick Chandra Barman

#### Introduction:

India being the second largest tribal dominated area after Africa is one of the most fascinating Nations of World from anthropological point of view.<sup>1</sup> The total tribal population of India is 8.08 per cent. As many as 427 tribal communities are residing in India, of whom 75 are declared as primitive tribal groups who are spread across the country. Bhill, Gond and Santal are the major tribes of India, while Onje, Andamanese, Chenchu, and Mankirdia are the minor tribes of India.<sup>2</sup> The tribal communities in India are largely concentrated in Central India region and North-East India region, which are specially treated under 5th Schedule and 6th Schedule of the Indian Constitution respectively. Birbhum is a tribal dominated District with the largest number of tribal communities, representing major linguistic groups like Dravidian, Austro-Asiatic and Indo-Aryan.<sup>3</sup> They have been found at varied levels of acculturation, integration and assimilation with the caste Hindu societies of the District. Almost 44.21 per cent of the total land area in Birbhum has been declared as Scheduled area. The total tribal population of the State is 8.15 million, who constitute 22.13 per cent. Of 19 administrative districts, 3 districts like Birbhum, Bankura and Purulia are declared as fully Scheduled districts. Whereas there are 7 other districts declared as partially Scheduled districts. The paper aims to provide a brief profile of tribal population of Birbhum district of western part of Bengal. More specifically it describes certain characteristics of the demographic, socio-cultural life and livelihood of the tribal people living in the district.

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### Birbhum District Overview

The district of Birbhum lies between the latitudes of 23°23'30"N and 24°35'00"N and occupies the western parts of the state of West Bengal. The district has an area of 4545 sq. kms. The eastern most extremity of the district is marked by 88°01'40"E longitude and its western most extremity by 87°05'25"E longitude.<sup>4</sup>The District is sharing 5.12 percent of the land area of the state but 3.76 percent of its total population, indicating a relatively lower density of population per square kilometer in the district (663) vis-a-vis the state (903). The district is characterized by an undulating topography caused by the Chhotanagpur Plateau that passes through the Western borders of the district.<sup>5</sup>The land terrain slopes down towards the east and merges with the alluvial plains of the Ganga. The district borders the states of Jharkhand and Bihar on the West, and lies at the eastern end of the Chhotanagpur Plateau.<sup>6</sup>The district is triangular in shape with the rivers Ajoy forming the base of the triangle. The river forms the boundary between Birbhum and Bardhaman districts. Another important river is Mayurakshi, on which a river valley project that includes the Tilpara Barrage provides irrigation for about 6,00,000 acres.

### Tribal Profile of the District

Birbhum is one of the tribal dominated districts of West Bengal, which has been declared as the tribal district of the State. With three Sub-divisions Rampurhat and Bolpur are the part of the plain areas and Suri-I, is the tribal dominated region of the district. There are 15 types of tribes residing in the district. Out of 19 Blocks the tribal's are more concentrated in Khoyrasole, Dubrajpur, Rajnagar and Suri Blocks where the population varies from 70 per cent to 80 per cent of the total population of respective Blocks.<sup>7</sup> The tribes constitute 56.6 per cent of total population of the district, though the population of Birbhum is only 6 per cent of the State's total population.<sup>8</sup>

Birbhum district is known for their rich tribal cultural heritage, mining and mineral resources. Due to development interventions in the form of mining activities, to observe certain changes in the life and livelihood of the Santals and the Mundas in few pockets.<sup>9</sup> These changes are observed in the literacy status, educational achievements and their employment status. But, by and large the benefits of development programmes are yet to reach the tribal population in general.<sup>10</sup> The State needs to understand the linkages between the development activities, livelihood requirements and natural resource base of the tribal communities and the development of these regions.

**Table-1: Distribution of Tribal Population in Birbhum out of West Bengal, 2001**

West Bengal Total Population	Birbhum Total Population	Tribal Population	% Tribal	% WB tribal
80176197	3015422	203127	6.74	4.8861

The Santal represents more than half of the total tribal population of the state (51.8 per cent). Oraon (14 per cent), Munda (7.8 per cent), Bhumij (7.6 per cent) and Kora (3.2 per cent) are the other major tribals having sizeable population. Along with Santal, they constitute nearly 85 per cent of the state's total Tribal population. The Lodha and Mahali are the remaining tribals, and having population of one per cent or more. The rest of the tribals are very small in population size.

**Table-2: Tribal Population by Sex in Birbhum District, 2001**

Birbhum Total Population	Birbhum Total ST Population	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
3015422	203127	101831	101296	198612	4515

According to 2001 census Birbhums has 13 tribes. The major tribes inhabiting in Birbhum are Santal, Oraon, Kora, Lodha, Bhumij, Munda and Mahali etc. Linguistically Austric and the Indo-Aryan language groups are dominated in tribal population of Birbhum. Tribal communities like Santal, Munda, Ho, Oraon, Mahali, Kol, and Bhumij speak their own language.<sup>11</sup> Rest of the tribal communities of the district is speaking Bengali and mixture of languages. In Bengal, four tribal communities developed their own script out of which two tribal communities inhabit in Birbhum namely Santal and Munda.<sup>12</sup> Santal is the largest tribes of the district scattered concentrated all over Birbhum. Their main occupation is agriculture and agricultural labourer. They are very conscious about their identity and culture. Santal is one of the largest and advanced tribes of India too. They developed their own script Olchiki and have been continuing language movement in Eastern India.<sup>13</sup> Mahali is the only tribe well known in Bengal for his bamboo craft making skill.

		1991			2001		
		Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
India	Total	52.21	64.14	39.29	64.84	75.26	53.67
	Rural	44.70	57.87	30.63	58.74	70.70	46.13
	Urban	73.08	81.09	64.05	79.92	86.27	72.86
West Bengal	Total	57.70	67.81	46.56	68.64	77.02	59.61
	Rural	50.50	62.05	38.12	63.42	73.13	53.16
	Urban	75.27	81.19	68.25	81.25	86.13	75.74
Birbhum	Total	48.56	59.26	37.17	61.48	70.89	51.55
	Rural	46.60	57.52	35.00	59.88	69.51	49.70
	Urban	67.42	75.69	58.36	77.65	84.73	70.20

Source: Census 2001

The prime objective of 'Education for All' is not just to maintain a moderate literacy rate. In order to have an educationally stable social order, it is necessary to minimize regional variation in literacy rates at micro level with an uniform spread in education amongst the population. For this purpose, an attempt has been made to see the literacy variation in Birbhum District at village level.<sup>14</sup>

**Table-3: Block wise literacy rates of Tribal People in Birbhum district**

Blocks	Tribal People in Birbhum		
	Person	Male	Female
Nalhati-I	40.02	56.19	23.80
Nalhati-II	25.57	35.48	16.67
Murarai-I	21.72	32.70	10.97
Murarai-II	27.25	37.94	16.73
Mayureswar-I	28.08	39.24	16.65
Mayureswar-II	26.47	37.90	14.88
Rampurhat-I	31.67	44.65	18.80
Rampurhat-II	38.84	50.74	27.24
Md.Bazar	29.17	42.11	16.33
Sainthia	34.05	47.72	20.44
Dubrajpur	28.10	40.92	14.69
Rajnagar	31.17	45.44	17.09
Suri-I	33.69	45.10	22.06
Suri-II	32.66	47.42	17.48
Khoyarasole	38.65	53.00	22.02
Bolpur-Sriniketan	32.23	45.29	19.35
Labhpur	32.04	44.10	18.99
Nanoor	22.35	31.95	13.17
Illambazar	29.55	43.05	15.53

Source: Census 2001

**Table-4: Literacy Rates Among Tribal's in Birbhum (Urban and Rural)**

Literacy Rates in Urban Area			Literacy Rates in Rural Area		
Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
31.10	44.10	18.00	35.80	46.20	25.70

The literacy rate among the tribal people of the district tunes to 44.10 per cent out of which tribal male literacy is 46.20 per cent and tribal female literacy rate is 25.70 per cent. This shows that tribal communities still lag behind in comparison to other communities of the district in spite of the fact that government have been taking various development measures for improving the situation. Linguistically tribal population of Austric and Mundari language groups are dominated in Birbhum district, which include various tribal communities like Santal, Munda Kol and Ho, while Bhuiyan tribal community belongs to Indo-Aryan Language group.<sup>15</sup> Out of 19 Blocks of Birbhum three Blocks are having large percentage of tribal population.

### Socio-economic scenario of the Tribal people

The study focuses that the socio-economic status of Tribal's are backward. Cultivation was the main occupation of tribal respondents but size of landholding is very low, more over maximum of them are illiterate and due to this, they compel to work labour oriented job and because of their occupation,<sup>16</sup> their level of income is very low. Consequently most of the families live below the poverty line. The study suggests that the socio-economic condition of the study area and the Tribal's households living in this region need much intensive development policy package for their socio-economic transmission.<sup>17</sup> Because of their peculiar psychological approach, the implementation of some of the national plans and policies are not easy.

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## Indigenous Female Dress of The Meiteis

\*Rajkumari Barbina

Manipur is a state in the North Eastern part of India sharing boundary with the state of Nagaland in the north, Assam in the west, Mizoram in the south and the South-east Asian country of Myanmar in the east. The state's population comprises of three major ethnic groups: the Meiteis, the Nagas and the Kuki-Chins.<sup>1</sup> The Meiteis constitute about 60% of the total population of Manipur.

The Meiteis are known to have a good collection of varied number of dresses and each dress is worn differently on different occasion. Dress of the Meiteis reflects the personality of individual along with tradition, cultural attainment, social hierarchy, individual and community identity, religious and ceremonial significance and technological advancement.

**Female Dress: Upper Garment** - In Meitei society, the dressing style of married women is different from unmarried women. Married women wear the Phanek (lower garment) below the armpit and a shawl of fine muslin is wrapped over the shoulders covering the entire body till the knees. An upper garment is not needed in this style of wearing Phanek. The Meitei unmarried women wear the Phanek from waist and different types of shirts are worn above the Phanek. The different types of female upper garments are as follows:

**1) Khaon and KhaochonPhurit:** It is a usual stitched shirt which either has a full sleeve or half sleeve used by Meitei women to cover the upper part of the body. Cotton and silk are used as raw material for stitching this shirt.<sup>2</sup>

**2) LanglaKhaothang Samba:** In this type, the cloth is brought from the left shoulder and carried to the right armpit where a knot was tied out of the two ends. This cloth covers the upper body both in front and at the back.<sup>3</sup>

**3) ReshomPhurit:** This is a hand sewn shirt worn only by the royal ladies when monarchy was prevalent but later when monarchy lost its importance, its usage changed. At present, this shirt is used by brides and also by girls performing the Paanthoibi dance during LaaiHaraoba (festival of Sylvan Deities). It is either

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short sleeve or long sleeve. The ReshomPhurit is made of velvet material of different colours of deep green, red, violet and black. It is also decorated with small bright brass and glass pieces at the sleeves, collar and at the bottom. For commoners, it is made of coarse cotton cloth with no decoration.<sup>4</sup>

**4) WanphakPhurit:** This shirt has embroidery and was originally worn by the ladies of the royal family. This was also used for awarding women of merit. The shirt has a design of KhoiAkoibi pattern at the border, which is used in MayekNaibiPhanek.<sup>5</sup>

### Lower garment

**Phanek:** It is a lower garment worn by Meitei women. This loin cloth is worn differently by married and unmarried women. Unmarried women wear the loin cloth in a style called KhoidomShetpa and the married women in a style called PhidolChinkhatpa. The KhoidomShetpa style is worn normally like the other styles of Phanek which is wrapped round the waist with one end brought to the left and the other end to the right and tucked tightly to the waist but for Phidol Chinghatpa, the Phanek is wrapped just below the armpits normally to cover the breasts.<sup>6</sup> There are different types of Phanek with different designs:

**1) PumngouPhanek:** The name literally means *Phanek* which is completely white in colour but there are also other type of this *Phanek* of different colours which either has a border of different design or without border. There are three types of *PumngouPhanek*:

- 1a) The first type of *Phanek* is completely white or light pink with no border. *Maibis* (local priestess) wear white *Phanek* and women wear the light pink *Phanek* at the time of religious ceremonies or solemn occasions such as during deaths or during the period of mourning.
- 1b) *PumngouPhanek* with plain borders is used in day to day life as well as on social occasions by Meitei women. *Phanek* of this type with different colour and with plain border is used as a casual dress. This type of *PumngouPhanek* without border made of *Muga* (silk) is worn on social occasions especially during the time of feasts. This *MugaPhanek* can be of different colour.
- 1c) *PumngouPhanek* with border of *MoirangpheeChanba* is used as daily wear but the ones made of *Muga* (silk) is mostly worn on social occasions like feasts. This *Phanek* can be of different colours. *MoirangpheeChanba* is a popular design of a series of triangles woven along the border.

**2) MayekNaibi:** This type of *Phanek* has horizontal strip design with or without embroideries at the borders of two ends. There are two or three strips

of different colours with mostly black as the main colour. There are different varieties of *Phaneks* based on the colour. There are seven clans among the Meiteis and each clan has a prescribed *Phanek* but at present it is not followed.

*Ningthouja*clan: *Thambal Machu* (lotus colour).

*Luwang*clan: *Higok Machu* (deep blue as dominant colour).

*Khuman* clan: *Kumjingbi* (dominant colour is black and white).

*Moirang* clan: *HangamMapal* (yellow as dominant colour with maroon and black).

*Angom*clan: *Langouphanek*(black and white colour).

*Sarang Leishangthem* clan: *Loirangphanek* (white and light pink).<sup>7</sup>

*MayekNaibiPhanek* has either embroidered borders or sometimes without embroidery. The *MayekNaibiPhanek* with unembroidered borders is called *Chinphi* or *TungkapPhanek* and was worn by ladies in early days.<sup>8</sup> Nowadays, this type of *phanek* is used as a dress for female deities of the Meiteis or for female babies as loin dress at the time of *Shasti Puja* (ceremony on the sixth day of the birth of a child) and *Na Hutpa* (ear piercing ceremony). It is also worn by young girls on the festival of *LaaiHaraoba* (festival of the Sylvan Deities).

There are three types of embroidery work on the borders of *MayekNaibiPhanek*.

**2a) KhoijaoLonbiMapanNaibi:** In this type, there are a series of semi-circular figures in which the head is concentric inwardly. The figures are arranged with the head upward and downward alternately. This figure is called *Khoi* which means hook or bee and the pattern is called *Khoijao* (meaning big hook or big bee).<sup>9</sup>

**2b) KhoiAkoibiMapanNaibi:** This type follows a particular pattern with a uniform series of circular frame interrupted by *Tenga* design, each in between every unit of two such frames. There is a rectangular figure of four crescent lines inside the circular frame that conjoin the outer circular line at two sets of opposite points, one vertically and the other horizontally. Two tendrils like design decorate the space between the crescent line inside and the outer circular line at regular intervals. The pattern in circular frame is known as *Khoi* which means a bee and the entire design is called *KhoiAkoibi* (*Akoibi* meaning roundness). The insides of the rectangular figure have a design, eight small oval shaped figures facing all the directions similar to flower petals. The *Tenga* fills up the vacuum between each oval figure, one facing upward and the other downward with a small circle at the centre. The middle pattern of oval figures is sandwiched in between two narrow strips on the border.<sup>10</sup>

**2c) HijaMayek:** In this type, the border has a pattern of two strips, at the top and bottom. A design of flowering creeper with two leaves on the two sides

of the stem known as *Khongnang* in between two units of flow at the top and the bottom has a regular series of *Tenawa* (parrot) alternately upside down and *Yensin* leaf motif within each unit of *Tenawa* figure.<sup>11</sup> The *MayekNaibiPhanek* is worn during weddings and other merry making occasions.

**3) Kanap:** It is one of the coronation dress used by the chief Queen of Manipur. Two types of this *phanek* can be found:

- a) Embroidered broadborder or without embroidered broad border and
- b) Full embroidered designs throughout the *Phanek*.<sup>12</sup>

Dresses used by Meitei women depend on different occasions and functions. This is a clear evidence of dresses playing an important role in the status, economic condition, place and position of people in the society. Different dresses are prescribed for different rituals and ceremonies. There is definite continuity in the patterns of dressing among the Meiteis since early period even though there are some changes and gradual developments over the period of time.

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## I q kj h dk oʃk

करेरी सुपारी के वृक्ष को अरी क्यूरिए कहता है यह लम्बा व पतला होता था इसके फल का जायफल की भांति पान के साथ चबाने के लिए प्रयोग होता था इस पर वर्ष में चार या पांच फल लगते थे<sup>15</sup> इसकी पुष्टि थेवर्नॉट के वृत्तान्त से भी होती है थेवनाट बताता है कि भारतीय लोग पान को सुपारी के बिना नहीं खाते थे<sup>16</sup>

## xnyj ʎatɛhj ʎʃ

करेरी बताता है कि यह वृक्ष घास की तरह नरम था और ऐसा माना जाता है कि आदम व इवे ने इसके पत्तों से अपने वस्त्र बनाए थे इसकी चौड़ाई 15 और 20 बेंत के बीच में थी एक टहनी पर लगभग 60 या 70 फल लगते थे इसका गुद्दा सफेद एवं लाल होता था और इसमें छोटे-छोटे काले बीज होते थे यह गर्मी एवं सर्दी दोनों समय में ही पकता था इन्हें पकाकर दालचीनी के साथ एवं कच्चा भी खाया जाता था आईन-ए-अकबरी में गूलर के विषय में बताया गया है कि यह वसन्त ऋतु में होता था<sup>18</sup>

## vukuki

करेरी अनानास को अनाना कहता है और बताता है कि स्पेनिश इसे पिनास बोलते थे यह गोल व कोटेदार होता था इसका गुद्दा सख्त व पीला होता था तथा स्वाद मीठा व खट्टा दोनों के बीच का होता था इसे अधिक मात्रा में स्पेन भेजा जाता था<sup>19</sup> बर्नियर के अनुसार अनानास भारत के उस भाग में मिलता है जहां पर पुर्तगालियों का अधिकार था<sup>20</sup> थेवर्नॉट के अनुसार अनानास बंगाल में होता था जोकि खरबूजे के समरूप बड़ा होता था यह आधे फुट का होता था इसका स्वाद आनन्ददायक होता था जो मुह में एक विशेष प्रकार की सुगन्ध पैदा करता था<sup>21</sup> अनानास के विषय में पिटरो डेला वेला भी अपने वृत्तान्त में वर्णन करता है<sup>22</sup> आईने अकबरी से ज्ञात होता है कि अनानास की खुशबू आम की भांति थी इस पर वर्ष में एक बार फल लगते थे<sup>23</sup>

## dktq ] dktq jk

यह सबसे अलग था क्योंकि सभी फलों के अन्दर बीज होता है, परन्तु इसके पिर बीज था ऐसा माना जाता था कि इससे याददाशत बढ़ती थी व भून कर खाने में बादाम जैसा व कच्चा खाने में अखरोट जैसा था इससे ठण्डा जूस निकलता था, जो छाती की रुकावटों के लिए अच्छा था<sup>24</sup> पिटरो डेला वेला ने अपने वृत्तान्त में काजू का वर्णन किया है इसे यहाँ सामान्यतः अकाजू बोला जाता था और यह अखरोट की तरह दिखता था, जिसका तना सख्त होता था<sup>25</sup>

## tecyku Vh] tecksyhj k Vh ʎtkeq ʎʃ

करेरी के अनुसार इस पेड़ के पत्ते नींबू के पेड़ की भांति थे तथा फलों का आकार अण्डे की भांति था इसका रंग लाल था तथा यह जैतून व चैरी की भांति लटकते थे करेरी इनका स्वाद कुछ-कुछ सेब की तरह बताता है<sup>26</sup> बाबरनामा में बाबर लिखता है कि जामुन पकने पर काले अंगूर जैसा हो जाता है यह खाने में मीठा होता है व इसका जायका खट्टा होता है<sup>27</sup>

## nky phuh dk i M+

करेरी दालचीनी के पेड़ का वर्णन करते हुए लिखता है कि दाल-चीनी के वृक्ष पर कोई फल नहीं जाता था, वह इसे सिनामोन कहता है इसके तने का छिलका बड़ा उपयोगी था इसे एक बार उतार देने के बाद यह फिर से आ जाता था इसकी गन्ध अच्छी नहीं थी<sup>28</sup> बर्नियर भी अपने वृत्तान्त में वर्णन करता है कि यह सिलान एवं मल्लका द्वीप में पाया जाता था भारत में इसकी मात्रा न के बराबर थी<sup>29</sup>

## i kli ; k ʎi i hrkʃ

यह अधिक लम्बा नहीं होता था इसका तना नरम होता था, जिसे चाकू से काटा जा सकता था पुर्तगाली इसे यहूदी खरबूजा कहते थे वे रात के खाने में हमेशा इसका प्रयोग करते थे यह बाहर से हरा एवं पीला व अन्दर से पीला होता था इसके बीज काले होते थे<sup>30</sup> पिटरो डेला वेला के वृत्तान्त से भी इसकी पुष्टि होती है कि पीला खरबूजे के समान बड़ा था पहले यह दक्षिण अमेरिका में होता था लेकिन अब यह भारत में भी होता है<sup>31</sup>

