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The Curious Case of Bodhisiri: Understanding Lay Patronage To Buddhism In The Early Historic Nagarjunakonda Valley

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Abstract

The Nagarjunakonda valley is nestled in the Nallamali hills and situated on the banks of river Krishna in Andhra Pradesh. Spreading over an area of 15 square kilometres, the valley was rich in archaeological remains ranging from the prehistoric times to medieval Periods. However, during the rule of Ikshvaku dynasty, the valley witnessed the proliferation of thirty one Buddhist complexes comprising of stupas, chaityas, viharas and mandapas belonging to different schools and sects. The present paper focuses on a non-royal donation by a woman named Bodhisiri and account for reasons as to how she managed to make lavish grants on a scale comparable to royal donations. The analysis would be done in the background of exclusive association of royal women in the sustenance of Buddhist monasteries, especially with regard to the cohesive and organised manner in which they exercised authority and establish distinct identity in the public space.

The Nagarjunakonda¹ valley is situated on the banks of river Krishna in the Macherla Mandalam of Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh. Surrounded by the offshoots of the Nallamalai hills on three sides, the sites were spread over an area of 15 square kilometres. The valley was rich in archaeological remains ranging from the prehistoric times to medieval Periods. During the early historic phase, the valley was known as Vijayapuri², the capital of the Ikshvaku dynasty which ruled in this part of the Deccan during the 3rd and 4th centuries CE. The present paper focuses on the role of a non-royal woman named Bodhisiri who used the honorific suffix in her name and made grants no lavish than those made by the Ikshvaku

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royalty ruling in the valley. The economic dynamism of the times perhaps allowed her family to make financial fortunes. This factor, along with the connections that her family established with the royalty, propelled her to the status of non-royal elite. The study becomes interesting in the light of Ikshvaku royal women being significantly associated with patronage to Buddhism in the valley.

Nagarjunakonda was discovered by A.R. Saraswati in 1926. A.H. Longhurst commenced exploration and excavation in the valley in the very same year. He prepared a report which carries the description and analysis related to ruined monasteries, apsidal temples, stupas, inscriptions, coins, relics, pottery, statues and over four hundred magnificent bas-reliefs. The second phase of work on the site comprised of a series of seasons of excavation commencing in 1938 under the supervision of T.N. Ramchandran. The report appeared in 1953 and documented Hindu temples as well. A massive excavation project was undertaken in 1954. Two volumes of report were prepared. The first volume (1975) prepared by R. Subrahmanyam and others dealt with prehistoric and megalithic remains, while the second volume (2006) edited by K.V. Soundararajan comprises of early historic remains.

The antiquity of Buddhism in the valley can be traced back to pre-Ikshvaku times. An inscription of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satkarni dated to the 6th regnal year of his reign and written on limestone in Prakrit records the gift of a pillar on the *Vaisakha purnima* day in the fourth *paksha* of summer (*grishma*).³ The gift was probably meant for raising the Buddhist *mandapa* (hall). This is because the invocation of the inscription reads [*Na*]mo *bhagavato Agapogalasa* which literally means ‘adoration to the Lord, the best among men’. This epithet was frequently used in other inscriptions also and referred to the Buddha only. The patronage by Satavahanas in the valley is further confirmed by findings of fifty four copper coins issued by different kings of the dynasty. During the rule of Ikshvaku dynasty, the valley witnessed mushrooming of thirty one Buddhist stupa/monastery complexes belonging to different schools and sects.⁴ Except along the bank of river Krishna, these establishments were found throughout the region and revealed various combinations and arrangements of the stupas, chaityas, viharas and *mandapas*.

The mahachaitya or the main stupa was modelled on the pattern of a wheel. This was a defining feature of the Andhra stupas. The monument comprised of four ayaka platforms in the four cardinal directions with each side supporting 5 marble ayaka pillars inscribed with records of donation exclusively by royal women.⁵ A total of sixteen such inscriptions mentioning 7 royal women have been found. However, Chamtisiri’s name comes out most prominently in the records. She was sister of the founder of Ikshvaku dynasty named Vasisthiputra Shri Chamtamula. Upinder Singh identifies “tones of authority” in the inscriptions of Chamtisiri and suggests considerable exercise of power by royal women. She also cites at least five stupa-monastery complexes that received royal patronage dominated by women. Patronage at such a lavish scale that involves considerable decision making as part

of state policy towards Buddhism and financial implications associated with gift-giving, shows the level of power and authority women must have enjoyed.⁶

A monastic unit called Chula Dhammagiri was located on a hillock designated as Site 43. The complex comprised of a stupa, an apsidal temple and a four-winged vihara. The most significant feature of the monastery was the finding of an inscription⁷ on the stone floors of the temple. This record registers a list of pious donations made by a non-royal woman and a lay worshipper (*upasika*) named Bodhisiri in the 14th regnal year of the reign of Siri Virapurisadata. She dedicated the chaitya and the pillared hall to the *acaryas* from a place called Tambapamna (Sri Lanka). Through their teachings, these senior monks are mentioned to have gladdened (*pasadaka*) the lands of Kasmira (Kashmir Valley), Gamdhara (Rawalpindi Peshawar area), Cina (China), Cilata (Kiratas), Tosali (part of Orissa), Avaramta (perhaps a reference to Aparanta in Western India), Vanga (Bengal), Vanavasi (region of Banavasa in Karnataka), Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?), and the island of Tambapamni.⁸ This shows that these were high profile monks who engaged in proselytizing missions for popularising Buddhism far and wide. The inscription indicates that her works of piety also include variety of gifts to viharas in the region.

Bodhisiri was not the only member in her family to carry the honorific suffix 'siri' in the name. The names of her daughters-in-law are Bhadasiri and Misi. The latter is interpreted by Vogel as the Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit name Misri. Out of a total of 29 relatives of Bodhisiri mentioned in the inscription, the three with the 'siri' suffix needs to be analysed and explained. The father-in-law of Bodhisiri was a *gahapati* named Revata who lived at Govagama. Her father was a merchant (*vaniya*) whereas one of her relative was a *kosthagarika* (treasurer). The *gahapatis* were the wealthy sections of the society who had an economic base in agriculture. They utilised their profit for re-investment in commercial activities. Therefore, a close association between the *gahapati* and the *vaniya* reinforced the financial position of each other and contributed to their prosperity and affluence. The early centuries of the Christian era in the Krishna-Godavari region is characterised by an evolving and specialised economy shaped considerably by commercial or artisanal activities rather than restricted to traditional self-sufficient agricultural practices. A dynamic and vibrant economy results in the intensification of money circulation in the region. A Nagarjunakonda inscription mentions four *sreni* units situated in the Ikshvaku capital under the control of the *nigama*. This reflects the growing clout of the commercial elites. Bodhisiri probably belonged to a similar, highly influential family who were not restricted to matter of finances but extended their sway over urban administration as well, especially those related to trade and commerce. The social prestige of the family was further enhanced by the royal connection established by her uncle named Bhada (a treasurer) who worked in the financial administration of the Ikshvakus.

The range of donations made by Bodhisiri was perhaps an attempt to assert the enhanced financial, social and political positions that her family acquired. It is

interesting to note that the three relatives in question were related to finance. Probably, other rich *gahapatis* and *vaniya* also lived in the valley. Yet, they could not assert themselves as distinctively (no other such inscriptions have been found) as the family of Bodhisiri. This shows that the treasurer (*kosthagarika*) was crucial person in the family in enhancing the social prestige and in increasing the financial fortunes of the family. He could have resorted to favouritism in matters related to taxation or duties on goods. Inscriptional analysis reveals that there was perhaps a royal restriction on the usage of 'siri' as prefix or suffix in names. However, Bodhisiri utilised her family links and influence in acquiring such a suffix for herself and two other members. She showed her gratitude to the royalty by supplementing the tradition of donation by royal women and also by tracing the lineage of the Ikshvakus with that of the Buddha.

In the context of non-royal donations in the valley, it is interesting to note the finding of a lay gift comprising of a slab and a coping stone (*deya-dhamma*) by the family of Cadakapavatica, his housewife (*gharini*) Padumavani and two sons Hagasiri and Nagatara, and the latter's wife and daughters at the *mahachaitya* (Site 9) which was evidently, heavily patronised by the royal women.⁹ This shows that the high visibility of the royalty at the site was not an inhibitory factor for the laity not to donate and such sites remained inclusive and open to non-royal people as well. The accessibility of the site to the city as a whole is even clear by its location in the valley. There is a need to review the understanding that "the monastic establishment of Nagarjunakonda was not the result of community patronage".¹⁰ The overwhelming presence of records at sites like Amaravati and Sanchi suggesting lay support to the monasteries should not be the criteria or standard for scholars to understand and assess the support base at other sites. There is a need not to be overawed by the high number of royal inscriptions at Nagarjunakonda. Support to a monastic establishment involves both extending help in erecting the physical infrastructure and making sure the donation of gifts in cash or kind (including perishable materials), which could sustain the monastery. The latter, as mentioned in the Vinaya text, included food, drink, clothes, carriages, flowers, scents, ointments, seats, lodging, lamps and oils.¹¹

Nagarjunakonda emerged as a spectacular centre of Buddhism. The political elites represented by royal women played an extremely significant role in financing Buddhist monastic institutions. Their collective congregation and patronage at the main stupa reveals strongly about their sense of an independent identity and its assertion in the public domain. The monasteries received non-royal patronage as well and the example of Bodhisiri shows how private individuals with better financial position and connections with the royalty could afford generous patronage. However, the role of non-royal donations cannot be over emphasised. This is because artistic activities witnessed a decline with the eclipse of Ikshvaku dynasty. It is interesting to note that in the case of Nagarjunakonda, Hindu traditions continued to flourish side by side in the valley which provides ample scope for historians to trace parallel developments and locate points of

convergence. Such an exercise would require moving beyond a single episode to focus on multiple strands, working out nuances and generating a broad and complex history of the entire valley.

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1. An enlarged version of this paper with a different title was read at the Research Scholars Workshop titled *History Writing: New Themes and Methods*, organized by the Department of History, University of Delhi on 3rd and 4th March 2016.
2. Vijayapuri literally means the 'City of Victory'. One does not get enough historical records to prove that the city emerged victorious in battles. However, the location of the city would have certainly posed difficulty to the enemies in impregnating it. Such strategic location was perhaps considered by the people as an omen of victory in any future battle.
3. H. Sarkar, 1970. Nagarjunakonda Prakrit Inscription of Gautamiputra Vijaya Satakarni, Year 6, in D.C. Sircar and G.S. Gai (ed). *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 274.
4. Out of these sites, a total of 13 have yielded inscriptional records.
5. These have been designated as *Ayaka* Pillar inscriptions A2, A3, A4, B1, B2, B3, B4, B5, C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, D2, D3 and D4. In the present nomenclature, A, B, C, and D corresponds to the directions east, south, west and north respectively, of the *ayaka* pillars on the 'Great Stupa'. Since each direction had five pillars, the numbers attached to an alphabet tells the pillar number of a particular side, read from left to right. For example, C1 would stand for first pillar of the group of *ayakas* located on the western side. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 20, pp. 1-18.
6. Upinder Singh. 2016. Buddhism in the City of Victory, in *The Idea of Ancient India: Essays on Religion, Politics and Archaeology* (Sage Publications India Private Limited, New Delhi), p. 51.
7. This record is referred to as Second Apsidal Temple inscription F, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 22.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
9. This inscription is labelled in the *Epigraphia Indica* as 'Sculpture inscription J'. The family relations mentioned in the record shows that Cadakapavatica and Padumavani were the elders in the family and played the role of grandparents as well. For details, see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 20, p. 25.
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Rate of Lands in Epigraphic Sources of The Gupta and Post-Gupta Period (Ad 320-750)

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Abstract

The inscriptional data supplements the information cited in the Amarakosa and in the works of Kalidasa regarding the types of land. The rate of lands were fixed on the basis of its fertility by the Pustapalas and Patradasa. Inscriptional records also refer to agrarian expansion, which resulted in the emergence of many new towns during from AD 320 to 750.

The land was the bed-rock of ancient Indian economy. Kamandaki said that, “a kingdom flourishes through the fertility of its soil, and the king prospers through the flourishing condition of the kingdom. Therefore for his own prosperity, a king should try to make his territory as fertile as possible.”¹ Similarly Kalidasa in *Raghuvanā* said that cultivation, animal husbandry etc. is a great source of national wealth.² The above references show that land was the main source of wealth and the chief support of life in the history of India. Different types of land existed in that period. Amarakosa talks about twelve types of land i.e. *urvara* (fertile), *ushara* (barren), *maru* (desert), *aprahata* (fallow), *sadvala* (grassy land), *pankila* (muddy), *jalaprayamanupam* (watery or wet land), *kachchha* (land contiguous to water), *sakravati* (sandy), *sarkara* (land full of pebbles and pieces of lime stone), *nadimatrika* (land watered from a river for cultivation) and *devamatrika* (land watered from rain).³ But economically we can classify lands into *kshetra* (cultivable), *khila* (waste), *vastu* (habitable), *gopatha-sarah* (pasture), *udyana* (gardens) and *jangala* (forest) lands.⁴ Out of these *kshetra*, *khila* and *vastu* lands are most commonly terms used in the inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period. Literary and epigraphic sources of the Gupta and post-Gupta period throw light on the importance of land in the life of common man. Inscriptions of the Gupta and post-Gupta period clearly record that care was taken in the sale and purchase of different categories of land. Rate of land was further defined and fixed in epigraphic sources of that period. The records were maintained by the *Patradasa* and *Pustapala* (Record-keeper) to avoid future conflicts and confusion.

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In Dhanaidaha Copper-plate inscription, the year 113 (AD 432-33),⁵ there is a reference to the person Vishnu who approached the village house holders, the *mahattaras*, the *ashta-kul-adhikaranas* and to the local government of the district, to purchase cultivated land. The applicant wanted to buy one *kulyavapa* of cultivated land, at the usual rate (rate of land is not clear due to mutilation of the plate) prevalent in the *vishaya* of Khada(ta?)para. Further in 1st Faridpur Copper-plate inscription,⁶ there is a reference to the person who wanted to purchase *kshetra* (cultivated) land in the village Dhruvilati and bestow it to the brahamana Candrasvamin. The *Pustapala* Vinayasena further testify to the established rate of *kshetra* along the eastern sea is four *dinaras* for the area sown with a *kulya* of seed. The *Pustapala* noted that after receiving twelve *dinaras* three *kulyavapa* of *kshetra* land have sold to Vatabhog. In 2nd Faridpur copper-plate inscription,⁷ Vasudeva-svamin approached the district administering and the leading men of the districts, to buy *kshetra* (cultivated) lands with portion (*kshetrakhandalakam*) and bestow it on the brahamana Somasvamin. Thus the *kshetra* (cultivated) land in eastern region is sold at the rate of four *dinaras* for the area which can be sown with a *kulya* of seed. Similarly in 3rd Faridpur copper-plate inscription, regnal year 18,⁸ Vatsapala-svamin (kind of custom officer) bought the *kshetra* land from Bharadvaja brahamana and further want to bestow it to brahamana Gomidattasvamin. The *Pustapala* (Nayabhuti) accepted his request and testify to the prevailing rate of *kshetra* land in the eastern region is four *dinaras* for the area that can be sown with a *kulya* of seed. The *Pustapala* further recorded that the land measured at the standard measure of 8 x 9 reeds, by the hands of trusty and upright Sivacandra and sold about one *kulya*-sowing area of cultivated land to Vatsapala-svami. On the basis of above references we can say that rate of *kshetra* (cultivated) land is four *dinaras* for one *kulyavapa* or the area that can be sown with a *kulya* of seed.

Similarly epigraphic sources further testify to the rate of *khila* land in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. In Sultanpur copper-plate inscription of AD 440,⁹ the artisan Bhima, the scribes Prabhuchandra, Rudradasa, Devadatta, Lakshamana, Kantideva, Sambhudatta and Krishnadasa and the *Pustapalas* Simhanandin and Yasodaman requested to *Ayuktaka* and local *adhikarana* and the leading men and house-holders of the Sringavera *vithi*, to allow brahamanas Devabhata, Amaradatta and Mahasenadatta to buy nine *kulyavapas* of *khila* land, yielding no revenue, at the prevailing rate. The *Pustapalas* further verified the application and the local rate i.e. two *dinaras* for each *kulyavapa* quoted for the sale of *khila* land. The lands were distributed in the villages of Hastisirsha, Vibhitaki, Gulmagandhika and Dhanyapatalika. After receiving the payment the land was granted i.e. five *kulyavapas* to Devabhata and two each to Amaradatta and Mahasenadatta. The nine *kulyavapas* of *khila* land was demarcated properly. Then the grant was preserved after brahamanas and other residents of the villages gave their consent on this transaction. In Baigram copper-plate inscription (AD 447-48),¹⁰ two family headmen Bhoyila and Bhaskara requested to purchase three *kulyavapas* and two *dronas* of *sthala-vastu* (homestead) land, belonging to the state. The application was accepted and the *khila* land was sold at the rate of two *dinaras* for each *kulyavapa*, in accordance with the principle of perpetual endowment (*akshayaniviya*). *Pustapalas* Durgadatta and Arkkadasa recorded on the copper plate charter that, “on making income of six *dinaras* and eight *rupakas* (silver coins) from Bhoyila

and Bhaskar for the sake of the temple of Lord Govindasvamin, three *kulyavapas* of *khila* fields in Trivrita and one *dronavapa* of *vastu* land in Srighohali were granted to Bhoyila and one *dronavapa* of *vastu* land in Srighohali to Bhaskara.” On the basis of above reference we can mark the denomination of

$\frac{1}{2}$ Dinara	=	8 Rupakas
1 Dinara	=	16 Rupakas

In Paharpur copper-plate Grant (AD 479),¹¹ Natha-Sarmma (a brahmana) approach the district officer and the *nagara-sreshthi* at Pundravardhana, to purchase land at the rate of three *dinaras* for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kulyavapas*. For the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower and lamps etc. and for the construction of a resting place at the *vihara* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandi at Vata-Gohali The land was distributed measuring 4, 4 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *dronavapas*, respectively at the villages of Prishthima-pottaka, Goshatapunjaka and Nitva-Gohali and home stead land measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ *dronavapas* at Vata-Gohali. Board of *Pustapalas* further pointed out that there was no objection to the transaction and the council accepted their request. In 1st Damodarpur copper-plate inscription,¹² there is a reference to the sale of *khila* (untilled) land, as yet unploughed, at the rate of three *dinaras* for each *kulyavapa* (1 *kulya* is equal to 8 *dronas* and *vapa* mean the place where seeds are sown)¹³ according to *nivi-dharma*. The *Patradasa* Risidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta will keep the record that one *kulyavapa* of land was given to the brahmana Karpatika, in the north-west region of Donga, after receiving three *dinaras*. Similarly in 2nd Damodarpur copper-plate inscription¹⁴ again to the grant of land measuring five *dronas* with *hatta* and *panaka*. Further *Patradasa* Risidatta, Jayanandin and Vibhudatta ascertained that the “land measuring five *dronas* with *hatta* and *panaka*, in the west Airavata was given after the established rate of three *dinaras* for each *kulyavapa* of land. Again in 3rd Damodarpur copper-plate inscription¹⁵ there is a reference to the sale of *khila* land at the rate of two or three *dinaras*, whereas it was determined by the *Patradasa* that “the application is a proper one. *Patradasa* further recorded the sale of one *kulyavapas* of *khila* land, free from revenue, is given to Nabhaka, after receiving two or three *dinaras*. In 4th Damodarpur copper-plate¹⁶ there is a reference to the sale of *vastu* land. Earlier in Donga-grama 4 *kulyavapas* of *aprada* (land not given to anybody else before this transaction was effected, i.e. unsettled lands)¹⁷ and 7 *kulyavapas* to *nagara-sreshthin* Ribhupala. Now he wants to build two temples and two store-rooms for the supreme gods Kokamukha-svamin and Svetavaraha-svamin and requested to his majesty (*ayuktaka*), to give him 4 *kulyavapas* with *vastu* (building-grounds) land. According to the prevailing custom of sale of one *kulyavapas* for 3 *dinaras*. After his request, *Patradasa* Vishnudatta, Vijayanandin and Sthanunandin, properly made application that *vastu* land is to be given, in the neighbourhood of those cultivated lands for the purpose of building temples and store-rooms to Ribhupala. Thus from the above references it is clear that agriculture was the main source of wealth. Each transaction of land was properly recorded and measured by *Pustapalas* or *Patradasa* and the prevailing rate of land was

1 <i>Kshetra Kulyavapa</i>	=	4 <i>Dinaras</i>
1 <i>Khila Kulyavapa</i>	=	2 to 3 <i>Dinaras</i>

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Epigraphic sources of this period further show that a land sold was properly measured with a particular rod of 8 (breadth)×9 (length) reeds (*dhanu or nala*). In Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription of the year 113 (AD 432-33),¹⁸ on the request of Vishnu, one *kulyavapa* of *kshetra* (cultivated) land properly measured with 8 (breadth) x 9 (length) (*astaka-navaka-nala*) reeds are granted to him. In 3rd Damodarpur Copper-plate inscription¹⁹ there is a reference to the sale of *khila* land inspected by the *mahattaras* and others. Similarly in 1st Faridpur copper-plate inscription,²⁰ 2nd Faridpur copper-plate inscription²¹ and in 3rd Faridpur copper-plate inscription,²² the Pustapala Janmabhuti further recorded that *kshetra* land is measured with the standard 8 reeds in breadth and 9 reeds in length by the hand (*hasta*) of trusty and upright Sivachandra (as measured by the hand of Sivachandra).²³ In Baigram Copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 128 (AD 447-48),²⁴ the *khila* land was defined by the measurement of 8×9 reeds by the hands (*hasta*) of *Darvvikarma*, to avoid conflicts. *Hasta* (length of the lower arm) is still popular measure in many parts of India.²⁵ On the basis of above references we can mark that

<i>Hasta</i>	=	18 to 21 ¼ inches
<i>Nala or Dhanu</i>	=	8 (breadth)×9 (length)
1 <i>Kulyavapa</i>	=	8 <i>Dronavapa</i>

The demand for the land was so high that boundaries were demarcated carefully in epigraphic sources and even Brihaspati and Narada enacted laws and regulations to safe guard the interest of the land-holders. According to Brihaspati determination of boundaries should be settled at the time of any change and it should be marked by visible and invisible signs to dispel doubts.²⁶ Similar attempts, to avoid confusion, are seen in the epigraphic records of that period, in which lands were properly demarcated. In 2nd Faridpur copper-plate inscription,²⁷ the *kshetra* land is demarcated carefully, on the east lies the boundary of Soga's land, on the south the land is marked with the old standing *pattuki* (gourd) and *partaki* (betel-nut palm) and on the west the boundary marked by the bullock-cart track. In 3rd Faridpur copper-plate inscription,²⁸ the sold land was further demarcated, on the east the boundary of the royal grant to brahmanas in Dhruvilati village, on south and north boundaries of karanaka and on the west the boundary of Silakunda village. In Sultanpur copper-plate inscription (AD 440),²⁹ the nine *kulyavapa* of *khila* land is demarcated properly. Out of nine *kulyavapas*, one was enclosed by an ancient moat, river Vata in north, the borders of the, Gulmagandhika on the west. Two *dronavapas* were in the east of Gulmagandhika and to the west of the first pathway. The remaining seven *kulyavapas* and six *dronavapas* were in Tapasapottaka and Dayitapottaka in the *pravesya* of Hastisirsha, and in Chitravatangara in the *pravesya* of Vibhitaki. In Baigram copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 128 (AD 447-48),³⁰ so the *Pustapala* marks the boundaries of three *kulyavapa* of *khila* land from all sides with chaff and charcoal which will be permanent. In Paharpur copper-plate grant of the Gupta year 159 (AD 479),³¹ the village elders further mark the land (measuring 4, 4 and 2 ½ *dronavapas*, distributed in four villages i.e. Prishthima-pottaka, Goshatapunjaka and Nitva-Gohali and home stead land measuring 1 ½ *dronavapas* at Vata-Gohali) boundaries at the request of council to avoid future disputes. In 3rd Damodarpur copper-plate inscription³² there is a reference to the sale of *khila* land inspected by the *mahattaras* and others. The officers and house-holders marked the

land, from where Nagadeva land is in the south, from west, east and the north boundary is touched with Vayi-grama. Similarly in 4th Damodarpur copper-plate inscription,³³ lands were further demarcated, 2 *kulyavapas* with *vastu* (habitable land) in both Svachchhandapataka;and Lavangasika, 1 *kulyavapa* with *vastu* to the north of *Pancha-kulyavapaka* (plot of land having probably for its area five *kulyavapas*) and the east of Jambunnadi, and 1 *kulyavapa* to the east of the *pataka* in Puranavrindikahari. This kind of demarcation can be seen in the present day land deeds too. The demarcation and measurement of land saved them from future conflicts in the sale and purchase of plots of *kshetra* (cultivated), *khila* (uncultivated) and *vastu* (habitational) lands.

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17. See footnote Epigraphia Indica, Vol.XV, No.7, p.140
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20. Indian Antiquary, Vol.XXXIX, July-1910, p.193-198
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3

A Note on Chatarapana Satakarni

Jappen Oberoi

Abstract

The political history of the Satavahanas is plagued with never ending debates. Controversies galore in relation to a Chatarapana Satakarni who is mentioned in a Naneghat inscription dated in his regnal years. Unravelling the political

Key words: *Satavahanas, Chatarapana Satakarni, Naneghat inscription chronicle of this rather enigmatic ruler is the purpose of this paper.*

The discovery of an inscription, in Prakrit language and characters resembling epigraphs of Yajna-sri's reign, found above a cistern in Naneghat was announced by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in his paper 'On the Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana'.¹ The object of the present inscription was to record that on the tenth day of the fifth fortnight of winter in the 13th regnal year of one Vasishtiputra Satakarni, Grihapati Damaghosha of Kamavana dug a water-cistern in the Satagara hill, where the present inscription has been incised, and dedicated it as his pious gift to the Community of Buddhist monks.²

Bhagvanlal Indraji read the complete name of the reigning king as Vasithiputasa Chatarapana Satakanisa, and connecting it with a coin of Yajna-sri Satakarni he found from Sopara with the legend: Chatarapanasa Gotamiputakumaru Sirisatakani, he deduced that Chatarapana was the father of Yajna-sri.³ EJ Rapson very cogently showed the fallacy of the reading of the coin.⁴ While Bühler concurred with Bhagvanlal's reading and inference,⁵ VV Mirashi disagreed on the grounds that Chatarapana Satakanisa appeared a very curious name and none like it had been noticed in the Puranic dynasty of the Andhra kings.⁶ With no facsimile or estampage available he conjectured that the inscription had in the first line the words Vasishiputasa siri-Khada-Satakanisa

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and identified him with Skanda Satakarni mentioned in a manuscript of Vayupurana to have reigned for three years.⁷ Mirashi's reading is just a guess and hasn't gained much acceptance among scholars.⁸ Rapson rejecting the possibility of Chatarapana being the name of a king made the ingenious suggestion that it must be regarded as a local title.⁹ As the term, writes KP Chattopadhyaya, "Chatrapa" often occurs on records of the Kshatrapas (in Kharosthi) to denote their title and as "Kshatrapa" is held to be a derivative of Kshatrapavana, the term Chatarpana turns out to be a derivative of the complete form of the title Kshatrapa.¹⁰ BN Mukherjee¹¹ hesitatingly translated it as 'of the Kshatrapa family'. Pandit Bhagvanlal¹² regarded Vasishtiputra Chatarapana Satakarni as the immediate successor of Pulumavi and Buhler¹³ building on Bhagvanlal's premise proposed that Vasishtiputra Satakarni of the Kanheri inscription and Chaturapana Vasishtiputra Satakarni of the Naneghat inscription were the same monarchs. Rapson¹⁴ regarded the two personages, Vasishthiputra Chatarpana Satarkarni and Vasishthiputra Satarkarni, as identical with Pulumavi. VS Bakhle¹⁵ pointing out the absence of any similarity between the name of the king mentioned in the Naneghat epigraph and that of Pulumavi, noted that the Vayu Purana mentions a Satarkarni after Pulumavi and this probably referred to Vasishtiputra Satakarni of the Naneghat and Kanheri inscriptions.

Before we propose our hypothesis it's important to enumerate some facts about Vasishthiputra Satarkarni-

- a. He was, as the metronymic suggests, Vasishtiputra Pulumavi's younger uterine brother and thusly his successor.¹⁶
- b. A manuscript of Vayu Purana assigns him a reign of 29 years.¹⁷
- c. The Junagarh inscription of Rudradaman¹⁸ exhorts that Satarkarni 'Lord of Dakshinapatha' (identified with Vasishthiputra Satarkarni),¹⁹ was twice defeated in fair fight but wasn't destroyed on account of the nearness of their connection.
- d. The connection that deterred Rudradaman from annihilating Satarkarni is made conspicuous by the Kanheri inscription which states that the queen of Vasishthiputra Satarkarni, who was born in the Kardamaka royal family, was the daughter of Mahakshatrapa Rudra, i.e. Rudradaman I.²⁰
- e. The Naneghat inscription gives him the title of Chatarapana.
- f. A lead coin has been found at Junnar bearing the legend Vasathiputasa and Mahakshatapasa and is assigned to him.²¹

It is a well established fact that most of the territories won by Vasishthiputra Satarkarni's father (Gautamiputra Satarkarni) from the Kshaharatas²² were lost by his elder brother to the Kardamakas.²³ Vasishthiputra Satarkarni, seeking vengeance and ignoring the family ties, declared war on Rudradaman and even after failing the first time went to battle for the second time but in vain. Losing Aparanta to Rudradaman

must have affected the credibility of the Satavahanas, especially in and around that province. Vasishthiputra Satarkarni certainly did not stand on equal grounds to the Kardamaka king which is apparent by the label of Chatarapana found from an inscription not very far from Rudradaman dominion. Whether Chatarapana is interpreted simply as him being a Kshatrpa of Rudradaman or as depicting his affiliation to the Kshatrpa family²⁴, it reveals the influence that his victorious father-in-law had on him or even on the citizens of Naneghat for one of them labelled his king as Chatarapana. It is not exactly honorific for he, a reigning Satvahana monarch²⁵, would have been given this title only after his defeat to Rudradaman and points towards Vasishthiputra Satarkarni being seen as nominally subordinate to Rudradaman in that region. Since there is no concrete evidence of Vasishthiputra Satarkarni's triumph over Rudradaman, it is safe to presume that Vasishthiputra Satarkarni outlived his father-in-law and minted the coins containing the legend Mahaksatapasa after the latter's demise to reclaim his prestige in the eyes of the people of the Aparanta region. Thus we can glean that Vasishthiputra Satarkarni was a junior contemporary of Rudradaman²⁶ and this further reaffirms the fact that it was he who was Rudradaman's Satavahana adversary mentioned in the Junagarh inscription.

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4. A.M. Shastri, *Op.Cit.*, p. 74; B.N. Mukherjee in H.C. Raychaudhuri, *op.cit.*, p. 745; Mala Dutta, *A Study of the Satavahana Coinage*, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, 1990, p. 53
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6. Mala Dutta, *Op.Cit.* pp. 53-54 A lead coin of Mahaksatrpa Vasisthiputra has been found at Junnar. Obverse- Lion facing to it right; spear-cum-battle-axe placed on a platform; legend can be read as: Vasath(i)putasa. Reverse- On the left bow and arrow; on the right a tree in railing; an ornamented shaft (?) by the side of the tree; legend: Mahaksatapasa.
7. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 61
8. A.M. Shastri, *Op.Cit.*, p. 72
9. K.P. Chattopadhyaya (*op.cit.*, p. 557) and K. Gopalachari (*Op.Cit.*, p. 322, fn. 1) think that the name Chatarapana indicated tremendous Kshatrpa influence and that he was a Kshatrpa vessel.
10. The vassalage would have been more in name for his Naneghat inscription is dated in his own regnal years and this title is given to him only in this inscription which is found from a place near Rudradaman's dominion. The citizens B. Indrajai, 'On the Antiquarian Remains at Sopara and Padana' in *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, Bombay, pp. 313-314
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21. B. Indraj, *Op.Cit.*, p. 313
22. G. Bühler, *Op.Cit.*, p. 273
23. E.J. Rapson, *Op.Cit.*, p. xli
24. V.S. Bakhle, 'Satavahanas and the contemporary Ksatrapas' in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, New Series, Vol. III, London, 1928, p. 80
25. of this place must have regarded him as being under Rudradaman political influence after his two defeats to the Kardamaka king.
26. The chronological frameworks of scholars like A.M. Shastri which show that Vasishthiputra Satarkarni died in c. 147 AD (*op.cit.*, p. 131) and Rudradaman around 165 AD (*op.cit.*, p. 159) are rendered incorrect.



4

Educational System In Vedic And Post Vedic Period

Dr. Shankar lal yadav

Abstract

In Vedic era education had a very prominent place in society. It was being considered as pious and important for society. In the eyes of Aryans, education was the only means to acquire, prosperity in the field of physical, mental, spiritual and social, developments. Education was must for every- body for becoming cultured. In absence of education people were considered as uncultured and animal like thing. Education was an instrument to show new paths and knowledge to us. Education opens our hidden qualities and helps people to attain Salvation. It can be regarded as “Third Eye” of human beings. Through education only a man gets rid from debt of Guru and so was the feeling of people at that time. In short by putting different logic, we can say that education was the most important aspect of human life of that period. Terms such as knowledge, awakening, humility, and modesty etc. Are often used to characterize education in the Vedic period.

The main characteristics of vedic education can be briefly enumerated as follows:¹

1.Knowledge: Education is knowledge. It is mans third eye. This aphorism means that knowledge opens mans inner eye, flooding him with spiritual and divine light, which forms the provision for man’s journey through life. Through education, the development of every aspect of human life become possible. Knowledge protects an individual like a mother, inspires him to follow the path of good conduct as father does, and gives the pleasure that one’s wife provides. Education leads to the development of personality. The word “Veda” originates from the root “vid” which bears the meaning of knowledge. Sayana declares that the Veda is a means to the obtaining of the adored that which is worthy of worship, as well as means to the banishment of the underised, the evil. Knowledge of the four Vedas (Rig-Veda,

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Yajurveda, Samaveda and Atharvaveda), along with the knowledge of Shruti, Smriti, etc; provided an individual, with new knowledge which broadened his intellectual horizon.

2. Aims of Education: The ultimate aim of education in ancient Indian was not knowledge as preparation for life in this world or for life beyond, but for complete realization of self for liberation of the soul from the chains of life both present and future. During this period, education had an idealistic form, in which the teachers (acharyas) laid stress upon worship of God, religiousness, spirituality, formation of character, development of personality, creation of an aptitude for the development of culture, nation and society. The immediate aim of education however was to prepare the different castes of people for their actual life through vocational education. Passing of examination and getting a degree, as considered to be at present was not the aim of education the aim was moral, religious and spiritual. So far as discipline is concerned it was not external at all but self discipline.

3. Methods of Instruction-It were a pupil centered education. No single method of Instruction was adopted, though recitation by the pupil followed by explanation by the teacher was generally followed. Besides question² –Answer, Debate and Discussion, Storytelling was also adopted according to need. There was no classroom teaching. However monitorial system was prevalent and senior pupils were appointed to teach Juniors. Travel was regarded as necessary to give finishing touch to education so the methods of teaching generally practiced during Vedic period were mainly Maukhik (oral and other method was based on Chintan (thinking or reflection) In the oral method the students were to memorize the mantras (Vedic Hymns) and Richayas (Verses of Rig-Veda) in order that there might not be changed wrongly and they might remain preserved in their original forms. Under the oral methods these prosodies were thoroughly taught on which Richayas happened to be based. Special emphasis was laid on the various lines of a particular verse, their pronunciation and meanings. In these oral method correct pronunciations was specially emphasized. For this instruction in grammar and pronunciation was compulsory for all. Thinking method was another part of the teaching method. Through this an attempt was made to preserve the Veda mantras (Vedic hymns) and Richayas (Vedic verses) Manan was higher method of teaching than a thinking. Thorough Manan the meanings of Vedic mantras the meanings of Vedic mantras were developed and preserved in one's own mind. This method was used to encourage the highly intelligent students by guiding them to make research, Similarly in ancient days, Manan (Reflection) was a method specially adopted for highly intelligent students.

4. Medium of Instruction-As these educational institutions were managed and organized by Brahmans and all the books written in Sanskrit, therefore the medium of instruction was Sanskrit.

5. The 'Upnayana' Ritual The word 'upnayana' means to take close to, or to being in touch with. A ceremony called the upnayana ceremony was performed before the child was taken to his teacher. This ceremony was performed at the ages

of 8, 11 and 12 for the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, respectively.³ The ceremony signaled the child's transition from infancy to childhood and his initiation into educational life. In this context, the term upanayana means putting the students in touch with his teacher. With the passage of time, the ceremony came to be conferred to the Brahmins class only.

7. Duration of Education -In the house of the teacher, the student was required to Obtain education up to the age of 24, after which he was expected to enter domestic life students were divided into three categories:⁴

These obtaining education up to the age of 24 –Vasub)

These obtaining education up to the age of 36 –Rudrac)

This obtaining education up to the age of 48.-Audyta.