## dVgy ʎtD; ʎ ʎ i M+

करेरी कटहल के पेड़ को जक्यूए पेड़ कहता है वह बताता है कि कटहल के पेड़ की पनियो ल्यूरेस नामक पौधे (चिकनी पनी का पौधा= की पनियों की तरह हरी एवं पीली होती थी इसका छिलका हरा एवं पीला होता था इसका स्वाद अखरोट की भांति होता था यह मई से सितम्बर तक मिलता था इसके पिर छोटे-छोटे कोटे भी होते थे<sup>32</sup> कटहल का उल्लेख हमें आईने अकबरी से भी मिलता है यह खरबूजे के समरूप होता था और इसके छिल्के पर कोटे होते थे इसके फूल इसके फल की तरह अच्छी सुगन्ध देते थे<sup>33</sup> बाबरनामा में भी कटहल का वर्णन किया गया है इससे आचार एवं सब्जी बनती थी<sup>34</sup>

## xksy fepz dk i kskk

करेरी गोल मिर्च के पौधे के विषय में बताता है कि इस पर काली मिर्च गुच्छो की भांति लगती थी, जब यह पकती थी तो इसका रंग लाल होता था भारतीय इसे जलाकर काला कर देते थे, ताकि किसी अन्य स्थान पर यह बीज के लिए प्रयुक्त की जा सकें यह मार्च, अप्रैल और मई में मिलती थी<sup>35</sup> गोल मिर्च दक्षिण भारत में ज्यादा मात्रा में होती थी मालाबार गोल मिर्च के उत्पादन के लिए मुख्य स्थल था यहाँ से इसका विदेशों में व्यापार होता था<sup>36</sup> थेवर्नॉट के वृत्तान्त से पता चलता है कि गोल मिर्च का बंगाल में उत्पादन होता था जहाँ से उच्च इसे विदेशों में निर्यात करते थे<sup>37</sup>

## uk'ki rh dk i M+

करेरी बताता है कि इस पेड़ की पनियो घनी एवं छोटी होती थी बाहर से यह फल हरा एवं पीला तथा अन्दर से सफेद होता था इसके छोटे-छोटे बीज होते थे इन्हें खाते वक्त निकालते नहीं थे, इसका स्वाद ज्यादा पकी हुई नाशपती की तरह था अनुवादक सुरेन्द्रनाथ बताते हैं कि यहाँ पर करेरी जिसे नाशपती का पेड़ एवं फल बताता है, वह अमरूद का वृक्ष था क्योंकि अमरूद के ही बीज खाये जाते थे वे कहते हैं यहाँ करेरी इस वृक्ष एवं उसके फल के नाम के विषय में गलती करता है इसे बंगाली में पीयरा, हिन्दी में अमरूद बोलते थे<sup>38</sup> अमरूद के विषय में 'आईने-अकबरी' में फलों के विषय में जो टेबल दे रखी है, उसमें वर्णन किया गया है<sup>39</sup>

## vkpyk dk i M+

यह पेड़ नाशपती के पेड़ जितना बड़ा होता था पुर्तगाली इसे अमकाले कहते थे इसका मुरब्बा बनता था इसके छोटे-छोटे पत्ते होते थे<sup>40</sup> 'आईने अकबरी' से ज्ञात होता है कि यह अन्दर से सफेद एवं इसका स्वाद खट्टा होता था इसका जूस निकालते थे<sup>41</sup> बाबरनामा में लिखा है कि ओवला खाने में नहीं अपितु गुणों में श्रेष्ठ होता था आमतौर पर यह औषधी के काम आता था यह बहुत पोषक होता था<sup>42</sup>

## i ku dk i kskk

करेरी के वर्णन से ज्ञात होता है कि पान का पौधा बेहद मुलायम एवं नाजुक होता था इसकी बेल होती थी थेवर्नॉट के वृत्तान्त से पुष्टि होती है कि यह बेल की तरह का पौधा होता था जो सुपारी के पेड़ के पास होता था<sup>43</sup> करेरी लिखता है कि भारतीय पुरुषों एवं औरतों के लिए पान खाना एक शौक था पान खाने से पहले सुपारी चबायी जाती थी, क्योंकि

यह ठण्डी होती थी इससे पान की गर्मी खत्म हो जाती थी सुपारी एवं पान को मिलाकर एक नवीन मिश्रण बनता था जिसे बूगो कहते थे इसे छोटे-छोटे बक्सों में रखते थे ताकि इसे कहीं भी चबाया जा सकें इससे होठ लाल एवं सुन्दर होते थे इटली की महिलाओं को तो यह इतना पसन्द आया की वे इसे सोने के दाम पर खरीद सकती थी<sup>44</sup> पान के विषय में बर्नियर बताता है कि अगर किसी ने बादशाह की कृपा प्राप्त करनी होती थी तो वह दरबार में पान की भेंट लेकर जाता था इसके खाने से मुँह से इत्र जैसी खुशबू आती थी<sup>45</sup> पिडरो डेला वेला भी अपने वृत्तान्त में वर्णन करता है कि धार्मिक उत्सवों पर लोग पान को एक-दूसरे को भेंट में देते थे<sup>46</sup> 'आईने अकबरी' में विभिन्न प्रकार के पानों का विस्तृत वर्णन किया गया है<sup>47</sup>

## eksjk dk i kskk

करेरी बताता है कि मोगरा के पौधे पर सफेद रंग के खुशबूदार फूल होते थे इसकी गन्ध चमेली से भी तीव्र होती थी गमलों में लगाकर इन्हें लिस्बन भेजा जाता था<sup>48</sup> अबुल फजल के अनुसार यह गर्मियों में होते थे तथा इनका रंग पीला होता था<sup>49</sup>

## ds j dk i kskk

करेरी के अनुसार यह आड़ू के पेड़ से बड़ा होता था इसके फूल पीले थे और पनियो सफेद थी यह फूल रात को खिलते थे तथा सारा वर्ष मिलते थे तुजुक-ए-जहोगिरी से पता चलता है कि कश्मीर में इसका व्यापार होता है इसके पौधे छोटे होते हैं न की आड़ू की भांति बड़े कश्मीर में इसका व्यापार बड़े पैमाने पर होता है<sup>50</sup> केसर के फूलों का रंग बैंगनी होता व केसर के फूलों की चार पंखुड़ी होती है<sup>51</sup>

## pEi k dk i kskk

करेरी वर्णन करता है कि चम्पा के पौधे पर सफेद तथा खुशबूदार फूल लगते थे करेरी इसे चैम्पिम कहता है इसकी पनियो लम्बी, सीधी एवं सफेद थी<sup>52</sup> आईने-अकबरी से भी चम्पा के फूलों का पता चलता है लेकिन अबुल फजल चम्पा को पीले रंग का बताता है, जो की पूरे वर्ष मिलते थे जब सूर्य मीन व मेष में होता था तब इस पर सफेद फूल भी लगते थे<sup>53</sup>

इस प्रकार करेरी के वृत्तान्त का विस्तृत रूप से अध्ययन करने पर पता चलता है कि फलों वाले वृक्षों एवं फूलों वाले पौधों को उन्होंने पुर्तगाली एवं इटली नाम देने की कोशिश की है और इसमें वे सफल भी रहे हैं वनस्पति का जैसा वर्णन करेरी ने किया है ऐसा विस्तृत वर्णन उसके समकालीन किसी भी यूरोपीय यात्री द्वारा नहीं किया गया

उसके द्वारा वर्णित की गई कुछ वनस्पति का विवरण 'बाबरनामा' एवं आइने अकबरी में भी मिलता है जो कि उसके वृत्तान्त की पुष्टि करते हैं करेरी उन्ही पेड़-पौधों का वर्णन करता है जो उसने समुद्री तटीय भागों विशेषकर गोआ के भू-भाग पर उसने देखे थे इनमें से कुछ पेड़-पौधों के वर्णन में कमियो भी दिखाई देती हैं जैसे तीन दोलीय पौधे के विषय में वे कहते हैं कि इसके लाल फूल लगते थे जबकि ये सफेद होते थे, अमरूद को नाशपति बताते हैं, पपीता के विषय में कोई स्पष्ट वर्णन नहीं करते ये सब त्रुटियो भारत के विषय में ज्ञान न होने के कारण हुई हैं लेकिन कुछ फलों वाले पेड़ों के विषय में जैसे नारियल वृक्ष, सुपारी, पान एवं गोल मीर्च के पौधों के विषय में उसने अपने से पहले आने वाले यात्रियों से उच्च विवरण दिया है कुछ कमियो होने के बावजूद भी अपने थोड़े से भ्रमण काल में जितना वनस्पति का वर्णन एवं उसकी उपयोगिता का विवरण करेरी ने किया इतना किसी अन्य यात्री ने नहीं किया

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## Hkkj rh; 'fj uŃ kã dk ekupŃV %Nk; koknh dko;

\*MKW t; 'kãdj 'kkgh

प्रख्यात इतिहासकारों—डॉ. आर.सी. मजूमदार, डॉ. के.के. दत्ता, डॉ. ताराचन्द्र, डॉ. यू.एन. घोषाल, डॉ. सुमित सरकार, डॉ. विपिन चन्द्र तथा डॉ. ए.आर. देसाई आदि ने उन्नीसवीं—बीसवीं शताब्दी के भारतीय सामाजिक—सांस्कृतिक सुधार आन्दोलनों का विश्लेषण करते हुए भारत के पुनर्जागरण )Renaissance= की चर्चा की है 'आत्मीय सभा' )1814=, 'ब्रह्म समाज' )1828=, 'तत्वबोधिनी सभा' )1830=, 'आर्य समाज', 'रहनुमाई माज्दायसनाम' )1851=, 'प्रार्थना समाज' )1867=, 'थियोसाफिकल सोसायटी' )1882=, 'वहाबी', 'अहमदिया', 'अलीगढ़ आन्दोलन', 'श्री नारायण गुरु परिपालनयोगम', 'रामकृष्ण मिशन' )1897=, 'यंग बंगाल आंदोलन', 'आत्मसम्मान आन्दोलन' आदि प्रगतिशील संस्थाओं और आंदोलनों ने भारत में नवजागरण का अभूतपूर्व वातावरण सृजित किया था डॉ० विपिन चन्द्र ने इसे ही 'Socio-religious reforms and the national awakening'<sup>2</sup> कहते हुए भारत के सांस्कृतिक व्यक्तित्व के पुनरुत्थान )Revival of the cultural personality=<sup>3</sup> का तथ्य प्रस्तुत करते हैं डॉ. एस.सी. सरकार तथा के.के. दत्ता लिखते हैं— "The political development of modern India is but an aspect of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th century."<sup>4</sup> प्रोफेसर जगदीश नारायण सिन्हा इन सुधार आन्दोलनों के सकारात्मक प्रभाव का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखते हैं—'सुधार आन्दोलन की शायद सबसे बड़ी उपलब्धि यह थी कि इसने भारतीयों को समानता, स्वतंत्रता एवं जागरण का संदेश एक ऐसे समय पर दिया जब देश गुलामी की बेड़ियों में जकड़ा हुआ था और समस्त जन—जीवन अंधविश्वास, रूढ़िवादिता एवं अज्ञान के अंधकार में भटक रहा था'<sup>5</sup> इन सुधार आन्दोलनों से 'भारत के आधुनिकीकरण के साथ—साथ राष्ट्रियता एक नये धर्म के रूप में अवतरित हुई'<sup>6</sup>

\*, I kãl , V i kãl j fgũh foHkx] ckar' kãkjkj ke jkt dñ; Lukr dãkjk dyk egkfo | ky; | vyoj jkt-½

उपर्युक्त पुनर्जागरण का व्यापक प्रभाव हिन्दी साहित्य की छायावादी कविता )1918—1936= पर पड़ा विख्यात समीक्षक डॉ. नामवर सिंह लिखते हैं—'जिस प्रकार बारहवीं—तेरहवीं सदी में शुरू होने वाले मध्ययुगीन सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान का चरमोत्कर्ष सोलहवीं सदी के भक्ति काव्य में हुआ उसी प्रकार उन्नीसवीं सदी में शुरू होने वाले आधुनिक सांस्कृतिक जागरण का चरमोत्कर्ष बीसवीं सदी के छायावादी काव्य में हुआ'<sup>7</sup> छायावादी काव्य—आन्दोलन के प्रमुख कवियों—जयशंकर प्रसाद )1889—1937=, सूर्यकान्त त्रिपाठी निराला )1899—1961=, सुमित्रा नन्दन पंत )1900—1977= तथा महादेवी वर्मा )1907—1987= ने अपने काव्य में नवजागरण, देशभक्ति, भारतीय गौरवशाली अतीत का अन्वेषण, साम्राज्यवाद—उपनिवेशवाद का विश्लेषण, मानववाद, समानता, स्वतंत्रता और विश्वबन्धुत्व के विचारों को प्रस्तुत किया है प्रख्यात समीक्षक डॉ० नामवर सिंह लिखते हैं—'छायावादी कवियों ने परोक्ष रूप से साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध देश प्रेम, जागरण तथा आत्म—गौरव का गान गाया'<sup>8</sup> हिन्दी साहित्य के प्रसिद्ध आलोचक डॉ. रामस्वरूप चतुर्वेदी का मानना है—'छायावाद के केन्द्र में शक्ति चेतना का वह उत्स है जिसने भारतीय पुनर्जागरण को परिचालित किया था'<sup>9</sup> डॉ. विश्वनाथ त्रिपाठी का भी कथन है—'छायावाद शक्ति, जागरण और लोकमंगल का काव्य है'<sup>10</sup>

भारतीय पुनर्जागरण और ब्रिटिश आधिपत्य के खिलाफ लगभग 200 वर्षों )1757—1947= तक संचालित भारतीय स्वतंत्रता संग्राम के दौरान आधुनिक अर्थों में भारतीय 'राष्ट्र राज्य' की अवधारणा विकसित हुई जिसे डॉ. विपिन चन्द्र 'Nation-in-the-making'<sup>11</sup> कहते हैं इस आधुनिक अभिनव भारतीय राष्ट्र का अनुपम बिम्ब छायावादी कविता के केनवास पर चित्रित है महाकवि जयशंकर प्रसाद ने लिखा—

“अरुण यह मधुमय देश हमारा / जहो पहुँच अनजान क्षितिज को  
मिलता एक सहारा...”<sup>12</sup>

कवि प्रसाद का मानना है कि भारत सूर्य के आलोक से उदभासित मधु से युक्त देश है जिसने सम्पूर्ण संसार को शांति, दया, करुणा, त्याग, अहिंसा और विश्व—बंधुत्व का मधुमय संदेश दिया है इसने सारी मानवता को आश्रय दिया है जयशंकर प्रसाद भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास के अध्येता और विद्वान रहे हैं उन्होंने 'चन्द्रगुप्त', 'स्कन्दगुप्त', 'अजातशत्रु' और 'ध्रुवस्वामिनी' जैसे ऐतिहासिक नाटक लिख कर भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास का गौरव गान गाया प्रसाद जी का मतव्य है कि प्राचीन काल में भारत सारे संसार का गुरु रहा है, सबसे पहले ज्ञान—विज्ञान की किरणें भारत भूमि पर विकीर्ण हुईं जब सारा संसार अज्ञानता के अंधकार में सोया था, उस समय भारत ज्ञान और विज्ञान से सम्पन्न था, सर्वप्रथम भारत में ही जागरण की ज्योति छिटकी और फिर भारत में इस जागृति के आलोक को पूरे संसार भर में फैलाया—

“हिमालय के ओगन में उसे/प्रथम किरणों का दे उपहार,  
उषा ने हेस अभिनन्दन किया/और पहनाया हीरक हार,  
जगे हम, लगे जगाने विश्व,/लोक में फैला फिर आलोक,  
व्योम-तम-पुंज हुआ तब नष्ट/अखिल संसृति हो उठी अशोक”<sup>13</sup>

प्रसाद जी भारत के प्राचीन इतिहास का विषय अध्ययन कर यह बताते हैं कि भारत देश में हमेशा से धर्म, शांति, सत्य और अहिंसा का वातावरण रहा है और यही के प्राचीन सम्राट भिक्षु की तरह रहते थे—

“विजय केवल लोहे की नहीं, धर्म की रही, धरा पर धूम  
भिक्षु होकर रहते सम्राट, दया दिखलाते घर-घर धूम  
यवन को दिया दया का दान चीन को मिली धर्म की दृष्टि  
मिला था स्वर्ण-भूमि को रत्न, शील की सिंहल को भी सृष्टि  
किसी का हमने छीना नहीं, प्रकृति का रहा पालना यहीं  
हमारी जन्मभूमि थी यही, कहीं से हम आये थे नहीं”<sup>14</sup>

महाकवि सूर्यकान्त त्रिपाठी निराला की कविताओं में भी भारत राष्ट्र का भास्वर बिंब है, भारतीय स्वर्णिम अतीत का अन्वेषण है कवि ने ‘जन्मभूमि’ )1920 ई०= कविता में भारत को जग की महारानी, शोभामयी, मंगलकारी, शान्ति का निकेतन और आनन्ददायिनी कहा है—

“शोभामय शान्तिनिलय पाप ताप हारी,  
मुक्त बन्ध, घनानन्द मुदमंगलकारी  
वधिर विश्व चकित भीत सुन भैरव वाणीं  
जन्मभूमि मेरी है जगन्महारानी”<sup>15</sup>

कवि निराला भारत राष्ट्र के मानचित्र का वर्णन करते हुए भारत माता की वंदना करते हैं और बताते हैं कि माता के चरणों को समुद्र धोता है, ओचल में फूल भरे हैं, गले में गंगा की धारा हार के समान शोभायमान है—

“भारति, जय विजयकरे!/कनक-शस्य-कमलधरे!  
लंका पदतल शतदल/गर्जितोर्मि सागर-जल,  
गंगा ज्योतिर्जल-कण/धवल-धार हार गले”<sup>16</sup>

निराला का मतवय है कि अंग्रेजी पराधीनता के कारण भारत अपनी प्राचीन महिमा से वंचित हो गया है कवि को भारत के गौरवशाली अतीत पर आस्था है ‘खंडहर के प्रति’ )1923= कविता में कवि भारत के गौरवशाली इतिहास का स्मरण करते हैं तथा वर्तमान में खंडहर बन चुके भारत से कवि प्रश्न करते हैं— “खंडहर! खड़े हो तुम आज भी?/अद्भुत अज्ञात उस पुरातन के मलिन साज!” खंडहर-भारत कवि के प्रश्न का उत्तर इस प्रकार देता है—

“आर्त भारत! जनक हूँ मैं  
जैमिनि-पतन्जलि-व्यास-ऋषियों का;  
मेरी ही गोद पर शैशव-विनोद कर  
तेरा है बढ़ाया मान  
राम-कृष्ण भीमार्जुन-भीष्म नरदेवों ने”<sup>17</sup>

भारतीय स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम के दौरान कवि निराला ने भारतीय इतिहास का पुनरान्वेषण कर सत्याग्रह-असहयोग-सविनय अवज्ञा-भारत छोड़ो आन्दोलन के समानान्तर साम्राज्यवादी ब्रिटिश आधिपत्य के खिलाफ साहित्यिक-सांस्कृतिक जागरण का ऐतिहासिक कार्य किया निराला काव्य में ‘बहुआयामी स्वतंत्रता आंदोलन की साहित्यिक अभिव्यक्ति है’<sup>18</sup> महाकवि निराला भारत के गौरवशाली अतीत को याद करते हुए ‘दिल्ली’ )1924= कविता में कहते हैं—  
‘क्या यह वहीं देश है—/भीमार्जुन आदि का कीर्तिकेन्द्र, /चिरकुमार भीष्म की पताका /ब्रह्मचर्य दीप्त / श्रीमुख से कृष्ण के सुना था जहां भारत ने / गीता-गीत-सिंहनाद—/मर्मवाणी जीवन-संग्राम की—/ सार्थक समन्वय ज्ञान-कर्म-भक्ति-योग का’?<sup>19</sup>

निराला इस संग्राम में सफलता के लिए ‘शक्ति की मौलिक कल्पना’ का संदेश देते हैं कवि की लम्बी कविता ‘राम की शक्ति पूजा’ प्रतीकात्मक रूप से ब्रिटिश आधिपत्य रूपी रावण और भारतीय स्वतंत्रता-सेनानी रूपी राम के संग्राम को अभिव्यक्ति देती है कवि भारतवासियों को सबल और सक्षम बनने का संदेश देता है—

‘योग्य जन जीता है, /पश्चिम् की उक्ति नहीं— /गीता है, गीता है—/स्मरण करो /बार-बार—/जागो फिर एक बार!.../तुम हो महान्, तुम सदा हो महान् /है नदृवर यह दीन भाव, /कायरता, कामपरता, /ब्रह्म हो तुम, /पद-रज-भर भी है नहीं / पूरा यह विश्व-भार!<sup>20</sup>

‘वर दे, वीणावादिनि वरदे’ )1931= कविता में निराला ज्ञान की देवी माता सरस्वती से अंधविश्वास, रूढ़िवादिता और पराधीनता के अंधकार को दूर कर भारत राष्ट्र की स्वतंत्रता का वरदान मांगते हैं—

‘वर दे, वीणावादिनि वरदे! /प्रिय स्वतन्त्र-रव अमृत-मन्त्र नव/भारत में भर दे!  
नव गति, नव लय, ताल-छन्द नव, नवल कंठ, नव जलद-मंद्र रव  
नव नभ के नव विहद-वृन्द को नव पर, नव स्वर दे’<sup>21</sup>

अंग्रेजों की दासता के कारण हुए भारत के सांस्कृतिक विघटन की त्रासदी का निराला मार्मिक अंकन ‘तुलसीदास’ )1934= कविता में करते हुए भारतीय इतिहास का सर्वेक्षण करते हैं—

‘भारत के नभ का प्रभापूर्य/शीतलच्छाय सांस्कृतिक सूर्य  
अस्तमित आज रे-तमस्तूर्य दिङ्मण्डलं’<sup>22</sup>

तुलसीदास के जागरण के माध्यम से कवि ने असत्य पक्ष पर सत्य पक्ष की जीत दिखलाने का प्रयास किया है 'निराला काव्य में राष्ट्र-बिम्ब और पुनर्जागरण की चेतना'<sup>23</sup> के साथ 'मानवाधिकार का अमृत मंत्र'<sup>24</sup> निहित है 'बादल राग' कविता में कवि ने बादल से विद्रोह करने का आहवान किया है जिससे अंग्रेजी पराधीनता से भारत को आजादी मिल सके— 'झूम-झूम मृदु गरज-गरज घनघोरं राग अमर अम्बर में भर निज रोरं' कवि बादल से अत्याचार, अनाचार के गढ़ को ध्वस्त करने को कहता है निराला ने साम्राज्यवादी ब्रिटिश शासन के दाव-पेचों को अच्छी तरह समझा था वे कहते हैं— 'खुला भेद, विजयी कहाये हुए जो लहू दूसरे का पिये जा रहे हैं'

पुनर्जागरण से प्रभावित होकर छायावादी कवियों ने अपनी कविता में वैज्ञानिक चिन्तन, तार्किकता )Rationalism=, मानवतावाद )Humanitarianism=, मानव-गरिमा की प्रतिष्ठा, सामाजिक-धार्मिक रुढ़िवादिता, अंधविश्वास और कुप्रथाओं का विरोध, समाज सुधार, नारी-मुक्ति, विश्वबन्धुत्व, राष्ट्र प्रेम के विचारों को प्रस्तुत किया सुमित्रा नन्दन पंत 'प्रथम रश्मि' )1919= कविता में पुनर्जागरण के सवेरे का वर्णन करते हुए पंछी से पूछते हैं कि सूर्य की प्रथम किरण के धरती पर आने की सूचना उसे कैसे प्राप्त हुई—

'प्रथम रश्मि का आना, रंगिनी! / तूने कैसे पहचाना...

कूक उठी सहसा तरु-वासिनी! / गा तू स्वागत का गाना...

तूने ही पहले बहु-दर्शिनि! / गया जागृति का गाना''<sup>25</sup>

कवि पंत जी ने 'भारत माता' कविता में भारत माता को गोवों की निवासिनी कहा है, भारत माता का मैला ओचल हरे-भरे खेतों में फैला है—

'भारत माता / ग्राम-वासिनी! / खेतों में फैला है श्यामल

धूल भरा मैला सा अचल / गंगा यमुना में ओसू-जल

मिट्टी की प्रतिमा / उदासिनी!... / युग-युग के तम से, विषण्ण मन,

वह अपने घर में प्रवासिनी! / तीस कोटि संतान नग्न तन

अर्द्ध क्षुधित, शोषित, निरस्त्र जन, / मूढ़, असभ्य, अशिक्षित, निर्धन,

नत मस्तक, तरु-तल / निवासिनी!' <sup>26</sup>

कवि ने बताया है कि किस प्रकार भारत माता ब्रिटिश पराधीनता के कारण अपने ही घर में प्रवासी बनी हुई है इनकी सन्तान भूखी, निर्वस्त्र, निर्धन, शोषित, अशिक्षित हैं कवयित्री महादेवी वर्मा ने भी भारतवासियों को जागृति का संदेश देते हुए लिखा—'जाग, बेसुध, जाग'

इस प्रकार छायावादी काव्य भारतीय पुनर्जागरण को सम्प्रेषित-परिभाषित करता हुआ 'रिनेसा' का मोनुमेन्ट बन जाता है

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## v<sup>9</sup> fuof' kd Hkjr ea i frcfu/kr , oafookfnr ewd ¼ kbybV½ fl uek

\*ujbnz' kpy

उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी के अंतिम वर्षों में 1895-96= कला के एक नये आयाम की तरह 'सिनेमा' विश्व के समक्ष प्रस्तुत हुआ किन्तु साम्राज्यवाद के केन्द्र स्थलों पर उत्पन्न होने वाला सिनेमा, अपनी उत्पत्ति के साथ ही, साम्राज्यवादी और औपनिवेशिक दृष्टिकोण से सम्बद्ध होने के लिए अभिशाप्त था क्योंकि, विशेषकर मूक युग (Silent Period) की सर्वाधिक फिल्में, ब्रिटेन, "ंस, अमेरिका व जर्मनी में बन रही थीं, जो उस काल के अग्रणी साम्राज्यवादी देश थे तथा जिनका उद्देश्य अपने उपनिवेशों में साम्राज्यवादी विचारों के लिये प्रशंसापरक माहौल का निर्माण करना था।

ऐसे में आश्चर्य नहीं कि भारत में दिखाई जाने वाली प्रारम्भिक फिल्मों में जुबली ऑफ क्वीन विक्टोरिया, दिल्ली दरबार ऑफ लॉर्ड कर्जन 1903=, रॉयल विजिट टु कलकत्ता 1906=, एट द कनवोकेशन 1906=, द फाउण्डेशन स्टोन सेरीमनी ऑफ विक्टोरिया मेमोरियल हाल 1906=, जार्ज पंचम और महारानी का बम्बई आगमन, प्रोक्लेमेशन परेड इन रेस कोर्स 1912= थीं, जिन्हें बनाने वालों में भारतीय और यूरोपीय दोनों थे दूसरी तरफ भारतीय फिल्मकारों और फोटोग्राफरों में कुछ ऐसे भी लोग थे जो राष्ट्रवादी राजनैतिक गतिविधियों में रुचि दर्शा रहे थे सुरेन्द्र नाथ बनर्जी द्वारा बुलाई गई एक सभा का फिल्मांकन "ग्रेट बंगाल पार्टीशन मूवमेन्ट मीटिंग एंड प्रोसेशन "शीर्षक से किया गया<sup>2</sup> इसी प्रकार की एक छोटी फिल्म बालगंगाधर तिलक के कलकत्ता आगमन पर बनाई गई<sup>3</sup> ये फिल्में छोटी जरूर थीं किन्तु इनका प्रभाव राजनैतिक दृष्टि से व्यापक था ऐसे समय में जब ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य प्रथम विश्वयुद्ध में संघर्षरत था 1857 के विद्रोह से सम्बन्धित फिल्म "रिलीफ आफ लखनौ"<sup>4</sup> जैसी फिल्में दिखाये जाने से औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन चिन्तित था<sup>5</sup> इस स्थिति से निपटने के लिये ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक सरकार ने दो दिशाओं में कार्य करना निश्चित किया प्रथम, सरकार का मानना था कि भारत के भीतर और विश्व के अन्य भागों में यह संदेश जाना चाहिए कि, ब्रिटिश शक्ति आज भी

\*tflu; j Qsy] ug: Lekjd i |rdky; , oal xgky; ] rhu efrzlgml ] ubzfnYyh

सर्वशक्तिशाली है, और उसके उपनिवेश विश्व युद्ध में उसके साथ खड़े हैं इसके लिये ऐसी फिल्मों को प्रोत्साहित करना निश्चित किया गया जो ब्रिटेन के पक्ष को मजबूत करती थीं ऐसी फिल्में मूलतः दो तरह की होती थीं, पहली युद्ध विषयक फिल्में तथा दूसरी भारत जैसे उपनिवेशों में ब्रिटिश शासन का प्रभाव दर्शाने वाली फिल्में युद्ध विषयक फिल्मों को ब्रिटिश 'वॉर आफिस' की देखरेख में 'फिल्म "म द "ट" श्रेणी के अन्तर्गत रखा जाता था जिसके चयन और प्रदर्शन की देखरेख सिनेमा कमेटी की एक उप समिति 'टॉपिकल कमेटी' करती थीं<sup>6</sup> इसे विशेष तौर पर इस कार्य के लिये 1915 में बनाया गया था चार्ल्स अर्बन जो कि स्वयं भी फिल्म निर्माण में सक्तिय थे, ने इस 'टॉपिकल कमेटी' के अध्यक्ष बनने के बाद दो महत्वपूर्ण युद्ध विषयक फिल्मों का निर्माण किया, यह थीं -ब्रिटेन प्रिपेयर्ड 1915= तथा द बैटल ऑफ सोमे 1916=<sup>7</sup>

वहीं दूसरी तरफ, प्रचारात्मक फिल्मों की श्रृंखला में 'द इंडियन इम्पायर' दूसरी तरह की फिल्म थी जिसे बनाने का खर्च खुद 'इण्डिया आफिस' ने दिया था एच. सी. रेमण्ड द्वारा भारत आकर भारत में बनाई गई, ग्यारह भाग में बंटी इस फिल्म में भारतीय सांस्कृतिक आर्थिक जीवन के विभिन्न अंगों के साथ शिक्षा, सैन्य तैयारी, स्वास्थ्य आदि पर औपनिवेशिक शासन के कारण आये प्रभावों को कैमरे में कैद किया गया था<sup>8</sup>

किन्तु ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन की समस्याएँ केवल प्रचारात्मक अभियान से हल होने वाली नहीं थी, उसे उन तत्वों को कुचलना भी था जो देश में उपनिवेश विरोधी विचारों के प्रचार में संलग्न थे, और सिनेमा को अपने प्रचार का माध्यम बनाना चाहते थे 13 फरवरी 1915 का मि.एच.व्हीलर, सचिव भारत सरकार द्वारा देश के विभिन्न प्रान्तों को परिपत्र जारी कर सिनेमा प्रदर्शनों पर नियन्त्रण हेतु सुझाव मांगा गया था इस परिपत्र में व्हीलर ने तीन फिल्मों का उदाहरण देते हुए, सिनेमा द्वारा तीन अलग अलग तरह की समस्याओं के इति चिन्ता जाहिर की थीं जिसमें "रिलीफ आफ लखनौ" का जित्त राजनैतिक दृष्टि से, फिल्म 'आजिम',जिसमें मुहम्मद साहब पर टिप्पणी के कारण साम्प्रदायिक समस्या के लिहाज से तथा अमेरिकी फिल्म 'द एडवेंचर ऑफ कैथलीन' का जित्त नस्लीय भेदभाव की दृष्टि से किया गया था<sup>9</sup> इस तीसरी श्रेणी में विदेशी फिल्मों में दिखाया जाने वाले पश्चिमी जीवन, पर्दे पर पश्चिमी महिलाओं के पहनावे एवं चरित्र आदि चिंतार्य भी शामिल थीं यह सीधे तौर पर श्वेत नस्ल की गरिमा से जुड़ा इश्रन था आश्चर्य नहीं होना चाहिए कि देश की विभिन्न प्रान्तीय सरकारें सिनेमा पर अभिवेचन के पक्ष में थे सरकार की ओर से 5 सितम्बर 1917 को सर विलियम विन्सेन्ट ने विधान परिषद में 'सिनेमेटोग्राफ बिल प्रस्तुत किया<sup>10</sup>

विधान परिषद के भारतीय सदस्यों ने विधेयक का इस आधार पर विरोध किया कि, विधेयक में अनुचित या 'आपत्तिजनक' शब्द की कोई व्याख्या नहीं है, जिससे इस विधेयक का अपने व्यावहारिक रूप में अनावश्यक रूप से कठोर हो जाने की सम्भावना है, और ऐसी कोई भी फिल्म जिसका विषय अभिवेचन अधिकारी को न भाये उसको प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया जायेगा<sup>11</sup> बहरहाल, जैसा कि ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन पहले ही

चाहता था, और सिनेमेटोग्राफ एक्ट 1918 पारित कर दिया गया 1919 में इसे संशोधित भी किया गया

इस सिनेमेटोग्राफ एक्ट 1918 के अन्तर्गत, 1920 तक चार सेन्सर बोर्ड, बम्बई कलकत्ता, मद्रास और रंगून में अस्तित्व में आ गये ये बोर्ड न केवल अपने अपने क्षेत्राधिकार में भारतीय फिल्मों की जांच व प्रमाणन का कार्य करते थे बल्कि, भारत में बाहर से आने वाली विदेशी फिल्मों की जांच और प्रमाणन का कार्य करते थे<sup>12</sup> इन बोर्डों के पास पहले से ब्रिटिश सेंसर बोर्ड द्वारा किसी फिल्म की जांच के लिये प्रयोग में लाये जाने वाले आधारों का जो उदाहरण था, लगता है कि भारतीय बोर्डों ने उन आधारों को लगभग ज्यों का त्यों अपना लिया था इसलिये भी भारतीय बोर्डों द्वारा किसी फिल्म की जांच के आधारों को समझने के लिये ब्रिटिश सेंसर बोर्ड के जांच के आधारों की पड़ताल ठीक होगी<sup>13</sup>

ब्रिटिश सेंसर बोर्ड के आधार क्षेत्र काफी व्यापक थे जो एक साथ कई लक्ष्यों पर प्रहार करते थे यदि इनका मोटे तौर पर वर्गीकरण किया जाय तो हमें कम से कम छः वर्ग प्राप्त होंगे

1= धार्मिक 2= राजनैतिक 3= नैतिक 4= नस्लीय 5= हिंसा 6= पूंजीवाद विरोध यह वही छः वर्ग थे जिनको भारतीय सेंसर बोर्डों ने सिद्धान्त की तरह अपनाया भारत में मुद्रित साहित्य और नाटक विधा तो प्रतिबंध का दंश काफी समय से झेल रही थीं किन्तु वर्ष 1921 में कोहिनूर फिल्म कम्पनी द्वारा निर्मित और, कांजीभाई राठौर द्वारा निर्देशित 'भक्त विदुर' पहली भारतीय फिल्म थी जिसे प्रतिबन्ध का सामना करना पड़ा<sup>14</sup> इस फिल्म में मुख्य पात्र 'विदुर' को सांकेतिक रूप से महात्मा गांधी की तरह दर्शाया गया था<sup>15</sup> फिल्म को जिला मजिस्ट्रेट करांची<sup>16</sup> मद्रास और सिंध<sup>17</sup> द्वारा प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया गया 1926 में मराठी-हिन्दी निर्देशक भाल जी पन्डारकर द्वारा 'वन्देमातरम आश्रम' शीर्षक से एक फिल्म बनाई गई<sup>18</sup> फिल्म में क्लर्क मानसिकता को बढ़ावा देने वाली पट्टिचमी शिक्षा नीति का विरोध और भारतीय शिक्षा पद्धति का समर्थन किया गया था इसे औपनिवेशिक सरकार के लिये खतरे के तौर पर देखते हुए प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया गया<sup>19</sup> 1926 में ही बिहार के गिरीडीह में 6 अगस्त 1926 को एक खददर प्रदर्शनी लगाई गई इस प्रदर्शनी में बाबू राजेन्द्र प्रसाद का उद्घाटन भाषण रखा गया इस भाषण को राजेन्द्र प्रसाद 'मैजिक लेन्टर्न' की स्लाइड्स पर्दे पर दिखाते हुए बोलना चाहते थे स्थानीय प्रशासन ने 'मैजिक लेन्टर्न' को सिनेमेटोग्राफ एक्ट के अन्तर्गत मानते हुए धारा 144 के अन्तर्गत प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया स्थानीय पुलिस ने प्रदर्शन की जाने वाली चार स्लाइड्स पर आपत्ति की, जिनमें से दो को प्रदर्शन से हटा लेने पर राजेन्द्र प्रसाद के भाषण से रोक हटा ली गई<sup>20</sup>

1926-27 में केन्द्रीय सेंसर बोर्ड का मुद्दा एक बार फिर उछला इसके पीछे कई कारण थे 1920 से 1926 तक ऐसा कई बार हो चुका था कि, एक फिल्म जिसे किसी सेंसर बोर्ड ने प्रमाण पत्र दे दिया हो, उसी फिल्म को दूसरे प्रान्तों ने आपत्तिजनक मानते हुए प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया था भारत के विभिन्न प्रान्तों में इसका प्रदर्शन किया गया सब

कुछ सामान्य था किन्तु बर्मा में प्रदर्शन के दौरान वहां के लोगों ने इस फिल्म पर आपत्ति की इसका कारण था कि, फिल्म में बुद्ध को 'आम मानव' की तरह दिखाया गया था बर्मा में फिल्म को प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया गया था<sup>21</sup> कई मंचों से इस तरह के प्रश्नों और सुझावों को उठता देख भारत सरकार की ओर से होम मेम्बर जे. टेर ने 14 सितम्बर 1927 को विधान परिषद में एक जांच समिति का प्रस्ताव प्रस्तुत किया<sup>22</sup>

6 अक्टूबर 1927 को भारतीय सिनेमा पर 'सिनेमा समिति' का प्रस्ताव पारित कर दिया गया मद्रास उच्च न्यायालय के वकील दीवान बहादुर टी. रंगाचेरियर को इस समिति का अध्यक्ष बनाया गया भारतीय सदस्यों के विरोध को देखते हुए ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य की फिल्मों के प्रोत्साहन के साथ भारतीय फिल्मों के प्रोत्साहन की बात भी जोड़ी गई<sup>23</sup>

समिति ने मई 1928 में अपनी रिपोर्ट पूरी कर ली<sup>24</sup> 1924-1928 के मध्य बम्बई सरकार द्वारा ऐसी 8 फिल्म, बंगाल द्वारा 3 फिल्म, बर्मा द्वारा 9 फिल्म, पंजाब द्वारा 36 फिल्म, संयुक्त ईंत्त द्वारा 29 फिल्म, मध्य प्रान्त व बरार द्वारा 19 फिल्म, बिहार एवं उड़ीसा द्वारा 37 फिल्म, अप्रमाणिक घोषित की गई<sup>25</sup> भारत में फिल्मों पर प्रतिबन्ध की इतनी बड़ी संख्या की तुलना अगर समकालीन ब्रिटेन और आस्ट्रेलिया बोर्ड से करें तब एक अलग दृश्य दिखाई देगा ब्रिटिश सेंसर बोर्ड ने अपने पास 1919 में प्रमाणन के लिये आयी फिल्मों में केवल 28 को अस्वीकृत)Reject= किया गया, 1921 में अस्वीकृत फिल्मों की संख्या केवल 6 थी, तथा 1923 में यह 10 थी<sup>26</sup> वहीं आस्ट्रेलिया सेंसर बोर्ड ने 1925 में 68 तथा 1926 में 87 फिल्मों को अस्वीकृत किया था<sup>27</sup>

वस्तुतः रंगचेरियर समिति की संस्तुतियां भारतीय फिल्म उद्योग के लिए मील का पत्थर से कम नहीं थीं किन्तु आवश्यक तौर पर यह संस्तुतियां ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन के हितों के विपरीत थीं इसीलिए भारत सरकार ने इन संस्तुतियों की पूरी तरह से उपेक्षा कर दी<sup>28</sup> वहां दूसरी तरफ भारतीय फिल्म उद्योग प्रतिबन्धों का सामना कर रहा था 18 जून 1927 को श्रीमान डे महोदय ने विधान परिषद में सरकार से पूछा कि पिछले 12 महीने में क्या किसी फिल्म का प्रदर्शन रोका गया है?<sup>29</sup> भारत सरकार ने श्रीमान डे को बताया कि पिछले 2 वर्ष में भारत में 47 फिल्में प्रतिबन्धित हुई थी जिनमें छः इंग्लैंड की थीं<sup>30</sup>

वास्तव में यदि ब्रिटिश प्रान्तों में सेन्सर बोर्डों के बनने से लेकर 1935 तक यदि भारत में प्रतिबन्धित फिल्मों की सूची तैयार की जाय तो यह काफी लम्बी होगी फिर भी इस काल में प्रतिबन्धित प्रमुख फिल्मों की निम्नलिखित सूची के विश्लेषण से नये दृष्टिकोण विकसित किये जा सकते हैं—<sup>31,32,33,34,35</sup>