8. Curriculum Although the education of this period was dominated by the study of Vedic Literature, historical study, stories of heroic lives and discourses on the puranas also formed a part of the syllabus. Students had necessarily to obtain knowledge of metrics. Arithmetic was supplemented by the knowledge of geometry. Students were given knowledge of four Vedas –Rig-Veda, Yajurveda, Samaveda and Atharvaveda. The syllabus took within its compass such subjects as spiritual as well as materialistic knowledge, Vedas, Vedic grammar, arithmetic knowledge of gods, knowledge of the absolute, knowledge of ghosts, astronomy, logic philosophy ethics, conduct etc. The richness of the syllabus was responsible of the creation of Brahman literature in this period. Commercial education and Mathematics education is also one of the chief features of Vedic period. The ideas of the scope and nature of commercial education can be held from manu. Knowledge of Commercial geography, needs of the people of various localities, exchange value and quality of articles and language spoken at different trade centre were considered necessary. Theory of banking was also included in the course. Though there were no organized educational institutional training was usually imparted in the family. As far as Mathematics education is concerned, ancient Indian quite early evolved simple system of geometry. Shulva sutra are the oldest mathematical works probably compassed between 400 BC and 200 A. D. Aryabhata (476.52 BC) is the first great name in Indian Mathematics. The concept of Zero also belonged to this period.⁵

Education in Post Vedic Period

To attain salvation by realizing the truth has been the aims to education during this period only that education was regarded true which helped one be realize this supreme truth. According to the Upanishads truth', alone is the knowledge and the other worldly knowledge is untruth. The worldly knowledge was regarded as ignorance. Upanishads maintain that one cannot attain salvation through worldly knowledge because through this, one becomes involved in illusion (Maya).⁶

Chief Features of Post –Vedic Education1) Upanayan Sanskar, Upanayan Sanskar was considered important both in the vedic and post vedic periods. This is evident at several place in the 18Rigveda. But different values were adhered to in two periods. It was not necessary during the Vedic period to have the upanayan

ceremony before starting education. But during the post Vedic period, Upanayan ceremony was considered necessary for starting education. The Upanayan ceremony became so important during the post Vedic period, that it was usually regarded as second birth of the individual. For the Brahmins this became very important. Brahmins began to be called as Dvij (the twice born or born again). It was after the Upanayan that a Brahmin boy could be called a Dvij.

2. The Important Place of the Teacher- During this period the teacher (Guru) enjoyed a predominant place not only in his Gurukul but in the entire society. He was regarded as a great guide for all. To his pupils he showered all love and affection and used to teach them whatever he knew, but before doing this he always tested the deservingness of a particular pupil. During the Vedic and post Vedic period the teacher's place was second to that of God only. He was more respected than king in society. During the Upanishadic period as well, when self-study (Swadhyaya) was considered as dignified, the place of Guru in society remained intact. It was believed that no knowledge could come without the assistance from the Guru. In other words, it was believed that attainment of salvation was not possible without the help of Guru.

3. Curriculum during post-Vedic Period During this period the curriculum included more subjects than during the Vedic age. Ved Mantras (hymns and verses) were principally taught in the Vedic period. During the post-Vedic period various types of literatures were produced pertaining to the different Vedas. In addition to religious subjects, many worldly subjects were also included in the curriculum. It consisted of Vedas, History, Puranas, Grammar, Mathematics, Brahma-vidya, Nirukti (etymological interpretation of words), astronomy, dance, music etc.⁷ Question answer system prevailed during his period. Through this system difficult and abstract ideas were made simple. The terse spiritual elements were explained. Examples, stories and help of certain biographies were also taken in on a system for elucidating certain points

4. Daily Routines of Students During post-Vedic period the Ashrams (schools) were generally organized and run by Guru (preceptors). It was compulsory to adhere to laid down rules of discipline and conduct.

a. Practical Education- Practical Education consisted of three parts

1. To beg alms
2. To prepare fire for the yajnakund
3. To look after the animals and other fellow beings of the ashram (school)

Besides they were also expected to do agricultural work there were varying alms of all these aspects of practical education. Begging of alms was meant to teach profiteers, preparing of fire for the yajnakund signified mental development of students. Rearing up Ashrama animals and doing agricultural work for self dependency.

b. Mental development- Hearing, Thinking and Meditation were three parts of mental education. For full mental development all these three aspects were considered necessary. Thinking over the heard things and perception through meditation

were the accepted methods of mental development.⁸ This is true even today.

- c) Moral Development-Leading a disciplined and controlled life is the real basis of Moral education. Moral education affects the conduct of the individual. Only oral instruction cannot improve one's conduct. Therefore observance of celibacy was considered necessary for good conduct.

5. Duration of Education- Duration of education during the post Vedic period was almost the same as in the Vedic age. This duration was of about twelve years although the number of subjects of study was increased. However there was no uniform rule for the duration of education we find examples in which students continued to study longer than twelve years.

6. Convocation Address-After receiving education for twelve years students used to assemble near their teacher (Acharya) for blessing before going home. The Acharya on this occasion used to give some pieces of advice for happy and smooth running of their future life. The teacher used to tell them how to lead a life of house holder (Grihastha), how to take care of the society and the nation and how to serve the humanity as a whole. The teacher used to tell all these in a ceremony which was known as samavartan

7. Supreme knowledge-It was compulsory for the students to have full faith in teacher. Only students were considered as deserving of attaining real knowledge of supreme truth that has full faith in the teacher.⁹ So a student was always in search of a real Guru for attaining real knowledge.

8. Women's Education Many changes were introduced in women education during post vedic period. This led to fall of women education. During the Vedic age the women enjoyed equal educational right.¹⁰ During post vedic period they were deprived of the social and religious rites. They were not allowed to participate in religious functions. Now they did not enjoy the same status as before thus the path for their social & mental development was blocked. But an upward trend again appeared in the status of women during upanishadic period¹¹ They were given social & educational rights again & equal status with men was once again provided.

9. Varna system and Education in Society. The Varna system in the Vedic age was based on one's work or duty (karma). During Vedic period one could choose a particular profession as he liked and accordingly his Varna was determined. But during the post Vedic period varna came to be determined by birth.¹² Consequently the whole society was divided into four Varna's -Brahman, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, & Shudra.¹³

However the position of varnas during the post Vedic period had not Degenerated so much as it is found today.¹⁴ Educational Achievements of Vedic age were as follows:¹⁵

1. Education emphasized the development of spirituality the ashram system was adopted for paying of the individual's debt towards the Gods, his forefathers, his teacher and society.
2. The minds of the parents were first prepared to instill in them a desire for the education of their children. It has been said that those parents are the enemy of

- the child who do not teach their children.
3. Great attention was paid to the development of child's character. Teachers lay stress on integral development of the individuals personality.
 4. Social skill was evolved through training in fulfillment of duties.
 5. Efforts were made for the preservation and propagation of the national culture.
 6. Education was free. Its expenses were borne by the society and the king.
 7. While living in Gurukul the child imbibed education in a favorable environment.
 8. A student was compelled to obey the ideals of the Gurukul. He had to shoulder the burden of existence through begging for alms. This practice developed humility and tolerance in the student.
 9. In developing the students character attention was paid to his nature, early experiences upbringing and circumstance.
 10. Self-study (Swadhyaya) was considered more important .
 11. The medium of education was divine pronouncement.
 12. The examination was oral one. The student was required to give oral answers in a congregation of scholars. If he satisfied them, he was given a degree or title. The consensus of the scholars opinion was essential for obtaining such a title .
 13. During this period vocational education was also in vogue Military, Science, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Veterinary Science, Medicine etc were among the subjects taught. Chemistry was also taught. Arts and Handicrafts were highly Respected. Education in Commerce was very popular.

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5

The Splendid Monument of Indo Islamic and Bundeli Architect in Central India: Pran Nath Temple of Panna

Dr. Vinay Shrivastava

Abstract

The post seventeenth century, although a period of political decline saw the emergence of a number of cultural centers at central India (Bundelkhand). One such center which grew during the period was Pran Nath temple or Pranami Dharma, (Nijanand Sampradaya) which is situated in the Panna (Eastern Malwa), Capital of Chhatrasal Bundela.

The temple of Pran Nath belongs to the interesting local sect of the Dhamis or Pran –Nathis. This temple is also called shree Gummat ji temple. It is believed that Pran Nathji lived here and will remain here and thus became the highest Pranami tirtha as Mahamati's Punyasthali, and hence Panna is the Param Dham for Pranamies. This temple reminds one of the great Taj Mahal. The Rang Mahal has eight Pahals. The spherical central Dome is as Muslim architecture and the lotus form on this Dome is according to Hindu tradition. This paper reflects the architectural glory and cultural fusion of Indo-Islamic and Bundeli architecture during latter medieval period in central India. This paper also deals with the nonpopular Pranami sect .

Key words: Pranami Dharma, Dhamis Gummathji, Sundersaths . Shikhar, Takhat, Rang Mahal, Kalash, Pahl, Pachhikari, Bijamandal, Brahma Monies, Lila, sat guru, Varaha, Maya.

I

Panna is the part of Bundelkhand. Bundelkhand is situated in the center of India.¹ Bundelkhand was known as Jaijakhukti during Chandella period. ² This Janpada

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was known as Bundelkhand in the mid of 16th century, just after the rise of Bundela Power. This region was known as different names in ancient period such as *Puling*, *Dasharn*, *Chedi*, *Madhya Desh* etc. ³This region was ruled by Chandelles before the rise of Bundela Power.⁴ The state covers an area of 2,371 sq. miles.⁵ The chief town of the state Panna situated in 24° 43' north latitude, and 80° 12' east longitude.⁶

The History of Panna is intimately connect with that of Orchha in conjunction with which it should be read.⁷ After the revolt and death of Maharaja Jujhar Singh in 1634 A.D. the Orcha state territories were incorporated in to the Mughal Empire.⁸ At this juncture, moreover, a leader appeared in Champat Rai Bundela⁹ Champat Rai was a grandson of Udayaditya, or Udayajit, the third son of Raja Rudra Pratap, the founder of Orchha, who had ,on his father's death, received Maheba (24° 24' N,80° 10' E) in Jagir.¹⁰

Panna was originally a 'Gond' settlement, but fell apparently to the Beghela chiefs of Rewa in the 13th or 14th century.¹¹ It was in 1494, in the time of Raja Veer and again in 1499, the object of an attack by Sikandar Lodhi.¹² In 1555 it was held by Raja Ram Chandra of Rewa. In the 17th century it was taken by Chhatrasal, and became a place of importance in 1675, when he made its capital.¹³ Tieffenthaler, who visited the place about 1765, calls Panna a populous village of the Dangahi chief, famous for its diamond mines.¹⁴

Panna is very well known for its architectural heritage and beautiful historical Temple of Mahamati Pran Nath. This Pran Nath temple of Panna, presents a fine blend of Hindus & Muslim architecture. Panna is the most sacrosanct pilgrimage for the followers of the Pranami sect world over. The dominant architecture schemes of a majority of the temple are informally homogenous.¹⁵ The temple building of in the Panna town are largely constructed of local stone which gives it a clear and substantial appearance.¹⁶ The earliest reference to the site is probably contained in the *Chatterprakash*¹⁷ written by *Lalkavi* and *Bundela-Bhasker Mehakavya*¹⁸ written by *Rajkavi Kavimani Krishna Kavi*, who is the Raj Kavi of Panna Durbar. The policy of temple destruction on which *Aurangzeb* launched in 1669-1670, created an opening which Chhatra Sal at once seized. *Chhatrasal* was, therefore hailed as the champion of the Hindu faith and Kshatriyas honor. Even *Sujan Singh*, the loyal *Bundela* Rajah of *Orchha* sent him a secret message of praise and good wishes.¹⁹

II

Rise of Pranami Dharma in Bundelkhand- Towards the close of the seventeenth century there arose in *Bundelkhand* a reformer named ' *Mahamati Pran Nath* ', who called upon the people to prefer the essence to the forms of religion, a living faith to a dead mechanical ritual and the spirit to the letter of their scriptures; he insisted on the unity of the Godhead underlying the multitude of the idols of popular worship, invited earnest believers to his fold without distinction of caste or creed, and tried to form a brotherhood of the elect. The aims of *Mahamati Pran Nath* were abandoned by his sect when his successors in the leadership of the *Hindu* set up temporal dominion for themselves and made military drill take the place of moral self-reform and spiritual

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growth.²⁰ *Mahamati Pran Nath* of “Pranami Dharma” was undoubtedly the supporter of Hindu Muslim unity and religious liberism.²¹ He tried to contact with *Aurangzeb* through the Mughal Nobles and *Ulama* for the aim of religious liberism in the religious views of different social Organization, but he failed.²² *Mahamati Pran Nath* has actively supported to young, rising Chief *Chhatrasal Bundela* in Mughal Bundela struggle in *Bundelkhand* against the religious policy of *Aurangzeb*.²³ *Chhatrasal* has sent his religious followers of *Pranami Dharma* to Nepal for the publicity of liberal and religious views and feelings of his religious Guru *Mahamati Pran Nath* on the basis of Hindu religion, and feeling of Hinduism.²⁴ These followers were called *Dhamis* or *Pran Nathis*.²⁵

III



Origin of Mahamati Shri Pran Nath Temple- The temple of Pran Nath belongs to the interesting local sect of the *Dhamis* or *Pran –Nathis*.²⁶ The exact date of Pran Nath’s arrival in Panna is very uncertain. From the best accounts he appears to have come in the time of Raja Sabha Singh in about Vikram Samvat 1742, and not as popular tradition has it in the time of *Chhatrasal*.²⁷ Another source reflects that the meeting of *Mahamati Pran Nath* and *Chhatrasal* was held in *Mau*, near *Chhatarpur* by the efforts of *Devkaran*, the nephew of *Chhatrasal* in Vikram Samvat 1740.²⁸ *Pran Nath* appears to have risen to favour by being instrumental in causing the diamond mines to be re-opened.²⁹ Pran Nath was native of *Jamnagar* in *Kathiawar*, and was of *Kshatriya* caste.³⁰ He is said to have settled down on the bank of *Kundia* river.³¹

Pran Nath, like *Kabir*, was well versed in the lore of both the Hindu and Muhammadan faiths and endeavored to show that no essential difference existed between them.³² To this end he collected a large number of sayings from the *Vedas* and from the *Kuran*, which he compiled in to fourteen books, all in verse. The language is very uncouth.³³ The disciples of Pran Nath prove their acceptance of his doctrines by eating in a mixed assembly of Hindu and *Muhammadans*.³⁴ It does not appear, however, that with this exception and the resulting abolition of all east’s, that the two classes in any way confound their civil or religious distinctions, the unity of belief consisting merely in admitting that the God of the *Hindu* and of

the *Musalman* or any other faith is in reality one and same.³⁵ Those who follow this faith are known as Pran –Nath's, or Dhamis.³⁶

Architecture of Shri Pran Nath Temple (Gummat Ji Temple)-Pran Nath temple is one of the most famous temples in Panna District. It is located in the west side of Panna. This huge and beautiful temple was constructed under the rule of Maharaja Chhatrasal and under the supervision of Seth Lal Das. This is the most important temple of Pranamies, which reflects their social life. The Garbha Grah of this temple is Octagonal. It has eight corners, (Pahlu) in North, South, East, West, Agni, Nairatya, Vayavya Ishan direction.³⁷ The Shikhar (Dome) of this temple has constructed with Golden Kalash.³⁸ The main central Dome has constructed with eight additional Domes.³⁹ These Domes are the symbol of Ideology of Pran Nath ji's '*Sarvadharm Sambhav*'.⁴⁰ The interior decoration of this temple is according to the *Bundeli style*.⁴¹ (*Jali window, Multi Dome, Palki Dome are The main architectural characteristic of Bundeli style*) This style have come in to an existence with the mixing of *Rajasthani, Mughal*, and the local architectural style.⁴² Inner walls of this temple decorated with "*Pachhikari*" and beautiful paintings which reflects the *Ras Leila of Lord Krishna*.⁴³ It is believed that *Pran Nathji* lived here and will remain here and thus became the highest Pranami tirtha as *Mahamati's Punyasthali*, and hence *Panna* is the *Param Dham* for Pranamies.⁴⁴ The *Rang Mahal* has eight Pahals. The spherical central *Dome* is as Muslim architecture and the *lotus* form on this *Dome* is according to Hindu tradition. The object of worship in the temple of Pran Nath is one of Pran Nath's Books, which is kept, on a gold embroidered cloth.⁴⁵

Shri Bangla Ji Temple- Shri Bangla ji temple was built up in 1683 A.D. by Mahamati Pran Nath as the live heart around which the further establishment of Panna town was to be developed by and by.⁴⁶ At the time of Mahamati Pran Nath this Bangla ji Temple was roofed with timber and hay and later on it was given the present structure by Maharaj Chhatrasal.⁴⁷ Then, the disciples of Mahamati Pran Nath the *Sundersath* having devoted their body, mind and wealth, further added to its magnificence.⁴⁸ Since Mahamati Pran Nath used to expound the great truths to the assembly of his disciples, over here, so it was also known as '*Sansad Bhawan*' or Parliament building.⁴⁹ Even today the same old tradition is being followed in that the expositions on Tartam sagar, singing of devotional songs and congregational programme are held here. The coat seat (Takhath) of sandal wood on which Mahamati Pran Nath sat to deliver his preaching's is still present in this temple and it is now on that historical cot that the '*Tartam sagar*' clad with the attire and diadem with flute is seated representing Shri Krishna to whom the service cum worship is offered on the eightfold time unites of the day.⁵⁰

This temple is the official court of the Purna Brahma Parmatma to whom the devotees submit their applications mentally. It is a matter of common experience that nobody returns unfulfilled from here.⁵¹ Shri *Sad Chid Anand* grants fulfillment to the desires of each and all applicants. All the festivals of the tradition of the path of devotion to Shri Krishna are celebrated with great earnestness here; especially the five days programme of Sharad Purnima is celebrated very magnificently, when

the *Deity* is led in a grand procession to be seated in the '*Raas Mandali*' situated just beside the Bangla ji Mandir.⁵² This five days celebration of Sharad Purnima assumes International magnitude, as the Sundersath from Sindh, Pakistan, USA, U.K. Canada, Australia, Nepal Bhutan etc. Throng here The erudite orators arriving here from distant places deliver inspiring talks and the different groups of artists display Raas dances and other elevating art feats.⁵³ This was the temple wherein Mahamati used to meditate and ultimate cast his physical vesture here.⁵⁴ In Nijanand Sampradaya, Shri Krishna, the lord of sweetest bliss is the object of worship, therefore on the front hub, the presence of Shri Krishna, the bliss incarnate, is envisioned through the symbol of his flute, diadem, and attire. In the Nijanand philosophy the living presence of Purna Brahma Parmatma is to be felt in the 'Tartam Sagar', which was given to the world through Mahamati Pran Nath.⁵⁵ Shri Krishna, at the time of his leaving Bijamandal, gifted the set of his flute, diadem and attire as the representative of his bliss aspect to the Gopis in order to relieve their pangs of Separation, instructing them to feel his presence in those symbolic objects. In the very same way Lord Pran Nath at the time of his holy, transit from the moral vesture gifted Tartam sagar to his disciple saying, "You may always find me in the scripture."⁵⁶ So these two mementoes, namely the Tartam Sagar and the set of flute, diadem and attire altogether constitute the perfect form in which Mahamati Pran Nath alias Purna Brahma Parmatma, Shri Krishna Lives; because Pran Nath in his self-enlightened state was identified with Shri Krishna and so we realized Mahamati Pran Nath and Shri Krishna as one, in this representative form of sweetened bliss.⁵⁷

The temple of Pran Nath and this holy land of Panna has been acknowledge as an extension of the holy land of RAAS and that of the Lila (The divine sport) of Bijamandal, so it is the firm faith of the devotees that this place harbour the living presence of Purna Brahma Shri Krishna and Mahamati Pran Nath in a single form.⁵⁸ It is therefore that not only worship, but the service sum worship for all the eight PAHARS of the day is performed here with the feeling that right from morning to midnight we serve and worship our most beloved Lord.⁵⁹ All the festivals of the tradition of the path of devotion to Shri Krishna are celebrated here with the strong faith and feeling that Shri Krishna himself along with his Gopies is present in every celebration of the festival.⁶⁰

The hole Ares of the wide expanse in which Shri Gummat ji and Shri Bangla ji temple are situated is known as the "Brahma Chabootara".⁶¹ Here Mahamati Pran Nath ... And his accompanying followers have, for year after year staged the sweet and blissful "Lila" of Purna Brahma Parmatma Shri Krishna with music, singing, dancing, and acting.⁶² This is the land of austerity, where various 'Brahma Munies, having reached the culmination of their' Sadhana", austerity and devotion gained the experience of the Supreme Truth.⁶³

The open hand in Blessing Gesture-When Maharaj Thakur through awakening of his highest self-became Mahamati Pran Nath, then five divine powers, bestowed upon by Purna Brahma Parmatma got seated into him.⁶⁴ The symbols of these five power is the open palm in the blessing gesture, which is visible as placed

on the golden cupola (Kalash) on the dome of the temple, and is reverentially called 'Shri Panja Sahib'.⁶⁵ In fact Mahamati Pran Nath has been raining prosperity over the whole world by his blessing hand.⁶⁶ The remembrance of this blessing hand gives us the assurance of being secure under the infinite shelter of Purna Brahma Parmatma whose grace has been symbolized in it, under whose protection we obtain the confidence to conquer over all kinds of difficulties and struggles.⁶⁷ The glistening divine *Golden Kalash* is accompanied by the *divine Panja*, which denotes Mahamati's blessing and signifies the Aksharatita Purna Brahman.⁶⁸ The main entrance of central *Dome* is called *Kamani Darwaza*, which is made of Silver.⁶⁹ on *Sharad Purnima*, every year, thousands of people gather here to celebrate the Mahotsava. The '*Tartam Sagar*' Grantha is present in this temple, which is collection of the 'Spiritual Speeches' of *Pran Nath*.⁷⁰

Conclusion-After the decline of Mughal Empire, *Muslim architectural wisdom* appeared in this temple like *Domes* of temples are plain as well as onion shaped. *Pran Nath* temple of *Panna* have *Kalash* on the top and most of the tallest *Dome* have a lotus form.⁷¹ Thus, the heritage of Bundelkhand architecture has reflected in *Pran Nath* temple of *Panna*, which reflects the architectural glory of Bundeli style.⁷² This temple represents the Hindu, Muslim unity, religious strength and mutual love and affection of the people of *Panna*.⁷³ The *Pran Nath* temple reminds the beauty of Medieval architecture and mix with Bundeli architecture. This temple reflects the new ideas and ideology of society of this region.⁷⁴ The temple of *Pran Nath* is the important source of beautiful paintings, decorative features, and cultural Heritage of Bundelkhand.⁷⁵ The *Pran Nath* temple of *Panna* creates a cultural fusion in religion, art and architecture in Medieval period of Bundelkhand.

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6

Sunni's Approach to Sufism

Dr. Mujahid Khan

*"I am lucky that you are my roots and wings.
My heart wants roots and my mind wants wings"*

Abstract

Sunni's and Sufism similarly Sufism and Islam cannot be separated in the same way in which higher consciousness cannot be separated from the mind. Islam is not historical a phenomenon that began more than 1400 year ago. It is the timeless art of awakening by means of submission. Sufism is the heart of Islam. It is as ancient as the rise of human consciousness. In this article an attempt is made to show that the Sunnis and Sufis are the upholders of the real message of Islam. Sufism is one the major spiritual manifestations of Islam. This is especially the case as Sufism represents a current that intersects with the tenets and the fundamentals embraced by all religions, which is leading to higher spiritual enlightenment and personal refinement, as well as greater ethical, social and political awareness and wisdom. Certainly it is a practice that has imprinted itself on the folds of human experience.

Key words: Sunni's, Sufism, Islam, Sufi's, Spiritual

There are two major groups of Muslims. One of them is the group termed Ahl as-Sunnat. Muslims in this major group, which is the (only) right and correct group, and which is called (the Madhhab of Ahl as-Sunnat, have parted into four different Madhhabs. (Muslims in) these four groups hold the same tenets of belief, the same îmân. There is no difference between them in Islam. All of them hold the beliefs of the Ahl as-Sunna. Allâhu ta'âlâ, having mercy upon all people on the earth, creates useful things and sends them to us. In the Hereafter, He will forgive those guilty Believers who are to go to Hell, and will bring them to Paradise. He alone creates every living creature, keeps every being in existence every moment, and protects

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all against fear and horror. Trusting myself to the honorable name of Allâhu ta'âlâ I begin to write this article.

Hamd be to Allâhu ta'âlâ, Peace and blessings are on Rasûlullah, the Prophet Muhammad 'sall-Allâhu 'alaihi wa sallam'. Benedictions be over his pure Ahl al-Bait and over all his just and devoted companions 'Radiyah-Allâhu ta'âlâ 'anhum ajma'in'. The saying that goes, "This is a world of struggles," should not be looked on as a trite remark. We have been plodding along in a life beset with a variety of struggles; we struggle against natural forces, such as sweltering weather in summer and snowy winter, against the tricks and slanders of wicked and irreligious people, who attack us with all their psychological weaponry and material warfare. The first requirement to be fulfilled for waging a struggle against the enemy is to acquire extensive knowledge about the enemy. Otherwise, a venture undertaken to defend ourselves may turn out to be an injury inflicted on our neighbours and friends. Things needed for a comfortable life are called mal (property) or mulk (possession). Everything from thread and needle to a house or an apartment is property. Allâhu ta'âlâ has given some people and communities permission to use certain items of property. These items of property and a man's wife, children, neighbours and relatives are offerings that he may avail himself of. Everybody uses their property and possessions as much as Allâhu ta'âlâ permits them to. It is never permissible to use them more than that or to use someone else's property. There is a widely-known saying that goes: "Do not be proud of your property, and do not ever claim to be peerless. An adverse wind may blow, and like winnowing grain, carry away all you possess." Property and possessions earned by harâm (forbidden) ways are called dunyâ (world). Dunyâ consists of harâms and makrûhs and is harmful. Various literary works have various accounts of whether something is useful or harmful. The most correct distinction is the one drawn by Allâhu ta'âlâ. Allâhu ta'âlâ's commandments are called farz(es), and His prohibitions are termed harâms. The Prophet's commandments are called sunnats, and his prohibitions are called makrûhs. These four things, en masse, are called Islam. The symptom of îmân's existence in a heart is its liking and accepting the Ahkâm-iislâmiyya (Islam's commandments and prohibitions). Denial of a single sunnat causes the denier to lose his (or her) îmân and to become a kâfir (unbeliever, disbeliever). A person who has îmân and yet who disobeys an Islamic rule, (i.e. a commandment or a prohibition,) becomes (a) fâsiq (Muslim). It is sinful to disobey Islam. A kâfir will be burned eternally in Hell, whereas a fâsiq Muslim will be burned as much (and as long) as he (or she) deserves on account of their sin(s), and thereafter they will be taken to Paradise. A person who both has îmân and obeys Islam is called as sâlih slave (qul). (The feminine form of sâlih is sâliha.) A person who lives in mountains or wildernesses and who is therefore unaware of Islam will not become a kâfir or a fâsiq Muslim. Such people will not go to Paradise or Hell after being called to account on the Day of Judgment. Muslims who believe (all) the statements made by Muhammad 'alaihi-salâm' without making any alterations in them are called true Muslims who are (the followers of the true Islamic scholars called) Ahl as-Sunnat.

Imâm A'zam Abû Hanîfa, Nu'mân bin Thâbit is the leader of these (true Islamic scholars and) true Muslims. True Muslims who hold the (true Islamic) belief called Ahl as-Sunnat have parted into four (true groups termed) Madhhabs in (matters pertaining

to) Islamic practices and acts of worship. These Madhhabs are: Hanafi, Shâfi`î, Mâlikî, and Hanbalî. (Muslims in) these four Madhhabs look on one another as brothers (and sisters). They perform namâz behind one another. (In other words, Muslims in any one of these four Madhhabs join a namâz in jamâ`at conducted by a Muslim in any one of the same four Madhhabs and perform their namâz behind that [Muslim Preacher called] imâm. These true Muslims should not be mistaken for the people of bid`at, who are heretics. People of bid`at have been striving to demolish Islam from the interior. Alhamdu-lillâh! Muslims the world over are mostly in the true Madhhab called Ahl as-sunnat only these groups did not follow their personal thoughts and opinions or change or add anything in their elucidations. This group with correct credo is called the Ahl as-Sunna or Sunnî Following the scholars of Ahl as-Sunna, who have come in every century for fourteen hundred years and who have been praised in hadîths, guides to happiness. We, too should hold fast to the right way of our ancestors, of those pious, pure Muslims, of those martyrs who sacrificed their lives for the Name of Allâhu ta`âlâ and for the promulgation of Islam. The reformers' declamations and articles show clearly that they know nothing of the rules of Islam or the teachings of Fiqh; that is; they are devoid of religious knowledge and are grossly ignorant. In the hadîths, "The highest people are the scholars who have imân"; "Religious scholars are Prophets' inheritors"; "The heart's knowledge is a secret of Allâhu ta`âlâ's mysteries"; "The Islamic scholar's sleep is an 'ibâda"; "Revere the scholars of my Umma! They are the stars on the earth"; "Scholars will intercede on the Day of Judgment"; "The Fuqahâ' is inestimable. It is an act of worship to be in their company," and "An Islamic scholar among his disciples is like a Prophet among his Umma," On the other hand, our Prophet `sall-Allâhu `alaihi wa sallam' commanded all Muslims throughout the world to unite on one single way of imân, on the right way of his four Khalîfas. By working together, Islamic scholars `rahmatullâhi ta`âlâ `alaihi ajma`in' searched and studied the four Khalîfas' way of imân and transferred it into religious literary works. They named this unique way, which our Prophet had commanded, Ahl as-Sunnat wa-l-jamâ`a. Muslims all over the world have to unite on this single way of the Ahl as-Sunna. Those who wish for unity in Islam, if they are sincere in their words, should join this established union.

The Faith of the Ahl- As-Sunnat: I write the following lines after offering my hamd to Allâhu ta`âlâ. 'Hamd' means to believe the fact that Allâhu ta`âlâ, alone, creates all sorts of blessings and sends them (to us), and to express this fact. A blessing means something useful. Shukr (gratitude, thanksgiving) means to utilize all blessings in a manner agreeable with the Ahkâm-i-islâmiyya, (i.e. commandments and prohibitions of Allâhu ta`âlâ.) The blessings are written in the works of Ahl as-Sunnat scholars. The Ahl as-Sunnat scholars are the scholars in the four Madhhabs. Imâm Muhammad al-Ghazâlî `rahmatullâhi `alaihi' writes in his book Kimyâ-i Sa`âdat: "When a person becomes a Muslim, it will primarily be farz (mandatory) for him to know and believe the meaning of the phrase Lâ ilâha il-l-Allah, Muhammadun Rasûlullah. This phrase is called the Kalimat at-tawhîd. It is sufficient for every Muslim to believe without any doubt what this phrase means. It is not farz for him to prove it with evidence or to satisfy his mind.

The Faith of Sufism: The circumstances surrounding the birth of Sufism were not merely religious but rather included certain political, social and cultural

factors. Historically, Sufism would evolve within an environment rife with the chaos, discord, strife and internal wars suffered by Dar al-Islam in its earlier periods. Sufism, broadly speaking, held that Islam has two dimensions (1) external (Zahir or dhair) form embodied in Shari'ah and (2) inner (batin) Spirit represented by Tariqah. Sufis deemed external form of Islam pointless in the absence of our adherence to the inner spirit. They rejected a purely theological approach to Islam. They contended that an adherence to the letter of the law reduces Islam to a set of rituals and formulas. Thus, Sufism originated as a reaction against the formalism of theologians. Men of piety were naturally in search of a way of life that could lead them to God. Thus, Sufi practices and doctrines originated from the spiritual strivings of pious and righteous seekers of God. Sufism may be said to have passed through three main stages of the development. At the first stage, the Sufis were characterized by ascetic tendencies. They were completely lost in prayer and fasting. They lived very simple lives and avoided all types of ostentation. The second stage of Sufism has been characterized as a doctrinal stage. At this stage such doctrines as total forgetfulness of anything besides God and communion with God with special reference to Hal (state), Muqam (stage) and Wajad (ecstasy) were formulated by such eminent Sufis as Maruf Karkhi (815 A.D.) and Dhul-Nun-Misri (859 A.D.). The third stage of Sufism may be termed as pantheistic stage. This stage was inspired by ecstatic utterances of Bayazid-Bastami (876-A.D.) and Mansur-al-Hallaj (921-A.D.) The whole course of Sufism assumed its definite recognition and systematization from the efforts of al-Ghazali, a man of outstanding religious vigor. Al-Ghazali admitted modified orthodox Sufism in the framework of Islam in the 6th century A.H. The compromise between Sufism and orthodoxy was worked out by Al-Ghazali.

An analysis of the first century Sufism proves that poverty, abstinence, trust in Allah, the utmost scrupulosity (Wara), observing the role of Shari'ah and renunciation of the world were the major features of early Sufism. Hasan-al-Basari (642-728 A.D.), known for his piety and asceticism, underlined the concept of 'Fear' in Sufism. Rabi-al-Basari, a famous Sufi of her time, introduced the concept of 'Love' in Sufism. Dhun Nun-Misri formulated the doctrine of Hal (state) and Maqum (stage) and ecstasy. Bayazid-Bistami introduced the concept of Sukr (intoxication) and Fana (annihilation) in Sufism. Junayad Baghdadi introduced the classical definition of Tawhid. Mansur al-Hallaj exclaimed Ana' l-Haq (I am the Truth), and introduced the anti-Islamic doctrines like Fusion (Hulul), Union (Itihad), Transmigration (tanasuk) and Return (Rajat). It is here in the third phase of the development of Sufism that the growth of Sufi Silsilas (spiritual chain) or Orders came into existence on Indian soil. These Orders were responsible for the creation of a universal Sufi culture in the Islamic world, which attracted the people of other faiths as well.

In the early centuries of Islam, the Sufis were not organized into particular Silsilas or Orders. However, as time went by the teachings and personal examples of Sufis living the spiritually decreed code of life began to attract many groups of people. Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, we find that various Sufi Orders which included adepts from all strata of society began to emerge. The following are few of the Sufi Orders which are discussed and which are still widely established today and each with its own predominating characteristics. These Orders are as: the Chishtiyyah Silsilah,

the Qadriyyah Silsilah, the Naqshbandiyyah Silsilah and the Suhrawardiyyah Silsilah. These Orders were the outcome of multiple but interrelated developments in the world of Islamic spiritual tradition or Sufism. The Sufi Doctrines, Sufi Concepts and Sufi Practices with brief views of the great spiritualists are also very relevant.

Conclusion: Sufism and Islam are one and the same, All the Attributes of Allâhu ta'âlâ manifest themselves in every creature, in the tiniest vestiges. There are different sceneries in different places of the world. The Scholars in one of the four (true) Madhhabs are called scholars of Ahl as Sunnat. Our blessed Prophet, 'Sall-Allâhu 'alaihi wa sallam' stated: "Religion is under the shade of swords," thus pointing to the fact it is under the protection of the State and its laws that, Muslims will live in peace. The more powerful the State becomes, the more will peace and comfort be on the increase. The creed of Ahl as-Sunnat and the beautiful moral conduct taught by Islam, for that matter, we also have been dealing with the creed of Ahl as-Sunnat, with Islam's lofty ethical values, and with the importance of being good to others and serving and supporting. Ahl as Sunnat should be given precedence over all other activities a person with wisdom, knowledge and conscience will understand and admit the right one among these and will help in their efforts for salvation of all humanity. There is no better way or more valuable thing to serve humanity than doing so. Perhaps, the greatest challenge facing Sufism, today, is represented in its ability or inability to adapt and to renew itself in a sustained manner in the context of a world which is in a state of continuing modernization and perpetual change.

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7

Markets of Bundelkhand and Their Trading Connection with Western and Malwa in Medieval Period

Dr. Asha Shrivastava

Abstract

*The paper highlights the trade, Haat, Bazars and mode of Communication and Way of trading in Bundelkhand and Gwalior during Medieval period. Gwalior is the part of Bundelkhand in Medieval period. In this period town had designated a **Mandi** or **mandapika** area, where farmers from nearby village would come to sell their produce. The street market was called **hatta** or haat (rural-level markets centres and weekly marts) and was lined with shops. In Bundelkhand internal trade was generally in the hands of Hindus particularly **Vaisya** and **Jains** and **Gahoi** community. A Bazar is permanently enclosed market place or street where goods and services are exchanged or sold. The term originates from the Persian word Bazar. The term Bazar is sometimes also used to refer to the network of merchants, bankers and craftsman who work in that area.*

Market Place located, where people regularly gather for the purchase and sale of provisions, livestock and other goods. The present paper attempts a study of types of markets of Bundelkhand and Gwalior and their trading connection with other trading centres of central India.

I

The city became the nucleus of urban institutions and urbanism. In cities art and craft have found a place to flourish the culture and knowledge to increase the urban civic. Bundelkhand region which provide Very less information related to different

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commodities, taxes, markets, trade and commerce etc. In this sequence our study is primarily based on the precious sources such as *Keshav-Granth*¹ and other secondary sources of Bundelkhand. These primary sources provide us an insight into the rural-urban commercial life, specially the functioning of the market, inter-regional trade of the state of Bundelkhand and the external trades and link with the urban-trading centers of central India and Delhi, Agra as well. Beside, these sources give a valuable information about markets and markets of commercial goods, trade routes, business centers, means of transport, trade fairs, and rate of commercial taxes. A close study of the routes shows that by and large it was by the same routes that the invaders passed and the merchant travelled. A route from Delhi to Malwa was attached with Gwalior.² One another external trade route from Ujjain to Gwalior via Jhalrapatan-kota-Sawai Madhopur-Karauli-Gwalior³ and other one from Gwalior to Jodhpur via Gwalior-Karauli-Jaipur-Sambhar Parbatsar-Merta-Jodhpur.⁴ The trade routes especially during the eighteenth century were not quite safe and secure. When passing the caravan of Banjara, Charan, Bhat communities transported goods from south India and Surat (Gujarat) to in North Indian towns Agra and Delhi via Sironj, Narwar, Shivpuri, and Gwalior, they always prey on by dacoits.⁵ This information proves that Gwalior was involved with many more centers of central India and Rajasthan Delhi and Agra by trade routes. Besides this, many more routes were extremely important both concerning battles and trading point of views, were also passing through Gwalior.⁶

Markets-The Trade provides mankind's most significant meeting place, the market. In primitive society's only religious events, cult, rituals or rites of passage such as marriage bring people together in a comparable way, but in these cases the participants are already linked by custom or kinship. The process of barter brings a crowd together in a more random fashion. New ideas with precious artifacts have always travelled along trade routes. And the natural week, the shared rhythm of a community, has frequently been the space between market days.⁷ Medieval India's Arab traveller Ibn-Battuta (1333-46) found great cities with rich markets in the north and south.⁸ In the city of Vijayanagar, because of its large size and huge population, its rich bazars (Markets), the number of its skilled craftsmen and dealers in precious stones as well as other articles impressed profoundly a succession of foreign visitors. One of those, the Portuguese traveller Domingo Paes, describe its heavy traffic and busy markets.⁹ Market was the usual area of exchange. There were general markets, Bazar¹⁰ and specialized markets such as- Mandi or Mandapika¹¹- Which was a wholesale market, usually for provisions or grain, named after the chief commodities sold or after its founder. Mandapika was usually larger than smaller, rural-level market centers and weekly marts (hatta or haat) and periodic fairs, but stood below the very large trade centers in an urban area. In other words, one would like to see in the mandipka a, middle-tier market Centre which provided the vital linkages between large urban markets and their rural hinterland.¹² The real strength of the mandipka lies in their being rooted to the adjacent rural areas.¹³ The Ghas Mandi and Loha Mandi of Gwalior presumed to be 700 years old, it was established around the fifteenth century.