फिल्म का नाम	आवेदक	निर्माता	मूल देवू जिसमें फिल्म बनी	स्वीकृति देने वाला बोर्ड/राज्य	परीक्षण/प्रतिबन्ध का दिनांक/वर्ष	प्रतिबन्धित करने वाले बोर्ड/राज्य	टिप्पणी
प्रिन्स फ भारत	-	-	-	बम्बई	1921	भारत सचिव द्वारा पूरे देवू में प्रतिबन्धित	यूरोपीय भावना को आहत पहुँचने की सम्भावना के कारण
शोरफेन्स ऑफ द स्टॉर्म	-	-	-	बम्बई, मद्रास	1923	बर्मा, बंगाल, पंजाब	डी०डब्ल्यू०गिफिथ्स की फिल्म, राजनैतिक निरूपणों के कारण व्यवहारिक रूप से सभी प्रान्तों में प्रतिबन्धित
रजिया बेगम	-	-	भारत	बम्बई	1924	पंजाब, दिल्ली, संयुक्त प्रान्त, बंगाल, बिहार व उड़ीसा	मुसलमानों के अनैतिक, अमद्र, अपमान जनक चित्रण का आरोप
गिल्डी कॉन्ट्रैस	-	-	अमेरिका	-	1926	-	अशिक्षित सिनेमा दर्शकों की दृष्टि में सरकार की प्रतिष्ठा पर चोट
टून ऑफ द ईस्ट	पटेल ब्रदर्स	इविटबल पिक्चर्स कॉर्प	डेनमार्क	-	14.12.1927	बम्बई, पंजाब	यूरोपियन लडकी की भारतीय राजकुमार के प्रति आसक्ति, व विवाह का विषय
न ऑफ जराइल	एलिफस्टन थिएटर दिल्ली	-	-	-	जून 1927 से जून 1928 के मध्य	दिल्ली, संयुक्त प्रान्त)1929=	मुसलमान भावनाओं का आहत करने कारण, संयुक्त प्रान्त अधिसूचना संख्या 105/III-373 दिनांक 22 जनवरी 1929
पेंटिब्रट	-	श्री रणजीत फिल्म कम्पनी बम्बई	भारत	बम्बई	1930	बिहार व उड़ीसा	अधिसूचना सं. 2184 P.R.-16 अगस्त 1930
इ पटेल मोसेट्टन	-	पॉइनियर फिल्म कम्पनी लि०, लाहौर	भारत	-	1930	मद्रास	राजनैतिक कारणों से
सन्त तुलसी दास	-	दिग्गीर सिनेटोन	भारत	-	1934	-	सामाजिक अद्वान्ति की सम्भावना
मिल या मंजदूर	-	प्रभात फिल्म कम्पनी	भारत	-	1934	-	मिल मालिक मजदूर संबन्ध बिगाडने का आरोप

उक्त प्रतिबन्धित फिल्मों की प्रकृति के विश्लेषण से ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन द्वारा फिल्मों के प्रतिबन्ध हेतु मोटे तौर पर निम्नलिखित आधारों को लक्षित किया जा सकता है

1- राजनैतिक आधार 2-नैतिकता के प्रश्न 3-साम्प्रदायिकता 4-सामाजिक व्यवस्था के प्रश्न 5- श्रम एवं पूंजी सम्बन्ध

अगर यदि हम 1920 से 1930 के मध्य साम्प्रदायिक फिल्मों पर प्रतिबन्ध का एक "पैटर्न" तलाशें तो पायेंगे कि विशेषकर 1925 के बाद जब मुस्लिम लीग और कांग्रेस की राहें बिल्कुल जुदा होने लगीं, तब से 'मुसलमान भावनाओं को आहत करने के आरोप' में प्रतिबन्धित होने वाली फिल्मों की संख्या में बढोत्तरी देखी जा सकती है यहीं नहीं, देश में दलित प्रश्न पर 'कम्युनल अवार्ड' से लेकर पूना पैक्ट तक जो राजनैतिक उथल पुथल हुई थी उस सम्बन्ध में 1934 में आई फिल्म सन्त तुलसीदास से 'निम्न वर्गीय लोगों को

हिन्दू मन्दिरों में प्रवेश के प्रयास के दृश्य' पूरी तरह से हटवा देने के पीछे राजनैतिक परिप्रेक्ष्य ढूँढ़े जा सकते हैं

फिल्मों पर प्रतिबन्ध के अन्य आधार 'श्रम और पूंजी सम्बन्ध' के पीछे भी राजनैतिक कारण ही थे जब पूंजीवाद और साम्राज्य वाद परस्पर सहायक और नैसर्गिक मित्र की तरह विकास कर रहे हों, ऐसे में किसी एक पर भी चोट दोनों आधारों पर चोट करती थीं 1934 में भारतीय फिल्म कम्पनी अजन्ता सिनेटोन ने प्रसिद्ध उपन्यासकार प्रेमचन्द्र के उपन्यासों से प्रभावित होकर एक फिल्म, 'द मिल' या मजदूर बनाई इस फिल्म को मिल की जीवन शैली व प्रबन्धन का उपहास उड़ाने, तथा जिसके प्रभाव से कामगार और नियोक्ता के सम्बन्धों पर बुरा प्रभाव पड़ने की सम्भावना के चलते प्रतिबन्धित कर दिया गया<sup>36</sup> ऐसे में यह निष्कर्ष निकाला जा सकता है कि ब्रिटिश औपनिवेशिक प्रशासन द्वारा फिल्मों पर प्रतिबन्ध के लिये चाहें जितने आधार प्रस्तुत किये जा रहे हों किन्तु वास्तव में प्रतिबन्ध के पीछे मूल मंशा 'राजनैतिक' ही थीं

## 1 nkl

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मेवात में दमन चत् 1857 के विद्रोह में हरियाणा के मेवातियों ने बढ़-चढ़ कर भाग लिया और तंति के आरम्भ होते ही एक ही झटके में पूरा मेवात अंग्रेजों के शासन से मुक्त हो गया अंग्रेजों के सेनाधिकारी कई बार भाग खड़े हुए परन्तु मेवात में तंति की ज्वाला को मिटाने के लिए इन्होंने बड़ी ही तूरता का परिचय दिया मेवात में असली दमनचत् तो 20 सितम्बर के बाद अंग्रेजों ने रचा परन्तु पहले हम विद्रोह के आरम्भ को लेते हैं विद्रोह को दबाने के लिए विलियम फोर्ड, कलैक्टर मेजिस्ट्रेट आया परन्तु लोगों ने उस के साथ कड़ी लड़ाई लड़ी और उसके कुछ घोड़े भी छीन लिये और उसे भाग जाने पर मजबूर कर दिया विद्रोहियों ने न केवल अंग्रेजों को बल्कि नूंह के खानजादो, रावत के जाट तथा हथीन के राजपूतों को भी नहीं बखसा जो कि अंग्रेजों का साथ दे रहे थे क्योंकि विद्रोही जानते थे कि जब तक इन अंग्रेज परस्तों को सबक नहीं सिखाया जाता, तब तक अंग्रेजों को हराना थोड़ा मुश्किल है, इस प्रकार अंग्रेज परस्तों को भी काफी नुकसान भी उठाना पड़ा

जून के मध्य मेजर ईडन यहा से गुजर रहा था तो उसने सोचा कि दिल्ली जाने से पहले क्यों ना मेवातियों को सबक सिखाया जायें उसे सोहना व तावडू के रास्ते में कठोर संघर्ष करना पड़ा उसने गोले व तोपों से कई गोवों को तबाह कर दिया परन्तु वह सफल नहीं हुआ क्योंकि मेवाती उसके पीछे हाथ धोकर पड़ गये परन्तु उस ने तावडू व सोहना को ध्वस्त कर दिया और उस ने इसके बाद पलवल व होडल को निशाना बनाया परन्तु वह अपने कार्य में सफल नहीं हो सका

20 सितम्बर को दिल्ली पर अंग्रेजों का अधिकार हो जाने के बाद भी मेवात की स्थिति अजीब थी मेवात अभी भी शान्त नहीं था वहा पर तंति के दिवाने अपने-अपने मोर्चे पर डट कर अंग्रेजों का सफाया कर रहे थे और इन से अंग्रेज परस्तों को नुकसान उठाना पड़ रहा था परन्तु अब अंग्रेजों का त्थेध बढ़ गया और वे पहले से अधिक तूर व निर्दयी हो गए क्योंकि उन्हें

\*fj | pZLdkllj &amp;fgLVh | , e-Mh ; fuofl /h jkgrd | %gfj ; k.kk½

यह उम्मीद नहीं थी कि मेवाती जनता उन्हें इस प्रकार की टक्कर देगी दिल्ली पर अधिकार होने के साथ ही शुरु हुआ, मेवातियों का दमन करने का अंग्रेजों का निर्दयी अभियान इसके बाद अंग्रेजों ने बर्बरता, बेरहमी, निर्दयता, अमानवीयता और प्रतिरोध का प्रदर्शन किया

मेवात में अंग्रेजों के दमनचक्र और तूरता का परिचय इस बात से मिलता है कि हरियाणा में मेवात क्षेत्र सबसे अधिक नुकसान वाला क्षेत्र रहा क्योंकि पूरे हरियाणा में एक अनुमान के अनुसार 3,467 व्यक्ति मारे गये और 115 गोव तबाह हो गये<sup>1</sup> मेवात क्षेत्र में देखे तो सबसे अधिक हरियाणा के इसी क्षेत्र में लगभग 1,019 लोगों की मृत्यु हुई और 42 गोवों को अंग्रेजों ने तबाह कर दिया<sup>2</sup>

एक अनुमान के अनुसार मेवात में अंग्रेजों के दमनचक्र के दौरान 20 सितम्बर 1857 से सितम्बर 1858 तक लगभग 1,522 मेवाती मारे गये थे इन की संख्या का विवरण तालिका रूप में इस प्रकार दिखाया जा सकता है

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तिथि	स्थल व संघर्ष का विवरण	मेवाती शहीदों की संख्या
अक्टूबर 1857	तावडू )मेवात= में 'शाक्स' से संघर्ष	30
नवम्बर 1857	नूँह )मेवात= क्षेत्र में चौधरियों का संघर्ष	52
8 नवम्बर 1857	घासेड़ा )मेवात= में 'रांगटन' से संघर्ष	500
19 नवम्बर 1857	रूपड़ाका )मेवात= में 'डत्रमण्ड' से संघर्ष	400
30 नवम्बर 1857	नूँह )मेवात= में 'रामसे' से संघर्ष	70
दिसम्बर 1857 से	मेवाती गोवों में अंग्रेजों द्वारा	470
सितम्बर 1858	"फांसियाडू दी गई	

इस तालिका से मेवातियों के पिर किए गये अत्याचारों का अनुमान लगा सकते हैं कि उनको कितने अत्याचारों का सामना करना पड़ा मेवात का कोई ऐसा घर नहीं बचा जिसके घर से किसी ने शहादत न दी और सकैड़ों गोवों को तबाह कर दिया गया

मेवातियों पर अंग्रेजों का दमनचक्र 20 सितम्बर से 2 दिसम्बर तक चलता रहा मेवातियों का दमन करने के लिए शावर्स, क्लिफोर्ड, रांगटन, डत्रमण्ड, रामसे अंग्रेज अधिकारी अभियान पर आए और बड़ी ही बेहरमी से इन्होंने मेवातियों पर जुल्म ढाये व उन की सम्पत्ति को जब्त कर लिया मेवात के लोगों को अंग्रेज अपना सबसे बड़ा दुश्मन समझते थे और इनका दमन करने के लिए शावर्स यहाँ भेजा गया वह सोहना व तवाडू में तीन दिन रुका और उसने इस क्षेत्र को आग के हवाले कर दिया और यहाँ के गोवों को जला डाला और यहाँ की जनता पर भारी कत्ले आम किया

उसने 70 से अधिक गोवों को निशाना बनाया तथा लूटमार की वह जिस गोव को घेरता, उसकी तलाशी लेता, जिस व्यक्ति पर शक होता या फिर हथियार मिल जाता या फिर जहाँ विशेष वर्दी मिल जाती उन्हें गोव में फाँसी दे देता था<sup>3</sup>

एक तरफ शावर्स तो दूसरी तरफ क्लिफोर्ड भी दमनचक्र पर उतरा हुआ था उसने होडल, पलवल, हथीन में कार्यवाही की उसने यहाँ पर तूरता का परिचय दिया वह बदले की भावना से झुलस रहा था क्योंकि उसे पता चला था कि उस की बहन का तंतिकारियों ने कत्ल कर दिया है इसलिए वह पागल सा हो गया था उसने सोहना तक उसके रास्ते में आने वाले गोवों को जला कर तबाह कर दिया व किसानों की फसलें भी जला दीं रायसीना क्षेत्र में तो उसने बहुत ही जुल्म ढाये

अंग्रेज होम्स मेवात के बारे में टिप्पणी करता है, "जिन्होंने अंग्रेजों का कुछ न बिगाड़ा था व गोद में दूध पीते बच्चे लिए असहाय औरतों से अंग्रेजों ने उसी तरह बदला लिया जैसे धूर्त से धूर्त व्यक्तियों से"<sup>4</sup> इस प्रकार क्लिफोर्ड ने मेवात की जनता पर बहुत अत्याचार किये और तूरता का नंगा नाच रचा परन्तु वह अपने इस निर्दयी अभियान को ज्यादा समय तक न चला सका और तंतिकारियों के हाथों मारा गया

इस प्रकार अंग्रेज अफसरों में रागटन जो 8 नवम्बर को यहाँ आया था उसने मेवात में आग व बारूद का खेल खेला घासेड़ा में 150 मेव बहादुरी से लड़ते हुए शहीद हो गये इसके बाद सेना ने गोव में प्रवेश किया और जहाँ उन्हें कुछ बूढ़े व्यक्ति व महाजन मिले जिन्होंने अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध विद्रोह किया था उन का पीछा किया और बुरी तरह मार-काट मचाई

यहाँ 500 से अधिक तंतिकारी मारे गए तथा रांगटन अपने अभियान में सफल रहा<sup>5</sup> नूँह में अंग्रेजी सेना ने खैरा खानजादे की शिकायत पर नूँह अडवर तथा शाहपुर नगली के 52 मेव चौधरियों को बरगद के पेड़ पर लटकाकर "फाडूसी दे दीं<sup>6</sup> जब 52 आदमियों को फाँसी लग चुकी थी तो चौधरी मेदा मेवली बीच में आ गये तथा उन्होंने अंग्रेजों से अपने सम्बन्धों का फायदा उठाते हुये इस सिलसिले को बन्द करवाया फाँसी की सजा के अतिरिक्त साढ़े तीन हजार रूपया जुर्माना भी किया गया<sup>7</sup>

नवम्बर के तीसरे सप्ताह में कैप्टन डत्रमण्ड रूपड़ाका में एक बड़ी सेना लेकर आया और उसने सोहना व रूपड़ाका के रास्ते में पड़ने वाले गोवों को बर्बाद कर दिया व फसलें नष्ट कर दीं इस प्रकार डत्रमण्ड के तूर चक्र का शिकार पंचनका, गेहपुर, भालपुरी, चिल्ली, कोट इत्यादि गोव हुए, इन गोवों की न केवल फसलों को बल्कि घरों को भी आग लगा दी 3500 मेव वीरों ने बड़ी बहादुरी के साथ अंग्रेजी सेना का सामना किया, एक बार तो अंग्रेज घबरा से गए थे, परन्तु प्रशिक्षित सेना, गोला बारूद के सामने मेव कब तक डटते रहते आखिरकार वे हार गये इस लड़ाई में 350-400 मेव बहादुरी से लड़ते हुए शहीद हो गये

19 नवम्बर को रूपड़ाका में इन देशभक्तों की कुर्बानी को याद करने के लिए शहीदी दिवस मनाया जाता है<sup>8</sup> इस प्रकार इतना कुछ होने के बाद भी मेवाती शान्त नहीं थे वे फिर से सदरुद्दीन के नेतृत्व में उठ खड़े हुये 29 नवम्बर को रामसे ने इनका मुकाबला किया मेवातियों ने माहून गोव में प्रतिरोध किया परन्तु तंतिकारियों को हार का सामना करना पड़ा सदरुद्दीन का बेटा व 28 अन्य व्यक्ति मारे गये गुडगोव के

ज्वाइंट असिस्टेंट कमिश्नर लिखते हैं कि इस लड़ाई में मेवातियों ने बहादुरी का परिचय दिया और 70 लोगों को अपनी जान से हाथ धोना पड़ा

मेवों के गोव शाहपुर, बाली खेड़ा, खैरला, चितौरा, नाहरीकर, गुजरनगला, बहारपुर, खेड़ी इत्यादि को जलाकर इनका नामोनिशान मिटाते हुए, अंग्रेजी सेना ने वापस मुड़ना शुरू किया वापिस जाते हुए पिनगंवा के समीप के गोवों जिन्होंने विद्रोही नेता सदरुद्दीन का साथ दिया था और ब्रिटिश सरकार को भूमि कर देने से इन्कार किया था, उनका भी यही हाल किया गया<sup>9</sup>

कई गोवों के चौधरियों व लम्बरदारों को जमीन सम्पत्ति को 1857-1858 के 25वें एक्ट के तहत जब्त कर लिया था ऐसा उनके साथ तंति करने व अंग्रेजों की सहायता न करने के कारण किया गया झाड़सा, खेरी, जलालपुर, देवला, शिकरावाह, घाघस, खेड़ी (uwag ijxus esa) नामक गोवों की सारी जमीन सरकार ने छीन लीं<sup>10</sup> इसके अतिरिक्त 235 व्यक्तियों को फासी पर लटका दिया गया और कईयों को विद्रोह में भाग लेने के कारण लम्बे समय की कैद मिली विद्रोही गोवों और व्यक्तियों पर काफी जुर्म किये गये<sup>11</sup>

दिसम्बर 1857 से लेकर सितम्बर 1858 के बीच 470 मेवातियों को उनके अपने गोवों में फासी दी गयीं मेवात में शायद ही कोई ऐसा घर था, जिसका कोई सदस्य शहीद न हुआ हो या जमीन जब्त न हुई हो या फिर कम से कम जायदाद का पेचवा हिस्सा बतौर जुर्माना न भरना पड़ा हो<sup>12</sup>

रायसिना, सापकी, नंगली, दोहा, मेवान पट्टी, नूंह, डुण्डाहेडी गोवों की जमीन अंग्रेजों के समर्थकों व मुखबिरों में बंटवा दीं मेवात की शक्ति को कमजोर करने के लिए इस क्षेत्र को गुडगोव, मथुरा, भरतपुर तथा अलवर के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में बांट दिया दिल्ली के साथ लगते कई गोवों को उजाड़कर उन्हें सरकार ने अधिकार में ले लिया जहा पर आर.के. पुरम, वायसराय हाउस)वर्तमान संसद भवन= सार्थि, एक्सटेंशन तथा कर्नाट प्लेस आदि बना दिए गए मेवातियों को आगे सेना में शामिल होने पर प्रतिबंध लगा दिया<sup>13</sup>

इस प्रकार हम कह सकते हैं कि अंग्रेजों ने विद्रोह का दमन करने के लिए किस प्रकार की तूरता का परिचय दिया लोक नायक ने मेवात में अंग्रेजों के दमनचत्त का वर्णन इन शब्दों में किया है-

*मोल चुकायो भारी, जा दिन शेर हुआ अंग्रेज,  
"फांसी चढ़े हजारों, इनसु जेल हुई लबरेजं  
वीर शहीदों की धरती ने पर ना मानी हार,  
सत्तावन हमने सीना पे लड़ीं  
जोधा उठगा, तोली अंग्रेजी तलवारं"*

fu"d"kl

इस प्रकार उपरोक्त वर्णन से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि अंग्रेजों की सेना ने मेवात में विद्रोह का दमन बड़ी ही नृशंतापूर्वक किया गया मेवातियों को अपने देश की स्वाधीनता के बदले भारी जुल्मों को सहना पड़ा अगर मेवात की बात करे तो हरियाणा का सब से अधिक तबाही वाला क्षेत्रा यही रहा

संक्षेप में हम कह सकते हैं कि मेवात के बहादुर मेवातियों के संघर्ष व शहादत को कभी भी भुलाया नहीं जा सकता, इनकी कुर्बानियों के हमेशा ही इतिहास के पन्नों में स्वर्ण अक्षरों पर लिखा जायेगा

l nhl

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\*MKW epkj d dġ S kh

उन्नीसवी सदी के प्रारम्भिक काल में एशियायी देशों में सामाजिक गतिहीनता के दृश्य दिखाई देने लगे थे। भारत में पुनर्जागरण का संबंध औपनिवेशिक संघर्ष की कथा हैं<sup>2</sup> जिन प्रमुख नेताओं तथा महान विभूतियों को एशियायी कुम्भकरण के इस भयंकर जागरण का श्रेय है उनमें सुनयात सेन, तिलक, गान्धी और कमाल पाशा का स्थान विशेषतः उच्च तथा अद्भुत हैं<sup>3</sup> ब्रिटेन की प्रचण्ड राजनीतिक शक्ति तथा सांस्कृतिक साम्राज्यवाद के विरुद्ध प्रतिलिया के रूप में बंगाल में ब्रम्हसमाज, महाराष्ट्र में प्रार्थना समाज, उत्तर भारत में आर्यसमाज, रामकृष्ण आन्दोलन आदि का उदय हुआ<sup>4</sup> महाराष्ट्र में जनचेतना प्रतिया के उद्भव का चित्र कुछ भिन्न था। सन 1818 में पश्चिमी दक्खन पर ब्रिटिश साम्राज्यवाद के राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व से ही महाराष्ट्र में सामाजिक जागृति की लहर चल पड़ी<sup>5</sup> यद्यपि आधुनिक महाराष्ट्र में देदाभक्ति का बीज चिपलूणकर ने ही बो दिया था, किन्तु उस प्रदेश में शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रवाद के संस्थापक वास्तव में तिलक ही थे<sup>6</sup> लोकमान्य बालगंगाधर तिलक का कार्यक्षेत्र महाराष्ट्र था। उन्होंने महाराष्ट्र की जनता में चेतना जगाकर लगभग चालीस वर्ष तक (1880-1920= प्राकृतिक अधिकारों, राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता और न्याय का सन्देश घर-घर पहुँचाया)

fryd ds l ekt&l qkkj | Ecl/kh fl ) kar %& हिन्दुओं के समाज सुधार आन्दोलन सरकार द्वारा सामाजिक कानून बनाने के विरुद्ध नहीं थे, यही नहीं; बल्कि उन्होंने इस कार्य में सरकार की सहायता भी की किन्तु समाज-सुधार एवं जागरण के सम्बन्ध में तिलक का दृष्टिकोण एकदम भिन्न था<sup>8</sup> उनके विचार में विदेशी शासन पर आत्मण कर राजनीतिक सत्ता के हस्तगत करने पर शक्ति केंद्रित करना और उसे सामाजिक सुधार के लिए

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प्रयोग करना सभी अन्य सामाजिक सुधारों से बुद्धिमत्तापूर्ण था। तिलक ने 'केसरी' में अनेक लेख लिखकर अपने समाज-सुधार सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्तों का प्रतिपादन किया। उनका कहना था कि, राजनीतिक प्रगति तात्कालिक आवश्यकता की चीज है; सामाजिक प्रश्नों पर धीरे-धीरे विचार किया जा सकता है, और सामाजिक सुधार षनैः षनैः लाये जा सकते हैं<sup>10</sup> वे हिन्दू समाज के इतिहास और विकास की पूर्ण अवहेलना करके जल्दी में बनाये गये सामाजिक कानूनों के अन्धकार में कूदने के विरुद्ध थे<sup>11</sup> सन् 1898-99 में तिलक ने लंका और ब्रम्हा की यात्रा की। उन्होंने देखा कि उन देशों में भारत से भी कहीं अधिक सामाजिक स्वतंत्रता है। तिलक चाहते थे कि उपदेश और उदाहरण के द्वारा राष्ट्र की चेतना को सामाजिक परिवर्तन अंगीकार करने के लिए तैयार किया जाय<sup>12</sup> संघर्ष में जनचेतना विकसित होती है, पुरानी मान्यताएं तभी टूटती है और तभी लोग इन संस्कारों को अपने आप त्याग देते हैं<sup>13</sup>

अतः स्पष्ट है कि समाज-सुधार के सम्बन्ध में तिलक का दृष्टिकोण उनके व्यापक सांस्कृतिक तथा राजनीतिक दर्शन पर आधारित था। 'केसरी' में उन्होंने में संपादकीय में लिखा था, "सामाजिक सुधार के बिना, राजनीतिक सुधार असंभव हैं"<sup>14</sup>

1- L=h&efDr fo" k; d fopkj o dk; L % महाराष्ट्र में सामाजिक सुधार के प्रणेता महादेव गोविन्द रानडे ने सन् 1867 में प्रार्थना समाज की स्थापना द्वारा स्त्री-मुक्ति आन्दोलन का प्रारम्भ किया। अन्तर्जातीय खान-पान और विवाह, विधवा-पुनर्विवाह, स्त्रियों और पिछड़े वर्गों की स्थिती में सुधार आदि सामाजिक सुधार उनके प्रमुख उद्देश्य थे। तिलक ने स्त्री-अधिकारों का खुलकर स्वागत किया। बालविवाह के प्रश्न को लेकर जब विवाद उठा तब उन्होंने उसमें सहभागी होकर अपना धर्म निभाया।

%v% 1891 dk Lohdfr vk; qvf/kfu; e % 19 वीं शताब्दी में बालविवाह की कुरीति हिन्दुओं में प्रचलित थी। 19 जनवरी 1891 को जब विवाह सम्मत आयु बिल अर्थात् 'एज कसेंट बिल' 'इम्पीरियल लेजिस्लेटिव' में आया तब इस विवाद ने और भी तीव्र रूप धारण कर लिया। इस बिल की मंशा थी कि लड़कियों के विवाह की आयु दस वर्ष से बढ़ाकर बारह वर्ष कर दी जाए<sup>15</sup> भारत में हिन्दू कन्याओं के विवाह के आयु की निम्नतम सीमा निश्चित करके बाल विवाह रोकने के लिए कानून बनाने की प्रार्थना का बम्बई निवासी पारसी बैरामजी मालाबरी जो कि लन्दन में जा बसा था, ने की थी। वह 'इंडियन स्पेक्टेटर' का सम्पादक था। वह भारत में ऐसे सुधारों का समर्थक था जो अंग्रेजों की नकल करते थे<sup>16</sup>

'मराठा' के 15 फरवरी, 1891 के सम्पादकीय में तिलक ने सरकार द्वारा हिन्दुओं के धार्मिक विषयों में हस्तक्षेप करने की निन्दा की<sup>17</sup> 19 मार्च 1891 को 'न्यूनतम अवस्था बिल' कौंसिल द्वारा पारित कर दिया गया जिसके अनुसार न्यूनतम अवस्था आयु दस से बढ़ाकर 12 कर दी गयी। तिलक ने बिल का विरोध ही नहीं किया किन्तु कन्याओं की

विवाह योग्य आयु 16 वर्ष हो, इस पर जोर दिया<sup>18</sup> तिलक ने जिन सुधारों के बारे में प्रस्ताव रखे उन्हें अपने निजी जीवन में भी अपनाया उन्होंने अपनी पुत्रियों को शिक्षित किया और उनके विवाह 16 बरस की आयु के बाद किये<sup>19</sup>

1/2 fo/kok & fookg %& तिलक ने एक पत्र में लिखा था, "मेरी राय में विधवा-विवाह वर्जित होने की कृपया सार्वजनिक नहीं है" तिलक ने स्वयं कृतिशीलता का परिचय दिया एस.एन.डी.टी. के युनिवर्सिटी के संस्थापक प्रोफेसर डी.वी.कर्वे ने 35 वर्ष की आयु में अपनी प्रथम पत्नी की मृत्यु के पश्चात 3 मार्च 1893 को 24 वर्ष की एक विधवा से जब विवाह किया तब तिलक ने 'केसरी' द्वारा इस बात की पुष्टि की कि यह विवाह वैदिक रीतियों से सम्पन्न हुआ है और कर्वे के जैसा कहने वैसा करने की निश्चय की बड़ी प्रशंसा की<sup>20</sup>

1/dh' kjk nk l nu fookn %& तिलक स्त्री-शिक्षा के पुरस्कर्ता थे तिलक का विचार था कि लड़कियों को शिक्षा दी जानी चाहिए, किन्तु वे उन्हें पाश्चात्य सभ्यता के रंग में रंगने के विरुद्ध थे<sup>21</sup> सन 1889 में घटी एक घटना से तिलक और सामाजिक सुधारकों के बीच की खाई चौड़ी कर दी यह कांड पंडिता रमाबाई कांड के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं<sup>22</sup> रमाबाई उच्चकोटी की संस्कृति की विदुशी के रूप में बम्बई आयी, वहां शीघ्र ही जन प्रसिद्ध हो गयीं पर तुरन्त ही पश्चात वह ईसाई मिशनरियों के प्रभाव में आ गयीं और वह अमेरिका गयीं और फिर ईसाई धर्म स्वीकार कर उन्होंने धन संग्रह कर भारतीय बालिकाओं के लिए और विद्वेषकर विधवाओं के लिए पूना में 'शारदा सदन' नाम से स्कूल खोला

प्रारंभ में तिलक ने 'शारदा सदन' से सहानुभूति रखी किन्तु शीघ्र ही उन्हें इस बात का प्रमाण मिल गया कि पंडिता रमाबाई 'शारदा सदन' को धर्म परिवर्तन करने वाली संस्था के रूप में चला रही है तिलक ने 'केसरी' के माध्यम के रमाबाई के कृत्यों को बेनकाब कर दिया<sup>23</sup> पांच साल बाद रमाबाई 'शारदा सदन' को पूना से हटाकर केडगांव ले गई और वहां उसे ईसाई संस्था 'मुक्ति सदन' ही का एक अंग बना दिया गया इस प्रकार तिलक की जीत हुई<sup>24</sup>

2- x.k'k , oaf'kokth mRl o }kjk tu&tkxj.k dk iz Ru %& भारतीय देवमाला )मिथक= में गणपति अथवा गणेश सबसे अधिक जनप्रिय देवता हैं धारणा यह है कि गणेश बुद्धि का देवता है और 'विघ्न बाधाएं' दूर करता है<sup>25</sup> इसलिए कोई भी कार्य करते समय उसकी आराधना की जाती है महाराष्ट्र में गणपति उत्सव मनाने का पुराना रिवाज था तिलक ने अपने मित्रों और सहयोगियों की एक औपचारिक सभा में इस उत्सव को सार्वजनिक रूप देने का सुझाव रखा और यह निश्चित किया गया कि बड़े पैमाने पर लोगों को बौद्धिक, सांस्कृतिक, कलात्मक और सामाजिक तथा धर्म सम्बन्धी ज्ञान एवं

मनोरंजन उपलब्ध करने के लिए इन दस दिनों भाषणों, किर्तनों, गायन मंडलियों, नाटकों आदि का आयोजन किया जाय वास्तविक आधुनिक षड्वावली में यह सब प्रसार भाषणों या बालक वृद्ध, स्त्री-पुरुषों के लिए प्रौढ़ शिक्षा की ही तरह था<sup>26</sup> इसमें ऊंच नीच का कोई भेद-भाव नहीं था ब्राम्हणों, मराठों, महारों सभी ने इसे अपना लिया और वे एक-दूसरे से खुलकर मिलने-जुलने लगे<sup>27</sup> पारसी, यहूदी, मुसलमान जैसी अन्य जातियों के लोग भी गणेश उत्सव में सहयोग करते दिखाई पड़ने लगे यहां तक कि गणेश उत्सव प्रारम्भ होने के दो या तीन वर्षों बाद ही सन 1896 में राष्ट्रीय उत्सव बन गया<sup>28</sup>

सन 1895 में तिलक ने शिवाजी उत्सव का आयोजन किया तिलक शिवाजी को गीता के अर्थ में एक 'विभूति' मानते थे शिवाजी के अफजलखान वध के संदर्भ में उन्होंने तर्क प्रस्तुत किया कि धर्मरक्षा हेतु ही शिवाजी ने अफजलखान का वध किया था<sup>29</sup> तिलक ने एक धर्मनिरपेक्ष मराठा नायक शिवाजी को महाराष्ट्र के, महानायक के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया<sup>30</sup> इस उत्सव को मनाने का कारण यह था कि जिस प्रकार शिवाजी ने मुगल साम्राज्य का विरोध कर स्वतन्त्र राज्य की स्थापना की उसी प्रकार सब लोग मिलकर अंग्रेजी शासन से भारत को मुक्त कराने के लिए प्रयत्नशील हों<sup>31</sup> शिवाजी के कृत्य की उपमा उस चमकते सूर्य से की जो बादलों से ढका था और हवाओं के चलने से साफ हो गया<sup>32</sup> सन् 1906 में तिलक के कलकत्ता पहुंचने के पश्चात जो उत्सव पाश्चात्य ढंग से मनाया जाता था अब हिन्दू पद्धति से मनाने की प्रतिया आरम्भ हुई

3- vLi" ; rk fojk/kh fopkj , oadk; l%& तिलक अस्पृश्यता की प्रथा के विरुद्ध थे<sup>33</sup> प्रथम दलित वर्ग सम्मेलन 24 और 25 मार्च 1918 को बम्बई में तिलक ने घोषणा की कि अस्पृश्यता का अन्त होना चाहिए " वे खुले तौर पर अस्पृश्यों के साथ उठते-बैठते थे<sup>34</sup> 'केसरी' में उन्होंने अपने लेखों द्वारा स्पष्ट कर दिया कि, 'किसी भी हिन्दू को जो वैदिक रीतियां अपनाना चाहता है उनसे वर्जित नहीं किया जा सकता अब जब कि ब्राम्हणों, क्षत्रियों और वैश्यों का ही स्वयं वेदों पर एकाधिकार नहीं रह गया है और मुसलमान तथा ईसाई भी मुक्त रूप के उनका अध्ययन कर सकते हैं तब षूद्रों और अन्त्यज कहे जाने वाले लोगों को उनके अध्ययन कैसे वर्जित किया जा सकता है ? उन्होंने इस पर सनातनी ब्राम्हणों के किसी भी विरोध को बचपना और अवरोधक कहकर उपेक्षा की<sup>35</sup>

4- fglneeflye l cdkkseal qkkj dk iz Ru %& तिलक कभी भी मुस्लिमों के प्रति अविवेकपूर्ण या कठोर नहीं हुए वे सदैव आपसी मतभेद दूर करने और समझौता करने को तत्पर रहते थे शौकत अली तथा हसरत मुहानी तिलक को अपना राजनीतिक गुरु मानते थे यदि तिलक मुस्लिम-विरोधी होते तो वे बड़े मुसलमान नेताओं के विश्वासपात्र

कभी नहीं बन सकते थे तिलक ने सन 1916 में स्वराज्य की मांग के लिए हिन्दू और मुसलमानों को एक कर दिया<sup>36</sup> श्री जिन्ना ने सन 1927 में तिलक की मृत्यु के पदुचात कहा था, "मांडले से तिलक लौटने पर मैं उनके निकट सम्पर्क में आया वे अपने प्रारम्भिक दिनों में साम्प्रदायवादिता के लिए विख्यात थे और महाराष्ट्र के समर्थक थे सन 1917 से तिलक का दल कांग्रेस में वापिस आ गया और उसने देश की सामयिक सेवा की तथा हिन्दू-मुस्लिम एकता को स्थापित करने में बहुत ही महत्वपूर्ण भाग लिया<sup>37</sup>

5- I kfgR; , oal ekpkj i =ka }kjk tu&tkxj.k %&तिलक एक बहुत बड़े विद्वान और पत्रकार थे संस्कृत, मराठी और अंग्रेजी भाषा का उन्हें अत्याधिक ज्ञान था सन 1880 में उन्होंने "न्यू इंगलिश स्कूल" की स्थापना की और उसी समय से उनका सार्वजनिक कार्य प्रारम्भ हुआ इसी वर्ष उन्होंने मराठी भाषा में 'केसरी' नामक और अंग्रेजी भाषा में 'मराठा' नामक साप्ताहिक पत्रिका का प्रकाशन आरम्भ किया इन पत्रों द्वारा महाराष्ट्र में उन्होंने राष्ट्रियता का प्रसार किया उन्होंने इन पत्रों के माध्यम से सरकार की नीति की कटु आलोचना की तिलक अपने व्यवसाय को पत्रकार और लेखक का व्यवसाय कहा करते थे वह सन 1881 से 1920 तक बराबर 'केसरी' और 'मराठा' से सम्बन्धित रहे शिशिर कुमार और मोतीलाल के संपादकत्व में पहिले बंगाली और फिर अंग्रेजी में अमृत बाज़ार पत्रिका का जो महत्व बंगाल में था, वही 'केसरी' का महाराष्ट्र में था<sup>38</sup> उन्होंने अंग्रेजी भाषा में 'द ओरायन' एवं 'आर्कटिक होम ऑफ द वेदाज' की रचना की इन ग्रंथों द्वारा उन्होंने प्राचीन आर्य एवं उनके इतिहास पर मौलिक विचार प्रकट किये है<sup>39</sup>

वैदिक तथा दार्शनिक शोध के क्षेत्र में चिरस्थायी रचनाओं के द्वारा उन्होंने भारत के साहित्यिक तथा सांस्कृतिक इतिहास में यश और किर्ती प्राप्त कर ली है वे उत्कट समाज सुधारक थे जन-जागरण की विलक्षणीय क्षमता के गुणी थे उनका भारत के राजनीतिक इतिहास में ही नहीं अपितु इस देश के पुनर्जागरण के इतिहास में भी चिरस्थायी स्थान रहेगा

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जब संगीत की स्वर लहरियों ने चित्रकार को प्रभावित किया तब रागात्मक एवं लयात्मक चित्रों का सृजन हुआ इसी तरह के अनेक चित्रों का एक ही स्थल पर त्मबद्ध संयोजन 'रागमाला' चित्रण माना गया 'रागमाला' शब्द दो शब्दों की युति से निर्मित है—राग+माला अर्थात् 'रागों की माला'

चित्रकारों ने रागमाला चित्रण के प्रतिमानों, प्रतीकों, स्थितियों, रसों तथा अन्य संगत ब्यौरों के लिये मुख्यतः नारद, हरिवल्लभ, हनुमान तथा क्षेमकरण के ग्रंथों का अनुसरण किया है रागमाला चित्रों का स्वरूप रागों पर आधारित है किसी भी राग का स्वरूप, उससे संबंधित ऋतु का निर्देश संगीत-ग्रंथों में मिलता है राग एवं रागिनी को मूर्त रूप प्रदान करने की चेष्टा में कवियों ने संस्कृत एवं ब्रज भाषा में पद लिखे, इन पदों के वर्णन के आधार पर चित्र कलाकार ने राग एवं रागिनी को मानवीय स्वरूप देकर चित्रित किया रागमाला, बारहमासा, नायिका भेद चित्रण के ऐसे तीन प्रकार हैं जिनमें यदि राग का नाम व उससे संबंधित पद का उल्लेख न हो तो अन्तर करना दुष्कर हो जाता है

रागमाला का पर्याय 'दृश्य संगीत' है रागमालाओं में पट चित्रणों की बहुलता है संस्कृत के मनीषी कवियों भास, कालीदास, भवभूति, बागभट्ट आदि ने इतनी जीवंत रचनाएं लिखी जिनके पिरे सुन्दर चित्रों का अंकन सहजता से किया जा सकता है दृश्य संगीत को प्रस्तुत करने के लिये संगीताचार्यों द्वारा राग-रागिनियों के लक्षण तथा ध्यान प्रस्तुत किये गये संस्कृत में रागों के लक्षण व ध्यान सर्वप्रथम दामोदर भट्ट ने ग्रन्थ 'संगीत दर्पण' में प्रस्तुत किये इन्होंने तानसेन के प्रिय 'राग-भैरव' का ध्यान, रागिनी तोड़ी का लक्षण व ध्यान तथा दीपक राग का ध्यान वर्णित किया इसके अलावा हिन्दी फारसी आदि भाषाओं में भी रागमालाएं लिखी गईं जिनमें प्रत्येक राग-रागिनी के ध्यान लक्षण प्रस्तुत किये गये राग-रागिनी चित्रण में प्रायः चित्रों के पिरे इन्हीं ध्यान

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एवं लक्षणों को लिखा गया एक फारसी रागमाला 'ग्वालियर -कलम' में भी चित्रित हुई, जिसे भिण्ड में प्रारंभ किया गया तथा 22 फरवरी 1898 को नरवर में पूर्ण किया गया इस 'रागमाला' में किसी चित्रकार का नाम उल्लिखित नहीं है<sup>2</sup> फारसी की इस 'रागमाला' के अनुसार प्रथम राग भैरव, द्वितीय मालकौंस, तृतीय हिण्डोल, चतुर्थ दीपक तत्पश्चात् श्री तथा मेघ-राग हैं इन छह रागों की प्रत्येक की पांच-पांच रागिनियां बताई हैं

राग-रागिनी पद्धति में छह प्रधान रागों तथा उनकी छनीस अथवा तीस रागिनियों का अंकन प्राप्त होता है कहीं कहीं रागिनियों, रागपुत्रों तथा रागभार्याओं आदि प्रशाखाओं में विभक्त इन राग-रागिनियों की संख्या बढ़कर 84 से 108 तक पहुंच गई है कलाकार ने इन प्रशाखाओं के माध्यम से मानव की संयोग वियोग की अवस्थाओं तथा भावों को व्यक्त करने का प्रयास किया है तानसेन, राग रत्नाकर, रागार्णव, हनुमानतम, रागतर्गिणी, संगीत रत्नमाला, पंचम-सार संहिता, मानमनोरंजन, मानकूतूहल आदि रागमाला ग्रंथों में कवियों की काव्य कल्पना एवं चित्रकारों की तूलिका का अद्भुत समन्वय मिलता है