Nakhasa¹⁴- Which was a daily market. **Katra**¹⁵- Defined as an enclosed market, named after the article sold there or its founder. **Hatta**¹⁶- The street market

was called hatta or haat and was lined with shop. They are rural level market centers and weekly marts

II

Markets of Gwalior-Gwalior is a part of Bundelkhand region. A very little clear, of the sources was not found which explained Gwalior as a trading Centre in Medieval period, but Gwalior was connected by trading routes with Major trading Centre like Agra, Delhi, Banaras and Ujjain (Malwa). Various rulers of the Tughlaq dynasty¹⁷ and slave dynasty have ruled Gwalior in the medieval period. Gwalior comes under the rules of Hindu Kings of the Tomar Clan in the Thirteenth century from 1486 A.D. to 1526 A.D.¹⁸ Raja Mansingh last Famous Hindu King of Gwalior after the first battle of Panipat Gwalior became a part of the Mughal Empire.¹⁹ In the third battle of Panipat, the Kingdom went to the hand of the Jats. In 1754 Gwalior was regained by the Scindia clan under the aegis of Mahadji Scindia. The old town of Gwalior commonly called the Quila Gate and then about one Kilometer is Hazira-The largest area in old town, which is of considerable size, but irregularly, built lies at the eastern base of the rock. Old town consisted of some streets and markets, mohalla, which are presumed to be 700 to 800 years old area in Gwalior. In this area some important old markets were situated-like Ghas Mandi, Loha Mandi, and Hazira.

The Major Markets of Gwalior-

Ghas Mandi-This are id presumed to be 700 years old. It was established around the fifteenth century. This place was used by local population for business by selling grass for feeding animals for King and other rich people.

Maharajbada- It is the biggest and most important market of Gwalior. Seven old and Historic buildings of different style of architecture (Italian, Russian, Maratha, Mughal, Rajput, Chinese etc.) can be viewed here.

Loha Mandi- This place is also 600 years old in Gwalior. This place was used for buying iron materials. Abul Fazl gave extensive accounts about iron mines in Gwalior.²⁰

Hazira- It was the main market place of Gwalior in that time. Now a day this place is congested because of its irregular and unplanned structure made by old merchants in the 15th century.

All these area are considered to be very important areas in historic point of view even now many times many historical coins, Jewellery, arms etc. founded in house when a person try to renewate the house and these areas also many unpredictable secrets.

The Bazar's of Bundelkhand-The street market was called Hatta or haat and was lined with shops. Haat and bazaar was conduct in main town and capitals of Bundelkhand kingdom. This bazaar was conduct in weekly at big villages and small villages. These hats and bazar was selling a village produce goods. Once or twice Bazaras selling and buying of mobile goods in whole villages, they oxen, horses, and asses laden with goods and travel in whole village and bazaar to bazaar. Bazaaras are both Hindu and Muslims. In Bundelkhand these types of traders called "Banzi-

Bhori²¹ Bazaras, CharanBhat communities were engaged in the profession of transport and travelling far away from own towns and village for selling and buying.²² Carvans of Bazaras, Charan and Bhat travelling behind Shahi troops for commodities, and where troops stay-down in which place those bazaras open the bazars and provide the daily use goods for army man of troops. Bazaras travelling to other commerce centers which situated far away from states.²³ Transportation was always significant factor for the growth and flow of the trade and commerce. In Bundelkhand Oxen and pack horses were other important means of transport. From the Kota records it appears that from Gujarat, Malwa and Jhansi (Bundelkhand) to Kota and vice versa mostly oxen were being used for transport. It is very interesting to note that one traders Sangrola of Jhansi took one thousand one hundred sixty three oxen laden with sugar, cloth, grain, tobacco and grocery goods from Jhansi to Jhalarapatan.²⁴ These markets, Haat-bazar and routes are an indicate that Bundelkhand and Gwalior being connected with various towns and cities of Rajasthan in western India and, Delhi and Agra in north-east, and Gujarat, Deccan in south and Malwa in central India, brought it into prominence in the trading world. These markets and routes show the plenty of the town both western and central India export and import both of the regions flourishing trading and commercial activities. The trade routes were helpful in the growth of both internal and external trade of central and western India.²⁵

Centre's of Trade-Trade was centered in cities. Agra being a capital city appears to be the destination of all traders big or small. Ibn Battuta had described Delhi as a major trade center²⁶. During the medieval period the country was prosperous despite the frequent political upheavals. A notable feature of this period was the growth of towns in several part of the country. The development was the result of the Political and economic policies followed by the Muslim rulers. This town grew into trade and industrial centers, which in turn led to the general prosperity.

The Business- community- Internal trade in those days generally in the hands of the Hindus.²⁷ A peaceful atmosphere for an undisturbed progress of trade and commerce was essential. Hence the Jains strove hard to help the rulers of their respective regions in maintaining a congenial atmosphere and as far as possible strived to avoid warring tendencies. The business-community of the medieval Bundelkhand was largely Vaisya, Jain and Ghaoi (Vaisya cast as a reference of Ghaio in contemporary Mughal Kaleen-Bundeli reference).²⁸ Viasya come to in third position of Bundeli social structure. In Bundelkhand they are responsible for economic activities. These merchants associated to different types of banking activities. They are farmer and they also gives donation of farmers for phal (phala was applied to 'iron share')-oxen and seeds. ²⁹They sell their produces in markets and also sending the most superior quality of produces from other markets of main urban centers by *Taand*³⁰ (caravans of Banjara and there loaded houses, oxen and other animals). Bhagvaandaas Guptas, 'Mughalo ke Antergat Bundelkhand ka Itihas, pub. By Bhartiya Itihas anushaandhan Parishad new delhi, 2001, p. 96, vide-Keshav Granthavali, edited by Vishwanatha Prasad Mishra, Khand- 3, p. 467, pub. By,- Hindustan academy up. Allahabad.

Conclusion- The most significant message the history of markets, trade and traders in Bundelkhand beckons to the present situation lies in the images of social

and cultural accommodation of and the spirit of tolerance to several minority groups. The study of markets and trading proves a importance of recognizing the role of minority communities in complex society.

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8

The Mughal Epigraphs by Four Persian under Monarchship of Shahjahan

Sujata H. Gaurkhede

Abstract

After the establishment in the North regions the Muslim rulers eyed on the glorious and prosperous Deccan. Where Berar occupied a region which was like the entrance gate to the Deccan. After the separation of Bahamani Dynasty their own regions separately declared it free. In which Baridshahi, Adilshahi, Nizamshahi, Kutubshahi and Immadshai etc. Dynasty rulers were included 'Berar' was the region of Imad Shahi ruler. Now days, Berar is part of Vidarbha region of Maharashtra. In which the district of Akola "Panch Gauvan" there are 4 graves and one Mosque in the side of grave-yard in period of Jahangir. There were many epigraph carved in Persian in this field it has great importance in political history and Mughal administration. When Shahajahan was subheddar of Deccan, there was battle between the Mughal and Decanis, at Panchgawan. Mughal were felt loss but won the battle. So the memories of all military general and his soldiers four epigraph and one mosque was erected. Nobody have done research on this topic. Anywhere in India first time I have done research on this topic entitle "The Mughal Epigraphs by Four under Monarch ship Of Shahjahan" Therefore Its very important.

We, find that historical Record are available in writing and also oral- Some historian describe the events of history in descriptive and some event are neglected and some events are remained undisclosed.

In the time of Shahjahan rein some important historical events are disclose and some events are remained behind the curtain.

There is most important historian fact appears on the epigraph. Khurram got the honour of 'Shaha' from his father, in 6 Oct 1616 and was appointed as Governor

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in Deccan. Shahjahan was very aggressive and very dominant for revolutionary and his guerrilla warfare against Ahmadnagar skill full noble Malik Amber. Even there were Adilshah in Bijapur, Kutubshaha in Golkonda to stop their revolt activities. Shahjahan was very successful in all this activities against Deccani.

Shahjahan was very foresightness man. He handle very skilfully Malik Ambers activities against Mughals. And he has creative very cordial relation with Golkonda. In this duration Jahangir again sent Shaha Khurram. He was honour as “Shahjahan” for pacifying the revolt of Deccani. There was the only person who could handle properly and skilfully. But the position was very critical for Shahjahan in handling this matter. That time Shahjahan remain his forefather he has very proud of his dynasty like Taimur and Babar. He distribute the wine store’s and sink in chamble river among the poor, then he arrived in Deccan with daring and cheerfulness. Most of the Mughal general in South denied him to came in the Deccan but he was not afraid . Shahjahan very intellectually and skilfully attack on enemy and also organised more efficient military force. Thus once again bring Deccan our control.

1. Mir Mohmmad Neknam¹

Katba Dar Madh (Admire) E-mir Mohammed Neknam



Shahjahan handle South problem twice. He also solves the problem of Berar at that time the Fort of Narnala was very strong and important defence point. ‘Berar’ was the region of Imad Shahi ruler. Later, which shipped into the handle of Mughals when it was in the grasp of Nizamshahi? Now days, Berar is also a part of Vidharbha region of Maharashtra. In which the district of Akola “Panch Gauvan” there are 4 graves and one Mosque in the side of grave-yard in the period of Jahangir. There were many epigraph carved in Persian in this field it has great importance in political history and Mughal administration. In this area there-were revolutionaries Shahjahan destroyed the aggression of revolutionary’s .There was a battle between the Mughal and Decanis, at Panchgawan. Mughals were felt loss but they won the battle. In this battle military general Mir Mod. Yusuf Necknam and his son and many soldiers’ were mortal. All those people buried in Panchgawan village border. In the last days of Jahangir when Shahjahan was Subedar of Deccan. Epigraph was erected in the memories of all military General Mod. Yusuf Neknam and his son and all his Soldiers. The following four epigraphs written in Persian Language on the graves of one family altogether and I’m elaborating about four epigraphs and one Mosque. Description is following, Looking at the Epigraphs on the grave one comes to know that he was a High Ranked Officer Commander in the army of Jahangir who was killed in the war against the rebellious of Deccan. His Grave is made on high plinth. It has a wall compound with two doors are made which east door open towards the mosques direction. Door opens to the army men who died with Neknam in the battle.

Neknam's Epigraphs starts with the couplet of Saadi Shiraji by

"Allaho Baqui"

*"Shud ya murd Neku Nekonam mizad Her ke
Murda aunasta ke noumas n niko bazand
In loh-e-marqad bar faiz-e-meer mohd yusuf
Neknaam Aadiyat k Dar ahde sultanat
Jahangiri Ba mukhalifaune Dakhan ke pei
Rahe muslmoan shude budand B zango jadal
Namud babe kalono khevshano naukoran ruze
Panchshanbhe duzdhum mahe safar badrja-e-shahadat
Maund dar saal-e-k,Tareekh-e-Aan Az Qabar-e-Yusuf
Taan-e-moyad Ashak rawad".*

(This sentence come out the date of Death year)
(10,Thursday,safar 1019 AH-3 May 1610 A.D)

2. Mir Faridun Hussain²

**Katba Dar Madh (Admire)
E-mir Faridun Hussain**



This Epigraph is of Neknam's eldest son Mir Faridun Hussain ,which is incurved on his grave. Who was martyred with his father. This Epigraph starts with "Allaho Baqui" and with the couplet of Saadi Shirazi

*"Her ke aamad Dar Jauhon ze mapurs ,
Aaquebat Me Bayadash Raftan Bakoo,
In Lohe-Qubr Meer Faridun Hussain ,
Vald Meer Mohammad Yusuf Neknam Ast ke
Hafiz-e-Quran Majid Bood Va Dar Harb-e-Khidki ke
Daulat Khawahan-e-Jahangir Ra Ba Ghanim-e-Dakan
Dada Shude Bood Ba Darja-e-Shahadat Faiz Gusht dar
Dar Saule ke Az Fikre Nukaate Tarikh-e-Aan
Mee Sauzand Ba- Tarikh Seh Muharnam——?"*

(Further script impossible to read)

3. Mir Sharfuddin Hussain³

**Katba Dar Madh (Admire)
E- Sharfuddin Hussain**



This Epigraph is of Neknam's second son Sharfuddin Hussain, which is incurved and known as Himmat Khan (ke Kitab se jana jata hai)

"Allaho Baqui "
 Burg-e-Aaish Bakor -e-Khesh Farast
 Kas Niyarad Zeen Pesh Farast .
 In Loh-e-Qubr Maghferat Panah
 Mir Sharfuddin Hussain Mukhatib
 Himmat Khan Vald Meer Mohammad
 Yusuf Neknam Ast ke Ashja-o-Sakhi-e-
 Zaman-e-khud Boodan wafat-e-Ishaan
 Dar Quila-e-Fatehabad .

(After this there are two more lines but not possible to read it.)

4. Mir Shah Hussain Wald Mir Yusuf Neknam⁴

**Katba Dar Madh (Admire) E-mir Shah Hussain
 Wald Mir Yusuf Neknam**

"Allaho Baqui"
 Agar Sad Saol Bashi Dar Yake Rooz I
 Bayad Raft Azin Kaakh-e-Dil Afroz II
 In loh-e-Qubr Meer Shah Husain Vald
 Mir Yusuf Neknam Ast ke Barafaquat-e-Pidar



(After this matter impossible to read because of damaging by colour paint)

5) MOSQUE⁵

**BAR BA MAUQAE SANGE BUNYAD
 (Founder) MOSQUE OF HIMMAT KHAN**

Beside the Graves there is a Mosque which was built by Meer Sharfuddin Hussain alias Himmat Khan in Shahjahan's rule. Now a day's this Mosque as it is position - left side wall of mosque situated four line epitaphs in poetic form---This is after reading get the information that this mosques AH.1028' Hijri .



*Dar Ahd-e-shahinsha-e-Zaman Shahjahan
 Buniyad Nihad Masjid Himmat Khan
 Tarikh Binai Aan Bajustam Ze Khirad
 Gufta ke Baguyand Khair Abadan*

(In This last line declare about mosque construction complete year.)

All these Persian epitaphs described on mosque and graves are throw-light on the political history of Berar province ,In fact among these four , the earliest record of Meer Muhammad Yusuf Neknam's epitaph who was killed along with his eldest son Meer Faridun Hussain but Nowadays their Graves are considered as Graves of saint's and venerated that way but virtually they were Mughal Officials. These records are important source of history of Persian literature in Deccan.

Mir Mod. Yusuf Necknam's second son Mir Sharfuddin Shah honoured him giving Khitab of as "Himmat Khan". He was the advice /order of the Shahjahan in the memory of this Myteyards he created major and Erected Epigraph on it for giving them to pay homage. They are still in Existence. This period was 1026 Hijari after two years 1028 Hijari In the rein of Shahjahan. Himmat Khan Erected mosque one side of the Major. There is a Epigraph on the side of mosque. Where it is written that Shahjahan was became a ruler. This Epigraph never came in the sight if historian. These Record only available in the arch logical serve of India. It is proved by this Epigraph that Yusuf Necknam was died in period of Jahangir. The words of the Epigraph came from "Dar Ahde Jahangiri ".These article gives us two angle of Shahjahan 1] His military efficiency. He as a king name our soldiers as myrtles who dying in the war. He always give important to the work of general or Soldiers. He also erected Major General near the Solider Major. We notice that the major was erected with rank of military officials. 2) from this Epigraph came to Know that, Shahjahan interested in the architect. Today it is in existence Shahjahan was very fond of Architect which made him great ruler of a creature of being architect in India. Which is known in the world etc? Like Taj Mahal, Red Fort, Jama Musjid. The Art of building in India's start from Shahjahan these we came to know from the Epigraph and Mosque of Panchgawan. Shahjahan interest in Architect shows that he will be very great architect and monument makers. My aim to choose this subject of the article before the public, historian and research student of the history. Which facts about Shahjahan are ignorant and neglected. I want to expose all this facts which are behind the curtain of Shahjahan History.

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9

Making of New Civilization

(In the context of Guru Granth Sahib)

Dr. R.S. Gurna

Abstract

The theme of civilization has been made prominent by western scholars in the most recent times. In the much discussed works by Samuel Huntington the civilization of India is referred with a blanket term “Hindu civilization” and as such no particular reference has been made to Sikhism. The unjust caste order advocated by Hinduism does not worth the word ‘civilization’ as it is the most discredited and scandalized form of the Hindu living. In fact the sacred scripture “Guru Granth Sahib” presents a highly refined socio-cultural model of civilization that could lead to remaking of new civilization. The present work is an effort to highlight some unique aspects of Sikhism in term of civilization.

The theme of civilization has been made prominent by western scholars in the most recent times. This is associated with the popularity of Samuel Huntington’s article, later a book titled “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”¹ In both these much discussed works by Samuel Huntington the civilization of India is referred with a blanket term “Hindu civilization” and as such no particular reference has been made to Sikhism. In fact the sacred scripture “Guru Granth Sahib” presents a highly refined socio-cultural model of civilization that could lead to remaking of new civilization.

The present work is an effort to highlight some unique aspects of Sikhism in term of civilization. Samuel Huntington’s book contains certain number of definitions of civilization, however, a curious reader would find that Huntington has not taken any special effort to define or redefine the concept of civilization or discuss the basic features of a civilization. On the other hand, Huntington just

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makes use of the already existing definitions. Quoting the anthropologists, sociologists and historians, Huntington defines civilization as “the most enduring of human associations” identifiable in terms of “blood, language, religion, way of life etc.”, however, “religion as the central defining characteristic of civilizations”.²

Although we do not have much to contradict the quoted ideas on civilization, we do intend to continue the discussion on civilization in a few other points that would take us deeper into the concept of civilization. A civilization differs from a culture in a particular way. A civilization must synthesize the spiritual and temporal aspects of collective human existence. It must be a conscious attempt to avoid fragmenting, dichotomize, and hierarchies the society. A civilization western or Hindu needs to be strictly evaluated on this ground. Hinduism in many of its variations is a religion of otherworldliness. The ascetic who has renounced the world is the ideal figure in Hinduism.

The Vedic-vedantic core of Hinduism philosophically celebrates the *Nirguna* Brahman and evaluates the world as ‘*Maya*’, an illusory entity. Moreover, Hinduism does have a social philosophy and advocates a social structure in the form of caste system. The unjust caste order advocated by Hinduism does not worth the word ‘civilization’ as it is the most discredited and scandalized form of the Hindu living. The caste order of Hinduism reminds not its civilized dimension, but on the other hand informs us the uncivilized dimension of Hinduism.

Similarly, when we take up the term “Western Civilization”, we finds another set of difficulties to make it fit to the definition of civilization. It is noteworthy that Huntington has not named the western civilization in terms of any religion, although he does not hide the fact that the Christian religion is behind the history of western civilization. Huntington does not agree to identify western civilization with modernity. We do have certain amount of respect to western values, particularly to west’s contribution to the making of democracy and concern for human rights. We consider it worth the achievements of science and technology in the west. However, we cannot remain uncritical to the west regarding the poverty of spiritual values the west has acquired along with its enduring interest in temporal successes for the last 300 years.

It has to be reminded that during the entire 20th century the western scholars themselves have made so many fundamental critiques addressed to the western industrial culture, particularly from the point of view of human values and human existence. It is at this juncture, we return to our initial definition of civilization that it must organically unite the spiritual and the temporal, and in this context look into Sikhism and the Sikh Scripture, Sri Guru Granth Sahib from that point of view. The act of laying the foundations of a new religion by Guru Nanak Dev, the first Guru of the Sikhs, comes to realization not merely as an outcome of spiritual intentions but as an alternative to the general crisis prevailing both in temporal and religious realms of the then society. Guru Granth Sahib depicts the comprehensive situation without any ambiguity.

*“The Quadi speaks falsehood and eats filth
The Brahmin, guilty of much cruelty
Makes a show of ritual bathings
The Yogi, blind and misguided
Knows not the true practice
All three are at one in bringing harm to the people”³*

*“Avarice is the king
Evildoing his minister
Falsehood is his revenue factor
Lust is the counselor always consulted
The subjects are purblind and thoughtless
Who foolishly obey these evil rulers”⁴*

*“The people wailed in their agony of suffering
Didst Thou feel no compassion for them
Thou who art the creator of all?
If a powerful foe molest one equally powerful
Little would be there to complain
But if a ferocious tiger falls upon a herd of kine
Then must the Master be called to account”⁵*

Possibly, this was the moment of truth, at the time of the birth of a new religion, of a new social order⁶. The Guru's pains are both spiritual and temporal or in other words, civilizational. The Guru was neither for another set of truth nor for another means to achieve *mukti*, but stood for deeply in search of truthful, an ethical and just living. *Gurmukh* is asked to opt an active life of intense devotion and committed social justice. Guru Granth Sahib intensifies both the components of the total life, the spiritual and the temporal. The asocial sanyasin way of seeking egoistic salvation is out rightly condemned and by way of annihilating the ego, the art of achieving *sahaja* is proposed. During the last quarter of 20th century, the theme of multiculturalism was widely discussed in the world fora and it was appreciated by people who fighting for safeguarding their cultural identities. The fact that every country in the world has become culturally and religiously pluralistic makes the recognition of the cultural rights of the people into an imperative for cordial coexistence of people.

The UNO and other world fora went for propagating the idea of multiculturalism and it was seen as a new development in realizing democracy in terms of culture. Huntington's book, unfortunately, does not pay enough attention to the theme of multiculturalism and his coinage of the term 'civilization' seems to be challenging the spirit of multiculturalism that is emerging, and worse still, wants to replace the idea of multiculturalism with that of civilization. Huntington is inclined to place the concept of civilization as a fresh version of the earlier American idea of 'melting pot'.

More fundamentally, Huntington's discussion of "Clash" of civilizations sees the entire world and every country as a field of cultural and religious conflicts. The Sikh Scripture, 'Guru Granth Sahib', renders a wonderful combination of civilizational and multicultural dimensions of a society. The Sikh Gurus lived in and interacted with a multicultural and multireligious world that they recognized this fact deeply. Consequently, Guru Granth Sahib too registers this fact. Variety of Saints religiously, regionally and linguistically different is found articulating their religious experience in a unique way in Guru Granth Sahib. It is true that there is a strong critical trait in Guru Granth Sahib but ultimately the Scripture strives to synthesize the differing voices into one. Names and attributes of Gods of various linguistic families, Arabian, Persian, Sanskrit and Dravidian, the ways of worship and living of diverse people were known to the Gurus and they duly recognized them. Even the so-called dregs of society came under the humanizing spell of the Gurus. The Gurus always preferred to be with the lowest of the lowly. 'Guru Granth Sahib' is a civilizational construction with a unrelenting commitment to the oppressed and exploited. 'Guru Granth Sahib' does not attempt to offer another philosophy of otherworldly solace but energizes the masses and calls them to a dynamic living. Civilization and multiple cultures are reconciled in Guru Granth Sahib without sacrificing the critical spirit. It is not a proposal of clash or conflict but a grand conception of friendship, love and community.

Civilization does not worth its name if it does not aim to construct a community. A society of caste order cannot be called a community because it is founded on graded inequality. The Gurus were categorically against caste system and Guru Granth Sahib does not recognize the *Shastras* that advocate caste. Guru Nanak refused to wear the sacred thread on his body by which he decided to remain ever with the casteless. The Guru asserts, "Vain is the pride of caste and vain the pride of high name, because only the Lord alone gives the real eminence to everyone".⁷ Bhai Gurdas informs, "Guru Nanak has abolished the differences among the four castes".⁸ The One God, the collective *kirtan*, the *langar* and the common title of *Singh* and *Kaur* are aimed to abolish the caste system and construction of the community. Constructing a community with the fatherhood of God was an ideal all along in the Bhakti thought.

However, with the development of feudalism, the Bhakti movements failed in their attempts to achieve the ideal. On the other hand, Bhakti itself became institutionalized into temple and *mutt* cultures. The Sikh Gurus appreciated the efforts of the medieval mystics, but they felt a strong individualism in the attempts of the mystics. The Gurus understood that the construction of community is the irreplaceable aspect of Bhakti and Bhakti had to be revisited taking along the critical spirit of the mystics. The collectivism and popular emotional spirit of Bhakti were, thus, revived in Sikhism, having readdressed the issue of curbing individualism. Interestingly, the Gurus did not absolutize the annihilation of individualism as it is used to be in some earlier systems. Again a moderate approach is opted and the

extremes of individualism are checked recognizing the social dynamism of individual initiatives. Guru Granth Sahib says, "Egoism and devotion are to each opposed, Abiding not together".⁹ Guru Arjun says, "Those caught in egoism are verily dead; Those whose egoism is dead are tally alive".¹⁰ This being the case, however, the Guru states that in egoism beings come into existence, get differentiated into many and so it is the source of change and development. It is the very principled state of the Guru that individuality should not be abolished but it has to be molded into a community. Thus in nutshell, Guru Granth Sahib, the Sikh Scripture, contains the very principled stands of making a new civilization. Its idea of civilization organically unites the spiritual and the temporal, multicultural and civilizational aspects, and the moments of individuality and community. The organic unity we have referred does not mean absolute identity of the differing moments, but it is a dialogical process that contains the creative rupture. That also guarantees its dynamism and endurance.

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10

**Some aspects of the *Amil* and *Amin*,
the revenue collectors of Mughal period
also responsible for internal security
and law and order at Pargana level**

Waseem Rashid

Abstract

Mughals in order to establish security and law and order in the empire appointed number of officials. The security at Pargana level was put under the charge of revenue collectors for the peaceful collection of state demand. The Amil and Amin were also responsible for promotion of agriculture activities and protection of rayats from oppressions.

The *Amil* or the *Amalguzar* or economically the collector of revenue was also the representative of the Mughal Empire. He was established at every *Pargana* and everyone had an easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator.¹ In the time of Akbar, the chief *Shiqdar* disappeared and the magisterial powers of this functionary were transferred to the *faujdar*, his Collectorate duties had been taken over by the district *Diwan* and he then fades away from the picture of Mughal administration and the post of *Amil* got more importance and representation in the Mughal administration.² During the time of Shershah's period, the position of the *Amil* besides *Shiqdar*, was of considerable importance and very lucrative post and was considered sinecure. As R. P. Tripathi has quoted the Abbas Khan Sarwani (*Tarikh-i-Shershahi*) that, "*Shershah himself observed that there was no job so much profitable as of Amaldari, and therefore it was his policy to change Amils every year or two years so that the profit might go to a large number of officials*".³ The police and revenue administration of the *Parganas* during the Shershah period were discharged by the *Shiqdar* and *Amil*.⁴

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The duties of *Amil* were not only to collect the revenue of the state but also to perform security duties, law and order and maintain peace and security in their respective areas so that there would be peaceful collection of state demand. The *Amil* was also expected not to oppress or injure the people or embezzle the state revenue and if the people from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit create a disturbance regarding the collection of revenue, they were eradicated and destroyed with punishment and chastisement that their wickedness and rebellion would not spread to other areas.⁵ The *Ain-i-Akbari* has mentioned a detailed account about the *Amil* regarding his duties when he was in the area of *Pargana*. He was to deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by counsel and advice and if this failed, he was to proceed to chastise him without any apprehension of the land falling waste. He should not cease from punishing highway robbers, murderers and evil doers and he should administer the case properly. As *Amil* was left with the police duties and made him responsible for punishing contumacy and rebellion, he was also made responsible to keep a strict watch over his staff to see that no injustice was committed and only the prescribed dues were realized from the cultivators.⁶

For the protection of roads from the thieves and highway robbery, Shershah made regulations as follows; he strictly impressed on his *Amils* that if theft and robbery occurred within their limits and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *Muqaddams* of the surrounding villages and if the *Muqaddam* produced the offenders or pointed out their haunts where the offenders were sheltered, the thieves were punished according to the holy law. The *Muqaddam* of the village where the crime had occurred were compelled to pay the compensation for the loss of the goods. And if the murder had occurred and the murderer was not discovered, the *Amils* were ordered to arrest the *Muqaddams* and imprison them and gave them time period within which to declare the murderers. If he produced the murderer or pointed out where he lived, the *Muqaddam* was released and free to go. The murderer was then put to death but if the *Muqaddam* of the village where murder had occurred could not find out, the *Muqaddam* was then put to death for his negligence in his duties. As it had been generally ascertained that theft and robberies can take place by the involvement of these village headmen and if in some rare cases, a theft or robbery does occur within the limits of a village without the knowledge of the *Muqaddam*, he will shortly make enquiry and may ascertain the circumstances of it. If a *Muqaddam* harbour thieves and robbers unknown to the *Amils* or governors, he was punished or even put to death, that it would be a warning to others to refrain from similar acts.⁷ Shershah also directed his *Amils* to compel the people to treat merchants and travelers well in every way and not to injure them at all and if the merchant would die by the way the goods of merchants were not to be opened as they were un-owned.⁸ The Mughal emperor Jahangir also issued an ordinance (*Dastur-ul-Amal*), that the bales of merchants should not be opened on the roads without informing them or in their absence and strict punishment was prescribed for that misbehavior towards the merchants.⁹

During the reign of Mughal emperor Akbar, several regulations (*fasle*) were proposed for the better enlightenment. He first issued regulation that, - the collectors (*Amalguzars*) or the *Amils* of the crown lands (*Khalisa*) should collect the rent and taxes in accordance with the regulations (*Dastur-ul-amals*). If by wickedness and tyranny, they took from the cultivators more than the agreement, it was to be reckoned as the legitimate rent and the oppressors were to be fined and the amount were to be entered in the monthly accounts. They should at harvest enquire into the minutest details and protect the subjects. Akbar was of the view that the thread of the administration of the justice was to be double one, so that the suppliants were to be refunded and extortionists were to be punished.¹⁰ The second regulation was that the collectors of the crown lands had two clerks (*Bitikchi*) - i.e a '*Karkun*' and '*Kasnavis*'. Generally both of them were corrupt in collusion with the village head men (*Kalantaran*) and they oppressed the peasantry. If in place of these two dishonest men, one trustworthy and right-acting officer was to be appointed, so that the country would be developed and peasants would remain peaceful.¹¹ The *Amil* was to keep a strict watch over his staff and to see that no injustice was committed and only the dues prescribed by the state were realized by the cultivators. *Amil* was left with police duties and also responsible for punishing contumacy and rebellion.

When a separate assessment officer called *Amin* was appointed in the *Pargana*, police duties gained more importance among the functions of the *Amil* and he came to be called as *faujdar* as well.¹² The *Amin* was also expected to perform law and order duties and to investigate the case in the areas assigned. In the reign of Aurangzeb a complaint was made by Nariji Deshmukh and others, residents of Tajkala *Thana* of *Sarkar* Basim, in the *Subah* of Berar, against the oppression of Nusrat son of Fath Jang, the *Faujdar*. In this connection imperial orders were issued to *Wizarat Panah* Shafi Khan that a trust worthy *Amin* should be appointed to investigate the case.¹³ The *Amin*, who was chief assessment officer of the *Pargana*, was instructed by the government to examine the conditions of the peasants. In making annual assessment he was required to display the qualities of judicious and farsighted person, which would ultimately result in the prosperity of peasants. For the promotion of agriculture he was not only to increase the area of cultivation but also to put oppression and injustice against peasants to an end.¹⁴

A number of *Farmans* were issued by the Mughals regarding the collection of revenue by collectors' i.e *Amils* or *Amalguzars*. In these *farmans* it was strictly laid down that these officers should not make any trouble or create a situation of oppression on cultivators i.e *Rayats* in connection with revenue collection. The *farman* of Muhammad Shah, during the reign of Aurangzeb issued to *Amils* clearly indicates that *Amils* and *karoris* should not trouble during revenue collection from cultivators and do not collect other cesses like *Mal-o-Jihat* and *Akhrajat*.¹⁵ But there are number of cases regarding the oppression of *Rayats* or cultivators by the Mughal officers in the matter of revenue collection. The *Amils* appointed for the collection of revenue charged sometimes harshly from the *Rayats* and even some

time these peasants or cultivators were so much oppressed in revenue collection that they left their homes and fields and migrated to other places especially the non-Mughal areas or areas of local *Rajas*, so that they can live a peaceful and secure life and also free from oppression of revenue collectors. In the case of Shaikh Farid Bukhari, a Mughal nobleman who appointed an *Amil* and expected more revenue from *Amils* but the *rayats* migrated to other areas due to the harsh treatment by the revenue collectors. The Sheikh Farid then surrendered that Fief and obtained another in its place.¹⁶ Francisco Palsaert (*Jahangir's India*) has mentioned in his account that, the officials of revenue collection treated peasants very harshly and were pitilessly oppressed. If revenue villages produced small revenue, their wives and children were sold on the pretext of charge of rebellion and some peasants escaped their tyranny and take refugee with the *Rajas* who are in rebellion and consequently the fields were left empty and unsown.¹⁷ Francisco Bernier has also mentioned about these oppressions on peasants by Mughal officers for charging the revenue demands of their rapacious lords and the poor peasants who did not fulfilled the demands of the state were carried away as slaves and in order to escape from the tyranny and oppression of Mughal officials they abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence either in the towns or camps as bearers of burden, carrier of water or servants of horsemen and sometimes fly to the territories of *Raja*, because there they find less oppression and are allowed a greater degree of comfort.¹⁸

Mughal emperors in order to overcome these situations of insecurity, law and order in the *Parganas* and villages, issued various regulations, orders and *farmans* to the Mughal officials regarding the welfare and security of peasants. Akbar issued an order to the government servants that they should use their endeavors to increase their cultivation, to conciliate the cultivators and give them advances in money, so that villages may yearly increase and collect the revenue from the villages in an easy manner, in order that the lands may be cultivated and blessed with population. Akbar has stressed more on collection of revenue from cultivators in a peaceful manner.¹⁹ A *farman* of Aurangzeb to Rasik Das *Karori* in the form of revenue guide mentioned that when he himself go to a village to access the conditions of *Parganas* properly, he should see the condition of crops properly, the capacity of *rayat* and amount of revenue. He should also check the village officials like *Muqaddams* or *Patwaris* that if they practiced oppression, he should conciliate the *rayats* and give them their dues properly. The *farman* clearly indicates that Aurangzeb was very much concerned with the welfare of the peasantry and increase of cultivation for the prosperity of the empire.²⁰ The security of the villages was to be the core responsibility of the village officials, both Mughal and non-Mughal. The villages were grouped to form a *Pargana* which was a fiscal as well as territorial unit and contained under its jurisdiction a number of villages from five to twelve or more village. The security, peace, law and order were the responsibility of the *Zamindars*, *Muqaddams* etc. In the villages, as it is mentioned by a number of sources that village peasantry was very much oppressed by the

village officials in revenue collection and due to which cultivation was ruined and causes the flight of the peasantry to the territories of Hindu *Rajas*. In spite of these circumstances, the Mughals were able to control a large part of empire by issuing *farmans* and orders regularly to keep intact the working of the administrative machinery through their *mansabdars*, *faujdars*, *jagirdars* and other local officials throughout the Mughal empire.

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11

Kesava Temple At Aralaguppe - A Cultural Study

Dr. Kalaswamy

Abstract

Keshava temple of Hoysala period is found in Aralaguppe village which is 8 kms away from Tipature Taluk, Tumkur District. It appears to have been prosperous agrahara town in the later Hoysala days between about 1260 A.D. Inscriptions of ballala III at the entrance to the place.

Key words: Aralaguppe , Hoysala, Kesava, Temple, Architecture, Garbhagriha, Sukhanasi, Navaranga, Sculptures

Kesava temple of Hoysala period is found in Aralaguppe village, which is 8 kms away from Tipature Taluk, Tumkur District. It appears to have been prosperous Agrahara town in the later Hoysala Period between about 1260 A.D. Inscriptions of Ballala III at the entrance to the place. The village Aralaguppe is a very small and about 5½ kilometers to the west of Banasandra and it is in the Kibbanahalli hobli of Tipatur taluk of Tumkur District, on the Hubli-Bangaore railway line. It is called in an inscription as Aralaguppe the place has several interesting old Temples.

The largest of these is a Hoysala temple dedicated to Kesava which stands on a high ground in the center of the village. It is a single-ceiled temple with a *sikhara* and appears to be a cross between the Kedareswara temple at Helebid and the Lakshminarayana temple at Hosaholalu. The outer wall of the garbhagriha and the corresponding portion of the platform are shaped like a star with sixteen points. There is a regular sukhanasi in front of which is a navaranga square in shape and having nine *ankana*. To the east of the navaranga is its extension with the sides of the entrance *ankana* flanked by stone benches. Outside these benches are the pierced windows and railings while the rest of the temple is walled up.