लगभग 1475 ईसवी की गुजराती 'कल्पसूत्र' की प्रति में सर्वप्रथम रागमाला के चित्र उदाहरण मिलते हैं<sup>3</sup> 1605 की चावण्ड की रागमाला चित्रों के साथ यह परम्परा विस्तार से चल पड़ी रागमाला चित्र प्रायः उन्हीं स्थानों पर बने जहां राग प्रधान वैष्णव भक्ति तथा उससे प्रेरित हिन्दी काव्य का प्रबल प्रभाव था 16वीं शताब्दी से लेकर 18वीं शताब्दी तक काव्य संगीत, एवं चित्रकला तीनों विधाएं साथ साथ विकसित हुई संगीत शास्त्रविज्ञों के अनुसार रागोत्पत्ति का मूल स्रोत 'शिव' है इनके पांच मुखों से पांच राग<sup>4</sup> तथा गिरिजा )पार्वती= के मुख से एक राग, इस तरह प्रमुख छह रागों की उत्पत्ति हुई प्रत्येक राग की पांच-पांच वधुओं को मिलाकर छनीस राग-रागिनियां हुईं यह संख्या सर्वमान्य है इन रागों को 6 ऋतुओं में विभाजित किया गया 1. बसन्त, 2. ग्रीष्म, 3 वर्षा 4. शरद, 5. हेमन्त, 6. शिशिर इन ऋतुओं में त्मशः हिण्डोल, दीपक, मेघ, भैरव, श्री तथा मालकौंस रागों की अवधारणा मानी गई इसके अतिरिक्त दिन व रात्रि के 8 प्रहरों के आधार पर गायन वादन का समय निश्चित किया गया

भारत में लगभग चार हजार रागमाला कृतियां निर्मित हुईं तथा तीन परम्पराओं पर मुख्यतः चित्रण हुआ<sup>5</sup> 1. चित्रकार परम्परा - इस परम्परा के अन्तर्गत उन कृतियों को माना गया जिनकी शैली तथा उद्गम की जटिलता को नहीं समझा जा सकता 2. हनुमान-परम्परा- यह पद्धति प्राचीन लेखक 'हनुमान' के नाम से विख्यात हुई इसमें मुख्य छह राग हैं तथा 23-24 रागिनियां चित्रकार-परम्परानुसार हैं 3. क्षेमकरण रागमाला- रीवा के एक पुजारी क्षेमकरण के नाम पर यह रागमाला विख्यात हुई, जिन्होंने राग-रागिनियों के अतिरिक्त रागपुत्रों तथा रागवधुओं को भी रागमाला-वर्गीकरण में सम्मिलित किया

प्रथम रागमाला )लघु चित्र= 'कल्पसूत्र' में आकृतियों को सीमाबद्ध शैली में कठपुतलियों के समान अंकित कर हाथों में विभिन्न वस्तुएं धारण किये चित्रित की गईं पैरों के समीप वाहन के रूप में पशु आकृतियों को दर्शाया गया कालान्तर में रागमाला चित्र परिष्कृत होते गये अधिकांश रागमाला राजस्थान, मालवा बुन्देलखण्ड, बीजापुर, गोलकुण्डा एवं पहाड़ी

क्षेत्रों में चित्रांकित हुए पहाड़ी क्षेत्रों में भी कुल्लु, बसौली, टिहरी-गढवाल एवं कांगड़ा आदि स्थान प्रमुख रहें नायिका भेद इन चित्रों का प्रमुख आधार रहा केशवदास की 'रसिकप्रिया'<sup>6</sup> के प्रभाव से निर्मित कृतियों के नायक-नायिका 'राधा-कृष्ण' के रूप में चित्रित हुये कामोद, गौड़मल्हार रागिनियों को राधिका स्वरूप चित्रांकित किया तथा शंकराभरण, भैरवी, पटमंजरी, रामकली रागिनिया 'पार्वती' का स्मरण कराती हैं 'शिव' भैरव राग का स्वरूप बने तो 'कृष्ण' हिण्डोल एवं बसंत राग के नायक के रूप में विशिष्टता के साथ अंकित हुये

ग्वालियर में राग-रागिनी गायन अत्यन्त प्राचीन काल से घराने के रूप में चल रहा है ग्वालियर के अधीश्वर, मानसिंह तोमर स्वयं संगीत के विद्वान थे इनकी रचना 'मानकुतुहल' में राग-रागिनियों की चर्चा है इनके शासन काल में निर्मित ग्वालियर दुर्ग में संगीत वाद्यों सहित नृत्य करती आकृतियां चित्रांकित हैं ये चित्र रागों पर आधारित नहीं हैं अतः यह 'रागमाला' न होकर संगीत से संबंधित चित्रांकन का प्रारंभ है' मानसिंह तोमर द्वारा निर्मित एक गायन मंच 'बरई' में प्राप्त होता है इस मंच के पिर की भिनि पर चारों ओर राग-रागिनी चित्रण रहा होगा परन्तु वर्तमान स्थिति अनुसार शिखरनुमा स्तंभ खण्डहर हालत में हैं<sup>8</sup>

यह कटु सत्य स्वीकारना होगा कि ग्वालियर संगीत का गढ़ रहा परन्तु 16 वीं शताब्दी से 18 वीं शताब्दी पूर्वार्द्ध तक यहां 'रागमाला-चित्र किसी भी माध्यम )भिनि अथवा कागजी= में प्राप्त नहीं होते अन्य विषयों पर लघु चित्रण प्राप्त होते हैं यथा-राजघरानों से संबंधित व्यक्ति चित्र एवं युद्ध चित्र इत्यादि ग्वालियर में रागमाला-चित्रांकन जयाजी राव सिंधिया के शासनकाल )1843 ई0 - 1886 ई0=<sup>9</sup> के मध्य हुआ जो जनको जी की छतरी तथा मोतीमहल भिनियों में दृष्टिगत होता है

मोतीमहल ग्वालियर की रागमाला 'अंतिम मौलिक' भिनि -रागमाला के रूप में विख्यात है इन रागमाला चित्रों का निर्माण समय लगभग 1872 ई0 है ग्वालियर मोतीमहल में 'हनुमन्तानुसार' छह राग एवं प्रत्येक राग की 5 रागिनियों के स्थान पर छह रागिनियों को चित्रांकित किया गया है<sup>10</sup> प्रथम राग 'भैरव' तथा उसके अन्तर्गत रागिनी भैरवी, सिंध भैरवी, वरारी, मधुमाधवी, बंगाली तथा मालती चित्रांकित हैं द्वितीय राग 'मालकौंस' के अन्तर्गत रागिनी टोड़ी, खम्बावती, गौरी, गुणकली, कुकुभ एवं रागिनी जयन्ती का चित्रांकन है तृतीय राग 'हिंडोल' तथा उसकी रागिनियां विलावल, रामकली, देसख, ललित, पटमंजरी एवं विभास का अंकन है चतुर्थ राग 'दीपक'<sup>11</sup> एवं उसकी रागिनियां केदार, कानड़ा, देसी, कामोद, नट तथा रागिनी सोपाटिका चित्रित हैं पंचम राग 'श्री' तथा उसकी रागिनियां जाति-श्री, धनाश्री, आसावरी, मारवा, बसंत तथा मालश्री द्रष्टव्य हैं, अंतिम राग 'मेघ' के अन्तर्गत रागिनी कमला, भूपाली, टंक, देशकाल, मेघमल्हार तथा गूजरी का चित्रांकन है<sup>12</sup>

मोतीमहल ग्वालियर में हनुमन्त में उल्लिखित वर्णन से प्रत्येक राग में एक रागिनी अतिरिक्त चित्रांकित है यथा-राग भैरव के अन्तर्गत रागिनी मालती, राग मालकौंस में रागिनी जयन्ती, राग हिण्डोल में विभास, राग दीपक में सोपाटिका, राग श्री में 'जाति श्री

तथा राग मेघ में रागिनी-कमलां इन अतिरिक्त रागिनियों का चित्रांकन या तो कलाकारों की कल्पना का परिणाम है अथवा ये शासकों के निर्देशानुसार सृजित की गई, ज्ञात नहीं हो सकां ये रागिनियां चित्रांकन के समय प्रचलित रहीं हो, वर्तमान में लुप्त हो गई हों, ऐसे भी कोई प्रमाण उपलब्ध नहीं होते इनमें से कुछ रागिनियां अन्य शैलियों में अवश्य चित्रांकित हुईं यथा रागिनी विभास व जयन्ती ग्वालियर मोतीमहल की 21 रागिनियां राजस्थानी -परम्परा के अनुसार चित्रित हुईं<sup>13</sup> इन रागिनियों में राजस्थानी एवं अम्बर शैली का विशिष्ट सम्मिश्रण है

जनकोजी की छतरी )ग्वालियर= में कुछ फुटकर राग-रागिनी चित्रण दृष्टिगत होते हैं जिनमें रागिनी टोड़ी, रागिनी आसावरी<sup>14</sup> गूजरी, देसकाल, मेघ-राग, रागिनी बसंत, रागिनी बिलावल आदि जनको जी की छतरी का निर्माण काल 1843 से 1886 ईसवी के मध्य का है<sup>15</sup> यहां रागमाला चित्रों में राग-रागिनी नाम उल्लिखित नहीं है परन्तु इन्हें रागमाला ग्रंथों में वर्णित लक्षणों के आधार पर समझा जा सकां

दतिया में चित्रकला परम्परा कला प्रेमी शासकों के कारण लगभग तीन शताब्दियों से चली आ रही है<sup>16</sup> आचार्य कुमार स्वामी दतिया को बुन्देली शैली के प्राचीनतम स्थलों में स्वीकारते हैं दतिया में वीरसिंह महल का निर्माण वीर सिंह जू देव प्रथम )1606-1627 ई0=<sup>17</sup> ने करवाया था इस महल की भिनियों पर चित्रांकित रागमाला श्रृंखला का समय एविलिंग ने लगभग 1610 ईसवी निर्धारित किया है<sup>18</sup> परन्तु ओरछा राज्य गजेटियर के अनुसार वीरसिंह जूदेव प्रथम ने इस महल की आधार शिला विष्णु संवत् 1675 में )रविवार,माघ सुदी पंचमी 1618 में रखी इस प्रामाणिक तथ्य के आधार पर यहाँ चित्रांकित रागमाला का समय 1618 ई0 से 1627 ई0 के मध्य होना चाहिए<sup>19</sup> यहां चित्रांकित रागमाला को भारत की प्राचीनतम रागमाला होने का गौरव प्राप्त है दुर्भाग्यवश आज यह 'रागमाला' पूर्णतया नष्ट हो चुकी है इन राग रागिनी की संख्या 18 )अठारह= थीं त्मबद्ध चित्रांकन के आधार पर इन्हें रागमाला माना गया यद्यपि यहां चित्रांकित भिनि रागमाला में राग-रागिनियों के नाम उल्लेखित नहीं थे परन्तु एविलिंग ने भारतीय रागमाला ग्रंथों में वर्णित राग वर्णन एवं लक्षणों के आधार पर इन्हें नामांकित कियां अध्ययनोपरान्त एविलिंग द्वारा प्रस्तुत रेखाचित्र पर नामांकित नाम सत्य सिद्ध हुये यहां राग मालकौंस, भैरवी, पटमंजरी, मालवी, विभास, कुकुभ, देशख, टोड़ी, मधुमाधवी, पंचम, मेघ, कानड़ा, श्री, केदार, आसावरी तथा राग बसंत चित्रांकित थे इन कृतियों की शैली, परिप्रेक्ष्य संयोजन, आकृति गठन एवं वेशभूषा के साथ साथ स्थापत्य अंकन 17 वीं शताब्दी की मेवाड़ शैली से साम्यता रखते हैं इसी आधार पर बी-स्मार्त ने इन चित्रों को 'जयपुरी-फ्रेस्को' कहा है<sup>20</sup>

वीर सिंह जू-देव के पश्चात् राजा शत्रुजीत )1761-1801 ई0= का शासन काल कला की दृष्टि से अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण रहा इन्होंने अनेक श्रृंगारिक रचनाओं के साथ साथ रागमाला- चित्रण भी प्रारंभ करवायां दतिया में 86 रागमाला लघु चित्र सृजित हुये

जिनमें से 22 रागमाला लघु-चित्रणों का उल्लेख मिलता है दतिया की रागमाला लघु-चित्रकला क्षेमकरण रागमाला पर आधारित थीं अतः यहां के चित्रों में परम्परागत लक्षणों का पूर्णतः पालन किया गया तथा राग-रागिनियों के अतिरिक्त राग पुत्रों/पुत्रियों आदि पर भी चित्रांकन किया गया दतिया के रागमाला लघु-चित्रों का निर्माण समय 1800 ईसवी निर्धारित किया गया है<sup>21</sup> 'रागिनी धनाश्री' दतिया के परम्परागत चित्रण तथा प्रतिनिधि उदाहरण है<sup>22</sup>

दतिया का एक अन्य स्थल पारीछत मुकरबा के नाम से जाना जाता है यह पारीछत स्मारक राजा विजयबहादुर ने 1840 में अपने शासनकाल में बनवाया था<sup>23</sup> इस स्मारक की भिनियों पर फुटकर राग रागिनी चित्र द्रष्टव्य हैं, जिनमें रागिनी टोड़ी, राग भैरव, बसंत राग, राग हिण्डोल<sup>24</sup> आदि उल्लेखनीय हैं इन चित्रों के अतिरिक्त निजी संग्रह कर्ताओं से भी कुछ राग रागिनी चित्र कांच के नेगेटिव्स से प्राप्त हुये जिनमें रागिनी बंगाली, राग-भैरव, बसंत, वैराडी आदि प्रमुख हैं

ग्वालियर एवं दतिया के भिनि-चित्रांकनों एवं दतिया के लघु चित्रों का सूक्ष्मता से अध्ययन करने के पश्चात कुछ निष्कर्ष निकलते हैं जिनका उल्लेख आवश्यक है :-

- यद्यपि हनुमान मत, क्षेमकरण मत की तुलना में अधिक प्राचीन है परन्तु रागमाला चित्रांकन करते समय ग्वालियर के कलाकारों ने वेशभूषा, आभूषण, स्वरूप तथा संयोजन संबंधी नियमों का पूर्णतः अनुसरण न करके तत्कालीन संस्कृति पर पड़ रहे देशी-विदेशी प्रभाव को भी समाहित कर लिया है यहां कलाकार ने पुरानी सदियों से चल रही परम्परा से हटकर सृजन किया है जैसे-राग-दीपक में 'दीये' के स्थान पर आधुनिक लैम्प का चित्रण, ग्वालियर छतरी में रागिनी-टोड़ी में इकतारा के स्थान पर सितारानुमा वाद्य का अंकन, मोतीमहल की रागिनी-गूजरी में षोडशी नायिका के स्थान पर भैंस चराती प्रौढ़ा स्त्री का अंकन आदि वहीं दूसरी ओर यद्यपि क्षेमकरण मत, हनुमान मत की अपेक्षा नवीन है तथापि चित्रांकन समय ग्वालियर रागमाला से पूर्व का है इसीलिये दतिया का रागमाला चित्रांकन क्षेमकरण परम्परानुसार ही किया गया है
- ग्वालियर एवं दतिया दोनों स्थलों की भिनि निर्माण विधा एक समान है भिनि चित्रों एवं लघु चित्रों में खनिज एवं वनस्पति रंगों तथा सोने चांदी की पॉलिश का प्रयोग किया गया है लघु, चित्रों हेतु वसली, भिनि चित्रों के निर्माण हेतु टेम्परा-तकनीकी प्रयुक्त की गई है
- ग्वालियर मोतीमहल एवं छतरियों के रागमाला चित्रांकनों में मराठाकालीन वेशभूषा दृष्टिगत होती है कहीं कहीं घेरदार लहंगा, अंगोछी इत्यादि का भी अंकन द्रष्टव्य है पुरुषों को प्रायः चूड़ीदार, धोती, मराठा पगड़ी एवं घेरदार जामें में दिखाया है दतिया के लघु चित्रों एवं भिनि-चित्रों में राजस्थानी प्रभाव के साथ साथ स्थानीय प्रभाव झलकता है पुरुष पहरावे पर मुगल प्रभाव भी दृष्टिगोचर होता है

- ग्वालियर मोतीमहल एवं जनको जी की छतरी में चित्रांकित आकृतियों के आभूषण पूर्णतः मराठाओं की पारम्परिक सज्जा के अनुरूप दर्शित हैं घुटनों तक वनमाला दर्शाना 'ग्वालियर कलम' की विशेष पहचान रही दतिया के रागमाला चित्रों में बुन्देलखण्ड में प्रचलित आभूषणों से सुसज्जित आकृतियां चित्रांकित की गई हैं
- ग्वालियर मोतीमहल व छतरियों में अंकित नारी आकृतियों के केश कसे जूड़े के रूप में अथवा कहीं खुले केशों में नारियां चित्रित की गई दतिया कलम में नारियों का नुकीला जूड़ा विशिष्ट है
- ग्वालियर में नारी आकृतियां स्वस्थ, मंझोले कद की, गेहूं वर्ण वाली दर्शायी हैं छाया-प्रकाश के माध्यम से मॉसल सौन्दर्य को दर्शाने का प्रयास भी दृष्टिगत होता है दतिया की नारी आकृतियां लघु मस्तक, पीछे की ओर निकले चपटे सिर, लघु चक्षु, सपाट केश धारी हैं पुरुष आकृतियों में विविधता के दर्शन होते हैं
- दतिया शैली के लघु चित्रों में अपभ्रंश, मेवाड )राजस्थानी= एवं मुगल शैली का प्रभाव दृष्टिगत होता है एवं यहां के भिनि चित्र )रागमाला= लोक कला के उद्घरण प्रतीत होते हैं तथा मोतीमहल ग्वालियर के रागमाला चित्रों से दक्कन, राजस्थान, मुगल प्रभाव के साथ साथ बुन्देली एवं मराठा शैली का मिश्रण है पाश्चात्य शैली का प्रभाव आकृतियों के छाया प्रकाश एवं आधुनिक उपकरणों के चित्रांकन में दृष्टिगत होता है जो इस शैली के आधुनिक होने के पुष्टि करता है
- दतिया रागमाला में अंकित वाद्यों का स्वरूप प्राचीन है ग्वालियर मोतीमहल में रागमाला चित्रों में सितारानुमावाद्य, तानपूरा, तबला )आधुनिक रूप में=, बीन आदि छाया प्रकाश के साथ यथार्थ रूप में चित्रांकित किये गये हैं
- दतिया रागमाला चित्रों में ब्रजभाषा में दोहे अथवा कविन लिखे गये हैं ग्वालियर मोतीमहल में वर्तमान में प्रचलित देवनागरी लिपि से राग-रागिनियों का नाम लिखा गया है
- दतिया भिनि चित्रांकनों का नष्ट होना उसकी प्राचीनता की पुष्टि करता है ग्वालियर रागमाला भिनि चित्रांकन अपेक्षाकृत चमकदार व परिष्कृत है जिससे निर्माण समय के अन्तराल की पुष्टि होती है

ग्वालियर मोतीमहल की रागमाला अंतिम मौलिक भिनि रागमाला मान्य की गई इसके पश्चात 19वीं सदी में जयपुर के एक कलाकार ने 36 रागिनियों की पूरी श्रृंखला एक ही सतह पर बनाकर नया प्रयोग किया यह रागमाला जयपुर शैली की विशेषताओं को समाहित किये हैं आधुनिक भारतीय कला में रागमाला विषय पर अनेकों कलाकारों ने चित्रण किया परन्तु किसी ने भी 6 राग व 36 रागिनियों का चित्रण नहीं किया रामगोपाल विजयवर्गीय, के लक्ष्मण, महेन्द्र कुमार, मकबूल फिदा हुसैन, मधु पावले, आर. एस. गिल,<sup>25</sup> ओमप्रकाश, जगदीश वर्मा, रणीजत सिंह चूड़ावाला आदि कलाकारों ने नये अविष्कारों एवं नूतन चित्रण विधाओं में राग रागिनियों को प्रस्तुत किया है, परन्तु अमूर्त

कला शैलियों में अंकित ये चित्र 'रागमाला-चित्रण' प्रतीत नहीं होते।

अतः वर्तमान स्थिति में रागमाला-चित्रण का भविष्य सन्तोषजनक नहीं कहा जा सकता। यद्यपि मध्यकाल से आज तक राग-रागिनी चित्रों पर पर्याप्त समालोचना, विवेचन, टिप्पणियां तथा विभिन्न दृष्टिकोणों से विचार, सिद्धान्त-प्रतिपादन आदि नियमित चलते रहे हैं तथापि इस क्षेत्र में विशेष उन्नति दृष्टिगत नहीं होती। संगीत-विधा में अब 'थाट-पद्धति' प्रचलित है आज 'रागिनी' नाम ही लुप्त प्रायः है। रागपुत्र, रागपुत्री, रागभाभी, राग भार्या आदि शब्द तो समूल लुप्त हो चुके हैं। राग लक्षण गीतों का प्रचलन है परन्तु उनमें रागों का दैवीय स्वरूप एवं लक्षणों का विवरण नहीं मिलता।

आज की कला स्वातः सुखाय है साहित्य, संगीत तथा चित्रकला तीनों विधाएं अपनी ढपली अपना राग' कहावत चरितार्थ करने में लगीं हैं। आधुनिक कलाकार विभिन्न प्रयोगों में विश्वास रखता है स्वतंत्र मौलिक सृजन के युग में गुरु-शिष्य परम्परा का कोई स्थान नहीं है। परम्परागत अथवा आकृति प्रधान यथार्थ अलंकरणत्मक चित्रण कर रहे कलाकारों को कलाकार समाज ही रूढ़ीवादी, कूपमंडूक आदि संबोधनों से विभूषित करके तिरस्कृत करता है। प्रचलित विषयों को त्यागने के प्रयास में 'रागमाला' जैसे विषयों का पुनः सृजन होना असंभव सा प्रतीत होता है।

आज भी भारत में हर स्थान पर अनेक कुशल कलाकार हैं परन्तु उनकी कला को उचित प्रोत्साहन, सही मार्गदर्शन तथा यथोचित सम्मान की आवश्यकता है। संगीतज्ञ, साहित्यकार एवं चित्रकारों के परस्पर सहयोग के अवसर हों तभी रागमाला चित्रों के कुशल चित्रांकन की संभावना की जा सकती है।

अंत में यह अनुरोध करना आवश्यक समझती हूँ कि संगीत एवं चित्रकला के अनूठे संगम का क्या महत्व है वह ग्वालियर तथा दतिया के उल्लेखित चित्रों को देखकर ही पता लग सकता है। साथ ही जिन कलाकारों एवं नरेशों ने इन्हें महलों, मन्दिरों तथा छतरियों आदि में अंकित कर स्थायित्व दिया उनकी कल्पनाशीलता तथा ज्ञान मर्मज्ञता के प्रति श्रद्धापूर्वक नमन करने का मन होता है। पर क्या हम इस अनमोल धरोहर को सुरक्षित रख पा रहे हैं ?

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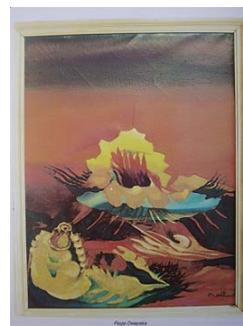
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## Ekqt;kj k vkUnksyu pks nshyky dh Hkfiedk

\*vt; dēkj

अग्रेंजों को भू-राजस्व आमदनी का प्रमुख स्रोत नजर आया इसलिए भू राजस्व में हमेशा वृद्धि करते रहते थे छोटे-छोटे किसानों से लगान वसूल करना मुश्किल काम था अतः वे जमीन की मिल्कियत और लगान की अदायगी को एक ही हस्ती में निहित करना चाहते थे असंख्य जोतदारों की अपेक्षा चन्द भू-स्वामियों से लगान वसूलना अग्रेंजों को आसान लगा क्योंकि इस प्रकार कम खर्च में अधिक रकम वसूल की जा सकती थीं इस प्रकार जमींदारी व्यवस्था भारत में अग्रेंजों की देन थीं जमींदारी पद्धति के अनुसार जमींदार को जो प्रायः भूमिकर संग्रहकर्ता ही होता था= वह भूमि का स्वामी स्वीकार कर लिया जाता था वह भूमि को बेच रहन अथवा दान में दे सकता था राज्य भूमि कर देने के लिए केवल जमींदार को ही उत्तरदायी समझता था तथा उसके कर न देने पर उसकी भूमि जब्त की जा सकती थीं रामसिंह जाखड़ ने लिखा है कि "भू राजस्व की देनदारी इतनी अधिक थी कि किसान उसे दे नहीं पाते थे और उस हालत में उन्हें जेल की यातनाएं सहनी पड़ती थी, कई बार तो पूरे गांव के लोग कर का भुगतान न कर पाने की स्थिति में गांव छोड़कर किसी दूसरे इलाके में चले जाते थे पुराने राजस्व खातों में कितने ही स्थानों पर यह टिप्पणी मिलती है" यह गांव पूर्ण रूप से उजाड़)बेचिराग= हैं? एक ही गांव में मध्य वर्ग के किसान थे जो प्रमुखतया अपने परिवार के सदस्यों की सहायता से खेती करते थे और मुश्किल से अपने गुजारे के लायक अनाज पैदा कर पाते थे दूसरी तरफ ऐसे छोटे किसान थे जिनके पास इतनी पर्याप्त भूमि नहीं थी कि वे अपने परिवार के श्रम का वहां उपयोग कर सकें तथा वे व्यक्ति भी थे जिनके पास कोई भूमि नहीं थी, परन्तु कृषि का काम करते थे वे अपने तथा पशुओं के गुजारे के लिए धनी किसानों से मांगी हुई भूमि पर पूर्णतया निर्भर थे वे दोनों ही प्रकार के छोटे किसान मुजारे कहलाते थे जिन्हे जमींदार जब चाहे जमीन से बेदखल कर सकते थे इस प्रकार वे जमींदारों की दया पर निर्भर रहते थे जिन्हें 'मर्जी -मालकान' समझा जाता था मुजारों

\*' kks'kkFkhz fl ?kkfu; k fo' ofo?kky; ] i pjh cjh ] > p- uq/ j kt LFku/ z

में जाट, बिदुनोई, गांव के निम्न वर्ग, चमार वाल्मीकी एवं दस्तकार कुम्हार, सैनी, खाती, लुहार आदि थें<sup>3</sup> देवीलाल बहुत से किसानों सम्मेलन के माध्यम से किसानों—मुजारों को जागृत करते रहे अपने साथ घटित हुई घटना के बारे में बताते हुए कहते थे कि "एक बार मैं स्कूल की छुट्टियों में घर आया हुआ थां मेरे पिता जी ने मुझे बंटाई लेने भेज दियां लठैत झींटा थोड़ी देर के लिए इधर—उधर चला गयां जब आया तो उस बड़े ढेर की छोटी—छोटी ढेरियां करवा ली गईं आधा अनाज जमींदार का तथा आधा मुजारे कां अब मुजारे के हिस्से से नाई, धोबी, लुहार, खाती, मिरासी व तोला आदि के हिस्सें निकालने के बाद बहुत थोड़ा सा अनाज बचां गरीब मुजारा देख कर रोने लगां मन में बड़ी पीड़ा हुई व तुरन्त पांच मन अनाज मुजारे को दियां झींटा ने अपनी लाठी से अनाज के पास ही पड़े कचरे को तलाशना शुरू कर दिया थोड़ा सा अनाज छुपाकर रखा मिलां लठैत ने मुजारे को गालियां देनी पुरु कर दीं मेरे मन में आया कि इस गरीब ने चोरी क्यों की ? उनर भी उसी मन से मिला जरूर इसकी जरूरत ज्यादा अनाज की है परन्तु जमींदार इसका हिस्सा मारते हैं इसलिए चोरी से रखना चाहता हैं"<sup>4</sup> मालिक जिसको चाहते उसी को जमीन देते थे तथा इच्छा और आवृयकता अनुसार कभी छुड़ाकर किसी दूसरे मुजारे को दे देने का अधिकार उसके पास सुरक्षित रहता था, जमीन के इस लेन—देन के सदर्थ में मर्जी—मालकान )टेनेन्ट्स एट बिल= का मुहावरा सिद्धान्त तथा व्यवहार दोनों में खूब प्रचलित था<sup>5</sup> गांव में बटाई की प्रथा इस प्रकार थी :-

- अ. रबी की फसल में बटाई के रूप में मालिक का हिस्सा अनाज चारे का एक तिहाई होता था इसके अतिरिक्त ढाई सेर प्रति मन विभिन्न खर्च के लिए देना होता थां
- ब. खरीफ फसल के समय जमींदार डेढ रुपया प्रति बीघा वसूल करते थे
- स. खेत से फसल का जमींदार का हिस्सा मुजारे को ही जमींदारों के घर पहेचाना होता थां
- द. मर्जी मालकान मुजारे खेत में केवल अपने हल के बैल या ऊँट चरा सकते थे दुधारु पशुओं को चराने की इजाजत नहीं थीं
- इ. जमींदार मर्जी—मालकान मुजारों को भूमि से बेदखल कर सकते थे

इसके अतिरिक्त फसल के बटवारे के बाद मुजारों के शेष भाग में से गांव के पंडित, फकीर पुलिस के अधिकारी, पटवारी, चौकीदार, डाकोत, तौला व कमीन के भाग भी देने होते थे तथा बीज का प्रबन्ध भी उन्हें ही करना होता थां इसका स्वाभाविक अर्थ था कि मुजारों को फसल में काफी कम हिस्सा मिलता थां जमींदारों और जागीदारों द्वारा कादृतकार मुजारों के शोषण के विरुद्ध खड़ा होने की प्रवृत्ति शुरू से ही रहीं सन् 1944 में मुल्तान जेल में सोशललिस्टों के सम्पर्क से उनकी यह प्रवृत्ति और दृढ़ हुई कुछ दिन बाद पंजाब सरकार के मन्त्री चौधरी छोटूराम जाट महासभा के अखबार के लिए चंदा जमा करने के अभियान में चौटाला आए, देवीलाल के नेतृत्व में करीब पांच हजार किसान बेदखलीयों के विरुद्ध नारे लगाते हुए गांव के मुदृतरिका सभा स्थल त्रिवेणी में इक्कठे हुए देवीलाल से बात की गई तो उन्होंने कहा कि अगर चौ. छोटूराम पहले किसान—मुजारों

की बात सुनें तो वे जलसे में शामिल हो सकते हैं सर छोटूराम इसके लिए तैयार हो गए सभा स्थल भर गयां इसके बाद किसानों की ओर से रुपराम कड़वासरा ने मांगपत्र पढ़ां जब चौधरी छोटूराम बोलने के लिए उठे तो नारे लगे 'बेदखलिया बन्द करो' 'जमींदार सिस्टम खत्म करो' चौधरी छोटूराम ने जमींदारों को संबोधित करते हुए कहा: "मुझे मालूम है कि तुम किस प्रकार मुजारों के खेतों को उजाड़ कर, उन गरीबों से सूद परसूद ब्याज लेते हों बीज के बतौर अनाज का कर्ज देकर उनसे सवाई वसूल करते हों इसके अलावा खुद कादृत पर रात—दिन बेगार लेते हों अगर वक्त के मुताबिक तुमने अपने आप को नहीं बदला तो याद रखो तुम्हारे खिलाफ भी वही कानूनी डंडा इस्तेमाल किया जाएगा जो व्यापारियों की धांधली को खत्म करने के लिए बनाया है" इस पर नारे गूजने लगे 'सर छोटूराम जिंदाबाद' 'बेदखलिया बंद करो मालगुजारी खत्म करो'<sup>7</sup> 30 अगस्त 1945 को उपमंडल अधिकारी सिरसा द्वारा डी. सी. हिसार को लिखे गए एक पत्र के अनुसार "The situation at present is like this tenants are all on oneside Sahib Ram and his younger brother Devi Lal are their leaders and all the landlords are on the other side"<sup>8</sup> स्थिति को गंभीर होते देखकर जिला कांग्रेस समिति हिसार के अध्यक्ष, पंडित नेकीराम शर्मा ने लाहौर से जिला उपायुक्त को 16 अक्टूबर 1945 को तार द्वारा प्रार्थना की कि मुजारों की मांगों को स्वीकार करें<sup>9</sup> नायब तहसीलदार ठाकुर बलबीर सिंह 10 अक्टूबर, 1945 को डबबाली में दोनों पक्षों से मिलने के बाद जो एवार्ड 29 अक्टूबर 1945 को दिया उसके मुताबिक:-

1. मुजारे जमींदारों का हिस्सा उनके गोदाम तक पहुँचाएंगे
2. रबी फसलों की बटाई के अलावा 1/4 सेर प्रतिमन देगे
3. मुजारों को बेदखल करने का अधिकार जमींदार का होगा
4. मुजारे का खेत में केवल हल जोतने वाले पशु चराने का हक होगा<sup>10</sup>

इस समझौते के अर्न्तगत दोनों पक्षों ने दीवानी, फौजदारी व राजस्व अदालतों में चल रहे सभी मुकदमों को वापिस लेना स्वीकार कर लियां इसके अनुसार सिरसा के उपमंडल अधिकारी ने 21 नवम्बर 1945 को चौटाला के जमींदारों व मुजारों के बीच चल रहे सब मुकदमों निपटा दिए एक तरफ देवीलाल तथा 33 मुजारों व दूसरी तरफ 22 जमींदारों ने धारा 107 के अर्न्तगत एक वर्ष तक शान्ति बनाये रखने के लिए जमानत के तौर पर एक—एक हजार रुपये के अनुबन्ध पत्र भरे<sup>11</sup> लेकिन जमींदारों ने इसे नहीं माना तो दूसरी तरफ मुजारों ने भी इसे अपने साथ धोखा मान कर मानने से इनकार कर दिया तथा जबरन बेदखल मुजारों ने जमीन पर अधिकार कर लियां

दोनों पक्षों से विचार विमर्श के बाद उपायुक्त हिसार ने चौटाला जाकर वहां 31 जुलाई 1946 को मुजारों व जमींदारों के बीच कादृतकारी की निम्न शर्तें प्रस्तावित की :-

1. रबी फसल की बटाई अनाज व चारे का 1/3 भाग होगा
2. तोले को 1/4 सेर प्रति मन दिया जाएगां

3. खरीफ फसल का नकद लगान 3 रु प्रति पक्का बीघा होगा )70X70 करम= )1 करम 5' 6" के बराबर=

4. मुजारे जमींदारों के फसल का हिस्सा उनके गोदामों में पहुँचाएंगे  
5. जमींदारों की बिना अनुमति के मुजारे खेत में से कोई पेड़ नहीं काटेंगे  
6. प्रत्येक वर्ष 15 जून को कादृतकारी अपने आप समाप्त समझी जाएगी परन्तु कोई भी जमींदार आगामी वर्ष में किसी मुजारे को जमीन देने से इन्कार नहीं करेगा यदि उसने बटाई व नकद लगान नियमित रूप से अदा किया हो

7. रबी फसल के समय मुजारे एक हल के पीछे एक बैल या एक ऊँट तथा एक दुधारू- पशु को चराने के लिए अधिकृत होंगे उपायुक्त एस.एच. हक की अध्यक्षता में एक बैठक हुई जिसमें बड़ी संख्या में दोनों के मुजारे व जमींदार तथा दोनो भाई साहबरांम व देवीलाल शामिल हुए और दोनो पक्ष के नेताओं ने समझौता पर अपनी सहमति पर हस्ताक्षर किए जिस पर उपायुक्त ने भी अपने प्रति-हस्ताक्षर किए इस प्रकार बटाई तथा नकद लगान नियमित रूप से चुकाने पर कादृतकारी लगभग स्थाई बन गई<sup>12</sup> कुछ दिन बाद समझौता टूट गया देवीलाल ने आन्दोलन को ओर तेज करने का निदृश्य किया हर रोज अखबारों की सुखियों में चौटाला के आन्दोलनकारियों के समाचार आने लगे जयप्रकाश नारायण, जवाहर लाल नेहरू, सरदार पटेल आदि श्रेष्ठ नेताओं ने मुजारो के प्रति हो रहे अत्याचार की कड़ी आलोचना की और प्रशासन को इस समस्या का शीघ्र समाधान करने को कहा इससे अधिकारियों ने धारा 144 लागू कर दीं 14 अगस्त 1946 को चौ0 साहबरांम ने पंजाब विधान सभा में मुजारो पर किए जा रहे पुलिस दमन के खिलाफ बोलते हुए कहा "मुझे कांग्रेस मंत्रियों की नीति समझ नहीं आती, एक तरफ तो श्री भीमसेन सच्चर कहते हैं कि उन्होंने मामले को हाथ में ले लिया है और दूसरी तरफ प्रशासन धारा 144 लगाता है मुजारों के खिलाफ पुलिस दमन जारी है यदि एक सप्ताह भीतर मुजारों की मार्गें नहीं मानी गईं मैं खुद गिरातारी दूंगा"<sup>13</sup> इस तरह सत्याग्रहियों के माहौल को देखते हुए जिससे शांति भंग होने की सम्भवना बहुत बढ़ गई थीं 28 अगस्त 1946 को नायब तहसीलदार ने समस्या को सुलझाने के लिए चौटाला का दौरा किया और 12 घंटे तक विचार विमर्श के बाद वे मोके पर मुजारों में जमीन का बंटवारा करने में सफल हुए 60 मुजारों ने नायब तहसीलदार को बताया कि उन्होंने कोई जमीन नहीं मिली थी जिसमे 50 को उन्होंने वही जमींदारों व मुजारों की सहमति से जमीन दिलवा दी और दस मुजारों में से पांच को चौ साहबरांम ने अपनी जमीन दीं<sup>14</sup> 1952 में पहले चुनाव हुए चौ. देवीलाल सिरसा से विधायक बने अब उन्होंने पंजाब विधान सभा मे मुजारों को हक दिलवाने के अपनी ही सरकार से सवाल किए तथा किसानों के जलथे को लेकर दिल्ली पहुँचे तथा तत्कालीन गृह मन्त्री के. एन. काटजू से मिले इन सब प्रयासों के परिणाम स्वरूप भूमि सुधार अधिनियम की रूप रेखा तैयार करने के लिए प्रताप सिंह कैरो की अध्यक्षता में एक समिति बनाई

देवीलाल भी इस समिति के सदस्य थे पंजाब विधान सभा मे लम्बी बहस तथा कुछ संशोधनों के बाद भूमि सुधार अधिनियम 15 अप्रैल 1953 को लागू हो गया जिसकी मुख्य बाते निम्नलिखित थी:-

1. कोई भी जमींदार मुजारे को भूमि से बेदखल नहीं कर सकेगा यदि मुजारे ने नियमित रूप से लगान दिया हो और वह छोटी जोत वाले जमींदार का मुजारा न हो
2. छः वर्षों से लगातार एक ही भूमि पर खेती कर रहा मुजारा उस भूमि के निर्धारित मूल्य का 3/4 भाग भुगतान करके उस भूमि को खरीद सकता था देवीलाल ने इस बेदखली के विरुद्ध पंजाब विधान सभा मे आवाज उठाई और 14 अक्टूबर 1955 को विधान सभा में बोलते हुए बेदखल मुजारो को उनकी जमीन वापिस दिलाने के लिए सरकार से अपील की<sup>15</sup> सरकार के कुछ मन्त्रियों के सहयोग से तथा कुछ प्रशासनिक अधिकारियों की सहायता से वह मुजारो को उनका हक दिलाने में सफल हुए देवीलाल ने बचपन से लेकर विधान सभा तक मुजारो की लड़ाई लड़ी अपने पिता के खिलाफ आवाज उठाई तथा मुजारों को भूमि दिलवाई तथा कानून बनवाया विनोबा भावे के भूदान आन्दोलन में बढ़ चढ़ कर भाग लिया तथा पद यात्रा की

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\*i ks dfi y no feJ

प्रस्तुत शोध पत्र में शोध शीर्षक से संबंधित प्राथमिक एवं द्वितीयक स्रोतों का प्रयोग किया गया है सन् 1840 ई. तक अंग्रेजों द्वारा चित्रकूट जनपद के आस-पास की मालगुजारी अत्यधिक मात्रा में वसूल की जाती रही, जिसका विरोध हिंदू और मुस्लिम भाइयों ने मिलकर किया उस समय *cknk earjgohans kh i yVu dh l kr i fDr; k;* तैनात थीं<sup>1</sup> किंतु तंतिकारियों में जोश हिलोरे मार रहा था अतः अंग्रेजों ने हिंदू-मुस्लिम एकता को तोड़ने के लिए पवित्र नदी मंदाकिनी के किनारे बसे हजारों गोवों में गोकसी को बढ़ावा दिया अंग्रेजों की *QW Mkyks vks 'kkl u djks* की इस नीति के विरुद्ध *dohz dsfudV eA rgl hy* में आवाम ने एक गुप्त सम्मेलन किया और हरबोलों ने गोव-गोव घूम-घूम कर लोगों को अंग्रेजों के इस दूषित कुकृत्य से अवगत कराया जनता दो कारणों से विचलित हुई-एक तो पवित्र मंदाकिनी को अपवित्र किया जा रहा था, दूसरा हिंदुओं की आस्था की ध्तीक गाय का कत्ल किया जा रहा था अतः *6 tuu| 1842 bl* को *eA rgl hy dksfugRFks etnj k| ukst okuk| gj dkyk| cplku' kh efgyk vka vks| fd l kuka* ने घेर लिया और जुद्ध भीड़ ने देखते ही देखते अनेक अंग्रेजों को बंधक बना लिया और फिर एक पेड़ के नीचे विधिवत् पंचायत जुटी और जनता की अदालत ने पोच फिरंगी अफसरों को मौत की सजा सुनाई, जिन्हें पेड़ में लटका कर फांसी दी गई