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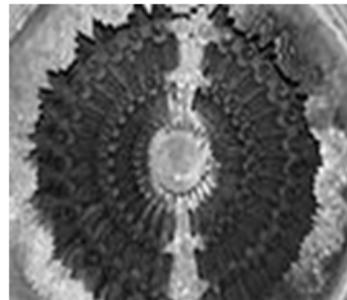
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The temple has excellent ceilings, pillars and wall decorations. A portion of the later however is concealed from view by the appurtenant Narasimha temple on the south. No inscription concerning this temple is found except the signatures of sculptors under some of the wall images. Its garbhagriha is similar to that of Kedaresvara temple, at Halebid and the rest of the temple and its sculptures to those of the temple at Nuggihalli and Hosaholalu. The date of the temple appears to be middle of the 13th Century A.D.



Keshava Temple, Aralaguppe



Central Ceiling With Dikpalakas

The garbhagriha doorway is flanked by dvarapalaka and has Lakshminarayana on the *Makarathorana*. The garbhagriha ceiling is almost flat with padma medallions. In the cell a large Garuda pedestal stands a smallish image of Kesava which is of definitely Hoysala workmanship with plentiful ornamentation. A consort on each side and a serpentine torana with ten avatars around its edge, but it is doubtful if this was the original image, since an outline marked on the upper surface of the pedestal suggests a much larger image. Possibly the broken one kept in the navaranga was originally in this cell.

The sukhanasi doorway is of the usual Hoysala type with dvarapalaks and simple perforated screens on the jambs and Amaranarayana on the lintel with five turrets and intervening lions on the cornice. The sukhanasi ceiling has a shallow padma dome. The navaranga has a plain un-worked doorway, which has usual nine ankana with an additional eastern ankana and stone benches on the east side. It has no side niches, but has two niches against the western wall containing Ganesha and Mahisasuramardhini, a group of good. The other images kept in the navaranga are a fine well sculptured image of Keshava, perhaps the original image of the temple.

The navaranga pillars are of two main varieties. The four central pillars and the eastern most two are of the lathe turned bell-shaped type, rather stout and fat, but finely ornamented with beaded work around the bell, and scroll work on the top and abacus. The capitals have beaded work and lions in the corners. The other two pillars are of the bell shaped sixteen – fluted kind and have bracket figures of musicians connecting the abacus with the wheel-moulding. It has ten types of ceilings; these are deep and dome-shaped.

They are as follows;

1. The Dikpalakas on the octagon with a row of Yakshas above the circular indented gallery with three concentric circles and a pendant bud in the dome.
2. A twelve-pointed star – shaped gallery with concentric circle above.
3. Six pointed star-shaped Gallery with concentric circle.
4. Octagonal gallery with concentric circles above.
5. Sri chakra shaped gallery
6. Flat ceiling with padma medallions
7. Squares with interlaced serpentine band
8. Eight-pointed star-shaped gallery
9. Circular gallery
10. Indented circular gallery with concentric circle above

The temple is raised on a platform, about 4 feet high, whose contour follows that of the temple. Its five cornices have unworried faces. One set of steps leads up to it on the east and is flanked by niche towers. Every alternative point of the star appears originally to have had a sculptured elephant of poor workmanship. One of these is now in position on the north-west and three others are found around the temple. The basement around the navaranga and garbhagriha resembles those of the Halebid Kedareshvara and Nuggehalli Lakshminarasimha temples and has six sculptured friezes fully executed. The general impression conveyed by the sculptured wall is one of profuse grandeur.

**Basement and Ornamental pilasters and canopies**

There are some friezes which resemble those of the other Hoysala temples. The lowest frieze of the temple contains elephants with riders moving forth to battle. The second frieze is that of horsemen with swords and lances, cantering forth to battle as in a procession. Some of the animals wear mail armor and the riders wear gaiters and shorts. Here and there camels with drums break the monotony to the horses. The third frieze is a long creeper scroll of the usual type in high relief.

The fourth one is the mythological frieze illustrating the Ramayana and the Bhagavatha scenes. Some of the important scenes can be identified as follows:-

King Dasaratha seated in the court, the putrakameshti sacrifice, Rama and his three brothers are born and suckling; the boys learn archery, the depredations of Maricha and Subahu, Visvamitra seeks Rama and Lakshmana, Rama and Lakshmana slay Tataka near her hill, Rama Lakshmana and Sita live on the banks of Godavari, they cut off the nose of Surpanakhi, Rama pursues the golden deer, then Ravana carries off Sita, Jatau is slain by Ravana, Rama sends out Hanuman, Hanuman brings news to Rama, Ravana is a multi-headed figure, coronation procession of Sri Rama, and next to Bhagavata scene was Lakshminarayana in Vaikunta, Vasudeva brings Krishna to Yasodha, Krishna slays Putani, Krishna destroys the twin trees, Krishna slays Dhenukasura, Kalingamardhana, Krishna slays an elephant, these are the important mythological scenes.

The fifth basement frieze around the navaranga and garbhagriha contains a row of makara with uplifted heads while the sixth is a frieze of Hamsas in various artistic attitudes. Instead of the last two friezes, in the front portion of the temple there is a row of Yakshas seated between pilasters bearing turrets with intervening rearing lions. Above the row of turrets is a slanting railing with creeper scroll band below and jeweled band above between which is a row of sculptured panels separated by cylindrical double pilasters.

The panels contain figures of ladies, dancers, musicians and soldiers. The wall around the rest of the temple is as usual divided into the upper and lower halves by a cornice ornamented with beaded pendants and floral dentils. Below it are the large wall images having mostly scroll work and lion faces on the pedestals and creeper toranas like those at Nuuggihalli and Somanathapura.

The images also are of the same quality as at Hosaholalu being well ornamented and quite good, though shortish and thick limbed. The name of the sculptor is not known to art his minx because it is not commonly seen like many other sculptors. In the pedestals to the arms of the sculptures he has marked minx initial like others.

There are 86 images on the surface of the wall, these images are beautifully carved by the sculptor, Honnoja. Some of the important images are – Lakshmi and Amaranarayana seated on the coils of Adishesha, dancing Ganesha, Mohini, Harihara with Honnoja-sculptor's name in Kannada six handed Hariharesvari a goddess, Kesava, Venugopala, Lakshminarasimha, Sri Rama, Sri Krishna, six handed Lakshmi and Vishnu, Varadaraja, dancing Saraswati, Kalki, Trimurti, Janardhana, Mohini dancing uplifted Cobra, Balarama, Parasurama, eight handed Harihara, Vishnu standing in Yogamudra, Kalingamardhana, Garuda, eight handed Vishnu, Vishnu as Venkatesha, Lakshminarayana, eight handed Vishnu dancing and Lakshmi on left.

These are the important images. Above the dividing cornice is the usual row of turrets borne on single or double pilasters with a number of images of goddesses holding Phala and Padma standing on the north and south of the navaranga wall. The eaves are of the usual type with headed pendants and floriated dentil projections.

The parapet is composed of four cornices, the lowest bearing flowers, the second makara mouths, the third being unworked, and the fourth supporting the row of sukhanasi, which have inter spread among the Kirthimukha and Yakshas. The star-shaped tower, which is formed of four tiers of comparatively plain turrets without Kalasa above the sikhara and a fine outlined effect. Its eastern projection is called as sukhanasi projection and the Hoysala royal emblem, sala killing the tiger is lost.

The temple is a typical structure of the normal class of ornate Hoysala temples. It is belonged to the reign of Hoysala king Someshvara. This temple is now under the control of the Department of Archaeological Survey of India, they are conducting some conservation work.

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12

Shifting Cultivation in the economic development of the tribals of Koraput, Odisha

Sri Prabhakara Mahapatra

Abstract

The District of Koraput, as an integral part of South Odisha, is surrounded by the districts of Rayagada, Nabarangpur and Malangiri. It is very close to Chattishgarha in the North West and Andhra Pradesh in the South East. It's geographical area is a 8.38 lakh hectares and is about 5.4% of the total area of the State. From the altitude point of view, the district is divided into two physiographic regions such as the Higher Physiographic region and the Lower Physiographic Region. The Soil found in this district is mostly red, mixed red and yellow, alluvial and red and black. The soils are acidic in nature and poor in fertility. The higher altitude areas of Koraput receive comparatively higher rainfall than the lower altitude. The tribes in the district maintained their livelihood on cultivation, forest collection, horticulture, animal husbandry, wage employment, trade and commerce and cottage and household industry.

Key words: *Koraput, Tribals, sifting cultivation, Podu, Monsoon, Swidden*

The District of Koraput, as an integral part of South Odisha, is surrounded by the districts of Rayagada, Nabarangpur and Malangiri. It is very close to Chhattisgarh in the North West and Andhra Pradesh in the South East. It's geographical area is a 8.38 lakh hectares and is about 5.4% of the total area of the State. From the altitude point of view, the district is divided into two physiographic regions such as the Higher Physiographic region and the Lower Physiographic Region. The Soil found in this district is mostly red, mixed red and yellow, alluvial and red and

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black. The soils are acidic in nature and poor in fertility. The higher altitude areas of Koraput receive comparatively higher rainfall than the lower altitude. The tribes in the district maintained their livelihood on cultivation, forest collection, horticulture, animal husbandry, wage employment, trade and commerce and cottage and household industry.

Reasons for Shifting Cultivation

In spite of the primitiveness of shifting cultivation the system has continued till today and is not going to die down in near future. Hence, it is necessary to find out the causes which sustain it so long.¹

- (a) Large scale alienation of land from the tribals to the non-tribals made the former more secure in the uplands as the exploiters cannot intrude this inconvenient pieces of land on the hill slopes.
- (b) The scarcity of lands in plains in relations to demand and their high prices put them beyond the tribal's reach. It is also difficult for them for investing large funds on bullocks, fertilizers, labour charges and other agricultural implements required for settled cultivation. On the other hand with the ashes of natural vegetation as manure and their own hard labour, they need to spend only a little for seeds in the system of shifting cultivation. Besides, Podu cultivation (the local terminology of the system) needs only a few simple implements like hoe, digging stick and axe – all of which can be manufactured by the cultivators themselves excepting the iron part, which are provided to them by the local black smith in exchange of a small amount of their produce.²
- (c) The primitive tribals generally inhabiting on the hill tops and slopes fond the available land on the slopes in close proximity to them for exploitation. Their contact with the outside world being minimal, they also suffer from ignorance of the alternative means of gainful employment that may be available to them. Their life style of cultivation as is the shifting cultivation.³
- (d) Shifting cultivation provides work to all members of a tribal family. The able bodies, children, the women folk and the old members of the family participate in the operation. Plough cultivation in wet or dry lands involves clear division of labour which does not fit in with the traditional style of life and work of these people.⁴
- (e) The tribals usually follow mixed cropping in Podu lands for meeting with their different food requirement. This offers many advantages. Mixed cropping minimize the risk of complete crop failures due to vagaries of monsoon insect and complete crop failures due to vagaries of monsoon insect and pest attacks, which are common in a primitive environment. The age old practice utilizes the soil moisture in different layers of the soil profile in divergent root system of different crops and help recouping soil fertility by plantation of leguminious crops. Thus the upland where the practice is generally confined is less prone to drought than the lower plain lands.⁵

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In this system cultivators can produce their family requirements of food, cereals, vegetable, oilseeds, pulses and a few other crops. Thus the system is in consonance with the primitive concept of tribal self sufficiency in which they have traditional preferences.⁶

The Shifting Cultivation is not only one of the oldest practices of human race but also the main source of income of the tribes like the Khonds, the Savaras, the Koyas, the Gadabas and the Parajas in the Koraput district. The shifting cultivation is otherwise known as Swidden Cultivation. It is also called as Podu or Gudia or Donger Chas by the Kondhas and the Koyas, Bagoda by the Saoras, Livang or Kunda Chas by the Bondas, Lankapadsend by the Koyas. It is also called as Soura Chass by the Kutia Kandhas and Haru by the Dangaria Kandhas.⁷ Although the shifting cultivation is called by different tribes in different names but it is mainly known as Podu Chass. This system is brought to the lime light by H. G. Turner, the then Special Assistant of the British Government as early in 1872..⁸

The Shifting Cultivation constitutes a distinct type of agriculture. It is practised on a large scale by the inhabitants of Koraput district. It is a system like cutting of trees on tops and slope of hills, burning the fallow trees and bushes and lastly dibbling or broadcasting seeds in the ash covered soil. The land is cultivated for two to three years till its fertility is exhausted. Then the land is abandoned and a new patch of forest land is brought under cultivation. The cultivation is thus shifted from one patch to another after every few years.⁹

After being cultivated for two or three years the Podu land is left fallow for a number of years to regain its fertility. In the intervals a cultivator cultivates other plots or hill slopes. Afterwards, the Podu Cultivator returns to the original plot of land.¹⁰ Thus the fallowing period is mainly dependent upon the density of population of a particular area availability of suitable hill slopes, composition of the soil and capacity of the same to recoup its fertility through natural processes. It is, therefore defined as an agricultural system which depends on the rotation of fields rather than crops. But with the change of time and growth of population the fallow period has been reduced from 8 to 12 years to 4 to 6 years in 1973 and further has been decreased to 2 to 3 years as per 1996 Survey.¹¹

There are certain essential features of shifting cultivation. These are ownership of land, selection of Sites, crops grown, cropping pattern, performance or rites etc.

Ownership of Land: In Northern Odisha it is the property of all the villagers. But in Southern Odisha it is owned by each and every individual. Each householder owns a number of sites. It is also used for selling and mortgaging to one another. Regarding the ownership of land there is no legal title. It is accepted only by the common usage and practice¹².

Selection of Sites and Primitive Method of Cultivation: The fallow period, growth of wild plants to be slashed, nearness to village, nature of slope, supernatural deviations etc, are some of the considerations for the selection of sites for the shifting cultivation. The selection of sites and methods of this type of cultivation influences the extent of soil erosion and productivity.¹³

Crops Grown: The local communities in Koraput work with hoe or Muttock in the soil. They sow the seeds before the monsoon. The seeds are being sown during the month of April and May. The Dongoria Kondhas sow the seeds of Ragi, Suan, Arka, the Koyas sow the seeds of pulses, oil seeds, bean and the Bondas sow millets in the Swidden.¹⁴

The women are not allowed to take part in the jungle clearing work. But they work with the male member in certain works such as cutting the shrubs, lighting fire, leveling ash and tilling the plots with the hoe, broadcasting the seeds, weeding the grasses and harvesting the crops.

Cropping Pattern: The local people change the cropping pattern and it is due to declining fertility in the successive years. In the first year of Swidden cultivation millet along with widar, musri, jhudanga and niger are mainly produced. In the Second year of cultivation niger, black gram and others and in the third year because of the infertility of land the people do not like to produce important cereals. The first year cultivation is called as “Susang Biri”, the Second year cultivation is called “Susang Nurulu Biri” and the third year cultivation is called as “Budi Biri” or “Old Biri”.¹⁵

Watching The Crop: In Shifting Cultivation crop raising is a difficult task. Because pests, diseases, birds such as parrots, wild cocks, peacocks and animals such as rats, wild bears, rabbits, wild cats, monkeys are the enemies of the crops. They use to destroy the crops both during the day and night. Therefore to protect the crops from these enemies the cultivators construct temporary watch huts or houses either on the ground or on high platform. They also blow Ahkum (Horn made bugles) as well as beat drums to drive away the birds and animals from the crop fields.¹⁶

Performance of Rites: The cultivators perform different rites for selecting the shifting land and clearing it, sowing seeds and harvesting crops. These are the common practices among the local people. “Suma gelirack”, “Giag-gige” and “Bihan Puja” are some of the important rites to be performed. While “Suma Gelirack” and “Giag-gige” are prevalent in the Bondo Society, the “Bihan Puja” is practised by the “Dongaria Kondhas”.¹⁷

For the performance of these rites an auspicious date is fixed and the villagers participated in this ritual. The priest, the Jani, the Shaman and the Hejuni mix together all the seeds to be sown and consecrate these before Dharani Penu, the Earth Goddess. The ritual continues all through the Night. Early next morning the Jani distributes the seeds to all the villagers¹⁸.

Wedding: Wedding is an essential system of the shifting cultivation without it the farmers cannot harvest a good crop. While the Bondas and the Kondhas practise this system, the Koyas never practice it.

Harvesting: At appropriate time when the crops are ready for harvesting, the people along with their family members use to go to their respective shifting cultivation sites and camp there till their harvesting is over. Different crops are harvested at different times during the period from October to April of every year.¹⁹

Thus to conclude, the tribals who live without any low lands or terraced plots of land practice this shifting cultivation or Podu Cultivation. It has a number of problems. To settle these problems such as terracing, land reclamation, watershed management, plantations, forestry, cash crop cultivation etc. need to be taken up. In spite of these problems, the shifting cultivation may continue. The tribals should be completely engaged as settled cultivators. Continuous and sincere efforts should be made for the development of soil conservation and improve the shifting cultivation on scientific methods.

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13

Land Reform Relations of Bengal and Peasantry

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Abstract

This paper examines about the history of land reform relations in Bengal with special reference to the peasantry in the colonial and post-colonial period. Land is a gift of nature. We produce several things from the land. Although the land is tilled by the individual farmer, the ultimate ownership of it rests in the Govt. In our state there came a time when many types of middlemen appeared in the scene. Zamindars, Jotedars and Bargadars were the main characters in the land reform of Bengal. The position of peasantry in the colonial and post-colonial period; this will be mainly discussed in this paper. In the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793, a new Zamindari system was introduced. This Zamindari system took a vital role in the land scene. During this period, another form of landholder emerged in Bengal. The Jotedars were a rich class of peasants who reclaimed and gained control of large quantities of uncultivated forests and wetlands outside the territory governed by the Permanent Settlement. The Bargadars were played an important role in the land reform relations in Bengal. In this paper I would like to confine my study into several parts. Those are land reform relations in Colonial period, Post-Colonial period with some phases and some other related parts. Some important rights and obligations of peasantry will be discussed in this study.

Key words: Zamindars, Jotedars, Bargadars, Permanent Settlement, Colonial, Peasantry, Bengal.

Bengal is the leader in land reforms in the country. Land reform is a concept of independent India. The planners of free India was conscious about the immediate need to relieve the farmers toiling under the yoke of some sort of zamindars; with these were the crying need of ensuring food security and supply of agricultural items for meeting up demands of the newly set up agri-based industries in free India. Enhancing agricultural production for creating surplus to be invested in industry was

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too of great importance. Administering of social justice demanded that land must not be in the hands of a few and should be distributed judiciously amongst the landless. Zamindars, Jotedars and Bargadars were the main characters in the land reform of Bengal. The position of peasantry in the colonial and post-colonial period; this will be mainly discussed in this paper. In the time of the Permanent Settlement in 1793, a new Zamindari system was introduced. This Zamindari system took a vital role in the land scene. During this period, another form of landholder emerged in Bengal. The Jotedars were a rich class of peasants who reclaimed and gained control of large quantities of uncultivated forests and wetlands outside the territory governed by the Permanent Settlement. The Bargadars were played an important role in the land reform relations in Bengal. I would like to incorporate the sub them of the study such as Peasantry in Land Reform Relations of Bengal in the time of **Colonial period** and **Post- Colonial period**. There may be some phases also in the time of post-Colonial period. In the time of Post-Colonial period, the name of the area of my discussion will be West Bengal instead of Bengal because of Independence of India.

With the arrival of the *East India Company* (EIC) in the Seventeenth Century, the agrarian structure underwent radical change. The EIC first purchased the right to receive the collected land revenue and later, under the Permanent Settlement introduced in 1793, declared the *zamindars* to be proprietors of land in exchange for the payment of land revenue fixed in perpetuity. *Zamindars* or those to whom they sold their proprietary rights, typically delegated revenue collection to a series of middlemen. The increasing layers of intermediaries meant that there was an appreciable increase in rent (or tax) extracted from the tillers and failure to pay this increased amount resulted in large-scale evictions, widespread unrest, and declining agricultural production.¹ The British sought to stabilize the situation through legislated tenancy reform. *The Bengal Rent Act* of 1859 placed restrictions on the power of landlords' to increase rent or evict tenants. However, the Act only protected fixed-rent tenants and did not protect bargadars or *agricultural laborers*.² Moreover; it only protected those fixed-rent tenants who could prove they had cultivated the land for 12 consecutive years. Continuous cultivation was difficult to prove due to poor records and the Act resulted in an increasing evictions by *zamindars* to prevent tenants from possessing land for the required time period.³ The 1885 *Bengal Tenancy Act* also sought to protect long-standing tenants, and was similarly unsuccessful.⁴

During this period, another form of landholder emerged in Bengal. The *jotedars* were a rich class of peasants who reclaimed and gained control of large quantities of uncultivated forests and wetlands outside the territory governed by the Permanent Settlement.⁵ The *jotedars* cultivated some of this land through the direct supervision of hired labor or servants. However, the bulk of the *jotedars'* land, like much of the land in Bengal, was farmed by *bargadars*.⁶ Rural agitations over the plight of *bargadars* were common in the decades prior to and after Independence. In the 1940s, the *Tebhaga* movement called for a smaller cropshare payment and also created the slogan, "*He who tills the land, owns the land.*" The movement is given credit for shaping post- Independence land reform legislation in West Bengal.⁷ West Bengal inherited very complex production relations, which were widely acknowledged to be obstacles to the development of agriculture. This

may be why West Bengal continued to be a poor-performing state in terms of agricultural output, until the end of the 1970s. These relations were historically the result of the 'Permanent Settlement' system adopted by the British in Bengal. The system created a class of parasitic, non-cultivating landlords who expropriated rent from the actual tillers who cultivated their lands. In particular, the system was associated with a high prevalence of sub infeudation, with many layers of intermediaries between the actual cultivator and the 'landlord', all of whom had some rights or claims upon the produce of the land.⁸

Land reform in post-independence West Bengal had assumed a special significance following the partition of Bengal and the continuation of influx of refugees from East to West Bengal shrunk in size and the influx of refugees put a very heavy pressure on land. Both production and distribution was adversely affected by the existing state of land relations. The land tenure system served as an obstruction to agricultural production, affected incomes and access to productive employment for the landless, and created unequal access to social and political power as well.⁹ Land reforms in post-independence West Bengal began with the passage of the *West Bengal Bargadar Act* (1950), followed by the *West Bengal Estate Acquisition Act* (1952), and the *West Bengal Land Reforms Act* (1955). These three Acts were enacted at the initiative of the congress governments of the State. But the legal provisions were not seriously enforced. To the local level administrators and the police nothing seemed to be more natural than to see their role as defenders of the vested interests irrespective of the changes in law. More importantly, there was a conspicuous lack of political will. This was in line with the general Indian situation. While some LRA (*Land Reform Act*) provisions broke new ground, little implementation was accomplished. In fact, the LRA led to some perverse consequences as, counter to the intentions of the LRA, many landlords evicted those cultivating their land, resulting in a large increase in the percentage of landless agricultural laborers throughout the state.¹⁰ The aspect of the LRA most often blamed for its negative impact is the provision that allowed landowners to resume "personal cultivation" (including through the use of hired labor or servants) to reclaim land from *bargadars*.¹¹ Others were evicted because they did not possess documents necessary to prove that they were *bargadars*. During this first-phase of land reform in West Bengal, 300,000 acres of above-ceiling land was redistributed,¹² a little less than per cent of the cropped land in the state. However, much above ceiling land was retained by intermediaries through evasive transfers to relatives, friends or fictitious persons (*benami* transactions).¹³

Movement for land reforms gained momentum when the **United Front** (U.F.) consisting of the centrist and the leftist parties was voted to power in the state for two short spells in 1967 and 1969. In 1967, left-wing and centrist parties formed a coalition government known as the United Front. The countryside was seething with social unrest and a militant peasant movement was growing. The United Front government sought to address the underlying concerns of the peasants by improving the position of the *bargadars* and distributing more surplus land.¹⁴ However, because *bargadar* rights remained unrecorded, little could be done to grant *bargadars* greater security without causing widespread evictions. Significant success was achieved, however, in redistributing ceiling-surplus land. Between 1967-1970 an additional 600,000 acres of such land was redistributed.¹⁵ Much of this redistributed land had

been invaded by peasants during the 1960s.¹⁶ The Left Front government, led by the Communist Party of India–Marxist (CPIM), came to power in 1977 on the promise of extensive agrarian and political reform. CPIM has remained in power ever since. The government has achieved some incremental progress in redistributing ceiling-surplus land during this period, but its most notable success has been in recording and protecting *bargadar* rights. The Left Front acted more aggressively to take over land that exceeded ceiling limits and to close loopholes that previously allowed exemptions to the ceiling for religious and charitable trusts, plantations and fisheries.¹⁷ Furthermore, in 1979 the State Government amended the LRA to narrow the definition of “personal cultivation” to better ensure that those that owned the land were the actual cultivators.¹⁸ The Left Front’s most notable land reform achievement was in launching Operation *Barga*, under which government functionaries recorded the names of *bargadars* in order to provide them with greater tenure security.¹⁹ By recording their status, *bargadars* were finally able to avail themselves of the protections of the LRA without fear of eviction. No new legislation was passed. Rather this program sought to record names as originally provided for, but never actually done, under the LRA.²⁰ Reform of land relations was one of the earliest and most consistent aspects of state government policy for the first two decades after the Left Front came to power in West Bengal in 1977. It reflected part of a more general vision of the ruling party and governing essential for social and economic change in progressive directions, for greater empowerment of ordinary peasant and workers, and indeed for meaningful democracy.²¹ From the early 1950s, therefore, in West Bengal as in other states of India, land reform was a concern of the government. Nevertheless, West Bengal is till date the only state in India, with the exception of Kerala, to have undertaken both tenancy reform and redistributive land reforms. The amount of land redistributed in West Bengal has by far surpassed that in any of the other states. More spectacular and widely discussed, has been West Bengal’s programme of tenancy reform or ‘Operation Barga’, as it is more popularly known. This effort marked a solid departure from the earlier attempts at land reform.²²

The socio- economic and political conditions of the *Zamindar* and *Jotedar* classes are over all good in the time of colonial period of land reform relations. But the position of *bargadars* is not so good in that time. The scenario had been changed in the time of post- colonial period. In this time the position of the *Zamindars* and *Jotedars* had been decreased. After Independence of India the climate had been changed in the agrarian society of Bengal as well as West Bengal. The *bargadars* get a good position in the stipulated time. The land reforms in West Bengal had two important components: *tenancy reforms* and *redistribution of land*. *The tenancy reforms in the State were implemented through a massive campaign — popularly known as Operation Barga — for registration of the names of bargadars (sharecroppers) in the land records*. All registered tenants were provided, by enactment of an effective amendment to the land reform legislation, a permanent and heritable right to cultivate the leased in land. Operation Barga involved registration of 1.4 million *bargadars*, of which over 30 per cent were dalits and over 12 per cent were adivasis. Through Operation Barga, about 1.1 million acres of land was permanently brought under the control of *bargadars* and their right to

cultivate this land was secured.²³ The LRA grants special protection to *bargadars*, including the right to continued cultivation. These rights, which are to be recorded in the record-of-rights⁶ (but exist and can be asserted even if not recorded), are heritable, but are not otherwise transferable.²⁴ A person lawfully cultivating any land belonging to another person is presumed to be a *bargadar* unless he or she is a member of the landowner's family.²⁵ This unique feature of the West Bengal LRA is not present in the legislation of any other state. It places on the landowner the onus of proving that a person cultivating his or her land is not a *bargadar*. Where the landowner is a Scheduled Tribe member, the cultivator may claim *bargadar* status only if the cultivator is also a Scheduled Tribe member.

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14

War Services of the Patiala State To The British From 1809-1857 A.D.

Sandeep Kaur

Abstract

The Patiala State had always made very sincere efforts to provide every kind of help to the British during the time of emergency. The Maharaja and the State played an important role in the Gurkha War, Anglo-Sikh Wars and Revolt of 1857, and were duly appreciated by the British Government.

Key words: *Sanad, Despatch, Khillat, Privileges Cavalry, Infantry, Order of Star of India.*

Friendly political relations between the Patiala State and the British Government commenced in the year 1804 when Lord Lake was assured by Maharaja Sahib Singh of Patiala of his friendship he passed through Patiala in pursuit of Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Maratha Chief. Since 1804, a period of uninterrupted and unvarying record of the constant and steadfast loyalty of the Patiala State and its ruler had started who had actively worked hand in hand with the British Government and played a prominent part in building and consolidating the British Empire in the Northern India. The Proclamation of May, 1809 issued to the Cis-Satluj-Chiefs was interesting as it formed the basis of subsequent relations. It provided that if an enemy approached from any quarter, friendship and mutual interest required the Cis-Satluj Chiefs to join the British Army with their forces and exert themselves in expelling the enemy.¹ So there was hardly any occasion of importance in which the Patiala State had not served the British Government with its military resources and in return for its grateful services also got many distinctions, titles and territories from the British Government. Soon after the alliance of Patiala with the British, the State Troops served in the Gurkha War of 1814.² Karam Singh Bahadur dispatched his forces to help General Ochterlony and the British were able to subdue the Gurkhas. In recognition of these services the British Government granted to him by a Sanad of October 20, 1815, 16 Parganas and the Emperor Akbar II was at the same time recommended by General Ochterlony to confer upon him the title

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of Maharaja. Afterwards in the second siege of Bharatpur in 1827 the Patiala State helped the Government with the loan of Rs. 20 lakhs. During the first Afghan War of 1839, the Maharaja gave a loan of Rs. 25 lakhs and made extensive arrangements for supplies.³ In the 2nd Afghan War, the Patiala State gave another loan of Rs. 5 lakhs to the Government. In 1843 the Patiala forces assisted the Government in suppressing disturbances in the neighbouring State of Kaithal, inspite of the fact that Kaithal was closely connected by relations of common descent with the Phulkian State. The Maharaja send 2 Guns and 1000 Cavalry to help the British. The Outbreak of the Sikh War in 1845 was a critical time when the loyalty of all the States was put to severe test. But the Patiala forces rendered service in the field side by side with the British Army and the State gave every possible assistance in the campaign by furnishing supplies and guarding the lines of communication. Maharaja Karam Singh despatched a contingent of 2000 Cavalry and 2000 Infantry for active service with the British and thus gave practical proof of his loyalty and devotion to the British Government. As a result while many other Cis-Satluj rulers suffered loss of territory, power and position for their mistakes, new territories, honours and privileges were given to Patiala. Lord Harding, the then Governor-General himself came to Patiala in February 1847 and in recognition to the services rendered in the First Anglo Sikh War granted Maharaja Narinder Singh portion of the confiscated Nabha territory which yielded revenue of Rs. 35,000/- another territory yielding a revenue of 1000 and a house at Hardwar and invested him with Khillat and raised his salute to 15 guns with a view to exalt him in the eyes of other rulers. During the second Anglo-Sikh War of 1849 similar services were rendered by the Maharaja by placing the services of Patiala troops at the disposal of the British and he also gave a loan of Rs. 30 lakhs to the Supreme Government.⁴ During the Revolt of 1857, Maharaja Narinder Singh played a very important role. Infact no other prince in India had shown such devotion or had provided more important services to the British Government than the Maharaja of Patiala. The value and nature of the Patiala services has been thus described by Sir Lepel Griffin in his able work, "The Rajas of the Punjab as, "During the disturbances of 1857-58 no Prince in India showed a greater loyalty or rendered more conspicuous service to the British Government than the Maharaja of Patiala. He was the acknowledged head of the Sikhs and any hesitation or disloyalty on his part would have been attended with the most disastrous results, while his ability, character and high position would have made him a most formidable leader against the Government. But following the Honourable impulses of gratitude and loyalty he unhesitatingly placed his whole power, resources and influence at the absolute command of the English and during the darkest and most doubtful days of the Mutiny he never for a moment wavered in his loyalty, but, on the contrary, redoubled his exertions when less sincere friends thought it politic to relax theirs".⁵

As soon as the news of mutinies at Delhi and Meerut and also the doubtful attitude of the native troops at Ambala, reached Patiala, the Maharaja placed all the troops under his direct command and reached Jesomli, a village close to Ambala. He also send his elephants, camels and other carriage to Kalka in order to provide transport to European troops to Ambala from the hill stations of Kasauli, Dagshai and Sabathu.⁶ From Jesomli, he went to Thanesar and left a force of 1300 men with four guns in order to provide protection to the district. The Commissioner of Cis-Satluj States greatly

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eulogized this loyal step of the Maharaja as it was the need of the hour and proved to be a step of infinite importance to the cause of the British Government. Many rumours about the cartridges, adulteration of flour and other subtle designs to destroy the caste had already created a sense of restlessness among the people. However the bold and undeviated loyalty of the Maharaja at this critical moment helped in discrediting all the rumours.⁷ The Patiala troops well guarded the *Grand Trunk Road* and also held *Thanesar, Karnal, Ludhiana* and the station of *Ambala*. The Maharaja was very keen to lead a contingent to Delhi but his constant requests were not accepted by the Civil Authorities and the Commander-in-Chief as his presence in the Cis-Satluj States was considered to be of utmost importance. Even then he sent 500 horses and foot under the command of Sirdar Partap Singh to Delhi where these troops provided valuable service in the siege and capture of Delhi. Realizing the importance of the support of the Maharaja in that crucial hour, the King of Delhi sent a letter to the Maharaja urging him to help the King of Delhi and was also promised handsome rewards for his support but the Maharaja remained loyal to the British and handover the letter to the British.

The Maharaja further sent his troops to accompany General Van Cortland and gave every possible assistance to reinforce law and order in *Sirsa, Rohtak and Hissar*. Still another detachment was employed at *Saharanpur and Jagardri* and was twice engaged with the mutineers on the revolt of the 10th Cavalry at *Ferozpur* where several of the Patiala men were killed and many wounded while trying to repulse the mutineers. Patiala forces were dispatched to control the situation at *Dholpur, Gwalior and Oudh*. At the request of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, the Maharaja also sent 820 Infantry and 207 Sawars to Oudh.⁸ The situation at Dholpur was so lead that the Rana was helpless till the Patiala troops came to the rescue and restored order in the State. The condition at Gwalior was even worse. Maharaja Jiaji Rao Sandia along with his Minister Sir Dinkar Rao and some other Sardars had to have his State for the sake of his personal safety and the Patiala troops had the honour of safely escorting him to Agra and then afterwards assisting in subduing the rebels and restoring law and order in the State.⁹ The Patiala Contingent employed in the British cause in 1857 consisted of 8 guns, 2156 Cavalry and 2855 Infantry with 156 Officers and that in 1858 consisted of 2 guns, 2930 Infantry and 907 Sawars making a total of 3063 cavalry, 3720 Infantry and 156 Officers and 10 guns.¹⁰ At Patiala, the Maharaja provided supplies and carriage and kept the roads clear for all the Government troops passing through from the Punjab to Delhi. Also all the refugees who had come to Patiala from Sirsa, Rohtak and Hissar were helped and were provided everything they required. The Maharaja also gave financial assistance by advancing a loan of Rs. 5 lakhs and expressed his willingness to double the amount.

The loyal services of the Maharaja were greatly appreciated. While investing the Maharaja with a Khillat in January 1861, Lord Canning eulogized his services and remarked, "It is very agreeable to me to have this opportunity of thanking you personally and in public for the valuable services you have rendered to the State. I esteem them not more for the effective aid which they gave to the forces of the Government, than for the promptness with which they were offered, and for the example of hearty and unhesitating loyalty which you thereby set before the Queen's subjects in Upper India

from the very beginning of the strife. I need not recount those services: they are well known to everyone here present and the history of them is recorded in the history of the operations by which the British troops sustained and asserted the power of England in this part of Her Majesty's dominions. There is no fear, therefore, of their being forgotten. But I desire to assure you, before this Darbar, of the satisfaction which the Queen's Government has had in along with it, augmenting your honour and possessions and of the wish which it entertains, that these may long remain under the rule of descendants of your own, - brave and loyal as yourself. I have directed that a grant be prepared confirming your title to these possessions, and to all the privileges attached to them".¹¹ This trust and confidence of the Supreme Government in the Maharaja was embodied in the historic addition made to the titles of the Patiala Chiefs after the Mutiny by the words "Farzand-i-Khas-i-Daulat-i-Inglistia"¹² which means the chosen son of the Government. These are not empty words but express the close personal affection that existed between the Patiala Maharaja and the Supreme Government. Mansur-i-Zaman and Amir-ul-Umra Sri were also conferred upon him in heredity. He also got Narnaul Division of the Jhajjar territory which yielded revenue of Rs. 2,00,000/-.¹³ Maharaja Narinder Singh was invested with the most exalted order of the Star of India on November 1, 1861. He was also the first Indian Chief who was nominated as a member of the Governor General's Council for making Laws and Regulations. In March 1862, the right of adoption granted in 1860 was confirmed by a special Sanad. So the history of the War services of the Patiala State is an unshaken and unbroken record of the loyalty of the State to the Imperial Government. No doubt it was mandatory for the State to provide military assistance to the British in time of emergency but all the Maharajas of Patiala were much more enthusiastic to help the British in every possible way. The British in return handsomely rewarded the Maharajas and their officials.

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15

Nijalingappa's Political Life and Its Impact on Karnataka Politics - (1966-1972)

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Abstract

In the political history of Karnataka the difference of ideology, between Smt. Indira Gandhi's Congress and Nijalingappa's Congress the concepts will be discussed and how it has led to divide Indian National Congress; and how effectively responsible to dethrone the Veerendra Patil's Government in Karnataka. Further will be analyzing how the Karnataka Politics molded under the Leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi in all round progress of Karnataka subject matters will be studied under the existing Title Head. First, discuss whether the Senior Leaders in Indian National Congress wanted to be away from the control of Indira Gandhi's Administration. Second, whether Indira Gandhi's intention was to establish her own dominance in the Congress. All these issues will be focused in the research paper.

The Karnataka State is popular for a good tradition and cultural history of around three thousand years. It became "Mysore" State on 01.11.1956. On formation of outskirts of reconstitute of linguistic states. The renaming of the 'Mysore State' changed to 'Karnataka State', with effect from 01.11.1973 onwards.

The dedicated and notable role played by the eminent politicians like K. C. Reddy, Kengal Hanumanthaiah, Kadidal Manjappa, S. Nijalingappa as Chief Minister of Mysore Government.

Among the eminent Congress Leaders in the history of Karnataka S. Nijalingappa stand a builder of New Karnataka. He was made symbolic to Mahatma Gandhi, in his Honesty, truth, integrity, impartial judgment, farsightedness, boldness, quick and correct judgments. S. Nijalingappa was born on 10th December 1902 at Haluvagilu in Harapanhalli Taluq of Bellary District. After attaining Degree in

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Law from the Fergusson College, Pune, he started his professional career as a Advocate from Davangere city in 1926.

S. Nijalingappa was elected as President of Mysore Congress in the Annual Conference of Mysore Congress held during 1944. He remained as working committee member of Mysore Congress from 1939-1951. He was Member of Parliament from 1952 (First General Elections) to 1956. After formation of linguistic-wise-Kannada State called as Mysore State he adorned the position of Chief Minister. He was the Chief Minister of Karnataka State for three terms first in 1956, second in 1962 and finally in 1967. He was unanimously elected from Shiggaon as MLA during 1967 Election.

In the Indian National Congress Indira Gandhi was appearing dominantly. After the death of her father Jawaharlal Nehru on 27.05.1964 she was made as Information and Broadcasting Minister in the Cabinet of Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri's Government. Later, on the demise of Lal Bahadur Shastri on 10.01.1966, she became Prime Minister of India on 26.01.1966. In the records of Indian History after Independence she was the first Woman Prime Minister. In the 1967 General election brought her majority and once again she became PM for the second time (13.03.1967). But however the position of Congress went on declining as for various reasons the elections held in 1952 – 364 seats, 1957 – 371 seats, 1962 – 361 seats, 1967 – 283 seats

During 1967, in Gujarat, Student Agitation was started under the Leadership of Jai Prakash Narayan. In Bihar also people rebelled against the Congress Government for its slow development. Same incidence was reflected in Chandigarh, Punjab & Haryana also.

The Congress had lost and DMK Party won in Madras. Kamaraj was defeated in his own Constituency of Virudhanagar in Tamil Nadu. M G Ramachandran emerged as ADMK leader therein.

Congress lost in Kerala State. The Communist Party of India was divided into two as CPI and CPM. Namboodripad became the Chief Minister of Kerala Government. The only States where Congress was in power and comfortable were Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. Under the leadership of S. Nijalingappa in Karnataka and Neelam Sanjeevreddy in Andhra Pradesh respectively. At this juncture, strong political leaders were essential. Indira Gandhi after 1967 election, she observed deterioration position of Congress and she was ambitious and wanted to become most powerful lady among the leaders – by making Senior Congress men not heeding to her and more closures approach by the young Turks in Congress. Thinking S. Nijalingappa, though Senior Congressman and CM of Karnataka she assumed that he would nod to her words; and would not oppose much to her thoughts. Hence Indira Gandhi put proposal of Congress President-Ship. "Indira's inclination in making S. Nijalingappa as INC President might be for the reasons that Nijalingappa's smooth approach (he was better than Nanda & Patil) mildness, as she believed that he will not oppose to her dictatorship¹" as stated by Dr. Javaregowda in his book on Nijalingappa.

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Chief Minister S. Nijalingappa became President of Indian National Congress on 07.12.1967, handed over the charge of Chief Minister to Veerendra Patil on 29.05.1968.

Later on new developments emerged in Congress and tussel for power among experienced seniors generations and young blood youths Indira was towards youth leaders. Indira had not much social approach due to her grown up situations and atmosphere. She was afraid of her senior colleagues that she might be removed. Therefore she was fully depending on the guide and suggestion of higher officials like P. N. Haksar. She started concentrating more towards social concept of approach by ignoring political issues threatened by Morarji Desai. P. N. Haksar who became the Chief Personal Secretary, was studied in London and worked as Lawyer in USA. Haksar had a important role in Indira's Government from 1967 to 1973. Though socialism was initiated by her father Jawaharlal Nehru – further she magnified the word socialism by bringing down nearness and equalism in society.

In order all these projects to implement lot of financial schemes were required for implement action. However this source was more helpful to Indira Gandhi to keep away the senior leader heads. She brought 10 Point Programmes and put forth in the Congress Manifesto. It was including – control over social structure, rethinking of Rajdhan to be given to Ex-Raja's- Maharaja's, further she announced minimum wages for landless labourers and artisans were promoted economic benefits as important among the programmes. Though 10 point programmes was not shown interest by syndicate of Congress, however new generations have accepted it. Indira stressed on promotions of landless agricultural labourers in Lok Sabha in 1968- Feb and criticized Industrialists and businessmen and capitalists in the speech of Independence Day celebrations on 15th August 1968.² These were attractive ringing tones to young leaders; same was sung in the year 1969, 27th April at Faridabad Congress Conference. President of Congress S. Nijalingappa in his reply argued for maintenance of discipline in the Congress. In this matter both groups discussed bitterly on the matter. In the same conference itself there seemed the division of Congress or split in the unity of Congress in future ahead. The young Turks like Chandrashekar, K. D. Malaviya, Mohan Dharia etc., criticized openly against the principles of traditional Congressmen in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha.³ Meanwhile on 3rd May 1969 President Zakir Husain passed away. The death of the leader and election of new President of India led the Congress for division into two. Old senior leaders proposed for Neelam Sanjeevreddy the then (Speaker) to be elected. Whereas young Turks including Smt. Indira Gandhi supported V. V. Giri for Presidential Election. Smt. Indira was delay in attending Bangalore Congress Conference held at Lalbag Glass House and sent her "Note" to the President of Congress which included Firstly Natioanlisation of Banks by which funds can be utilized for country's benefit, Secondly, Land Reforms supporting Cultivators, Thirdly, Fixing limits on landed assets in towns and villages. Fourthly to give benefit from Green Revolution to Agriculture Labourers—even on these, issues the Senior colleagues divided among

themselves by accepting and rejecting the proposals by Kamaraj and Morarji Desai – S K Patil and others respectively.

Nijalingappa put for the important points –development of SC/ST Community; removal of untouchability; improvement of village condition, facility of drinking water, restoration of peace. But Smt. Indira Gandhi never heeded to these programmes. She withdrew the Finance portfolio from Morarji Desai without his consent, for which Morarji submitted his resignation.⁴

On 25th July 1969, the bank's nationalization was accepted in Parliament by 260/40 votes. Smt. Indira asked Senior leaders to come out openly on these instead of murmuring, and called Nijalingappa's group as "opponents". Nijalingappa appealed to PM Indira Gandhi to support Neelam Sanjeevreddy for presidential election and opt for implement VIP – as such Indira declined the proposal and supported for freedom for members. However V V Giri was elected as President of India on 18.08.1969.⁵

Nijalingappa as a President of Indian National Congress sent notice to Smt. Indira Gandhi (PM), Jagajeevan Ram, Fakruddin Ali Ahamed, for working against the official candidate N. Sanjeevreddy. Smt. Indira expressed there is no such power vested in the hand of Nijalingappa and her team was successful in electing V V Giri as President on 20.08.1969 by 4,21,077/4,05,427 votes, by defeating the party candidate itself.⁶

Nijalingappa and other seniors did not keep quiet and on 12.11.1969 in Congress Working Committee, they recommended for dismissal of Smt. Indira Gandhi and others from primary membership of the Congress.⁷

On 13.11.1969 young Turks offered their support to Smt. Indira and declared their Congress was (R) (Ruling) by leaving others as Congress (O) (Organization)⁸

During this period 210 were L.S. Members and 104 were R. S. Members respectively. Out of which 63 defendants sat on opposition in the Parliament. On 16.11.1969 the vote of confidence was sought by Nijalingappa group, which ultimately defeated by 140/306 votes.⁹ The Independence & Communists Party MPs supported Smt. Indira and got majority support. Jagjivanram was made as President of Smt. Indira Congress whereas Nijalingappa had no compromise on disciplinary and principles. However Congress in these processes broke into two groups. Indira supported for individualism and her empowerment discarding the traditional Congress which brought freedom to nation.

Impact of Division of Congress on Mysore State

On the threshold of Congress division, on 05.11.1969 CM of Karnataka Sri. Veerendra Patil went to Delhi to compromise between Indira & Nijalingappa and got assurance from her to attend a get-together meeting of both the parties on 07.11.1969.¹⁰ However it was not materialized due to adherence and stickup to their own thoughts, principles and ideology which differed from each other.

By this time, Kollur Mallappa was elected as Working Committee Member on 22.11.1969 by the ruling Congress Party. On 27.11.1969 C. Subramanyam the

President of Indira Congress suspended Mysore Congress and Eleven members committee under Devaraj Urs leadership which was formed in the following way:

D. Devaraj Urs, Dayanand Sagar, K. S. Nagaratnamma, A. R. Badarinarayan, P. Venkataraman, K. N. Veerappagoud, K. G. Timmegoud, M. N. Krishnappa, Kollur Mallappa, R. M. Patil, S. R. Patil.¹¹

The above said Member's committee was led by Devaraj Urs, but the then CM Veerendra Patil rejected its formation and stated his cabinet was safe and secure. Later affirmed confidence under the leadership of S. Nijalingappa, by 22 members support on 28.11.1969. But Devaraj Urs group became opposition party.¹² But, before the starting of 1972 Bi-Election, many leaders like Mohammed Ali, K. Puttaswamy, V. L. Patil, K. Prabhakar, N. Rachaiah, adopted Smt. Indira Congress's principles and once again it was further divided.

Earlier to that on 16.03.1971 – Praja Samajwadi Party also merged into Indira Congress on 27.03.1971. CM Veerendra Patil had put his resignation after losing confidence which came into effect from 14.04.1971. Hence Presidential rule came into existence in Karnataka.

Conclusion of the Study- On principle and ethics two groups said to be one of Seniors and other of youngsters – have had difference. After S. Nijalingappa took over Presidentship of INC – the smoke division bursted. One and the most probable aim of Smt. Indira Gandhi was to be free from the clutches of the Senior Congressmen and supported youth leaders likewise – immediate and cause of action was emerged on Presidential Election – both adhering to their own ego and principles.

However the legendary division of the Congress – which brought freedom to Nation was inevitably divided – despite of telling who was correct. The Congress was killed brutally by these two groups – one cannot forget when we read History of Congress in India, and its impact on Political Life of Karnataka.

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Three Schools of Thought: Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari on the Post-Cripps Mission Political Discourse

Dr. Uma Shanker Singh

Abstract

In Indian national movement masses played a vital role. Gandhi was the main leader who mobilized the masses. Quit India Movement of 1942 was final mass movement called by Mahatma Gandhi. This paper deals with different schools of thought which influenced direction of the political movement between the Cripps' departure and the passing of the Quit India resolution. Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari had different ideology regarding political movement against the Britishers. Gandhi was the mass leader who had more control over the prevailing situation.

Key Words: *Cripps mission, Mass movement, Quit India movement, School of thought, Harijan, Resolution, League, Congress.*

Introduction- The 'Quit India' movement of 1942 was the most powerful mass movement in colonial India. Its importance lay not only in its reflecting the climax of the anti-British struggle but also in its vision for the future. The movement commenced with the adoption of a resolution by the All India Congress Committee on 8th August 1942, at the Gowalia Tank Maidan (Bombay), asking the British government to withdraw from India, in order also to ensure the material and cultural development of Indian as a free people, and in order also to ensure their participation in the struggle against fascism.¹ On the refusal of the British authorities to 'Quit India', so as to speak, Mahatma Gandhi invited his countrymen to 'do or die' in a bid to liberate themselves from the alien yoke. Gandhi's speech also contained specific instructions for different sections of the people. National government

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functioned at Tamluk in Medinapur (Bengal), Satara in Maharashtra, Talchar in Orissa, Ballia in UP etc.² This paper deals with the different schools of thought prevailing between Cripps' departure and passing of the Quit India resolution.

From Cripps' departure to the passing of the Quit India Resolution

Cripps left India on April 12th, 1942. The failure of Cripps Mission made it clear that Britain was unwilling to offer an honourable settlement and a real constitutional advance during the war, and that she was determined to continue India's unwilling partnership in the war effort. The empty gesture of the 'Cripps offer' brought about an immediate and distinct change in the attitude of Gandhi. He was hitherto definitely opposed to any mass movement during the world war, but now his mind veered round it. In all this background the All-India Congress Session began on April 29th at Allahabad in Eastern UP and continued until May 2nd.³ Azad's Presidential address dealt mainly with the Cripps Mission. Rajendra Prasad moved the adoption of the working committee's resolution of April 2nd rejecting the Cripps proposals, and the resolution was passed, almost unanimously. Nehru then proceeded to move three resolutions which had been adopted by the working committee in the preceding two days; They were seconded by Bhulabhai Desai, and passed unanimously.

One of the resolutions talked about the collapse of the civil administration in Rangoon and lower Burma just before the Japanese invasion.. The molestation of women by soldiers was also reported. In a third resolution, the racial discrimination shown in the treatment of evacuees from the far-east was deplored and the speedy evacuation of Indian from the unoccupied territory in Burma was demanded. These resolutions were couched in language calculated to bring government into hatred and contempt, to undermine public confidence in government's ability to defend India, to excite hostility against the armed forces, and to encourage the establishment of a parallel administration.⁴ Before the government action, AICC office at Allahabad had distributed the cyclostyled copies of resolution in large numbers. On May 1st the AICC considered the main resolution surveying the war situation. The resolution was moved by Pandit Pant, seconded by Rajendra Prasad, and passed by a large majority, only four members (including two communists) dissenting. The Cripps proposals, it was stated, had led to greater bitterness and distrust of the British government; the present army had been maintained mainly to hold India in subjection; while foreign armies were invited to India for its defense, the vast manpower of India herself was not used; it was impossible for congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retained, even in partial measure, British control an authority in India; Britain must abandon her hold on India. On the last day C. Rajagopalachari's view of coalition government in Madras was rejected and Congress made it clear that it cannot agree any proposals to disintegrate India.⁵

Three School of Thought⁶-Between the close of the AICC meeting of Allahabad (early May) and the next working committee meeting at Wardha (which assembled on July 6th), the history of the Congress may be most easily described

by following separately the activities of the leaders of the three main schools of thought – Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari.

By January 1942, Gandhi announced his decision to resume publication of the Harijan, Harijan Sevak and Harijanbandhu.⁷ But he worked mainly through the medium of the Harijan. Even before the Allahabad meeting, the outline of the “Quit India” campaign had been traced. In the Harijan of April 26th Gandhi Wrote:

...if the British left India to her fate as they had to leave Singapore, non-violent India would not lose anything. Probably the Japanese would leave India alone... how much more credible, how much braver it would be for Britain to offer battle in the west and leave the East to adjust her own position... whatever the consequences, therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely withdrawal from India.⁸

In the next issue Gandhi wrote:

I feel convinced that the British presence in the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British wisely decided to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans.⁹

On May 10th he wrote:

The time has come during the war, not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reconciled to complete separation from each other... I must devote the whole of my energy to the realization of the supreme act... The presence of British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the bait. Assume, however, that it does not; free India will be better able to cope with the invasion. Unadulterated non-cooperation will then have full sway.¹⁰

Many felt that British withdrawal would lead to chaos and invasion. Gandhi would not mind chaos: in the issue of May 17th, he said there was “confusion in some minds” about his invitation to the British to withdraw from the country: this confusion he made worse confounded by the typical utterance: “Leave India to god. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy”. The same issue contained an account of a press interview given by Gandhi at Bombay; it was on this occasion that he coined the phrase ‘ordered anarchy’ to denote British rule in India at the present time; he was prepared to risk complete lawlessness in India as a result of the disappearance of this ‘ordered anarchy’, though he believed that people would evolve real popular order out of chaos. It was on this occasion also that he made sad confession that since the Cripps mission he would no longer give even moral support to Britain.¹¹ Thus he wrote a series of articles elaborating his idea which was soon to crystallize into the ‘Quit India’ movement. Gandhi’s changed attitude to Britain also brought about a change in his method of activity. After the civil disobedience of 1930 Gandhi had abandoned the idea of mass movement. But, as Azad put it his “mind was now moving from the extreme of complete inactivity to that of organized mass effort.”¹² On 7 June Gandhi Wrote:

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I waited and waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people resist the slavery.¹³

In the middle of June he addressed an open letter to Chiang Kai-Shek, "I am anxious to explain to you", he said, "that my appeal to British power to withdraw from India is not meant in any shape or form to weaken India's defence against the Japanese or embarrass you in your struggle. India must not submit to any aggressor or invader and it must resist it... but unless we are free we can do nothing... I am straining every nerve to avoid a conflict with British authority. But if in the vindication of the freedom which has become an immediate desideratum this becomes inevitable, I shall not hesitate to run any risk however great."¹⁴

Nehru visited different parts of country and addressed large public meetings. The gist of his speech was that only congress programme of self-sufficiency could save India, since Britain could no longer defend her. In June he spent a good deal of his time at Wardha, and the upshot of his conversations with Gandhi (in which Azad participated and supported Nehru) was revealed in a press interview and speech at Bombay on June 17th and 18th. He would oppose Japanese aggression not with ahimsa alone, but even with the sword – but only if India was free; India free would offer stiffer resistance than she could in her present state; so vast a country could not be overrun easily; but the only immediate issue was the elimination of foreign domination. While the whole world was in the throes of a gigantic struggle, he hated India being a mere spectator. It is known that towards the end of May he put to the President a proposal which he must have known would not be accepted – that Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, and his other followers should be allowed to resign from the working committee "and in their place you may choose other persons whom you like".

Rajagopalachari, undaunted by his defeat at Allahabad, announced his plan of campaign at a press conference in Delhi on May 4th. He explained that he was not going to carry on a war against the Congress; he must make the congress change its policy and must cultivate public opinion on which the congress policy depended.¹⁵ He was dissatisfied with the present congress policy because non-cooperation against the Japanese was futile. At first he received some support from leading Muslim Congressmen. The Muslim presidents of the provincial committees in the Punjab and the Frontier province openly approved of his move. Asaf Ali was willing that the bogey of Pakistan should be brought out into the light. Dr. Syed Mahmud was satisfied with the correctness of Rajagopalachari's view but, like Asaf Ali, was cautious about coming into the open. Speaking at Ramnad (Madras province) on May 22nd Rajagopalachari said that, while some

held that the unity of the country could not be achieved while the British remained, others said that without unity Britain could not be compelled to yield to the national demand; this vicious circle must be broken; unity was essential not only for wresting power from an unwilling Britain but also for resisting Japanese aggression. On June 15th at Madura (Madras province), he directly challenged Gandhi's latest theories. He disagreed with all three propositions. It was useless to play a waiting game against the Muslim League; if the congress accepted the principle of territorial self-determination, he was certain that Jinnah and the League would join the congress in a united political front.

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The Butler Committee: A review of the relation of the Indian Princely States with the British Empire

Dr. Amita Sonker

Abstract

The Indian Princes, who historically always stood by the side of the central power in India, sided with the British Imperial power when it became central power in India. The relation of the Indian States and the Crown were based on treaties and engagements. The British power, which had assured the Indian States not to interfere in their internal matters, did not abide by that assurance. Time and again Indian Princes claimed their equal relation which was negated by the British power. Later when the Indian freedom struggle compelled the British Imperial power to grant independence to India, this placed the Indian Princes in a critical condition. After the independence of India, they wanted to clarify their relation with the future Indian Government. For this matter, the Indian states wanted their relationship with the British power to be specified as the Indian Princes claimed that they were independent rulers. Thus the Butler Committee was formed to answer this question of their exact political relation with the Government of India and British Government. This research paper tries to explore the relation of the Indian Princes with the British Imperial power, the circumstances leading towards the formation of the Butler Committee and its findings.

Key words: *Paramountcy Authority Subordinate Treaties Engagements Sovereignty*

British Imperial power emerged as the prominent political power in India in the later eighteenth century. British colonial power acquired the status of the central

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power in India, as the Mughals after Aurangzeb could not retained the strength exercise by their predecessors. For some period of time the Marathas became powerful but they could not ascertain them as central power. This place was filled by the British who entered on Indian territory with other European traders in the form of British East India Company and later became the masters of India from the position of *primus inter pares*.

With the advancement of the authority of the British East India Company in India, the Indian Princes and their states, which were practically enjoying the independent status though principally they were under the subordination of the Mughals, came in contact with the British authority. Acting in the capacity of the powerful political entity in India, the British East India Company expanded its influence by concluding various treaties and alliances with the Indian Princely states which ultimately established their political supremacy in India.¹ This relation between the Indian Princely States and the British power, first through British East India Company and later after the revolt of 1857 and the Queen's proclamation of 1858 has been an interesting part of history. The relation of the British power and the Indian states was based on the treaties and engagements held between them on various times. The interesting feature of these treaties was that they differed on the basis of the political position of the concerned Princes. Besides, these treaties were concluded under different policies adopted by the East India Company on various time to suit its interest. Thus there was the absence of a uniform pattern in them.

With the passage of time, the British East India Company enhanced its political status. One such instance was the treaty of 1818 signed between the State of Bikaner and the Company in connection with providing the protection to the state. According to this treaty, the Maharaja of Bikaner and his successors agreed to accept the subordinate status for them.² By the end of the nineteenth century the Indian States were abided by the treaty relation with the British power which placed them inferior to the British supreme authority in India which became- "paramount in effect."³ The despatch of Lord Lytton to the Secretary of State for India presents a picture of the British view on the relation of the Indian States with the British power in these words: "The British Government now undertakes the duty of protecting all the Native States in India from external enemies and of preserving internal order by measures necessary for securing the people from misgovernment and for supporting the lawful authority of the Ruler."⁴ The paramount power had even the ultimate authority of deposition of the Indian Rulers and thus as 'central authority and a suzerain power, had effective sway over the whole of India.'⁵ The British power unveiled its approach towards Indian States by "demonstrating in different ways the subordinate position of the States"⁶ which were of the opinion that they were at par in relation with the British government. At one such occasion in 1830, the Maharaja of Bikaner asked for the military assistance for suppressing the internal lawlessness, on the basis of the treaty of 1818, according to which he was entitled to get the aid from the British Government. The British government refused to assist him as it explained that the British Government was not under any compulsion to help the Maharaja in controlling internal disaffection which was in total contrast

of the spirit of the treaty signed in 1818.⁷ On various occasions, the Indian Princes felt the policy of the British power were curtailing their rights and the treatment meted to them by the Paramount power was unfair.

Gradually the discontentment of the native Princes grew on this matter. The native Princes began to resent the encroachment on their rights and privileges. The Montford Report (1919-20) took cognizance of some of their complaints which culminated in the formation of the Chamber of Princes. Though this organisation came into existence to enable the states to consider the questions which dealt with the maintenance of their rights and privileges as defined according to the treaties and engagements apart from other points⁸ but ultimately the British authority restricted the scope of this body by terming it as a 'consultative and advisory body.' Consequently, the relation of the Indian States with the British power remained ambiguous for native States as they considered themselves sovereign whereas the British authority acted as Paramount power. The problem of defining the exact political relationship of the native States with the Government of India and British Government became more urgent as the movements in British India for the establishment of responsible government perturbed them. The native Princes were anxious to ascertain a definition of Paramountcy which could assure their direct relation with the Crown and thus safeguard their continued existence.⁹ This urgency of definition got more complicated with the issue of the State of Hyderabad. The Nizam of Hyderabad Mir Usman Ali Khan wrote to the Viceroy in 1925 on their decision relating not to the return the Berar territory back to Hyderabad.¹⁰ The Nizam wrote that his government stands at par with the British Government in India. He wrote:

*"Save and except matters relating to foreign powers and policies, the Nizams of Hyderabad have been independent in the internal affairs of their state just as much as the British Government in British India. With the reservation mentioned by me, the two parties have on all occasions acted with complete freedom and independence in all inter-governmental questions that naturally arise from time to time between neighbours. Now, the Berar question is not and cannot be covered by that reservation. No foreign power or policy is concerned or involved in its examination, and thus the subject comes to be a controversy between the two governments that stand on the same plane without any limitations of subordination of one the other."*¹¹

Lord Reading, an able diplomat, took his time and replied about the illimitability of the Paramountcy of the British power over the whole of India, including the native Indian states. Lord Reading asserted his views in these words:

*"The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no ruler of an Indian state can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing."*¹²

With publication of some of the correspondence which had passed between the Nizam and the Viceroy Lord Reading, the feeling of insecurity among Indian Princes aggravated. Consequently a representative group of Princes at a conference convened by the Viceroy at Simla in May 1927 asked "for an impartial inquiry into the whole relationship between the rulers and the Paramount power."¹³ Under these circumstances,

owing to the demands of the Indian Princes a three member committee was appointed on 26 December 1927 known as The Indian States Enquiry Committee or the Butler Committee. Sir Harcourt Butler was the chairman of the committee with Sir Sidney C. Peel and Professor W.S. Holdsworth as the other two members.¹⁴

The committee had to report on the following terms of reference under this enquiry which were: “(1) To report upon the relationship between the Paramount Power and the Indian States with particular reference to the rights and obligations arising from (a) treaties, engagements, *sanads*, (b) usage, sufferance and other causes and (2) To enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States and to make any recommendations that the committee may consider desirable or necessary for their more satisfactory adjustment.”¹⁵ The committee came to India in January 1928 and visited sixteen Indian Princely States¹⁶ and collected oral evidences based on the information provided by the witnesses in India and England. The Chamber of Princes hired the services of the eminent British constitutional lawyer Sir Leslie Scott along with Stuart Bevan, Wilfrid A. Greene, Valentine Holmes and Donald Somerville to represent their case. This team of lawyers prepared a ‘Joint Opinion’ which was submitted to the Butler Committee.¹⁷

The Joint Opinion made certain points on which the arguments were based. It was emphasised by the Joint counsel that “States possessed all original sovereign powers except those which had been transferred with their consent to the Crown; that such transfer could be effected by the consent of the States and in no other way; and that paramountcy existed and gave to the Crown definite rights and imposed on it definite duties in respect of certain matters only- those relating to foreign affairs and external and internal security- and did not confer upon the Crown any authority outside these spheres.”¹⁸ A major point argued by Sir Scott was that the States would only consider Crown as the paramount power and no one else. Thus it made a point that the relation of the Indian Princes were with the Crown directly and not with the Government of India. It further elaborated the relation between the two as that the States had the contractual relationship with the Crown which involved mutual rights and obligations.¹⁹ The Indian States Enquiry Committee submitted report of its finding on February, 1929. The committee explained regarding the claim of the independent status of the States as not supported by the evidence of history. Further, the Butler Committee declined any limitation on the paramountcy and maintained the point of the Paramountcy of the British Crown. The committee stated “that the relationship of the paramount power with the States was not merely a contractual relationship resting on treaties made more than a century ago, but that it was a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, resting on a mixture of history, theory and modern fact.”²⁰

Despite the assertion of the paramount status of the British Crown by the Butler Committee without defining paramountcy that “paramountcy must remain paramount”,²¹ the committee took cognizance of the protection of the rights of the States in future with Indian Government in British India. The committee stated that “the rulers should not be handed over without their prior agreement to an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature.”²²

Thus the Butler committee in its report refused to answer the vital question of defining paramountcy which dismayed the Indian Princes. The Princes could only get contented with the fact that they had got “the official admission of a direct relationship between the States and the Crown.”²³

Conclusion-The native Indian States concluded treaties and engagements with the British power on defined terms. In later period, their rights and privileges got encroached by the British power. The Princes decided to clear the status as they considered themselves sovereign. Ceding to the demand of the Princes, the Butler Committee was formed by the British Government. The Butler committee reviewed the relation of the States with British power in the light of the treaties and engagements concluded between them. The report submitted by the committee after an extensive investigation of the matter provided interpretations for those treaties and reached at the conclusion that the British Crown held the paramount status in India. Thus it clarified the position of the Indian Princes and placed them as subordinate to the Crown which the Indian Princes were claiming as equal.

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18

Peasant Movement in Odisha**Dr. Sirisa Kumar Shadangi****Abstract**

The British conquered Odisha in 1803. To achieve this goal, they were helped by Rajas and the leaders. The main motive of the British was to collect land revenue, as it was the main source of the peasants. Taking advantage of their poverty and illiteracy, the British could able to exploit as much as possible as they could. Centuries of negligence and exploitation led the peasants to join their hands together to raise a standard of rebellion against the British.

The origin of the peasant movement may be coined from the age of the Marxist. He termed it as working class movement against bourgeoisie.¹ Lenin gave a new orientation to the Marxist view by creating an alliance between the working class and the peasants.² Mao Tse Tung of China gave a proper connotation as peasant revolution as a fighting force.³ But on the other hand Hamza Alvi and Eric Wolf coined them as a middle class movement.⁴ But on the other hand Dhanagre opine that the poor peasants and the labourers are the backbone of resistance in the Telangana movement.⁵ Ranjit Guha analyzed the peasant movement is the autonomy of the peasantry.⁶ The early land revenue policy of the British adversely affected the Zamindars as well as Ryots. The sale of estates of those Odiya Zamindars, who failed to pay revenue were compelled to dispose their lands. Over assessment of land revenue failure of crops during natural calamities multiplied the sufferings of the peasants. They felt that the Marathas had been more benevolent than the English. As a result, many established Ryots turned to be labourers.⁷

The peasants groaned under severe exploitation and the condition of agricultural labourers was still worst. The unsympathetic attitude of the British land revenue policy, heavy taxation, illegal levies, forced labour and all other modes of unjust exaction made the lives of the peasants unbearable from time to time. Reacting adversely to these, the peasants, particularly the tribal peasant fought to defend their ritual practices and demanded the revival of lost glory and old property rights on land.⁸ Among the tribal peasant leaders of Odisha, during the 19th century the

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noteworthy were Dora Bisoyee, Chakra Bisoyee, Radhakrishna Dandasena, Nabaghana Kanhar, Ratna Naik, Dharanidhar Naik etc. It is worthy to note that similar movements were occurred in different parts of Odisha as well as in India. In Odisha a number of peasant resistance movements sprang up in different parts of the province during the early years of British administration. Among them, Khurda Paik rising of 1817 the Khond peasantry rising in Boud in the thirties of 19th century. Kol rising in Keonjhar in the sixties of the 19th century and again in last decade of 19th century, the Sambalapur rising of 1837- 64, Bamanghati uprising in Mayurbhanj in 1866 are noteworthy. The Nayagarh rising of 1849-52 was agrarian, in true sense of the term. It was against the burden of taxation by 'their feudal lords. All sections of people, like 'Paikas', 'Dalais', Dalabeheras' and 'Surbarkars' joined it. Later on, it spread to other princely states like Ranpur and Dasapalla.⁹

In Parlakhemundi the tribal peasants belonging to Savara community rose in rebellion against the company rule and protested the land settlement of English administration. They challenged the authority of the company rule under the leadership of Savara leader Radhakrishna Dandasena. The rebellion was supposed to be the first of its kind against the British rule in the soil of Odisha. The British ruthlessly suppressed the uprising, by the executing the leader, Radhakrishna Dandasena. In Ghumsar the rebellion by tribal peasants turned a violent upsurge. Under the leadership of Dora Bisoyee, fought for the restoration of the native rule in Ghumsar. Even after the death of the deposed Raja on 31 December 1835, the insurgent Khonds continued upholding the banner their resistance movements throughout 1836-37 in order to check the British administration in their hill tracts. The Khonds did not come to terms in spite of initial measures adopted by the British like offering bribes, titles of honour, inflicting exemplary punishments etc. It had far-reaching consequences on the neighbouring areas like Boudh, Angul, Dasapalla and Banpur.¹⁰ In Koraput dissatisfied hillmen resorted to petty rising in different areas like Jeypore, Koraput, Malkangiri, Bissam Cuyttack, Gunpur, Rayagada etc against the British administration during nineteenth century.¹¹ During the period 1900 to 1930, a number of peasant movements took place in different parts of Odisha. In 1903 there was a peasant movement in Khurda against increase of rent by one paise. In 1911 in the feudatory state of Talcher there was a no-rent campaign. This movement continued up to 1930s with many tides and ebbs. These movements used to be called as 'Melis'. The Dasapalla rising of 1914, Kanika meli of 1921. Nilgiri, peasant uprising of 1928 were some of the important peasant 'Melis' of the period.¹² In 1918 Zamindary Ryots Association was formed in Ganjam and Congress leader Biswanath Das worked tirelessly for the cause of the poor peasants of Ganjam in Odisha. He was a very popular political figure and known as the 'Ryot-Sakha' or comrade of the peasants.¹³ Another great peasant leader was Banamali Moharana who stood firmly for the cause of the poor peasantry in Ganjam. He exposed the autocratic oppression of the Zamindars and untold suffering of the peasants at their hands.¹⁴ He made his maiden appearance in the political scene during the salt Satyagraha when he was a student of Parlakhemundi College. At the call of Mahatma Gandhi, he gave up his studies and joined National Congress as an active member on 14th April 1930.¹⁵ He joined the salt Satyagraha under the leadership of Niranjana Patnaik and was imprisoned along with 31 others. After his release from jail he made his first public speech to a

large gathering of Ryots at Kodala in 1931. He enrolled himself as an active member of the Sevadala under the leadership of Gopabandhu Choudhury and received training at Puri.¹⁶ In the estate of Khallikote, Athagada and Biridi peasant movement took an organised form under his leadership. He was keenly supported by the leaders like Biswanath das, Dibakar Patnaik, Gopinath Patnaik, Jagannath Mishra, Ananda Swain and Gadadhar Patra.¹⁷ In 1937 a Peasant Association was formed in Khallikote estate.¹⁸ The peasants under the guidance of Banamali Moharana organized a meeting in the estate of Khallikote, Athagada and Biridi.¹⁹ At the village level Krushak Sanghas were formed. Banamali Moharana organized a grand Ryot meeting at Chachina, Jagannathpur near Kodla and urged to first against heavy taxation and illegal methods of collecting tax by Zamindars. The meeting was presided by V.V.Giri the ex-president of India while the meeting was in progress the supporters of Khallikote Zamindars created disturbance. The driver of V.V. Giri while the meeting was in progress the supporters of Khallikote, Zamindars created disturbance. The driver of V.V. Giri was attacked who in turn stabbed an employee of Khallikote Zamindar. For this police arrested the driver.²⁰ The resentment spread to other Zamindari of Dharakote, Seragada, Badakhemundi Surangi, Chikiti etc. Again in the month of February 1938 another meeting of Ryots of Ganjam was organized at Chachina Jagannathpur, near Kodala. The meeting was presided by Jadumani Mangaraj. The intensity of movement was realised when the Zamindars failed to collect the tax from Ryots. The Zamindars failed to pay the revenue to the government and requested to the government to take action against Banamali Moharana.

In 1947, the peasants of Berhampur, Chatrapur and Ghumsar Ryotwari areas assembled in conference at Barracks ground, Berhampur where more than twenty thousand farmers participated.²¹ This conference resolved "land to the tiller" and decided not to leave the lands of big landowners. It demanded the legal protection to tenants. The patrons of the conference were Guru Charan Patnaik, Sadhu Charan Mohanty, Monmohan Misra, Sarad Patnaik. Among others who attended the conference were leaders like Govinda Pradhan., A. Surya Narayan Achari, Radha Krishna Pradhan and Raghunath Panda. On 21st May 1948 early in the morning the police and the entire military force gheroad the entire Takarada village and nobody was allowed to go outside.²² Police searched the house of Govinda Pradhan who belonged to that village. This news soon spread to the neighbouring village. By 9.00 A.M. about fifteen thousand people reached the village with sticks in their hands and prepared to attack the police forces. The police was forced to retreat to their camps. Next day more than thirty thousand people gathered at Takarada with swords and red flags in their hands.²³ They proceeded to meet the then Collector Gopinath Behra who was camping at Sheragada. The Collector met the people's representatives instead of meeting all and told them to go by the direction of the government issued from time to time. 24th May 1948, was a red-letter day in the history of Ganjam. The deputy Superintendent of Police, Sri Gaura Krishna Mohanty marched towards Takarada by 4 p.m. with three truckloads of police. They arrested many Ryots and young cadres of the movement.

Narayan Mohapatra, a staunch activist when wanted his warrant order the police D.S.P. pointed his revolver at his chest. The mob became furious and violent. Police fired 303 bullets as planned and there was no discrimination of age or sex. The police

never gave any warning before they started firing and six innocent people were killed on the spot.²⁴ It is significant to note that the women played an important role in the peasant movement in Odisha. The movement made rapid progress in different parts of Odisha. Under the leadership of Laxmibai (MLA), Hemalata Samant and T.Arahulu. Gradually a large number of women were motivated like Uma Devi, Ahalya Devi, Manikya Devi, Bishupriya Devi, Sumana Devi, Tarini Devi, Sulakhyna Devi, Padmabati Devi, Sita Devi and V.Kumudini Devi.²⁵ The peasants of Odisha were not lagging behind. The earlier peasant movements were unorganized. But the twentieth century peasant movements had definite aim. During this period, it took the shape of socialist and communist trend of movement. The main task of the peasant leaders to lead, the half fed and half-clad peasants by way of holding several meetings in rural areas. They organized big rallies against the oppression of Zamindar in the villagers. Moving from village to village by bullock carts which is unparalleled in the history of peasant movement.

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19

Towards A History of Reproduction : A Study in Agrarian Relations in Seventeenth Century Bhagalpur

Aparna Singh

Abstract

This paper explains the concept of “landed property” and its “distribution” among its tillers/sharers with special reference to 17th century Bhagalpur. In 17th century Bhagalpur we find the term Ghatwal Zamindar, who held the land and guarded Ghats or mountain passes, subject to a nominal rent on the condition of their entertaining a certain number of armed personal.