जनतंति की यह ज्वाला मर्तिहसील तक सीमित रहने की बजाय राजापुर बाजार पहुंची और अंग्रेज अफसर वहां से भी खदेड़ दिए गए वक्त की नब्ज टटोलते हुए मर्का, समगरा और बबेरू के थानेदार और तहसीलदार जान बचाकर भाग खड़े हुए जौहरपुर, पैलानी, बीसनपुर, सेमरी से अंग्रेजों को खदेड़ने के साथ ही तिंदवारी तहसील )बोदा= के कार्यालय को तंतिकारियों ने जलाकर खाक कर दिया और खजाने से तीन हजार रुपया भी लूट लिए

आजादी की इस ध्थम ज्वाला को देखकर अंग्रेज अफसर भयभीत हो गए और उन्होंने अपने पिछलग्गू शासकों को आदेश दिए कि वे शीघ्रातिदृष्टि सहायतार्थ सैनिक मदद भेजें ताकि इन तंतिकारियों को कुचला जा सकें

\*v/; {k| ekufodh , oal kekf t d foKku foHkx e-xk|fp-xk-fo' ofo | ky; ] fp=dW| l ruk| e-i z

इस फरमान पर पन्ना नरेश, छतरपुर की रानी और गौरिहार के राजा के साथ ही अजयगढ़ के राजा की फौज सहायता के लिए चित्रकूट पहुंची किंतु इन अधिकांश सैनिकों ने तंतिकारियों का ही साथ दिया इससे तंतिकारियों में उत्साह और बढ़ गया तथा वे बोदा पहुंचे और वहां के छावनी ध्भारी *fe-dkdj sy* को पकड़कर कत्ल कर दिया और *dkljsy ds dVs fl j dks ckpk uxj ea ?kpk; k x; k* इसके दो दिन बाद बुंदेलखंड को आजाद घोषित कर दिया गया, किंतु अंग्रेजों ने बड़ी संख्या में देश के कोने-कोने से सैनिक बुलाकर यहां के आंदोलन को कुछ समय के लिए दबा दिया<sup>2</sup> *n; kua l j Lorh ds xks {kk vknsyu l svuqkf. kr* सागर जिले में एक घटना घटी जिसने हिंदू मुसलमानों को एक-दूसरे के और अधिक निकट पहुंचाया यह घटना थी, 1920 ई. का रतौना कसाई घर आंदोलन यह कसाई घर सागर से 8 मील दूर पश्चिम में *l v/ MfoM i kV/ dā uh* द्वारा स्थापित किया गया था जिसे धतिदिन 1400 जानवर काटने का लाइसेंस मिला था इतनी बड़ी संख्या में पशु वध को तत्काल बंद कराने के लिए सर्वध्थम जबलपुर के खिलाफत दल के नेता तथा उर्दू समाचार पत्र *'rkt\* ds l ā knd rkt qhu* ने संपादकीय लेख लिखे जिसके कारण भारतीय दंड संहिता की धारा 158 ए और धारा 505 के अंतर्गत मुकदमा चलाकर उन्हें दंडित किया गया<sup>3</sup> इस पर जबलपुर से ध्काशित *debhj* ने देशवासियों से एक मार्मिक अपील की -

हममें अपने धतिनिधियों या नौकरशाहों से कोई उम्मीद नहीं है, क्योंकि उन्होंने दो महीने 27 दिन से कैद मिस्टर ताजुद्दीन के लिए कुछ नहीं किया है अतः अब हम सद्मदय पाठकों से कहना चाहते हैं कि एक तो मिस्टर ताजुद्दीन के पवित्र मिशन को पूरा करने, 'ताज' को जिंदा रखने और डटकर काम करने के लिए सहारा दें और दूसरे मिस्टर ताजुद्दीन के कारागार में रहने की यादगार में मध्य धंत में अहिंसक असहकारिता के आंदोलन को इतना चिंता उठावें कि वकील, विद्यार्थी, व्यापारी पढ़ें और वे पढ़ें-लिखें किसान और मजदूर, सब असहकारिता के नाम पर कुर्बान होते और उसे तन, मन और धन से अधिकाधिक विजयी बनाते नजर आवें<sup>4</sup>

ताजुद्दीन के साथ जेल में हो रहे अत्याचार के संबंध *ma'Nk= l gknj\** नामक मासिक पत्रिका ने छापा था कि *&'fnYyh l sfudyusokys'f[kykQr\* vks tcyij l sfudyus okysrkt ds l ā knd feLVj rkt qhu mu ed yekukaal sg| tskHkjr o'k| dksDdk vfkok dkk| fgnv/ kcds l gknj vks xk| kkrk dksvi uh tlenk=h l e>rsFkA ty ds vf/kdkfj; kausrkt qhu dh Hkkomprk eaefj; e dh i fo=rk rFk b| k ds l R; or dks u ns[kk vks ekusgg vi jkf/k; kcds l kfk mul shk l k/kj .k dsh t| k 0; ogkj fd; kA<sup>5</sup>*

सागर के रतौना कसाई खाना को शीघ्र ही राष्ट्रिय मह-व मिल गया, क्योंकि मध्य धंत के नगर जबलपुर से ध्काशित *'debhj\* ] ^Nk= l gknj\* ] ^Jh 'kkjnk'* आदि समाचार पत्र-पत्रिकाओं ने इसे खूब उछाला और जन समर्थन धप्त किया

पंजाब केसरी लाला लाजपत राय ने अपने दैनिक पत्र 'वंदेमातरम्' में जो कि लाहौर से ध्काशित होता था, में 53 लेख रतौना कसाई खाने पर लिखकर सारे देश को चौका

दियां परिणामस्वरूप रतौना कसाई खाने को बंद कराने के लिए अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर आंदोलन किया गया जिसमें सागर जिले के ds'ko jkepnz [kk/ldj] kllkn; ky feJ] jke pj.k 'kL=h] tkfyē fl g ekrt] eKLVj cyno çl kn l kuh] dntkj ukFk jkg.k] nonukFk e[kt h] Lokeh d".kk un] fcgkj h yky jk; ] fo' okl jko Hkkoj xkfonjko ykdj l ] ckyd".k ykdj l ] Hkklz vcnj xuh] npxl çl kn l u] dntkj ukFk jkg.k आदि सैकड़ों स्वयं सेवकों ने गोव-गोव जाकर कसाई खाने को बंद कराने के लिए एक नई ज्योति जला दी<sup>6</sup> इस आंदोलन के दबाव के कारण धंतीय शासन को jkgrx<} 'kkgx<+vks nekj dsdl kbz?kj kads l kfk& l kfk j rnk dsd l kbz?kj dksn djusdk vkn's k nuk i MKA<sup>7</sup>

इसी समय बोदा में b] kbz fe' kujht आई, अंग्रेजी शिक्षा का ध्वार हुआ, उक्त सभी कारणों से जहा एक ओर शिक्षित मध्यम वर्ग का उत्थान हुआ वहीं दूसरी ओर पश्चिमी उदारवादी विचार हिलोरें मारने लगे सन् 1880 ई. के दशक से सामाजिक एवं सांस्कृतिक गतिविधिया भी बोदा जनपद में सत्तिय हो गईं आर्य समाज की स्थापना के साथ ही अछूतोद्धार, विधवा पुनर्विवाह, अंतर्जातीय विवाह और शुद्धि आंदोलन में तेजी आई<sup>1</sup> वार्षिकोत्सवों में परिव्राजक, संन्यासी, विद्वानों के ओजस्वी भाषण एवं भजन कार्यक्रम संपन्न होने लगे इन सभी घटनाओं ने एक बार फिर शताब्दी के अंत तक युवाओं में असंतोष का संचार कर दिया और इनके दिलों में सुलग रही आग एक बार पुनः सन् 1905 ई. के बंग-भंग के विरोध के रूप में धधक उठी<sup>8</sup>

'QW Mkyks vks' 'kkl u djks' की नीति के अंतर्गत वायसराय लार्ड कर्जन ने 1905 ई. में बंगाल विभाजन किया जिससे हिंदू-मुस्लिम एकता को तोड़ा जा सकें इस कुकृत्य के विरोध में देश व्यापी आंदोलन चलाया गया और रवींद्रनाथ टैगोर के आ-वान पर 16 अक्टूबर jk[kh fnol और शोक दिवस के रूप में मनाया गया इस दिन बोदा में भी लोगों ने उपवास रखा, जन सभाएं की, विरोध ध्वंशन किया, जूलूस निकाला और विदेशी दमनकारी स II के खिलाफ लोग सड़कों पर उतर पड़े, इस घटना ने जन चेतना को जागृत करने में, आग में घी का कार्य किया बंग-भंग विरोधी आंदोलन के साथ ही विदेशी वस्तुओं का बहिष्कार व स्वदेशी अपनाओ आंदोलन भी चलाया गया सन् 1908 ई. में लाला लाजपत राय ने n; kuan ofnd vukFky; की स्थापना के लिए आर्थिक सहायता दी<sup>9</sup> बोदा में समाचार पत्रों की कमी को पूरा करने के लिए सन् 1916 ई. में Jh ukjk; .k çl kn ने इलाहाबाद वि.वि. से स्नातक करने के बाद सा. केदारनाथ के आर्थिक सहयोग से एक छापाखाना खोला और 'cnsy [kM d d jh' नामक समाचार पत्र का ध्काशन धरंभ किया स्वाधीनता आंदोलन के ध्थम चरण में ckpnk ds xk/kh नाम से लोकध्थि नेता ia y{eh ukjk; .k vfxugks=h dk ; kxnku vfoLej .kh; jgk gA उन्होंने रुई की पौनी बनवा कर जगह-जगह पर कई केंद्र स्थापति किए और करघों से खादी बुनवा कर स्वदेशी आंदोलन का ध्वार ध्वार किया उन्होंने चकिया का पिसा हुआ आटा, कोड़ा हुआ चावल, गुड़ और गौ-रक्षक जूते पहन कर लोगों के सामने एक आदर्श ध्स्तुत किया जब गोधी जी ने अगस्त 1920 ई. में असहयोग आंदोलन का शंखनाद किया तो बोदा भी ध्वनित होने

से नहीं बच सका<sup>10</sup> वकीलों ने वकालत त्याग दी, छात्रों ने स्कूलों का बहिष्कार कर दिया, लोगों ने अदालतों में मुकदमे ले जाना बंद कर दियां

असहयोग आंदोलन के कार्यत्मानुसार jk' Vh; fo | ky; dh LFkki uk<sup>11</sup> Jh dkyjke eul [kjke ds xknke eaegYk Nkouh eadh xbzFki जिसमें स्वतः द्दिक्षक बनने वाले सहयोगी थे - ukjk; .k çl kn] Jh l [kohl h yky] Jh "kllkn; ky rFkk Jh }kfj dk çl kn fl Uqg आदि विद्यालय के संचालन हेतु pofj ; k VNKs/h eVdh/2 की व्यवस्था की गयी थीं ध्थ्येक घर में एक मिट्टी की होडी रखी गयी जिसमें चुटकी मुट्टी= भर आटा सुबह-दुाम डाला जाता था जिससे द्दिक्षकों की उदरपूर्ति होती थीं

आंदोलन के कार्यत्म को जन-जन तक पहुंचाने के लिए जिला मुख्यालय से 'l R; kxgh' नामक पत्र का ध्काशन धरंभ किया गया, जो लोगों में तंतिकारी विचारों को जगाने में मील का पत्थर साबित हुआ 'सत्याग्रही' की ध्थिटिंग के साथ-साथ उसमें निहित सद्वाक्त राष्ट्रवाद की चुंबकीय भावना ने लोगों को सहज ही आकर्षित कर लियां जिला ब्रिटिदा सरकार द्वारा 'खट्टर' की बिती को ध्थिबंधित करने के बावजूद gtkjka #i ; kadk fon's kh di Mk çrfnu&ckpnk ds jkeyhyk eñku] egs ojh noh pkj kgk] pkd cktkj o ftyk vnkyr ifj l j ea tyk; k tkrk FkA<sup>12</sup>

यह पहला अवसर था जब इतनी बड़ी संख्या में विद्यार्थियों, दलितों और श्रमिकों ने बढ़-चढ़ कर हिस्सेदारी की थी<sup>13</sup> xk/kh th dLrjck xk/kh] l jkstuh uk; Mwo tsch-di ykuh के साथ बोदा आए और बोदा सहित चिल्ला, कर्वी, मटौंध में ध्थर्धना सभाएं आयोजित कर लोगों से एकजुट होकर सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन में सत्तिय सहयोग देने के लिए अनुधणित कियां बोदा जिले के सभी वर्गों के लोगों ने बड़े उत्साह से बहुत बड़ी धन राद्दि का चंदा एकत्र करके गोधी जी को ध्दान किया<sup>14</sup>

सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन के दौरान बोदा जिले के कांग्रेसियों द्वारा 12 अंथैल, 1930 ई. को n kjjk eñku] jkeyhyk eñku बोदा तथा dohl में नमक बनाकर नमक कानून तोड़ा गया जिसके पद्घात संपूर्ण जिले में स्थानीय स्तर पर जगह-जगह नमक बनाकर नमक कानून का उल्लंघन किया गया<sup>15</sup>

यद्यपि इस आंदोलन में विद्यार्थी, कृषक, मजदूर, वणिक, स्त्री -पुरुष आदि द्वारा बढ़ चढ़ कर हिस्सा लिया गया था किंतु दलितों एवं महिलाओं द्वारा जिस उत्साह से हिस्सेदारी की गयी थी वह बोदा के इतिहास में अद्वितीय थी वैसे भी यहा के इतिहास में सविनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन स्वर्ण अक्षरों में लिखे जाने योग्य हैं आंदोलन का ध्वार देखते ही देखते सभी ग्रामों, कूचों, कस्बों व सभी वर्गों में फैल गयां<sup>16</sup>

सन् 1930 ई. में सरकार ने 65 लोगों को गिरस्तार कर जेल भेजा<sup>17</sup> जिनमें ध्मुख हैं&i a y{ehukjk; .k vfxugks=h] eKLVj ukjk; .k çl kn] d q gj çl kn fl g] feffkyk "kj .k vkfrn कुल मिलाकर इस पूरे आंदोलन के दौरान 100 से अधिक स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को बेदी बनाया गया जिनमें से कुछ को जेल भेजा गया और कुछ को जुर्माना लेकर छोड़ दिया गयां<sup>18</sup>

नेहरू जी के निर्देद्वु पर बोदा की कांग्रेस समिति ने मालगुजारी विरोध आंदोलन भी चलायां

'Hkkj r Nk/Mks vknksyU' की घोषणा के साथ ही बोदा में भी भूचाल आ गया जनपद से बंबई भाग लेने गए स्वतंत्रता सेनानियों को गिरफ्तार कर लिया गया जिससे जनपद की जनता का गुस्सा फूट पड़ा और देखते ही देखते सत्याग्रहियों ने रेलवे की पटरिया उखाड़ फेंकी, टेलीफोन/टेलीग्राफ की लाइनें काट डाली तथा स्ट्रीट लाइट को उखाड़ फेंका, पोस्ट बाक्सों में आग लगा दी गयीं जिले के अनेक हिस्सों में तंतिकारी सत्तिय हो गए तथा ध्वसात्मक कार्यवाहियों को अंजाम दिया जाने लगां बोदा नगर में विद्यार्थी कांग्रेस सत्तिय हो गयीं<sup>19</sup> कर्वी क्षेत्र के धमुख स्त्रतंत्रता सेनानियों में cynð çl kn x[r] Bkdj txi r fl g] nlu n; ky djofj; k] ghjkyky xk[re]धमुख थें बलदेव धसाद गुप्त को राष्ट्रसेवा का इतना नदूा/जूनून था कि वे आजीवन अविवाहित रहे और बेघरबार रह कर गोधीवादी विचारों का ध्वार धसार करते रहें इस प्रकार स्वाधीनता आन्दोलन के दौरान चित्रकूट क्षेत्र में सामाजिक और सांस्कृतिक जागरण की जो गतिविधियाँ हुई उससे जमीनी स्तर पर बहुत प्रभाव पड़ा तथा छोटे-छोटे स्थानीय प्रयासों ने समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों और समुदायों को न सिर्फ एकजुट करके जागरूक किया बल्कि उनमें चेतना का संचार करके राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन की ओर उन्मुख कियां इस समस्त प्रयासों में स्थानीय नेतृत्व ने महती भूमिका निभाई जिसकी चरम परिणति स्वाधीनता के रूप में दिखलाई पड़ती हैं

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### Book Review

## Water Management in Medieval India – A Excellent Compilation of Papers Edited by Vinay Shrivastava

\*Dr. Priya Thakur

**Water Management in Medieval India, by Dr. Vinay Shrivastava; Originals.Delhi., pp. Xii + 261, ISBN 978-81-8454-113-7, 2012, Rs. 550.**

Water Management in Medieval India is a compilation of the ideas presented by the scholars at a National Research Seminar on History on *Water Management in Medieval India and its Historical Importance*. This Seminar was organized by the Department of History, S.V. Post Graduate College, Neemuch (M.P.) and was funded by the UGC, C.R.O. Bhopal. This volume is edited by Dr. Vinay Shrivastava, a renowned scholar and historian of Central India. There are 39 articles in this volume – six in English and 33 in Hindi. The articles deal with a wide range of chronology in terms of political dynasties as well as themes and univocally highlight the various indigenous water harvesting and collection techniques and lifting and conveyance devices evolved in response to regional geo-physical realities and ecological considerations with special reference to Central India. These systems met the drinking water, irrigation, agricultural and other water related needs of the people in the area even in years of lesser than usual rainfall.

Ever since man appeared on the surface of this earth he must have understood the importance of water as it is apparent from the fact that all the ancient civilizations known to history and archaeology thrived on the banks of rivers. Both religious and economic motives prompted the rulers and their officials to undertake the task of providing irrigation facilities to the people. In the volume, some articles are based on the theme of construction techniques – both on traditional terms such as the works of K.P. Singh and Ritu Sharma (pp. 1-6), PushpaDullar and GayatriTandon

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(pp.13-16), Ishwar Singh Ranawat (pp. 67-80), Anuradha Mathur (pp. 95-102) and so on; while some papers discuss the same theme in modern context such as Asha Shrivastava (pp. 7-12) and Vinay Shrivastava (pp. 17-26). The concept of water harvesting and water management has been also discussed by scholars like Meghna Sharma (27-24), Shyam Sundar Nigam (pp. 39-42), Ashok Kumar Singh and Avinash Kumar Dubey (pp. 81-90), DigvijayBhatnagar (pp. 117-122) and others.

The authors have also contributed their papers to this volume which specifically deal with contributions of individual rulers or dynasties in the development of water resources in respective regions, for example, Usha Purohita (pp. 143-148), MadhubalaKulashrestha (pp. 155-162), K. Ratnam and Arvind Singh Gaur (pp. 177-180), Madhulata Mishra (pp. 231-234)and Surendra Kumar Vimal (235-238). RuchiBhardwaj and N.B. Lal (pp. 247-252) talk about the water management of the gardens in Mughal India whereas some authors have glimpsed on selected lake, tank or step well, such as Sanjay Swarnakar (pp. 59-66), S.P. Vyas and ManoramaUpadhyay (pp. 109-116), B.K. Shrivastava (pp. 149-154), AlpanaDubhashe Devas (pp. 199-202) and MallikaBohra (pp. 225-230) etc.

Some interesting and slightly different approach to the subject can be seen in the paper of J.K. Ojha and PriyadarshiOjha (pp. 103-108), who have based their discussions on the unpublished sources of 18<sup>th</sup> century AD.SushilaShaktawat (pp. 181-190) discusses the contribution of women in the construction of wells and *bawadis* in the Mewar and Marwar region and provides a interesting gender perspective to the subject. Kamla Shankar Rathod and Namrata Shrivastava (pp.191-198) write about the water resources described by the Mughal emperor Babur. TejendraVallabha Vyas (pp. 207-212) deals with the epigraphical aspect of the water bodies of Jodhpur.Dilip Kumar Garg (pp. 239-246) concentrates on the financial interplay of the water management with reference to medieval Mewar.

With its invariable physical properties, its physiological functions, and its inherent rationality – manifest and socially organized in wide variety of ways – water potentially provides the same basis for comparative analysis as kinship, food, land tenure or centrepieces of anthropology as a cross- cultural discipline. Dr. Shrivastava has done a laudable work in putting together the articles which “*traces on their current use, preservation, and place in Indian communities the fascinating history of step-wells and other water bodies from their Hindu origins to their second flowering under Muslim rule and eventual decline. It also reflects on their current use, preservation, and place in Indian communities.*” The present edited volume has made a successful attempt to discuss and bring forth the important and interesting aspect of tools and techniques, construction details and the socio-economical role of the water bodies and its role in the progress of human life.