Irfan Habib drew attention to the account of “The Social Distribution of Landed Property in Pre-British India (A Historical Survey)”¹, which made observation of “landed property” produced on land and its “distribution” among its tillers/sharers of the soil. However, these have arisen debate which calls for further attention to the classification of the concept of historical analysis and propounding of empirical research. In this paper, we propose to an outline in details all the documentary evidences and circumstances under which distribution of landed property was made between the land holders and sharers (who tills the zamindar’s lands with their own plough) and between sharers and the peasants with special reference to Bhagalpur, the land of ancient Anga, a district of Bihar. Abul Fazl records Bhagalpur as a mahal of sarkar Munger, Suba Bihar, which yielded 4,606, 110 Mughal revenue dams.² The materials of this paper have been gathered from the official records preserved in the Archives of the District Office, Bhagalpur. Here we presented the fresh evidences, which gleaned from Sanskrit, Hindi (Kaithi), Bangla and Persian texts, some of them unpublished, that shed light on the creation of intermediaries, their development into zamindars and their relationships with the ‘village zamindars’ as well as the peasants.

The term intermediary, viz., choudhary, quanugo and mukaddam is used synonymously for the single term zamindar or ‘malik’ in the Mughal period. The role

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of patil in Karnataka, Poligar in Mysore, Nayik in Kashmir, Paik in Medinapure and Ghatwal in Bhagalpur is also applied in a similar vein. "Ruz-afzun", who was made "Raja" of Kharagpur by Jahangir³ acquired large zamindari rights with choudharai, qanungoi and mukaddmi towards the beginning of the 17th century (1615 A.D.). Besides, various perquisites in form of nankar, nakadi, milkiyat, altumgha were attached to his zamindari. This was done since Akbar in search of new intermediaries to bring more and more lands under cultivation, collection of revenue demands and safe guards of trade routes and caravans, passing over the Mughal dominions. A person who was given the rights of choudharai and qanungoi, if he would become powerful, try to acquire zamindari rights overall the small zamindars, which resulted in the exploitation of the free peasants, and at the same time caused the revolts of peasants. On many occasions the zamindars or feudal barons or village zamindars led the revolts of the peasantry against the heavy exaction of the zamindars; and this was continued from Muhammad Bin Tughlaq with the upper Doab to the whole of northern India till the 18th and 19th centuries, of which references may be cited to the tribal and other agrarian revolts. During the reign of Akbar and Jahangir such references were made in Sarkar Munger, Suba Bihar, when Raja Sangram Singh organised a revolt against the Mughal dominions.⁴ In Mughal India the term zamindar is used in wider sense, among them various castes and classes were the possessors of lands. Abul Fazl's remarkable tabulation of zamindar-clans in different parganas of the Mughal Empire shows, the Rajputs forming the leading zamindars.⁵ In the 17th century Bhagalpur, we find the term Ghatwal zamindar, formed into different castes and clans. The term ghatwali was applied to the tenure of land held by those, whose duty was to guard and protect the ghats or mountain passes, and to prevent incursions of the armed intruders. The lands were assigned to Ghatwals, in some places rent-free, in others, subject to a nominal rent on condition of their entertaining a certain number of armed personal. The head or 'sardar' of each ghatwali police station was required to apprehend criminals, protect travellers and to keep riaya contented. It is also required that the ghatwals exert their best in making cultivation, try to improve the population and protect the villages. The zamindars of Bhagalpur had the sole right to appoint and dismiss a ghatwal. Raja Kadir Ali of Kharagpur dismissed Jhabban Singh, a ghatwal of Chandwa (Abul Fazl records Chandoi⁶) from the office of a ghatwal and appoint Bhawani Singh in his place on account of husband jama (higher jama). If a zamindar did so, there would be a peasants' revolt, and this resulted into the later exploitation.

The role of zamindars in hilly and jungli tracts under study exhibits that they rendered their valuable services to the Mughal empire to maintain tranquility, to subdue stubborn and bringing forests and waste lands under cultivation. The services rendered by the woodcutters and ploughmen of Raja Bahroz Singh⁷(1631-1676) may be cited here for easy reference. Bahroz, the Raja of Kharagpur accompanying the army of Mir Jumla against Shuja in March 1659, through the route of Jharkhand, was entrusted with the task of clearing the jungles and bringing the waste lands under cultivation. The peasants who were engaged as 'beldars' to clear the forests, received short pattas. The choudharies were appointed and directed to keep the riaya happy and populate the region. Who soever, clear the forest and brought the new land under cultivation, such land was his zamindari. The term zamindar here is used in an ordinary sense and not in

the sense of his being a land holder or proprietor of the soil; so often used in the settlement Regulation of 1773. The word zamindar is also applied for the autonomous chiefs, described as a right superior to that of the peasants, who claimed a share in the produce of the soil. This share consists of a tax levied in terms of kind or cash on the tiller of the soil. The share, however, became customary and the term derived to it was called 'hissa'/'bhag'/'batai'/'adhiya'. Irfan Habib pointed out that artisans had fixed associations with the villagers, and it was on sound footing.⁸ The payments of village artisans, viz., shilpkara, shutradhara, lohara, kumbhakara, napita, rajaka, charmkara, kasthkara, tambulikah and bhata have been categorically mentioned to represent the village artisans. W.H. Wiser calls these artisans "jajmans".⁹ The services of these village agencies have had been widely prevalent in the 17th and 18th centuries and even in the present day society, particularly in the agricultural operations as well as in social ceremonies. The services offered by them are called 'jajmani' system. These artisans represent a complex class, who receive grain for each crop at the threshing floors or on the fields. The shares of each crop have also been offered by the cultivators to the deities, viz., peer(peeran), fakir(fakiran), deb(debottar) and brahmana (brahmottar) at the threshing floors or on the fields, and the payments for the services provided by lady barber, washerman, potter, carpenter and tanner(the single word used for them is 'pauni'), obviously in terms of clothes, cash, grain, a piece of land and female calf may have been recommended in the same context.

We find the term 'kamat' appeared for a middleman, who cultivate his land directly or by hired labour. In the hilly and forest tract of Bhagalpur, where portion of land was left without measurement, the references of 'khapsdari' tenure is noticed. We have also references of four species of raiyati pattas, viz., bhauli, gorabandi, dosala and chahmas. The term bhauli is applied to lands which yield pay a certain portion of the produce in grain, viz., from 22 to 24 sers in a maund to the zamindar. The remaining 18 or 16 going to the cultivator. Any failure of crops is borne proportionately by both, and any excess of produce proves a mutual gain. The gorabandi patta is an established rent paid by raiyats on a certain quantity of land, whether in cultivation or not. The dosala patta granted twice in year. The chahmash is granted in Aswin(September) and Kartik(October) on a gross revenue payable from the produce of the rabbi fasal(spring crops). Among these tenures, the bhauli still prevails. We also noticed the 'Badshahi' and 'Hukumi' land grants. Badshahi land grant was granted only for life. Hukumi land grant are numerous and distinguished by the names of brahmottar, debottar, mahataran etc. Formost among them stands the Ghatwali tenure. The Record Keeper of the Collectorate of Bhagalpur provides the following lists of the various tenures :

Name of the grant of tenures

1. Badshahi Lakhiraj(granted by royal sanad).
2. Hukumi Lakhiraj(granted by private person)
3. Ghatwali tenure
4. Jagir tenure(held by village watchmen, i.e., pasban or choukidar, grants were generally rent-free)
5. Madad-i-mash

6. Vishnuprit (for maintenace of temples dedicated to Lord Vishnu)
7. Brahmottar
8. Mahataran(grant to great men other than Brahmnas to execute works of public utility)
9. Debottar
10. Shivottar
11. Surajprit(land grated for maintenance of worship of the Sun)
12. Bhatottar (grants for the support of Bhattas, who records geneologies)
13. Inam
14. Fakiran
15. Altumgha
16. Chirag dargah(for keeping lights lit in temples)
17. Sirshikan(a grant of revenue in chairity by the zamindars)
18. Nazar Imaman (grants made in dedication to the Imams, Hasan and Husain, the sons of Ali)
19. Nankar
20. Masjid
21. Kharch Bidyarthian(grants to Pandits for the maintenance of poor students)
22. Marammat Masjid and Harmandil (grant given to keep in repairs Mosques and Shiva Temple respectively)
23. Aima (grants to Islamic charities)
24. Milki
25. Kharch Musafiran (land grant for support of poor travellers)

In the 17th century Bhagalpur and even after that, fields and farms were forcibly or willingly given to the peasants by the landlords. This practice, however, continued even in the first half of the 20th century in eastern Bhagalpur. In such a practice, the lessee could not claim any legal right on the land. Abul Fazl records this tendency of Hindu law relating to 'Vyavahara'.¹⁰ The contradiction between the customary and the legal rights appeared and in course of time tensions and conflicts arose into peasants' revolts. The rise of growing power of Rashtrakuta Mathandeva of Anga (Bhagalpur) and a feudal lord Sahura of Pirozpur-Barahat around Vikramshila University in eastern Bhagalpur in mid 12th century is significant in this context. The revolt of Bhima against the Palas in Bengal was made mainly because he was deprived of the plots of lands given to him as service tenure. More reference comes from the early 17th century Sarkar Munger(Bihar) when Raja Sangram Singh took up the arms against Akbar.¹¹ The revolt of Sarbeshwari(1783), a valiant widow(wife of Raja Gujan Singh) the Rajput Rani of Maheshpur zamindari,¹² in old Sultanabad Pagana(Pakur district, Jharkhand) and her counterpart Rupnarain Deo(1779) Ghatwal zamindar of Laxmipur in Banka district (Bihar) against the British is commented in a similar vein. The Sannyasi and Fakir revolt(1772-74) in North Bengal¹³(Rangpur, Rajsahi, Malda and other distrcits) and Purnea in Bihar and Rajmahal in Jharkhand, the Bareilly rising (1816 in Uttar Pradesh), the Kol rising(1831-32) in Chotanagpur and Palamu¹⁴(Jharkhand), the Muslim risings like the Ferazee disturbances at Barasat(1831) organized by Syed Ahmad and his disciple Mir Niser Ali/Titto Mir¹⁵, Faridpur rising(1847) led by Deedu Mir¹⁶, the Mopla outbreaks¹⁷of 1849, 1851, 1852 and 1855, the Santal

Insurrection¹⁸(1855-56 in Santal Pargana, Jharkhand) and the Tana Bhagat Movement¹⁹ in Chotanagpur(1914-20) to be taken into the same account. There were certain lands which were cultivated by the peasants at the pleasure of their proprietor-zamindar. In such a condition, zamindars were alert against the peasants' revolts and their security of occupancy on the land. We have evidences up to the early 20th century that the intermediaries forced the peasants to cultivate the lands. Irfan Habib put the example of the 17th century Gujrat, where, peasants were treated as semi-serfs.²⁰ K.K. Basu cites the case of Indigo Planters of Bhagalpur, when the planters revolted against heavy exaction of the company rule.²¹ We have record to full-scale expedition being organised to settle a number of immigrants of the different caste and classes of eastern Uttar Pradesh and western Bihar in the 19th and 20th century Bhagalpur. Such people settled and somehow acquired landed property etc., creating class divisions and social tensions, which required further considerations.

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20

The Hindupur Camp- 1947: and it's non-negligible role to establish full responsible government in princely Mysore.

Dr. Yashodha. N

Abstract

An attempt is made in this paper to explain the Hindupur Camp's activities and its preparation for Mysore Chalo agitation entitled on "The Hindupur Camp- 1947: and it's non-negligible role to establish full responsible government in princely Mysore." The last phase of the congress movement in 1947 was demanding responsible government. Already congress had won 125 seats in the responsible assembly in the 1945 elections and had proved its popularity. Though India became free and the Maharaja agreed for the accession of the state to the Indian Union, the demand for responsible government was not conceded. Congress celebrated independence with programmes of mass jubilation on 15th, Aug, 1947. As a result the students, labourers and peasants joined the movement in large number in the state. Meantime most of them arrested and were taken in police vehicles and left off at far off places, mostly in forest tracts during nights, forcing only one satyagrahi to alight at a point, and letting off another at a distance of another mile or so. This was resorted to because the jails were full, and also to terrorise the satyagrahis. These satyagrahis who exiled took shelter in the satyagraha shibira and continued their activities there. Here I focus; Hindupur Shibir was also one of the hosts for the satyagrahis.

Key words: *Camp at Hindupur, formation of the camp, facing the problems of financial and transportations, Volunteers dedication and their activities, establishment of Azad Mysore Sarkar to attain the fully responsible Government in Mysore.*

Introduction: Similarly as the Hindupur Camp the camps took place in many parts of Madras and Hubli. They were formulated with the help and co-operation

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of the areas people through co-operation programmes. From there associated with movement and Cyclostyle and Pouravani paper was also moulded and dispatched to various places of the state of Mysore. Dr. H.S. Doreswamy, a senior living freedom fighter, was one of the senior activists who formulated the programming of the movement.¹ The first issue of the Pouravani from Hindupur, on the 7th, September 1947, narrated the circumstances under and he assured, that the paper would continue to struggle for the establishment of Responsible Government in Mysore at whatever the cost and asked readers to send news about the Sathyagraha.²

Establishment of the Camp and purposes: The camp was established on 18-09-1947. After the strike standing on 13-10-1947, the camp was closed on 16-10-1947. L||Linganna, who established the camp at Hindupur, his assumption was that Hindupur, and it was the place of border area of princely Mysore and Madras presidency. It was very closest to Hindupur and Madakashir, if people of Mysore wanted to strike, it was so convenient to come nearby to this camp and it was so advantageous and helpful to cause harassment of the government of Mysore. Meantime, many progressive newspapers were seized by Princely Mysore State. The 'Pouravani' it was one of the weekly which forfeited for having published a series of articles by T.T. Sharman was seized on September 2nd. And H.S. Doreswamy, the editor of the paper who issued the newspaper from Hindupur (Anant pur dist) he continued his work at Hindupur with the help of local congress leaders Linganna from September 9th. Thus the paper was shifted to Hindupur. Since then, this newspaper had survived as a part of the camp and played a domain role in Mysore chalo movement to establishment of full responsible government in Mysore.³ And M.A.Parashuraman and K.R.Sridhara Murthy from Bangalore also joined their hands by staying at the camp and the paper was smuggled inside the state every day, and 38 daily issues were brought out Sathyagraha and other activities were also organised from this Hindupur camp in the border areas, especially in the Kolar and Tumkur dts. Then they started a committee to strike the camp organizing themselves at Hindupur with the help of Sri, Kalluru Subbaraya as president, A.M. Linganna as Vice president, K.V. Konappa as treasurer, M.A. Parashuram as secretary and H.S. Doreswamy as supervisor of editorial part.⁴

Formation of Executive Committee: The committee handed over responsibilities of the camp for some of the prominent who attended the event which was held at the time to run the camp programs so smoothly. For this purpose executive committee was also formed. The committee was divided in several branches to form some of the specific programmes and sort of them were handed over responsibility for management to their respective branches. The executive committee was divided in the following way as given below.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Invitation/ Welcome committee | 2. Pleased committee |
| 3. Publishing committee | 4. Fund- raising branch |
| 5. Enquiry branch ⁵ | |

Thus, the committee workers had distributed out to the various parts. Members of the committees had more interested in their work of the committee over the corresponding work and brought out victory. Meantime, there was some deputy Sub Camps also campaigned.

Problems: Since, Hindupur Camp was facing many problems like

transportation, communication and financial problems viz; they decided to start some paper publications. At about the time the paper had no finances practically and it was to be run only on the enthusiasm of several men. All work for the paper was honorary. They had assisted the Mysore state Satyagraha. In between train transport service was revival. But in that time volunteers had to be going to the state borders. For that they had to be written letters requesting to help the successful finish of the holy campaign by sending them free passes some of the following routes given below;

1. Hindupur to Amarapur (Via : Madakasira)
2. Hindupur to Agali (Via : Madakasira)
3. Hindupur to kadiri (Via : Gorantle)
4. Agali to Penukonda (Via : Madakasira)
5. Kalyanadurga to Dharmavaram Via Kambadur and
6. Hindupur to Bangalore etc.,

It was necessitated, as they believed that, if pressure was applied from all sides the campaign was expected to become successful within a couple of weeks. Therefore, they requested for free passes to travel over the places. By this some correspondence letters were carried out between the Hindupur Camp and Mysore state. The Camp at Hindupur the satyagrahis was receiving the letters. If we look at the written papers where had been kept in Achieves, we can receive some information about inviting satyagrahis who had come outside to meet and participate which called meetings by congressmen and informed about all over ongoing meetings in princely Mysore. In the held meetings they were might be pleased for some concerted work.

Activities at Hindupur: At about this time with the camp support, began another protest movement in the villages within the Taluks of Gouribidanur, Madhugiri and Pavagada. The Satyagraha activities in these areas were totally non-violent and not a single untoward event had occurred. Entire villages expressed their opposition to the autocracy of Sir Arcot. Meetings were organised in the villages in these Taluks in the night. Volunteers were posted on the outskirts of the villages to quickly bring information to people about the movement of police when meetings were taking place. At these meetings leaders explained in detail the authoritarian ways of Sir Arcot's administration. Quickly, the villagers expressed their willingness to sever connections with Arcot's administration. They simultaneously expressed support to *Azad Mysore Sarkar*. Individual villagers expressed their willingness in writing and took oaths of loyalty to the Azad Mysore Sarkar and were prepared to face the consequences. Village officers also wrote letters to the chief secretary signed by all the villagers, severing connections with the Maharaja's Government. Earlier, several satyagrahis at Hindupur had issued a Proclamation establishing the *Azad Mysore Sarkar*. This document explained the reasons for the establishment of the parallel Government. It said that the parallel Government was being established because Arcot's administration was highly autocratic and harassing the people, because the people had no fundamental rights and liberties, the administration was highly corrupt, the Government itself was fomenting communal tensions, the Government was unable to handle the deteriorating economic situation in the state and because the ministry was unwilling to resign through it had lost the support of the Assembly and the Council. The Proclamation also put forward several aims of the parallel administration

which consisted in improving the administration generally, bringing the decorating food and housing situation under control, and improving the lot of labourers. The ministers were to work selflessly to achieve these aims and they were to receive a monthly honorarium of Rs. 1000/- and be provided with a house and a car. A large number of villagers expressed support to the Azad Mysore Sarkar. An Azad Mysore Fouj was also organised to bring people together and co-ordinate work. Satyagrahis were also required to sign papers expressing loyalty to the parallel administration. Having noticed these developments, the Government ordered the police to shoot at sight the leaders of the Azad Mysore Fouj.⁶

Results of the Camp: More than thousand volunteers from various parts of the country were too participated. In the second phase of satyagraha which was to begin on the 14th of September. These volunteers were to proceed to the place in Mysore, meet the Maharaja and directly put forward to him the demands of Mysore Congress. As soon as police received intelligence reports, that volunteers from Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh were moving into the state, the military force was used to seal the borders⁷ some of the merchants, book sellers and commission agents voluntarily had written letters to Hindupur and requested for without failed to send daily papers. The papers which got publication from Hindupur Camp that created sensational impact in the mind of the Mysore people. An Azad Mysore Government was also founded there. As a result, the upsurge in 1947 was unprecedented. The mob surrounding taluk offices resulted in firing in several places and six persons were killed in Hosadurga, one at Mysore two at Tumkur, Two at Madhugiri etc. Finally, the Maharaja was forced to climb down and agreement between the congress and the Government was reached on 24-10-1947 and responsible Government headed by K.C.Reddy was sworn in on 27-10-1947.

Conclusion: Thus, we should have to thank to Mysore people and volunteer satyagrahis who sacrificed their life to attain responsible Government in Princely Mysore State. The camp continued its activities at Hindupur even after on the 8th of September the Maharaja announced the establishment of Responsible Government and appealed to the people to cooperate. Thus, the camp at Hindupur was continued its activities till fulfil the all its demands.

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21

The Background of an Emergence of Khasi State System in The Pre- British Era

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Abstract

Jaintia hills formed part of the Jaintia Kingdom which was a medieval monarchy. In the Khasi hills there were several autonomous political division called Hima(state) under a syiem. Each had undergone some rudimentary process of state formation.

Introduction- The khasi and jaintia Hills were mostly inhabited by a tribe popularly known as the Khasis and the Jaintias respectively. They belonged to two different political systems on the eve of the British annexation. The Jaintia hills formed part of the Jaintia kingdom which was a monarchy and included the Jaintia parganas of sylet now in Bangladesh. In the khasi hills there was several autonomous political divisions called Hima(state) under a syiem. Each had undergone some rudimentary processes of state formation. In spite of this different historical background, the khasis and the Jaintias belonged to the same racial stock, claimed their descent from the same tradition and despite variations, constituted the same linguistic group thereby forming a common tribe.

Ethnic Origin of The Khasis- The tribes and the people who have for centuries been living far away from the main stream in the relatively isolated and inaccessible and less fertile and less agriculturally productive regions of forests, hills and mountains. And since they were living far away, they had not such of an occasion to feel the pressure of the ever advancing and more powerful social, economic and political forces.¹ The khasis as a race are distinct from the neighboring hill tribes.² The Khasi is a general name given to the various tribes and sub tribes that inhabit the Khasi- Jaintia Hills.³

The name includes the following people – 1. khyriams inhabiting the middle ranges of the Khasi Hills. 2. Pnars, inhabiting the central plateau of the Jaintia

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Hills. The war people of the south comprising the Shella people and their allied groups of tribes.⁴ The Amwi people and their allied groups of war syntengs in the south of Jaintia.⁵ The Bhoi people both Khasi and Pnar, inhabiting the north of Khasi Jaintia hills with their different sub groups.⁶ The lyngams of the west and the northwest in Khasi Hills who are supposed to have a Garo origin but have enhanced the Khasi way of life.

The isolation of the Khasi race, in the midst of a great encircling population all of whom belonged to the Tibeto –Burman stock, and the remarkable feature presented by their language and institutions attracted the attention of philologists and ethnologists. J.R. Logan demonstrated the relationships which existed between the Khasis and certain people of further India, the representatives of whom were the Mons or Talaings of Pegu and Tenasserims, the Khemers of Combodia and the Majority of the inhabitants of Assam. He was able, through the means of vocabularies furnished to him by Bishop Bigndet, to discover the nearest kinsmen of the Khasis in the Palaungs, a tribe inhabiting one of the Shan states to the north east of the Mandalay. With the progress of research, it became apparent that the Mon- Khemer group of Indo- China thus constituted to which the khasis belonged was in some way connected with the large linguistic family in the Indian peninsula once called Kolarians, but now more generally known as Mundas who inhabit the hilly region of Chotanagpur and parts of Satpura range in Madhya Pradesh. In physical character they differ greatly from the Indo- Chinese Khasis , but the point of resemblance in their institutions cannot be denied and the exact nature of the relations between them is yet one of the relations between is yet one of the unsolved problems of ethnology. The work of Logan was carried further by Prof Ernest Khun of Munich who has determined the relationship of Khasis not only to the Mon- Khemer languages, but also to Nicobarese and several dialects spoken by wild tribes in the Malay Peninsula.

Socio- Economic System of The Khasis- The character of the basic economy of the people reflects upon its socio-political system. In relative security, seclusion and isolation of the Khasis like other tribes in India, had been living for centuries in varying degrees of agglomeration and varying levels of primary economy.⁷ They had come to acquire through centuries the knowledge and experience of certain technologies – weaving, use of certain metals and certain crafts and a primary low level agriculture. They had also been living in varying levels and degrees of contacts and communications with the communities of the people of the Jati social organization.⁸ These contacts and communications paved the way for commercial intercourses between the people of different communities. The system of cultivation common to all the Hillman is known as Jhum. The Jhum is a sort of shifting, slash and burn cultivation. Among the wilder tribes the greater part of the Jhuming operation was performed by slave- captives of many a raid and border forays, which were included mainly undertaken to procure free labourers. It was that under such a system of cultivation the Jhumia could have acquired any right to the soil itself, and that no practical means of assessing his clearing could in such a country

exist. Hence, even the chiefs claimed no propriety in the land or in the forests. Each claimed the authority on the men of his tribe wherever they wandered or in whatever part of the country they might have settled for the time of jhum. Generally speaking the jhum of each clan confined themselves within certain rough limits, but there was no real local jurisdiction vested upon any of the chiefs.⁹

The basic economy of the Khasis largely depended on the shifting cultivation. Consequently the Khasi society was a slave owning society and the slaves were imported from the plains of Assam and neighboring districts of Bengal.¹⁰ Though the slaves in the course of time used to get a berth in the Khasi social system, having formed a new clan in the social structure, had little socio-political control in the hills. Power and authority centered round the original clans which descended from the ancient ancestress. The Khasis trace their origin from mother, and their social structure was based on matriliney.

Khasi Political System- In the Khasi and jaintia hills, atleast in form, the government founded on an extensive popular basis, the power of the chief being apparently checked by an aristocracy of widely extended nature bordering upon democracy.¹¹ The socio political system as originated from the primary agriculture was bound to be democratic. The system was definitely based on the concept of common wealth in the economic sense of the term. The members of the "original" clan represented the aristocratic element in the socio-political structure. The instructions that had been developing gradually were somewhat democratic but under the control and predominance of aristocracy. The lowest rank of socio-political unit amongst the Khasis was a Kur having a Durbar of its own under the leadership of a religious leader known as lyngdoh or under a secular leader namely the Sirdar. The clan was administered by the decisions of the durbar which was composed of elder male members of the clan. The chief was nothing but an executive under the Durbar.

Gradually, the higher socio-political units started developing on the need of neutral security and economic prosperity, consequently Raids or common wealth in the economic sense and confederacies in the political sense came into being having a Durbar for each and every Raid. Later on, several of such Raids assembled together to form further higher political units like the syiemships, wahadararship, sardarship and lyngdohships among the Khasis. The units so developed were yet to receive the character of states even in the narrowest sense of the term. Without definite territorial jurisdiction, police force, jail and revenue establishments, the powers of the chief were listed to a considerable extent. The chief of the so called states were nothing but process servers of the Durbars. The ultimate authority of the state lay with the Durbar which was composed of the representatives and elders of several Raids under the state. The chiefs were elected in a limited sense by the members of the Durbar which was thoroughly an aristocratic institution. Members of the original clans alone had the right to form the Durbar and consequently exercised the rights to elect the chief executive of the state. Hence T.C. Robertson, Agent to the Governor General N.E.F rightly observed that the Khasi nation as a

whole presented the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics subject to no common superior, yet of which member was amenable in some degree to the control of the confederate states.¹² Since the basic mode of production was shifting cultivation, the peasant as well as the chief could acquire no right in the soil. Hence the chief had no claim of territorial sovereignty. They confined at best, themselves within certain rough territorial limits.¹³ One must therefore, imagine the hills covered with little confederacies combining, dividing, and recombining in a continual state of flux, with the result that it was exceptional for the boundaries of a Khasi state to be known and fixed.¹⁴

Confederacies in the hills on the eve of British paramountcy, had been acquiring the character and shape of medieval monarchy as they had been coming to the external contacts more and more. The impact of external contact from the plains of Assam and Bengal was more apparent in the Jaintia than that of the Khasi Hills. The chief of the Khasi Hills used to bear the title Singh. It was undoubtedly imported from the adjoining plains. The institutions of muntree, wahadadar, lyngskar and sardar were not of Khasi origin. These were the remnants of monarchical hierarchy being imported in the hills during the process of transformation of the political character in the hill administration. The process had already been started to decorate them by the chiefs in the royal robes. But in Jaintia the process was complete, though in its hill portion its impact was not so glaring. The syiem of Sutunga after possessing the plains territory came in direct contact of the adjoining and neighboring kingdoms. Subsequently Jaintia

was referred to as one of the medieval kingdoms like Cachar, Tripura, Manipur and Assam in the North East frontier of Bengal.¹⁵ The syiem ultimately subdued the several chiefs in the hills and proclaimed himself as the Raja of both the plains and hill territories under him. Monarchy was hereditary and it passed from uncle to nephew in accordance with Khasi system of succession. The hills were allowed self-government but not as independent republics or oligarchies but as parts of the kingdom under the deputies of the Raja named Dalois or Sirdars. The symbol of their allegiance to the Raja was an annual tribute of the he-goat from each and every village under their administration. Technically a tribute system is symbolic of a basic power system.¹⁶ In the plain he had absolute sovereignty in the land like his counter parts of Assam and Cachar. The same concept was introduced in the hills atleast partially unlike the tradition of the land system in the hills. In a subsequent time, during the land settlement of the Jaintia Hills, subdivisional officer, Jowai found enough of Raj-hali or Khas land in the hills.¹⁷ The Raja occasionally requisitioned the services of the people in lieu of land revenue on their private processions in the hills.¹⁸ This was an analogue to the practice followed in Assam. The Raja had his court in Jaintiapur and Dalois were obliged to remain in attendance for about six months in a year on the Jaintia Raja.¹⁹ This was definitely paraphernalia practiced in the medieval royal courts. The several institutions of dalois, Pathors, Majees, Choteahs and Dooleahs who constituted the hierarchy of officialdom in the Jaintia State were imports from plains. These

officials were paid in the shape of service land²⁰ in lieu of regular salary as practiced in neighboring Assam.

Conclusion-Thus on the eve of the British annexation of Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Jaintia had already attained some sort of loose medieval statehood, while the khasi Hills still remained as the cockpit of clan politics. But it could not altogether a mistake to suggest that the process of transformation had already been started towards the formation of state system in the Khasi hills. In this context references might be made of the syiems of Nonghlow and Khyrim who had been controlling certain dependencies as paramount power over such petty principalities and had been moving fast to achieve the character of statehood of Jaintia fashion.

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22

Situating Women in Socio-Religious Movement in 19th Century India and Swami Vivekanand

Smt. Babli

Abstract

In the pages of Indian renaissance, Swami Vivekananda relates a long gloom in the history of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' religious philosophy. His contribution to social thinking is still relevant in the twenty first century, on account of a variety of reasons. He was an inimitable individual who combined in his personality the traits of a saints, reformer, prophet, orator and sage. He was a teacher and philosopher of spirituality with a long-term political vision and religious propagation. A significant feature of Swami Vivekananda was that of a social reformer who successfully blended oriental philosophical understanding of women in the backdrop of socio-cultural with that of the western ones that helped provide a holistic approach towards the question of women of the East which is the purpose of my research paper.

Vivekananda and Women

As a way of understanding Swami Vivekananda's idea on women's role, one has to often refer to Hindu scriptures that reflected Indian social conditions. According to Vivekananda, society plays a very significant role in shaping a human mind which is well expressed through religion whereby, 'The Hindu must not give up his religion but must keep religion within its proper limits and give freedom to society to grow.'¹ In the views of Swami Tathagatananda, Vivekananda upholds the age-old Indian attitude towards women being expressed as the glory of motherhood.²

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Women and Indian Philosophy:

According to Swami Vivekananda, the central idea of Hindu philosophy is that of the Absolute; i.e. the background of the Universe.³ “This Absolute being, of which we can predicate nothing, has its Powers spoken of as She -that is, the real personal God in India is she”.⁴ Swami Vivekananda represents two important aspects of Indian society. On the one hand, he avowedly promoted Indian culture, religion and philosophy; he strongly criticized the evils of socio-religious rituals and practices on the other especially in relation to women. Swami Vivekananda’s understanding of the position of Indian women has a historical base when he observed that, ‘The Aryan and Semitic ideals of women have always been diametrically opposed. Amongst the Semites the presence of women is considered dangerous to devotion, and she may not perform any religious function [but] according to the Aryan a man cannot perform a religious action without a wife.’⁵

Infact, Swami Vivekananda advocated a modern, secular socio-religious custom that would serve the pride of Indian culture. On many counts Swami Vivekananda’s idea reflected religious magnanimity due to his realization that all religions of the world have three common factors: God, Spirit and the World which are relevant to understand Swami Vivekananda’s ideas on women.⁶ One may find that Swami Vivekananda highlighted those features of Hinduism which speaks of women at a very high esteem, where there were equality between men and women.⁷ He was proud to note that, ‘No religion on earth preaches the dignity of humanity in such a lofty strain as Hinduism, and no religion on earth treads upon the poor and the low in such a fashion as Hinduism.’⁸

Swami Vivekananda also noted the ills of discrimination and exploitation of women on religious grounds. He remarked that ‘religion is not at fault...hypocrites who invented all sorts of engines of tyranny in the shape of doctrines of Paramarthika (absolute) and Vyavaharika (relative)’.⁹ Interestingly, Swami Vivekananda was of the opinion that, ‘The present religion of Hindus is neither the path of Knowledge, nor that of Reason - it is about Don’t-touchism.’¹⁰ In both the senses, women become subject of exploitation and discrimination. Being aware of the practices of discrimination between men and women in the Indian society Swami Vivekananda also cautioned that, ‘we should not allow the sudden influx of European criticism and our consequent sense of contrast to make us acquiesce too readily on this notion of the inequality of our women. Circumstances have forced upon us, for many centuries, the woman’s need of protection. This, and not her inferiority, is the true reading of our customs.’¹¹ Ultimately, when the mind is wholly merged in the homogeneous and undifferentiated Brahman, such ideas as this is a man or that a woman do not remain at all. ¹²If a man can be a knower of Brahman, why cannot a woman attain to the same knowledge? Therefore, if even one amongst the women became a knower of Brahman, then by the radiance of her personality thousands of women would be inspired and awakened to truth, and great well-being of the country and society would ensue.’¹³

Being aware of women's life in the existing socio-religious conditions Swami Vivekananda rightfully reconstructed the principles defining Hinduism by creating blend of three distinct traditions viz. the orthodox principles of Hinduism, incorporated in the earliest Hindu religious texts called Vedas, the contemporary socially sensitive and reformist aspects within Hinduism together with the principles of charity and service as embodied in Christianity.¹⁴

Womanhood and Motherhood: According to Swami Vivekananda, 'The word women calls up to the mind of the Hindu motherland; and god is called mother. In the west, the women are wife. The idea of womanhood is concentrated there as the wife. To the ordinary man in India the whole force of womanhood is concentrated on motherhood, In the Western home, the wife rules. In an Indian home, the mother rules.'¹⁵

Swami Vivekananda raised voice against the social evils that had led to the sufferings of the Indian women while he stated that, 'Women had suffered for aeons, and that has given her infinite patience and infinite perseverance. She holds on to an idea. It is this which makes her the support of even superstitious religions and of the priests in every land, and it is this that will free her'.¹⁶ With the impression of women as 'mother' Vivekananda highlighted three important features of 'motherhood' namely *love, tenderness* and *uprightness*. In his vision of motherhood the most dignified law is that of '*sacrifice*'. This idea may be found in Vivekananda's reference to the concept of *seva* which was declared as "*organised service to humankind*" and related it with that of 'womanhood'. This idea of *seva* have been drawn on the traditional Hindu concept of *seva* as selfless service and '*sadhana*' as spiritual penance also.¹⁷

According to him, mother is the pillar of the Hindu home, 'the mother is the God in our family.' Swami Vivekananda told his disciples at Thousand Island Park: 'The worship of even one spark of Mother in our earthly mother leads to greatness. Worship her if you want love and wisdom.'¹⁸ This view of Swami Vivekananda was noted by an important feminist scholar who observed that, 'As the stable centre of fragile colonial society, she provides constant solace to the humiliated son, on occasion her heroism acts as an inspiration to lift up the downtrodden spirit of the *son*. But she is also a divine ideal. In her divine form she is the destructive Shakti, ready to destroy the demon of evil'.¹⁹ Consequently for Swami Vivekananda, in the world of women, mother is the binding force amidst the cross cutting socio-religious factors that divided the nationalistic cause to fight against the colonial subjugation, a new idea emerged as that of mother-worship which denotes the ultimate Shakti. According to him, 'Mother-worship is a distinct philosophy in itself. Power is the first of our ideas. Here was a new idea of God, as the Universal power behind all - the Mother-idea was born. Of all feminine types in India, the mother is pre-eminent.'²⁰

Women Power

One of the important contributions of Swami Vivekananda towards the role of women in India is that of his advocacy of women's empowerment. While there is

no distinction of sex, the Indian social conditions applied such norms and rituals which in reality went against any programme for women's empowerment.²¹ One may observe that the concept of *Nari Shakti* dawned upon Swami Vivekananda through the iconised figures of Durgavati, Padmavati, Laxmibai alongside the resolve of the Indian women to exhibit chivalry that was mostly linked with the acts of men.²²

On the issue of Nari-Shakti Swami Vivekananda also combined the eastern and western notions of Nari-Shakti in general. Mention can be made here of the role of Sister Nivedita, who combined Swami Vivekananda's visions of women. Sister Nivedita also referred to the *power of women* while mentioning '*Kali Shakti*'. Interestingly, Sister Nivedita referred to women's power in the eastern and western notions whereby she made a distinction between, 'the Semitic (Judaism, Christianity) worship of the father and the Aryan devotion to the mother. In the cult of mother worship in the west centering around Virgin Mary has emphasised the association "of all that is tender and precious with this thought of women worship".' Moreover, under the influence of Vivekananda, Sister Nivedita also advocated that the thought of mother combines assimilation of destructive shakti as well as tenderness of a mother that implies in broader sense greater spiritual purity. The idea of women of Sister Nivedita, infact, reflect the influence of Swami Vivekananda who asserted a distinctiveness of Indian culture in the understanding of 'motherhood'.²³

Education for Women

According to Swami Vivekananda education has been perceived as, 'a development of faculty, not an accumulation of words, or as a training of individuals to will rightfully and efficiently.'²⁴

Swami Vivekananda observed that the official statistics supported his concern for women's education that showed not even one percent of women were educated in India and thus, his contribution made it possible to setup educational institution in India under his ideas. He suggested that, in villages and towns some centres may help spread female education and this would provide the women capacity against their helplessness, servile dependence on others, perpetual humiliation.²⁵

Swami Vivekananda strongly advocated women's education with religion as its centre i.e. emphasising on the spiritual aspect of education. According to him, 'Ideal characters must always be presented before the view of the girls to imbue them with a devotion to lofty principles of selflessness. The noble examples of Sita, Savitri, Damayanti, Lilavati, Khana and Mira should be brought home to their minds, and they should be inspired to mould their own lives in the light of these'.²⁶

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23

Moral Economy: Submission and Protest in Hori's Consciousness

Dr. Laxman Jain

Abstract

This article attempts to interpret some aspects of Hori's consciousness who is a representative figure of peasantry in North India through the literary lens "Godan", a text written by Munshi Premchand in 1936. The concept of Moral Economy is helpful in such an exercise. A concept produced by J. C. Scott and E. P. Thomsan.

Key words: *Godan, Hori, Moral Economy, Subsistence Ethic, Zamindar, Poverty, Bedakhali, Cow, Peasant's family*

A deep sense of anxiety precedes a meeting with the lord. "You talk about refreshment while I am worried about the delay" — expresses veneration awe about the master who reigns supreme in the life of the peasant, characteristic of a process of lived dominance and subordination. Submissiveness or servility is much born out of the pragmatic necessity of survival against the threatening consequences of any gesture of defiance or neutrality. "When your neck is being trampled under the tyrant's heel, the safest course is to keep on tickling his feet". Whining Grovelling, Importunating and fawning were the only ways of survival to escape the gnawing teeth of an oppressor. A total and complete servility invokes a paternalistic hand which may protect you. Dhanias could see through the game. No amount of self-abnegation or effacement in face of Zamindar could relieve them of his squeezing clutches. He was in no way sparing to them, and the hardest effort to pile up a smallest bit at hand could not succeed them in liquidating the rent of the Zamindar. Sycophancy was not called for. They were in no way caressed or soft peddled-with from his tentacles. She was true to the real face of their living -the unassailable veracity of facts of life. In other words she exposed the other part of Hori's consciousness: protest against submission, more appropriately defiance against compliance, the contradictory pull of their existence, in a significant exposition of the binary model - the pair of opposite consciousness.¹ The harshness of Peasant's life is eased out by jocular exchanges. And the uncertainty of the future brought the couple intimately closer. Hori and Dhanias start off into a jocular spree musing over their miserable lot and the impending doom of the old

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day's life.² Peasant's craving for a cow is as old as his craving for the land itself. Hori on his way to Raisahab got into the idea that with the grace of God if it rained abundantly this year and all went well, he would buy a cow. The cow becomes source of multiple sustenance: milk for family, manure and fuel etc: Its calf grows into bullock and helps in cultivation. In other words, like a complex institution the cow is an essential and integral part of the peasant's farm, based on a piece of land, a pair of bullock, a plough and a small courtyard. Cow is also a marker of prosperity and respectability and also a harbinger of good fortune.¹ "Doesn't a cow tied down to door enhance the prestige of the house?", and "How auspicious it would be to see cow first thing in the morning?" (from the Indian myth we do know about the bountiful cow " Kamdhenu" who propitiate all and sundry desires or demands made on her and that is why the village folk celebrates festivals dedicated to the worshiping of cow and call it "Gau Mata").³

On his way, peasant working in the fields greeted him and invited him to have "Chillum" with them. Hori felt gratified with the greetings by the peasants who even owned four to five ploughs compared to his one. A faint smile flitted across his gaunt face. It was indeed no mean honour for a small peasant. What a reputation, could a small peasant like Hori uphold otherwise in that differentiated rural society. Hori had no time to rest, but he did admit his strategy. The aura of reflected respectability bestowed on him by rich peasants was contingent on his accessibility or proximity to the powerful (landlord) in the village society. It gave him a sense of security, a breathing space and an inspiration for living. Conflict between the landlord and the peasant in the colonial society was often centered around the common grazing land where peasant insisted on free grazing while landlord, demanded tax on the same.⁴ In a rambling thought Hori seeing the patch of green land got overwhelmed with the paternalistic gesture of Rai Sahib who had reserved it for the cattle and refused to sell it even against the attraction of the fancy price offered by the rich peasants of the area. "God bless Rai Sahib' thus went Hori's appreciation who was still steeped in the older tradition. "A master who does not take care of his subject, is he worthy of being called a man?" he continued this praise however was not born out of Hori's reaping direct benefit out of this land. It emerged and filtered through the very context. First it was like a resting place for the villagers amidst the scorching wind of the June. Secondly the cattle of the community grazed here. The ideas of a just king who delivers justice and takes care of the well being of his subject in his consciousness came to predominate his thinking in this particular moment. Peasant possesses an inexhaustible capacity to endure the harshness and torments of life. Within which he seeks to preserve the most cherishable and endeavouring dream of his life, even if deeply drawn in debt as if the cow would allow him to balance out his miserable existence. On seeing the captivating sight of the cow in Bhola's herd he could not resist the idea of buying it. The pent up desire, which was storming his heart for an outlet for years together, made him restless. A shameless obstinacy, which defies demand abuse and even beating, was goading him into action.⁵ Poverty knows no self-esteem. The defiance of angry faces of oppressors allowed only a breathing space for him and common deceits he practices in everyday life were expediencies born out of self interest. These stratagems of everyday life were meant to tune his subsistence. And in his code of morality, it was well permissible to increase the weight of hemp by moistening it, mixing cotton seed with cotton was also allowed. Subsistence ethics thus constituted.⁶

He was equally rational in his dealings with super ordinate relations of extractions for instance it takes a lot of wheedling to extract a small bribe- out of him. He was a hard bargainer. It was difficult to tempt him against his convictions, to get a single penny of interest condoned he supplicates before the money lender for hours.⁷ His world view of moral and immoral, proper and improper thus allowed him to adopt the possible technique of survival pilfering, fleecing, supplication, feigning etc. But his entire life was wedded to nature, completely merged in natural and sensuous existence; he could hardly find room for self interest. The vagaries of nature and the (This stratagem of everyday life can well be compared with Foucault's notion of popular illegalities which developed with the onslaught of market economy and its concomitant emergence of bourgeoisie, see Discipline and Punish) angry face of God was enough to monitor any of his minute actions. The notion that "it was sinful to make capital out of someone else's distress had become the inescapable part of his conscience."⁸ In Indian tradition Mahabharat, Geeta, Ramayana and most folk tale and legend convey a mancheistic message, goodness and morality, truth and truth, triumph over falsehood in the ultimate instance. This sense of religiosity is deeply engrained in the mass psyche specially the peasantry, nurtured and validated in every day discourse at a village rendegazvous common place village Devi or Bhagwat Chopal and in the celebration of great Indian festival like Ramlila etc).⁹ It refrained him from taking advantage of Bhola's plight. He was true to his moral consciousness - his world of dharma and adharma. Gobar, like Dhania was also antidote to Hori's pragmatic compliance to their state of subordination. He was quite perspicacious to get across the futility of his father's fawning at the master, which meant nothing, except losing one's respectability.¹⁰ "Does it make any difference? Bailif still abuses us if we fall behind in rent. We are still put on forced labour and subjected to the payment of najrana like others". Hori assumed docile posture to calm his son's rebelliousness, "God has made us slaves and we have to put up with our lot" was his answer. Pragmatism was the only way left for survival. He argues, "when others had to pay for digging the mud from the pond or fix up a trough by their door, Hori alone went scot free. But Gobar finds no reason, except, what he calls sarcastically "there must be some sneaking pleasure in tickling the ego of a rich man". Hori then brought his experience into play to justify his stand. Down - trodden" he said, "cannot afford to be stiff necked".

Reaching home, Dhania asked Hori about his conversation with the master, "rich men are surrounded with thousands of worries, They are worse off than us", was Hori's answer, Hori forgot what else Rai sahib had told him; only this statement clung to his memory, also due to pragmatic reasons. Gobar could not swallow this argument. "Why he doesn't change his place with us, "he shouted. Hori then legitimized the property relations, "no one can leave his or her property, just as we are clinging to a piece of land despite not getting anything out of it, and the lord is in the same position". Gobar could still not be pacified, Hori again subdued his protest. "It is the fruits of our past life. We have sown nothing and there is nothing to reap", he said. Gobar's debunking of the legitimate reasons of the Lord's supremacy was this time even more complete those who have power, "oppress the poor and become rich. It led Hori to withdraw himself from the chain of argument with his son with the words, "you meddle in the ways of God?" He was convinced with his pragmatic position. The argument of the iron theory of Karma, the rationale of God-ordained inequality,

religious duties associated with Raisahib used by Hori made for him the compliance not only tolerable but also covetable. Peasants' sense of ethics is derived out of their intense association with nature, cycles of agricultural seasons and more typically its symbolism and imagery. When Sona and Rupa started quarrelling over the superiority of gold and silver Hori could not give his judgment in favor of gold. Considering it as a supreme aesthetic upheld by the society he deterred in accepting it as a supreme aesthetic of his own life. No doubt he did so in order to pacify Sona but still it indicates his sense of aesthetic imbued with pragmatism just as barley was the king of all grains since poor people could afford it against the wheat. Which was the staple food of the rich, he said. When Bhola said that "good wife is a Laxmi Bhai, she knows how to treat elders and Youngers", it indicates the peasant's sense of virtue, beauty and hospitality. On their way to Bhola's house, they felt to talk about the coming Dussehra celebration. When Hori started relishing his small assigned part, Bhola reminded him of the other side of whole conviviality. Hori got a pinch and started pouring out his heart — how money lenders and zamindars had extorted him to the last jot of grain and he was left only with five seers. He could somehow succeed in secretly removing the fodder to escape the zamindars clutches. They were mute before zamindars and money-lenders, helpless and disunited. Submission and passivity arises out of lack of solidarity. Poverty appeared as a heavy curse and utter sense of despair gripped them. In a senile moment of solitude the reminiscence of the past relived in Hori's mind his brothers, his love for them and discord. Gobar got into Jhunia's company, the daughter of Bhola was an encounter of two souls. Domestic wrangling over the undivided common possession not so clearly demarcated on registration deed is quite common and one partner often a brother could occasionally fleece or pilfer the small amount from the common account in a moment of need. Damri and Punia's scuffle and Hori's complicity in it offers a vivid instance of the same. The virgin in Gobar and Sona invoked in Hori the thought of marrying them as a natural sequel to the domestic worries and anxiety of a peasant household. But the sixty rupees loan of Mangru, borrowed five years back to buy bullock since then paid by interest only and Data Din's thirty rupees borrowed to plant potatoes had jumped into hundred in three year's time. The narrowing idea of swelling his debt and his house being auctioned and his children reduced to beggar as a natural consequence weighed his heart deeply. After days' work smoking the chillum these worries close in on him like a black wall through which there was no escape. He somehow solaced his heart seeing the others sinking in the same boat.

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24

Social Legislations in Princely Mysore— Special reference to the rights of Women.

Rohini Sangappa Dalavay

Abstract

Princely Mysore had a greater role in bringing modernity to the people. The state ruled by the Wodeyars of Mysore had a record of illustrious achievement in several field bringing the fame of a progressive State. Passing of the Regulation of Amending Hindu Law providing rights to its women is noteworthy.

Key words: *Princely, administration, Mitakshara, Hindu Law. Rights, Regulation, Co-Parcenary, amendments, resolution Property.*

Princely Mysore that existed prior to the independence, now part of modern Karnataka was a progressive state with all-round developments in fields like education, intellectual activism, political consciousness, industrial growth, banking, etc. What surprise a student of history of erstwhile princely Mysore was, it's much advanced views on social rights. It was the first princely state: to ban child-marriage, and to pass legislations on widow remarriage act, banning of temple dancing, prostitution and temple entry of *Harijans*. The credit should be given to the princely Government for passing a number of legislations recognizing the rights of women, and legislating with utmost care to provide legal right to women over the properties of their fathers\husbands during 1928-33. This article likes to discuss few interesting aspects of those legislations, and the intended changes the government wished to see among the women of their state. The Mysore Representative Assembly (MRA) was the first of its kind in India, being established as early as 1881 was progressive from its inception.¹ The Dewans like Rangacharlu responsible from the establishment of the Assembly in 1881², and his successor Sheshadri Aiyer along with the ruler Shri Chamaraja Wodeyar X (1880-1894) created an atmosphere of intellectual fervor and progressivism in Mysore. The successive Dewans and the Maharaja Krishnaraja Wodeyar IV (1894-1941) continued the trend of progress

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and modernity relentlessly. The Infant marriage Regulation of 1894 was a step ahead of others, as it fixed the marriageable age of girls to ten. Strictly speaking the Regulation was not as progressive as the one passed by the British India (Age of consent Bill), but compared to the position of Mysore society where the child marriage was rampant, and several orthodox members of the M.R.A were opposing the restricting the people from arranging the marriages of their young daughters. Newspapers felt that the government is interfering the social customs of the people. In midst of the opposition Mysore government passed the Regulation and implemented it half-heartedly.³

The government dealt the problem of women from two directions; directly dealing with the problem of women, and enabling them to overcome their weaknesses. Secondly, through educating them. Starting of separate schools for girls was one of the measures strictly followed. As the problem of child marriage and forced widowhood persisted later the government tried to introduce education making it compulsory.⁴ The first decade of twentieth century witnessed strengthening of the representative institution by having a second House with the power of legislation in 1907. Though Mysore was under the indirect rule of the British, it did not deter its rulers from giving more powers to their people. Thus by 1910's the state was much ahead of other princely states. The decades of 1920-30s witnessed much rapid progress in legislating on social issues. What surprises a researcher is the strong undercurrent of progress inherent for decades fruitful during the third decade of the twentieth century was fruitful in respect to the legislations relating to the rights of women. The Mysore Legislative Council keenly interested in utilizing the expertise of the legal luminaries like K.T.Bhashyam, H.C.Dasappa and others to bring some relief to suffering women of the state. The Focus was on providing some rights to women. Women as part of Indian society were neglected and suffering due to several anomalies in male dominated society. Women had no rights in the writings of Manu and other Hindu law givers. As Manu stated she had to depend on her father when young, on her husband as married woman and on her sons in her old age. Though Hindu scriptures provide highest regard for women as deified into goddesses like Kali, Durga, venerated as consorts of Brahma Vishnu and Maheshwara, in reality women had no rights in social and economic aspects. Coming of the Muslims, and the westerners who treated their women better, showed the Hindu society in darker side of neglecting their women. Added to injury of neglect, women were forced with several inhuman practices like Sati where widowed woman was forced to burn herself on the pyre of her husband. Cruel practice of female infanticide, child marriage, forced widowhood, disfiguring of widows, negation of right to property made women a hapless sufferers. Influence of British India, spread of education among all classes of people, and general awareness of the defective social issues had their effects on Mysoreans. Enlightenment that arouse due to spread of education, awakening among the elites about numerous social evils, curtailment of women's freedom in the guise of customs traditions. The socio—religious reformers, the Samajas, the Ramakrishna Mission, and the activists like Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Jyothiba Phule, Pandita Ramabai, D.K.Karve, Narayanaguru, Veereshalingam etc mainly supported the cause of women's uplift.

Mysore part of all these movements, having a strong group of men and women who were socially conscious, being supported by the intellectual class of in and out of representative houses made the government to consider passing little legislation

especially giving rights to women. Starting from 1928 Mysore representative Assembly and Legislative Councils took up the work of legislating for the cause of women. Major issues the houses looked into were the rights of women over property of her father\ or dead husband. So far, no share was given to unmarried daughters or widowed wife. Only male line was considered as inheritors of the property, women were considered as the 'burden of men', depending upon their good will. However, change in the circumstances, numerous instances of women being utterly neglected by her male benefactor, demand of the organizations, women groups was forceful. The public opinion expressed through newspapers and other institutions made the Mysore Government to take up the legislations. Resolutions passed by Mysore State Ladies Conference 15th-16th November 1930.⁵ By 1937 the Imperial government had passed an Act on Hindu Widow's Right to property (Act XVIII of 1937). It was the outcome of the derivation of the discussion on *Dayabhaga* and *Mitakshara* schools of Hindu code which denied a widow of any right over the property of her deceased husband if she had a son.⁶ K.T.Bashyam while introducing his private member Bill in Legislative Council in 1933, stated "In Mysore we have had it explicitly laid down by more decisions than one that sex is no ground of disqualification for inheritance". His draft Bill was called 'Hindu Law of Inheritance Bill in 1928.'⁷ The problem was of huge dimension, needed verification, consultation from all directions. The Council decided to go through the legislative procedure, to study the legal aspects of the intended: 'Bill to amend Hindu Law as to the Rights of Women', appointed a select Committee of legal experts like Sri Raghobha char, K.T.Bashyam, H.C.Dasappa and women representatives Mrs. Srinivasaraghavachar.⁸ It took suggestions Women associations, administrators, Judges to give suggestions to amend the Law.⁹ The contentious issue was the writing of *Mitakshara* an ancient law text which was followed as source for legal issues of Hindu Society. Several clauses were amended and clauses were added to the original Bill as per the suggestions of the legal expertise. Care was taken to safeguard women's rights and to avoid the unwanted litigations.¹⁰ Regulation X of 1933. It was titled as 'Regulation to amend the Hindu Law as to the Rights of Women and in certain other respects' was introduced to MLC on 27th June 1933. A revolutionary measure to give rights to women on their father's or husband's property. He was given right over her own possessions (*stridhana*) and share in her father's property if unmarried and in her husband's property along with her sons. The introduction of a Bill led to discussion on several legal and social issues. Legal experts like H.C.Dasappa were taken into select Committee to suggest remedies to clear the legal entanglements. The problem of unmarried daughters having a share in property of their father's along with brothers were discussed.¹¹ It also enumerated the legal precedence of a widow willing to adopt a successor for her.¹² Aspects under discussions were on the rights of a widow to the property of her deceased husband, as well as her right to adopt a son for herself, which was not existed so far. This act was a great measure to enable the women of the state to have a dignified life, as they were assured of a share in property if remained unmarried, or in case of a widow after the death of her husband. Some measure of happiness was expressed in newspapers, which expected more from the Regulation. Mysore 'Observer' was disappointed, as the Regulation did not include the rights of women of Joint

families.¹³ Daily Post appreciated the law and was in praise of the effort to give a share of property to the unmarried daughters.¹⁴

Introduction of the Bill created much enthusiasm among the people, hot discussions in public platforms, demands of the Women's Conferences, shows that though in many respects it makes a great departure from the existing law, it is, on the whole, in accord with popular sentiments and the needs of the changed conditions of the society. While complimenting the Government of the Maharaja of Mysore, United India commented that; 'Mysore's attempt to make widow\unmarried daughters, mother as *co-parceners* to give a share to them in the property was both reason and humanity and constitute an improvement in this undoubtedly defective region of Hindu law.¹⁵It was a bold venture on the part of a State which credited of being ruled by one of the ancient dynasties, to pass a regulation prescribing the rights of Hindu women and its boldness was appreciated by several newspapers and the public in general. Justice wrote; 'It is gratifying to note ...other states should follow the noble example of Mysore and Baroda'.¹⁶ Mysore took the lead of the British Governments Sharada Act and went ahead with its idea of reforming Hindu law to suit to the modern requirements. It was a milestone in the growth of social responsibility. The princely administration took up the cause of its neglected women in manifold. Through education, awakening, and through legislations it tried to strengthen the position of its women these set of laws became base for the Indian Government under the Prime minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru took up the work of passing Sharada Act in 1953-55.

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25

Roots of Marginalization of the Congress Party in West Bengal (1947-1977) - A Review.

Babulal Bala

Abstract

It is a fact that national movement in India had found its organized expression in the Indian National Congress. The successful completion of its task of political independence from the British in 1947 closed the long chapter with a great cost in the form of partition of the country. Naturally, after independence Indian National Congress was the ruling party for decades at the national level as well as in most of the states including West Bengal. Though, during the Chief Ministership of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy West Bengal became a progressive and industrially advanced state of the country, but his some wrong policies that frustrated the traditional Congress supporters and Congress party gradually alienated from them. Moreover, West Bengal Congress leaders specially the ruling Hooghly Group's attitude towards the Bangal (East Bengali) refugees and leaders forced them to go against the Congress Party and as a result of that after the general election of 1967 and later 1972 Congress Party of West Bengal marginalized.

Key words: *Under-currents, Treasure-trouve, License's, Benami, Jana Sevak, Anti-Bangal, Immigrant.*

Though, the period of the Chief-Minister ship of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy (23rd day of January, 1948 to 12 noon of the 1st of July, 1962) was the development of West Bengal in all its sphere of activities. It was a fascinating era of transformation of the vivisected province of West Bengal into a vibrant progressive and industrially advanced state of the country, from darkness to light, frustration to hope and confidence¹; but some of his administrative measures that gradually under-current the support base of the Congress Party in West Bengal. For example- Dr. Roy created parliamentary secretary ships and deputy speakerships in the Assembly and more jobs in the civil supply department to be distributed in exchange for the promise of political support. One critic alleged that

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twelve of the thirteen Scheduled Caste members in the assembly had, quite simply, been brought by being 'showered with loaves and fishes', receiving a veritable treasure-trove of three minister ships, seven parliamentary secretary ships, one deputy speakership and one lucrative job in the Civil Supplies Departments.² In the summer of 1948, when Dr. Roy's ministry faced another serious challenge, he responded by unscrupulously setting out to win over more erstwhile Muslim Leaguers. By 1958, thirty-five Muslims had joined the privileged ranks of the top Congress leadership in West Bengal.³ Of the twenty-five Bengalis who held ministerial posts in that year, whether at the centre or in the state, six were Muslims.⁴ By all accounts, these hateful efforts to buy support at the top were matched at lower levels by a phenomenon colourfully described by one political scientist as "license-permit raj". Thousands of licenses to set up industries or trade in controlled commodities were given by government to its friends and allies in return for political support.⁵ Actually, the partition broke the back-bone of the province's transport network. Putting it to rights called for state investment in road and bridge-building on a massive scale. Bus licenses, for example, became highly prized counters in the political marketplace; and permits to trade in controlled commodities were little more than licenses to print money. These became the currency of patronage by which politicians sought to fortify and to extend the bases of their support.

Saroj Chakraborty, personal assistant of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy recalls that in 1948, the West Bengal Government opened many fair-priced shops and Dr. Roy encouraged Bengalis to come forward and take advantage. He asked Bengali young men to take transport business and taxi and bus permits. Large numbers of permits were issued from time to time by the Civil Supplies Department for important pulses, rice, mustard oil etc.⁶ Dr. Roy's intention was to give most of these licenses to middle class youth, 'freedom fighters' and political sufferers⁷ as part of his drive to address the increasingly worrying problem of white-collar unemployment and to reward loyal clients that invites nepotism and corruption.⁸ Advisory committees were set up by the Civil Supplies Department to issue licenses comprising by the members of union boards and municipalities, medical practitioners, schoolteachers, pleaders and muktears or lawyers as well as representatives of union and district Congress Committees.⁹ Qualification forgetting licenses were openly announced that these licenses were intended only for the Congress Party and its core middle class constituents and thereupon no one else need bother to apply. One critic described the result as a fatal system of distribution of patronage in the form of licences, permits and dealerships to Congressmen by those in authority to consolidate their own political power.¹⁰ But as Saroj Chakraborty himself admitted, it proved impossible to prevent the licences from becoming commodities in their own right, auctioned to the highest bidder. Very soon 'cunning traders' and 'business friends' of leaders, officials and politicians, perfuming profit in the flying black market in licenced goods, became the *benami*¹¹ owners of more and more of these profitable licences.¹² The Calcutta Corporation, taken over by Atulya Ghosh as leader of the Congress Municipal Association, came to be the epicenter of a system by which patronage, licenced and contracts were handed out to friendly businessmen by standing committees packed with Atulya's placemen.¹³

By the late 1950s, trading and commercial castes at every level were more outstandingly involved in the Congress Party and its transactions in West Bengal than ever before. Upper-caste Bengali bhadralok, after the early comprador days of the

British Raj, had proved notoriously unwilling to commerce, preferring the solid rewards of land ownership and being rentiers, and respectable employment in the services and professions. In consequence, much of the province's trade and commerce had come to be controlled by middle castes or non-Bengalis, Marwaris prominent among them. Before partition, Marwari big businessmen did have a role, mainly behind the scenes, in the Bengal Congress and in Bengal's politics more generally, but the party and its political agenda were unmistakably dominated by the Bengali bhadralok and its particular concerns. Thin changes were now taking place as traders, petty entrepreneurs, businessmen and opportunists of all sorts became more visibly active in party-political affairs.¹⁴ In that context, most of the non-Bengalis who became an increasingly important part of the changing political scenario of the Congress Party and there upon within a decade, the West Bengal Congress had become so much dependent on non-Bengalis that even Nehru himself noticed the change and asked Atulya Ghosh in 1958 why 'in Calcutta, the strength of the Congress, such as it is, lies more with the non-Bengali elements there'.¹⁵ The slum landlords, who had the wherewithal to intimidate their numerous and impoverished tenants, campaigned for the Congress. In return, the ruling party granted them dealerships and turned a blind eye to their illegal squatting on land which belonged to others or their systematic theft of electricity. Swaggering *mastaans*, neighbourhood bully boys and vigilants, who controlled by force the increasingly lawless and desperate inhabitants of tenements, were another attractive element in the new 'machine' politics of West Bengal.¹⁶ By adopting such devices the Congress Party of West Bengal somehow succeeded after partition and independence in broadening the support base. It was remarkable that once the party of Bengali-speaking high caste bhadralok and dedicated to promoting their interests and safeguarding their traditions, the Bengal Congress now had to draw of its support from quite different sorts of people. Businessmen and financiers, often migrants from other parts of India who spoke little Bengali and took little interest in Bengali high culture, traders and entrepreneurs large and small, bosses of and spokesmen for intermediate and low castes, leaders, sometimes former Muslim Leaguers, of Muslim communities, slumlords and their bully boys- all came to play a part in a complex system by which the Congress made friends by distributing patronage. These new allies played a critical role in every election thereby the Congress won in West Bengal until 1967.¹⁷ Though the West Bengal Congress Party was able to win over the general election upto the year of 1967, but at the same time it began to alienate some of its traditional supporters that was particularly evident in Calcutta, where many of the city's young literati of the party increasingly disillusioned towards the activity of the party and the government. By 1958, even distant Delhi could see that the Bengal Congress was in imminent danger of losing its support base in Calcutta, 'the heart of Bengal', by alienating its 'young men' and its 'intellectuals'.¹⁸

Besides these, long after Atulya Ghosh had captured the Bengal Congress, through his paper 'Jana Sevak' he kept up his ugly war of words against refugees from eastern Bengal.¹⁹ The aim of that propaganda was, no doubt, to force out all the key politicians from East Bengal within the Congress party of the West Bengal. The Congress's hurling of anti-Bangal (native of eastern Bengal) slogans against refugees and the attack on the East Bengal Congress bosses by the ruling group steadily forced out from the Congress organization precisely those politicians best able to placate their angry refugee

constituents and keep them on side. They made no effort to win the political support of these immigrants and their leaders. Inevitably, many East Bengali leaders quit the Congress in the way that they either formed new parties of their own²⁰ or, threw their weight behind the ever more powerful left-wing opposition to Congress. Thus the step-brotherly attitude of the West Bengal Congress leaders to the East Bengali Congressmen as well as refugees that gradually under-current of the support base of Congress Party which manifested in the election of 1967 and paved the way of the marginalization of Congress in West Bengal.

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26

Child Labour and Education: Jute Mills under Colonial rule in Bengal

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Abstract

The primary focus of this paper is on the deprivation of the factory children from school education in Bengal during colonial period. It draws on research in Howrah, an industrial city where the proportion of children employed in jute mills who attended nearby schools was almost one in every one thousand in 1912 and neither mill school nor the schools in adjacent areas could attract them. Lack of proper facilities and encouragement kept them outside the arena of academic knowledge.

Key words: *mill babu; millhands; factory children; protective legislations; Koran school; maktab; pathsalas; half-timers; night schools.*

The child labour was a common feature of almost all the jute mills of Bengal in colonial period. According to the Bengal Education Report for 1871-72 there were about 15,321 schools in Bengal attended by 3, 36,093 pupils.¹ In the same decade Howrah town registered the foundation of the Howrah Jute Mills, Sibpur Jute Mill and Ganges Jute Mille and soon started to bag huge profit within a couple of years.² The Howrah Jute Mills which was registered on 14th July 1874 became the largest employer of factory children under the Burdwan Division which employed 546 children in 1893 which swelled to 739 in 1906 and 919 in 1912.³ They entered into the mill works at such a young age that they failed to enroll their names in educational institutions and if enrolled they could not complete their elementary education after entering the mills. Most of the factory children were the offspring of illiterate mill labourers who did not understand the value of education. They rationally thought that education of a primary character would not increase the value of children in the labour market, so 'education did not enter into their cosmos.'⁴ The jute mill owners on the other

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hand took the advantage of availability of cheap labour force in the form of the child labour. The mill managers did not hesitate to squeeze out overwork from the children and employ them to work in place of absentee adult labourers in various shifts. Practically the children were confined to the entire working hours of the jute mills from sunrise to the sunset. The factory children had a bleak scope for education either before employment or after the commencement of work in the jute mills.

Messers Thomas Duff and Company in about 1881 at Shamnagar pioneered a school for providing elementary education to the mill children in Bengal.⁵ But soon it was realized that the factory children were unable to reap the opportunity and the school was mostly attended by the mill babu's children and others who were capable to pay for the education. Later the mill Agents discontinued their subscription to the school, but allowed the building to be used free of rent.⁶ Another mill which ventured to set up school for its tiny mill hands was the Gourepore Jute Mills at Gorifa. The mill authorities set up an excellent school whose daily attendance was about ninety, but unlike the Shamnagar School it failed to attract the factory children and was attended by the clerks' children exclusively.⁷ In the Budge –Budge mill area there were three schools, one for the Muhammadan attended by 40 pupils, a Scotch school having the strength of 30 and a Government grant receiving school. There were also found Koran schools, Maktabs and Pathsals sporadically in different mill areas and surrounding villages.

The Indian Factory Commission, 1890, proposed for educating the factory children or half-timers in recess hours sandwiched between two separate shifts and the cost for such education should be jointly borne by the Government body and the jute mill owners.⁸ No praiseworthy action was taken for educating of Factory Children, but before the passing of the Act of 1891, several mills had of their own accord introduced schools for half-timers.⁹ This plan was like a double-edged sword which helped the employers to keep the children available for the entire working hours of the mills inside the mill boundary on the one hand and on the other hand the mill Managers would be able to show that they were abiding by the protective legislations or the Factory Acts.

The use of mill schools for hoarding the factory children became a rampant practice. And numerous mills set up school in the factory campus. The Textile Factory Labour Committee, 1906 found that many mill owners had opened schools inside the mill.¹⁰ The Indian Factory Labour Commission, 1908 realized that the practice underwent in the name of mill school.¹¹ The Commission stated thus:

We are most strongly opposed to the maintenance of schools within the factory enclosure. In many cases the mill school is used only in order to keep the children on the premises throughout the day and they are forced to work often for the full working hours of the factory- if the labour supply is short.¹²

The jute mills in Howrah seemed to be most passive in encouraging education among the factory children except the mill authority of the Fort Gloster Jute Mill.

In May 1911 this mill had 173 students which comprised 93 relatives of the workers, 41 relatives of Zamindars, and 39 outsiders taught by seven teachers. In the beginning there were some children of mill workers but later the children of clerks, mistries and weavers only took the benefit of this arrangement. The mill authority managed to provide books and other stationery items free of cost to the children of mill workers which were stopped later. Till the first decade of the 20th century there were only three Hindi night schools with 72 pupils, adults and children from the mills in the Howrah town. There were also three Bengali night schools in the district partly attended by mill hands.¹³

The Magistrate of Howrah reported, in 1912-13, that there were no dearth of primary schools in Howrah but the factory children had to work in the jute mills both morning and afternoon that was why they did not attend the schools.¹⁴ The child labourers in Howrah were recruited in four shifts. The working hours of the primary schools were 7 a.m. to 10 a.m. in the morning and 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. in the afternoon session. Most of the child labourers were from Hindi-speaking background. There were Hindi primary schools as well as the Bengali. About 4,350 factory children were employed in such mills which had primary schools within a mile but only 4 or 5 factory children actually attended these schools.¹⁵

Table 3.9
The primary schools and working of the jute mills in
Howrah Municipality, 1912-13:

Name of jute mills	Children employed	Language of children	Working hours each batch	Leisure hour	Nearest school	Medium of instruction	Distance of school from the mill
Howrah Jute Mills	919	Hindi	5- 8.30 a.m. 12- 3 p.m. 8.30 a.m.- 12 Noon 3.30- 8 p.m.	4-6 p.m.	Howrah Hat Lower Primary	Hindi	¼ mile
Fort William Jute Mill	467	Hindi	5.30- 8 a.m. 1.30-4.30 p.m. 8-11 a.m. 4.30-7 p.m.	5-7 p.m.	Howrah Hat Lower Primary	Hindi	¾ Mile
Ganges Jute Mills	646	Hindi	Same as above	5-7 p.m.	Howrah Hat Lower Primary	Hindi	½ Mile
Central Jute Mill	250	Hindi	5-9 a.m. 12-3 p.m. 9-12 Noon 3-8 p.m.	6.45-8.45 a. m. 4-6 p.m.	Bhotbagan and Ghoosery Lower Primary(s)	Hindi	290 yards and ½ Mile

Source: General Department, Education Branch, Progs A, Nos.71-73, March 1913.

In 1911 about 24,538 children were employed including 3,780 girls in jute mills of Bengal.¹⁶ The Government bodies and some of the mill Managers either singly or jointly tried to educate factory children before 1911. But their effort was

futile due to various reasons. The sounder idea of putting a premium on education as regards the minimum age received influential approval in 1919, when the International Labour Conference adopted a proposal that, while the minimum age of admission for children to factories in Japan should be 14, children of 12 might be admitted if they had finished an elementary school course.¹⁷ Similarly, the factory regulations of Baroda State proposed that children of 9 years of age and over might be employed in factories, provided that the management made satisfactory arrangements for their education.¹⁸

The raising of the age of the minimum age of employment of children from 9 to 12 by the Factory Act of 1922 provided a respite to the jute mill owners. They very technically, slipped out from taking burden of educating factory children and argued that they should have completed their elementary education before entering the factory work and raised the question of the non-working children of society and projected hypothetical excuse that they would be deprived of elementary education if the employers managed to educate the factory children only.

The Royal Commission on Labour in India, 1931, observed gross illiteracy among the industrial labourers. The Commission praised the efforts of the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras where half-timers were provided with a sound elementary course, some technical classes and training in hygiene.¹⁹ The initiative taken to educate the half-timers had failed to bear desired results in Bengal jute mills. The Commission recognized that a child was seldom capable of putting 5 or 6 hours' work in a factory and learning properly in a school after that work ended or before it began.²⁰

A survey of Jute Mills in 1946 revealed that some mills had established schools for the children of their operative but many others only made contribution to local schools in the neighborhood.²¹ The management of the Birla Jute Mills, however, had set up two night schools for the education of the adult workers and books, stationary, etc. were supplied free of cost.²² The Indian Jute Mills' Association had set up five welfare centers in important jute mill areas namely at Hazinagore, Kankinara, Serampore, Titagarh, and Bhadreshwar where indoor and outdoor recreational facilities were also provided.²³ The upper primary schools attached to these Centers were very popular and that there was great demand for admission to those free schools which catered for both boys and girls.²⁴ Till 1952 there were 'about 81 jute mills that had their own schools'²⁵ but the factory children remained at large illiterate.

The parents utilized the children as earning hands, the mill owners employed them for profit making and tackling the problem of labour shortage. The Government thought that educating these children was employers' responsibility and accomplished own by issuing legislation after legislation alleging mill owners and illiterate parents. In such a responsibility shifting game this segment of factory children remained illiterate and unprivileged in colonial India.

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27

Dera Sachkhand Ballan

Sonia Rani

Abstract

Dera Sachkhand Ballan is the most popular dera of the Punjabi Ravidasias which provided leadership to the Ravidasia community and played a significant role in the process of identity formation all over the world in the late twentieth century. Sant Ravidas was a major figure in the Ravidasia deras of Punjab, who provided socio-religious philosophy and an ideology to the community. The present paper is aimed at studying the origin of Dera Sachkhand Ballan of doaba sub region of Punjab which is a less researched aspect in the history of modern Punjab. The paper is divided into two parts. First part deals with the emergence of dera on the basis of saint Guru Ravidas who is the particularly associated with the dera. The second part focuses on the beliefs and practices of the dera which consolidated the community identity in the Punjab and all over the world.

I

The nineteenth century had been a new phase in the cultural identity provided by the lower caste Gurus, saints and holy men.¹ The panths inspired by the major figures of the Northern Sant tradition are also the oldest surviving Sant communities today.² Sant Tradition has provided the foundation for an often dissident socio-religious philosophy and ideology. It is to this tradition that the Sant Guru Ravidas and contemporary movement centred on him belongs.³ As per Sikhism, Ravidas is regarded as a Sant or Bhagat but for the Chamars of the Punjab, He is worshipped as Guru.⁴ A number of Sants poets have been considered the founders of the sects who bear their name but have developed after them.⁵ The Ravidasia or Rabdasi or Raidasis Chamars are named after Sant Guru Ravidas, himself a Chamar.⁶ He represented the Sant Parampara which flourished in later medieval period in Northern India.⁷ Ravidas who may belong to fourteenth or fifteenth century, was

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an outcaste leather worker.⁸ As a Chamar Sant, He is considered as the founder of a new religious tradition at the Ravidas deras.⁹

The memory of Guru Ravidas had been kept alive by a loose network of shrines and pilgrimage centres dedicated to his devotion.¹⁰ One such dera is situated seven miles north of the Jalandhar city. It was founded by Pipal Das in the years of early twentieth century who used to meditate at this location. He reached this place while he was wandering in search of truth, when he encountered this place, he found a Pipal tree, which appeared to be dead, but after he sat under, it sprang back to life. Pipal Das understood this as an indication that truth was to be obtained on that spot, so he solicited nearby villagers to donate the land and began constructing his dera.¹¹ Pipal Das whose real name was Harnam Das came to be known as Pipal (from the Pipal tree) Das after this incident.¹² But it is known as Dera Sant Sarwan Das Sachkhand Ballan by the followers.¹³ Sant Pipal Das was born at village Gill Patti in Bathinda district. As a child, he used to work in the fields as labourers. As he grew he made up his mind to inspire and guide the public in religious matters. He left his ancestral village taking along with him his younger son Sarwan Das (who was at that time about five years old). He used to move from village to village, visit the habitants of the poor localities, hold Satsang and inspire them for God's Bhakti.¹⁴ After that his son Sarwan Das used to get out of the village to carry on his spiritual practice at some secluded spot in the fields or in the deserted place. He would come back at the time of rehras (evening prayer) and deliver spiritual discourses at night.¹⁵ Impressed by his Godly devotion and spiritual power, Hazara Singh, a kind and generous landlord of the village, donated one kanal land for building a hermitage. At this place, Sant Sarwan Das's basic concern was to associate the people to Nam Simran and Satsang and emphasized upon the Bani of Guru Granth Sahib.¹⁶ After constructing in the form of temple, there is appropriated the figure of Ravidas. The activities of dera are based on the Guru Ravidas, His Bani. The association of a large number of Chamars with dera becomes clearer when we consider the fact that Guru Ravidas was special for them. Guru Ravidas who himself was a Chamar and Sant Sarwan Das also to have come from a humble background of this Chamar caste. His dera instantly popular among the Chamars who considered Sant Ravidas as their Guru.¹⁷ The consolidation of the community's identity behind the figure of Ravidas proceeds apace. He has become the founder of their faith and the source of their inspiration.¹⁸

The Dera Sachkhand Ballan has its particular importance in spreading the mission of Guru Ravidas. The Sants of dera formulated a number of beliefs which gives the identity to the community. Guru Ravidas didn't believe in reincarnation and idol worship. Nor his followers subscribe to the philosophy as observed by Hindus. They simply believe in spiritual powers of Guru Ravidas.¹⁹ The figure of Guru Ravidas is prominently displayed throughout the temple and other buildings of the dera. His figure or his writings takes the place of Gurus and the Granth of Sikhism, and the gods and the scriptures of the Hinduism.²⁰ The dera associates the devotees to the Nam through the Bani of Guru Ravidas. The Sants observed certain practices and rites that given an identity to dera.²¹

For instance, Satsang or Kirtan is organized daily in which Bani of Guru Ravidas is recited by devotees. After every kirtan, there is a tradition of arti. In the arti no formal ritual of burning clarified ghee, stick of incense of dhup is performed like Hindus rather than arti of Guru Ravidas is sung by the devotees. There is particular session of Satsang on Sangrand of every month. A large number of devotees visit the dera on these days. In the dera, prasad is also distributed among the devotees and visitors. Generally it is of puffed rice (fullian) but sometimes the fruits and sweets brought by devotees as offering in the dera are also distributed among the Sangat. Like some other deras in Punjab, Dera Sachkhand Ballan follows a specific tradition of Nam Dan. The process of Nam Dan is in many respects different from other sects and religions. The ritual or process of initiation is different. Wednesday of every week is fixed for this purpose. The spiritual master of the dera gives five words to his devotees who are told not to share it with anyone else except who has already got the Nam Dan from the same dera. The tradition of langar is also followed by the dera. They have their own Nishan Sahib 'Har' which is hoisted on their dera. The Sants of dera usually wear simple white clothes with an orange colour turban. This practice is in continuity since the time of Baba Pipal Das. In the Dera Sachkhand Ballan, Guru Ravidas is revered by the devotees. His pictures, and stories related to his life are preached to the people by publishing literature. The verses of Guru Ravidas are also compiled in gutkas and published by the dera.²² Ravidasia Sants since for the time of Sant Pipal Das to the present gaddinashin are also revered alongwith Guru in the dera. The devotees greet one another by saying, "jai Gurudev" to which response is " Dhan Gurudev". 'Jo Bole So Nirbhay' to which response by Sangat 'Shri Guru Ravidas Maharaj Ki Jai' is their slogan. In the dera, saints observe a daily routine.

The dera established their school and health care centres. They encourage the lower caste poor children to study, so that they could earn their livelihood in a respectful way and help their community to lead a dignified life.²³ Besides this, The saints of dera emphasize ending caste based discrimination and an egalitarian philosophy, invoking scriptures like those of Ravidas and Kabir, and exhort followers to shun liquor and drugs and to protect the environment.²⁴ The tradition of going on pilgrimage to holy places is an important practice of the dera. It became the most revered places for the followers of dera from the day, they discovered the birth place of Guru Ravidas at Seer Govardhanpur, Varanasi.²⁵ In search of their own cultural roots, they have constructed separate monuments and pilgrimage centres.²⁶ The dera makes special arrangements for the pilgrimages of devotees. Special trains are arranged from dera Jalandhar to Varanasi exclusively for Guru Ravidas Jyanti celebrations. Maghi and Baisakhi are other important occasion for celebrations in the dera. The death anniversaries of Baba Pipal Das, Sant Sarwan Das on June 11, Sant Hari Das February 7, Sant Garib Das July 23 and Sant Ramanand June 25 are those occasions, when all the devotees who have taken Nam Dan from the dera make efforts to visit there. Within the short period of time, dera has achieved prominence among the followers of Guru Ravidas and contributed a lot for the spread of its message of humanity and universal brotherhood. It has

established and helped a number of institutions for the welfare of the humanity. The dera adheres to the ideal of service to humanity. It has also helped the Ravidasia community to stand on its own and assigned it a new identity by establishing and strengthening the specific tradition of the dera.

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28

The effects of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor on India Pakistan Relations

Dr. Chanda Keswani

Abstract

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) constitutes one of the largest foreign investments China has made in the framework of the “One Belt, One Road” initiative. The expenditures planned for the coming years in the amount of approximately \$46 billion will further intensify relations between China and Pakistan. At the same time, Pakistan will assume a more prominent role in China’s foreign policy. But CPEC also affects relations between India and Pakistan. The transport corridor between Pakistan and China traverses Jammu and Kashmir, the status of which has been a subject of contention between India and Pakistan since 1947. This constellation would seem to suggest a negative scenario whereby CPEC could place additional strain on India-Pakistan relation. On the other hand, a positive scenario is also conceivable, with a settlement of the Kashmir dispute even becoming possible in the long term.

The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), announced during Chinese President Xi Jinping’s well-publicised two-day (April 20-21, 2015) visit to Pakistan is a bold geo-economic initiative which alters the strategic environment in the region. CPEC plays a key role in China’s foreign policy, linking infrastructure measures aimed at establishing a “New Silk Road” (one road) running through Central and South Asia with efforts to create a “Maritime Silk Road (one belt) in the Indian Ocean. The two routes are to meet in the Pakistani port city of Gwadar in the Balochistan Province, the development of which China has been promoting for many years.

Here are some key points that will help to understand what the CPEC is-

- The CPEC is a collection of infrastructure and energy projects whose total

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worth is around \$46 billion.

- The project was launched in 2015. If completed, the 3,000-km network of roads, railways and pipelines will link western China to Southern Pakistan.
- The corridor will pass through Balochistan province-where a separatist movement has been under way for decades as well as through Gilgit-Baltistan and Pakistan-occupied Kashmir (POK).
- Pakistan's motivation for investing in the project is two-fold: it hopes the CPEC will stimulate economic development and increase energy production. In fact, \$35 billion will be invested in coal and LNG-based thermal energy projects in Pakistan, the Economic Times reported.
- The ET report also outlined the wins for Pakistan's 'all-weather friend.' First, China expects to be able to transport its energy supplies from the Persian Gulf faster. Second, the corridor could lead to economic development in Western China, a land-locked region. And finally, China, by "establishing its physical footprint" in Gilgit-Baltistan, also hopes to check the movement of Uighur separatist militants.
- The Gwadar deep-water port in Balochistan province is an important cog in the CPEC apparatus. China Overseas Ports Holding Company Ltd, the Chinese firm that in 2013 took over port operations, expects Gwadar port to be fully operational before the end of the year, and to process a million tons of cargo in 2017. Most of the cargo will be construction materials for the CPEC. It is worth noting that in the conflict-torn region where the port is situated, there has been a decades-long struggle for independence from Pakistan, which is accused of siphoning the region's resources into its coffers to the detriment of its residents.
- More than 17,000 Pakistani security personnel have been tasked with providing protection for Chinese nationals in Pakistan. It was reported in April that Pakistan was set to deploy an additional 4,000 personnel to provide security for Chinese nationals working on the CPEC-amongst other projects-in Punjab province.
- Pakistan and China will monitor the progress made on CPEC projects using a satellite, which is set to be launched in June 2018, the Dawn online reported.
- Residents of Gilgit-Baltistan and PoK were increasingly angry with Pakistan's and China's exploiting their natural resources without sharing the benefits of development with them. In Gilgit-Baltistan, the influxes of Chinese workers have left many local unemployed, and it is also feared that the CPEC will create an ecological imbalance in the region. In addition, the Gilgit-Baltistan government and the Pakistani Army are forcibly acquiring local's ancestral lands for the CPEC, Senge H Sering, director, Gilgit-Baltistan National Congress told ANI.

CPEC and India-Pakistan Relations

CPEC will also have consequences for India-Pakistan relations. The corridor runs through the region of Gigit-Baltistan (GB) in northern Pakistan. This region belongs

to Jammu and Kashmir, to which both India and Pakistan have asserted claims. Since the accession of the former princely state to the Indian Union in October 1947, New Delhi has claimed the entire area for India and insists on resolving the dispute only with Islamabad. India invokes the 1972 Shimla Agreement, According to which disputes between the two countries are to be resolved through bilateral negotiation. Pakistan, in contrast, invokes a series of resolutions on Kashmir in the United Nations and views the former princely state as disputed territory, the affiliation of which is to be decided by referendum. The Kashmir dispute has been the cause of three of the four wars that India and Pakistan have waged against each other since 1947.

The Negative Scenario

The aim of CPEC is to improve economic development in Pakistan. In recent years, economic growth has been weaker than in other South Asian countries such as India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Improved economic development could lead to an increase in Pakistan's military spending. This would presumably further fuel the arms race with India. So far, efforts to intensify economic relations with India have foundered on the resistance of Pakistan's armed forces. The political rapprochement connected with the 1999 Lahore process and the 2004 Composite Dialogue has been undermined by military adventures like the 1999 Kargil War and major terrorist strikes like the 2009 Mumbai attacks. A Pakistan economically strengthened by Chinese support would have little interest in expanding economic cooperation with India. Pakistan could then more forcefully place the Kashmir dispute on the foreign policy agenda, as it did intermittently in 2014/15. Major terror attacks in India, with or without the knowledge of the security forces in Pakistan, could lead to an escalation of the Kashmir dispute. This in turn would prompt the international community to intervene, thereby playing into Pakistan's hands. If in the course of a renewed India-Pakistan conflict Chinese citizens were to be attacked, for example in Balochistan, where separatist groups operate, partially supported by India, this could also produce a crisis between New Delhi and Beijing. In this scenario, the economic and political effects of CPEC would essentially prolong the negative cycle of India-Pakistan relations. In this case the positive economic effects the CPEC would have for Pakistan would spur a military build-up, which in turn would have negative effects on relation with India.

The Positive Scenario

On the other hand, a positive scenario is also conceivable in which CPEC exerts a moderating influence on India-Pakistan relations and the Kashmir dispute. In concrete terms, this would have an effect on the constitutional status of the Gilgit-Baltistan region in Pakistan, on the one hand, and on relations between China, Pakistan and India on the other. As one would expect, the routing of the corridor through Gilgit-Baltistan, which is claimed by India, has prompted protests by the government in New Delhi. Gilgit-Baltistan has a special status in Pakistan. As it is part of Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan officially considers it disputed territory and therefore refused to accord it the rights of a province. The special status of Gilgit-Baltistan has repeatedly

led to protests by the local population, who demand more political participation and investments. Due to its strategic significance the region is de facto controlled by the armed forces. Various Kashmiri rebel groups, which are supported by the armed forces in their fight against India, are said to run training camps here. Pakistani governments have improved regional self-government through a series of reforms. As part of the last major reform in 2009, the former Northern Areas, among other areas, were renamed Gilgit-Baltistan. At the same time a legislative assembly was established in the region, which in contrast to provincial parliaments has only limited powers. The most recent elections in Gilgit-Baltistan in the summer of 2015 yielded a majority for the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz(PML-N), which governs in Islamabad. Were CPEC to improve Pakistan's economic development, this could foment discontent in Gilgit-Baltistan over the growing gap between the region and other provinces. If the government were to respond to such protests by constitutionally upgrading the region to a province, it would simultaneously be undermining its own official stance in the Kashmir dispute, since as a province of Pakistan, Gilgit-Baltistan would no longer be a "disputed territory". The dispute with India would thus be indirectly ended, as both sides would have then completed the integration of the respective parts of Kashmir controlled by them into their state entities.

The second positive aspect of CPEC lies in the effects it could have on relations between and among China, Pakistan and India. The relationship with China has been extolled for many years as extremely positive and described in metaphorical circumlocution such as "higher than Himalayas and deeper than the ocean." In formal terms, moreover, Pakistan is China's only strategic partner, though closer analysis shows that China is not the unconditionally reliable partner that Pakistan hopes for, above all in the dispute with India. First of all, China does not support Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue. Pakistan wants to resolve the matter through internationalization. China, in contrast along with the US and the EU, among others, believes that the dispute should be resolved through bilateral talks. This stance corresponds to India's position. Second, during the 1999 Kargil War Beijing was not willing to stand with Pakistan against India. Third, at the 2008 Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) negotiations, which took place in the framework of the US-India Civil Nuclear Agreement, China voted for Indian exemptions that were heavily criticized in Pakistan. Fourth, India-China relations have improved considerably since the 1990s. The bilateral relationship continues to be marked by tensions, stemming for example from the unresolved border issue in the Himalayas. Nevertheless, the two countries have significantly expanded their political and economic cooperation in recent years, for example BRICS group (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa). In international negotiation rounds they regularly agree on common positions vis-à-vis the West. The accession of India and Pakistan to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) will strengthen cooperation between New Delhi and Beijing even further. As mentioned above, China's participation in CPEC increases its vulnerability due to its substantial investments and the danger posed to its own citizens in the eventuality of renewed India-Pakistan hostilities. But as China's cooperation with Pakistan is focused on its armed forces rather than its political parties. China's influence could have a

moderating effect on Pakistan's military. Military adventures like the 1999 Kargil War would thus become less likely.

Conclusion

Pakistan places high economic hopes in CPEC. To what extent the project can really be carried out remains unclear. There has always been a gap between official announcements and the funds actually spent on Chinese projects in Pakistan. Nevertheless, in the medium to long-term CPEC is likely to have a positive effect on the economic development of the country, for example by contributing to improving Pakistan's infrastructure and easing its chronic energy shortage. CPEC strengthens the strategic alliance between Pakistan and China. At first glance, it would therefore seem likely to exacerbate the dispute between Pakistan and India. But in Pakistan, too, there is a change of thinking taking place. For example, in Islamabad there is a growing understanding that supporting militant groups in order to achieve foreign policy objectives in neighbouring countries such as India and Afghanistan is increasingly counterproductive and has negative effects on Pakistan's national security. Moreover, China nourishes hopes that CPEC and its economic effects will also contribute to the transformation of Pakistani society and the strengthening of moderate forces. China reasons that peaceful development in Pakistan could in turn also have a positive influence on the region, for example with regard to the situation in Afghanistan. Securing Chinese trade routes by granting Gilgit-Baltistan the constitutional status of a province would codify the status quo, thus indirectly bringing the Kashmir dispute to an end and closing a chapter in global politics. India has already signalled in previous negotiations with Pakistan, for example in 2007, that it is willing to accept the status quo in Kashmir, which evinces the current division of the territory. After all there is still a possibility, however unlikely, that India may one day endorse the internationalization of the Kashmir dispute and a referendum. Were Kashmiris to then vote in favour of accession to the Indian Union. CPED would become obsolete overnight.

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29

Arms and Armor as Ornamental Art: With Special Reference to The Collections at Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala

Manpreet Kaur

Abstract

Human beings have had an unending quest to conquer since the very beginning of civilization. In this pursuance to attain supremacy over the other, he invented weapons; primarily to eliminate the beasts which could pose a threat to his life and secondarily his fellow humans, since it was always about the survival of the fittest. Arms and armor have a very elaborate history, from being as simple as a stone chiseled to form a sharp edge to the most ornate damascened swords and dagger hilts encrusted with exotic rubies and emeralds. Ornamentation and embellishment has been a feature of weapons of attack and defense alike. With various conquests in India, many changes and assimilations can be seen in the stylistic front which today provides us with the huge repertoire of arms and armor. In this research paper, I aim to trace a brief history of arms and armor from the Sikh period with special reference to a few instances from the Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala.

Introduction: Weapons as we see today as warehouse of nuclear energy were in a very raw form when man realized that he could make use of materials around him. The immediate material to try his hands on to create weapons was stone and animal bones out of which he made scrapers, hand-axes etc. The tools which primarily served the purpose of fulfilling the needs of basic day to day life, soon began to be used for territorial wars. So for defensive and offensive purposes man began sharpening his skills on the craft of weaponry. Thus, he graduated from carving merely hunting tools to carving and molding sources that would help him in the battlefield. Weapons have played an important role in displaying power and territorial authority. Strategic

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use of weapons has been instrumental in the rise and fall of several empires all over the world. India is a country that has been a battlefield for many violent wars. The frequent battles within and invasions brought about the inventions of different kinds of weapons. In ancient India, the characteristic feature of warfare was the four-fold army or the *Chaturanga-sena* which consisted of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots which used to be well-equipped with variety of arms. The manual of Indian military science, the *Dhanurveda*,¹ classifies weapons of offense and defense into three different heads- *mukta*, *amukta* and *mukta-amukta*.² Under the *mukta* came the weapons which are released by hands or mechanical devices such as the bow and arrow,³ spears, chakra etc. the *amukta* includes weapons that were held in hand, for example, swords and daggers which were used in face to face combat. The *mukta-amukta* were the weapons that could be thrown and retired and if necessary could be used hand held, for example, the maces.⁴ The weapons for attack went hand in glove with the weapons for defense which were crucial for the survival of soldiers on battlefield. Under this category came the shields,⁵ breastplates⁶ and chain armors inclusive of helmets and gauntlets.

The most popular weapon of the ancient and medieval times was the sword.⁷ India is known for its very high quality steel blades popularly known as the watermarked blade.⁸ The Rajputs held their weapons in great regard. They worshiped their swords and other weapons before going to the battlefield. Abul fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* mentions about the fondness of Emperor Akbar for his swords. He had nearly seventy swords which he singularly took with him every night to his chamber and sent it back until its turn came again.⁹ Since the kings and emperors gave so much of importance, it was not only a symbol of power by also of status as well. Apart from the purpose which it was meant to serve, they were also aesthetically embellished to suit the taste of the ruler. This decorative element saw its zenith during the Mughal period when everything from arrow rings to dagger sheaths to gunpowder cases were encrusted with precious metals like gold and gemstones like diamonds, rubies and emeralds. This arrow ring of Shah Jahan (fig.1) from the Mughal period was worn on the thumb to protect the thumb while drawing the bow string. This one is studded with a 6 carat diamond in the centre, 21 rubies and 14 emeralds. An inscription inside the ring identifies it as Shah Jahan's personal ring. Yet another example of the beautification of the weapons is that of a dagger of Shah Jahan from the Mughal period made of steel and watered with gold and bronze. It is encrusted with turquoise on the dual blades and on the hilt. The dagger also has arabesque patterns on it (fig.2).

This ornamentation of arms and armor continued during the Sikh period as well. The first guru of the Sikhs, Guru Nanak was a promoter of peace and justice which continued until the fifth guru, Arjan Dev. It was after the martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev that his son and successor, the six guru, Hargobind, decided to arm himself with the two swords of *miri* and *piri*.¹⁰ It was then that he decided and ordered the Sikhs not to tolerate oppression and injustice anymore and to raise the sword for their self protection and for the ones who were oppressed. His thoughts were brought to life by the tenth guru, Gobind Singh who turned the Sikhs into a warrior race by forming his own army which he called the 'Khalsa' or 'the pure'. A quoit is a circular

weapon which the Nihangs wore on their turbans and it could vary in size. They are also known as *Chakkar* or *Chakra*, which is sharpened both inside out and when thrown at the enemy with a great force from a distance, could chop off a limb altogether. Here is an example of a quoit made in watered steel and inlaid with gold and silver depicting the Sikh Gurus.¹¹



Fig. 1. Arrow Ring of Shah Jahan, Mughal period, 17th century.

Image courtesy: Panjab Digital Library.



Fig. 2. Dagger of Shah Jahan, Mughal period, 17th century.

Image courtesy: Panjab Digital Library.



Fig. 3. Quoit made of watered steel and inlaid with gold and silver, 19th Century, Sialkot.

Image Courtesy: www.sikhnugget.com.



Fig. 4. Detail of the Quoit depicting the second Sikh Guru, Angad Dev, inscribed over on Gurmukhi Script.

Image Courtesy:

The outer edge is sharpened and embellished with gold and silver inlay with alternating cartouches containing depictions of seated figures with inscriptions in *Gurmukhi*. The figures are flanked by spandrels of vegetal interlace and ogee-shaped arches (fig. 3 and 4).www.sikhnugget.com Here are a few examples of Sikh arms and armor that are displayed in the Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala. The first one here is a circular shield made of leather. It depicts the ten guru's of the Sikhs, all seated on an elephant driven by a mahout and accompanied by a chauri-bearer.¹² The gurus are seated in a side profile except the first guru, Nanak, whose pose is strictly frontal. All the gurus are haloed with peacock feathers and are identifiable from their features. The whole of embellishment is set against a blue background. The four circular bosses in the centre of the shield have also been ornamented by adding diamond shaped petals giving it a floral look (fig.5).

The second example is of a leather shield, depicting the fighting scene of Rama and Ravana. This shield along with many others showcases the versatility of themes that encompassed the ornamentation of arms and armors during the Sikh period. This scene of Ramayana shows Rama accompanied by Lakshmana on the right and the ten-headed Ravana on the left. Both of them are seated on a chariot and depict the final scene of the battle where there is a face to face combat between the protagonist and the antagonist where both of them are raining arrows at each other. Numerous other figures have been adjusted according to the circular frame among which Hanuman and Kumbha Karna, Ravana's brother are easily recognizable. The scene is set on the banks of the ocean where the battle has been fought (fig.6). The third example is of the Sikh armor which includes a steel chained upper garment with the *char-aina*, comprising of the front plate which acts as a protection for the chest, back plate and the two side plates. It has been ornamented with floral patterns of varying shapes starting from the center of the bottom and expanding as they go up. These floral patterns have been inlaid with gold (fig.7).



Fig. 5. Painted Leather Shield depicting the ten Gurus, 19th century, Punjab, Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala.



Fig. 6. Leather Shield depicting the fight between Rama and Ravana, 19th century, Punjab, Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala.



Fig. 7. The steel chained upper garment and the *char-aina*, 19th century, Punjab, Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala.

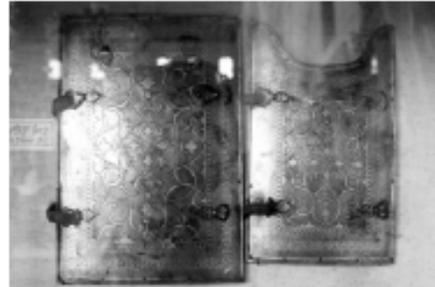


Fig. 8. Detail of the *char-aina*, 19th century, Punjab, Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala.

The fourth example is the detail of the *char-aina* on display in the Qila Mubarak Museum, Patiala (fig.8). Set amidst multiple borders of scroll designs, floral and geometric patterns, in the centre is a symmetrical arabesque pattern inlaid with gold. To sum up, I can say that although the Sikhs have been known as a warrior race and have spent major part of their life on the battlefield, yet the quest to beautify the things around them never quenched, which can be seen in the variety of life that were depicted on their most revered weapons. The arms and armors we see today in the sci-fi movies which display the laser weapons, ray-guns and light sabers are a result of the evolution in the field of arms and armour that history has handed down to us.

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1. It is a term used specifically to refer to the art of archery and more generally to the art of warfare. See, Cush, Denise, Robinson, Catherine and York Michael, *Encyclopedia of Hinduism*, Routledge, UK, 2008, p. 182.
2. Debroy, Bibek and Debroy Dipavali, *Some aspects of Ramayana and Mahabharata*, Commonwealth Publishers, 1989, p. 76.
3. The bow and arrow were considered the first composite weapon devised by man which were made basically of wood, cane and bamboo. Legends state how grooms in ancient times won the hands of their brides by showing their skills in archery. One such famous instance is that from the Ramayana where Lord Rama wins the hand of Sita by displaying his skills in archery. Second such instance is from the Mahabharata which illustrates the power of focus of Arjuna where his teacher Dronacharya asks him that what could he see in the wooden bird which he had hung to a tree and he replies, 'the eye'. See, Egerton, Lord, *Indian and Oriental Arms and Armour*, Dover Publications, New York, 2002, p. 7.
4. Hanuman from the legend of Ramayana and Bhima from Mahabharata are popularly associated with this weapon.
5. These were made of tortoise shells, rhinoceros hide, leather or steel.
6. The most popular breastplates were called *char-aina* which protected the upper body and consisted of a chest plate, back plate and two narrow side plates.
7. Swords can be broadly classified into two broad categories- straight and curved. The *khand*, *firangi* and *pattisa* come under the straight type whereas *shamshir*, *aradam*, *takiya*, *yataghan* and *kilij* come under the curved type.
8. This technique was used to make the sword strong and flexible for which the blade of the sword was treated alternatively with acid and water which left watermarkson the blade indicating its high quality.
9. He practices with his sword everyday and personally supervised the production of his arms and armoury.
10. *Miri* symbolizes the temporal power and *piri* symbolizes the spiritual power. That is why Guru Hargobind is known as ' *miri piri de maalak*'.
11. The benevolence which the Sikhs have towards their gurus can be seen in the fact that unlike other rulers they obviated from mentioning their names on their weapons. If in any case they mention their names, it would only be after the name of their gurus.
12. The elephant and the chauri-bearer are the symbol of royalty.



30

Raj Naun - Water Architecture of Chamba Town

Dr. Disha Pathania

Abstract

The Naun in Chamba (Himachal) add a unique chapter in the history of Indian Art, for they are found set up in the memory of dead in such a large number near springs as nowhere else. Naun are decorated with such motifs as are found in both early and medieval art of India. Let into the slope of the mountain at the mouth-end of the spring, they are provided with a square opening through which a spout is passed to channelize and regulate the flow of water. These water complexes served as an open-air club (ambu-vihar) for the village people, and were a hub of social activities. Worship of the watering places has been in vogue since time immemorial, as water was considered a tangible manifestation of the cosmos. Raising some kind of emblem to commemorate a departed soul was a common practice among the people of Chamba. It was also believed that these memorials or naun brought tranquillity and fertility to the householder and the village apart from securing future bliss. Naun of Chamba were dedicated either to the Pitrs (departed souls) or Varuna-devata (the water god), or to some or the other individuals.

Key words: Naun, Ambu-vihar, Pitrs, Varuna-devata

The shape of Chamba is roughly oblong. On the front Chamba is restricted in its expansion by the river Ravi which marks its boundary to the east and acts its natural moat, though its territories seem to descent down to Nurpur to include the vast and fertile tracts of Chuari and Sihunta and at one time also the *ilaquas* of Chari Garoh, Kanihara and Pathiyar of Kangra as well. But all its important monuments are located in the inner Ravi Valley. Blocked by the near perpendicular mountain of Shah-Madar acting as bulwark on the west Chamba then seems to stretch its arms sideways pointing to the north towards the ancient *wizarts* of Churah, Tissa and

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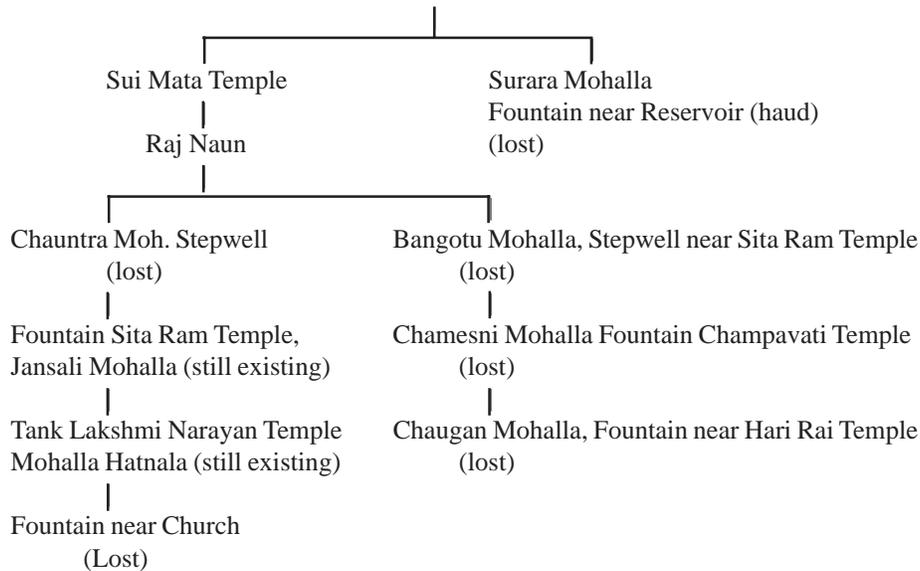
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Pangi bordering on the territories of Jammu and Kashmir and towards the south where lies its ancient capital of Bharmour and the adjoining areas of Tagi, Basu, Gum, Chattrari, Holi and Kundi etc.

Obtaining adequate quantities of water has always been an important question in hill regions. For large number habitations this could become particularly a severe problem. In its early years the town of Chamba appears to have suffered from a water shortage. An interesting but pathetic legend has come down to us in this connection and with regard to the settlement of the newly founded state capital of Chamba. In this connection the legend holds that there was no good and convenient water supply for the town, and Raja (Sahil Verman, 920A.D.) was anxious to meet this need. He had a water course made from the Sarota stream round the shoulder of the Shah Madar Hill, behind the town (Gazetteer, 1904) that for some reason, however, the water failed to enter the channel prepared for it. There grew the superstition that the reason for this was the influence of some supernatural powers. It was then felt that the spirit of the stream has to be propitiated. The Brahmans on being consulted opined that the sacrificial victim must be either the Rani or her son. There is another tradition that has survived in Chamba. It is believed that Raja himself has a dream in which he was directed to offer his son for sacrifice, where upon the rani pleaded to be accepted as a substitute as the newly founded kingdom would have been left with no heir. The Raja wanted to offer someone else, but she insisted that if there must be sacrifice she should be the victim. Her wish prevailed and accompanied by her maidens she was led high up the mountain in a palanquin to the spot near the village of Barota (Vogel, 1985) where the water-course leaves the main stream. There a grave was dug and she was buried alive. The legend goes on to say that when the grave was filled in the water began to flow, and has ever since flowed abundantly. A few upright tridents and cluster of unhewn stones collected hurriedly mark the place of actual human sacrifice. The ancient text confirms that a burial site should not be visible from the habitation (Setter, 1982).

In fact such human sacrifices were not uncommon in high medieval period of India and were quite in keeping with the spirit of the time. A search in historical literature for similar instances leads one to a remote village in Kenneda where there was an obstacle in the water flow and human life was sacrificed, the events are narrated in the song of Keregehara or offering of the tank. (Memorial stone – keregara offering of the tank – A popular song) The hero in Medieval and Modern Kannada literature and folk songs – a glimpse – Prabhu Shankar). In another instance an extremely popular folk song centres around a young princely couple who willingly chose to die so that the village vav (stepwell) could have water (Settar, 1982). Another legend has come up from the Rukmani Kund of Bilaspur (H.P.) where a pious woman named Rukmani offered herself for sacrifice for the water to come up. A tradition exists in Chari similar to the sui tradition in Chamba – a former Rana is said to have offered his own daughter in law as a sacrifice at the opening of water course and she is still worshipped and commemorated (Vogel, 2000). The royal fountain house of Chamba is located at the foot of Shamadar hill near the eastern end of the town. Though the site is ancient, the present fountain house was commissioned by Rani Sharda, the pious Queen mother of Raja Charat Singh of Chamba (1808-1844 A.D.) in the year 1825 A.D.

Sarotha (SK. Satotra, Eng. Source)



In the gazetteer of Chamba the smaller fountain is called Panihar and the larger one Naun. The Naun are actually square or oblong in shape closed on at the side and back but open on front. The roof is formed of two massive stone beam reaching from side to side in front and behind and over these are laid flat slabs diagonally overlapping each other. The erection of panihar and naun was regarded as important and auspicious religious rite... all that assisted, being entertain at the expense of the builder. In most cases as appears from the inscriptions, they were the work of ranas or of wealthy Zamindar. Some of them are still in a fair state of preservation but most of them are ruined (Gazetteer, 1909). A long flight of 231 steps raised by Rani Sharda (1808-1844) and commencing from the fountain house leads you half way up the mountain where the Queen Naina Devi had alighted from the palanquin so that she could look at the valley for the last time before being led for the burial. A domed shaped Rajput Chattri resting on the four slim columns is pointed out as the final place of rest of the Queen. Underneath the pavilion is the silver mohra of the queen set against the earth tumulus. According to Stella Kramrisch who had extensively traveled in these part of Himalayas said she had seen torsos simply placed against a small earthen tumulus or earthen mound. This gives additional credit to the tradition that some Mohra and torsos had circumstantial funeral functions (Postel, 1911). Postel describes the mask as “a crudely cast brass but of three eye devis... About forty centimeter in height and consist of bell shaped chest that neatly caps a conical stone the bust of Sui Devi appears to be a late work of 16-17th Century or even late” (Postel, 1911). M. Postel is inclined to feel that the legendary mask of Sujuni Devi from the bhandar of Nirmand dated 1026 A.D. might be the portrait of Sui Devi or related to her. Adjacent to the pavilion is the free standing gate way marking the entry to the sacred place. A rest house with a pent roof and a Veranda, running all around exist near by and it is here that the ladies sing a sad song in praise of the Queen every year in the Suhi festival. The rest house was commissioned by the

later rulers of Chamba for gathering of the woman folk as often the month of March is accompanied by rain and hail storm when the fair is held. Here we may take note of the flight of 231 steps, which are in tradition similar to the long ascent of steps noted at other shrines of North West Himalayas like Vaishno Devi, Baba Balak Nath and Chintpurni etc. Possibly these steps indicate the spiritual heights which the devotee must overcome to attain salvation. From the lower most basins the water through clay pipes or by means of simple drains was taken to other parts to town.

The fountain house is an open hall with a series of Makara Parnalas applied to the back wall, the intermediary space between them was once filled up with various gods and goddesses to enable the devotee to pay homage and sprinkle water over them while taking bath. The European traveler Vigne who visited Chamba in the year 1839 had seen its walls covered with Kangra Murals of Rana, Sita and Lakshman and fragments of Shiva group etc. As noticed in other parts of India, the receptacles of water here are too ordinary to take note of Dr. Herman Goetz has exactly described the system of channelization of water in Naun 'Makra Spout' (with fish shaped eyes) lead the water into two small basins from which small channels and other spout conduct it into a basin (5.5m x 2.5m) on a terrace outside and finally to the lowest terrace (9.25m x 6.5m) and the lowest basin (Goetz, 1969). The legend holds that the Raja himself on auspicious occasions used to take bath in the presence of Purohitis chanting mantras and pouring water over him from the pitchers from the water of Raj Naun as also noticed in the wall painting of Ajanta where the king is likewise taking bath. This also finds confirmation from the fact that in the ancient palaces, there was no provision of bathrooms. However, Royal Hamams have been noticed in Mughal period forts. Like the Raj-Naun the water enclosures of Chamba are invariably provided with makara heads with drain channels (Vari-marg) hidden in the wall. Their number depended on the volume of water. The makara in Chamba comprise of the forehead of the fish curled up as a horn. The upturned nose formed by short and raised snout (sunda) of elephant (Matanga) combine with the jaw profile of the yawning mouth of Dolphin from where the fangs are seen jutting out (Sethi, 2006).

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31

Understanding Islam through the Concept of Orientalism in India: A Biased Picture

Parampreet Kaur

Abstract

Islam is one of the popular religions of the world. The Islamic world has become the focus of international attention, owing to a series of political developments like The Arab-Israel conflict, the U.S-Iraq War, terrorism and fundamentalism created a biased picture of Islam. Similar incidents were occurred which target the image Islam in India. It is not the recent phenomenon. The prejudice can traced to western scholars who were pioneers in reconstructing the history of Islam in different parts of the world. In the beginning, Christians depicted Muslims as idolaters, polytheists and the arch-villains of Christendom. C.H. Becker, Edward G. Brown and Reyold A. Nicholson are some of the interpreters of eastern civilizations to the west. From here, we trace the birth of Orientalism. Islamic studies became a major branch of Orientalism. It studied Islam and other civilizations with European ideas of god, man, nature, society, science, history and consistently found non-western cultures and civilization to be inferior and backward. They believed that the west progressed and changed while the orient remained unchanging and backward. They developed a vision of the Orient as unfathomable, exotic and erotic where mysteries dwell, and cruel and barbaric scenes are staged. Muslims were presented as evil and depraved, licentious and barbaric, ignorant and stupid, unclean and inferior, monstrous and ugly, fanatical and violent.

Islam is one of the popular religions of the world. The Islamic world, extending from Algeria to Afghanistan, has become the focus of international attention, owing to a series of political developments. Like The Arab-Israel conflict which has been

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going on for several decades, created conditions for the use of terrorism as a political weapon by the Palestinians. The western countries have acquired a huge interest in the oil-exporting countries of the Islamic world. The USA and its allies have fought a major war in Iraq and also increased their presence in Afghanistan. Terrorists swearing by Islam whether led by Osama bin Laden or by Pakistan-based Taliban have carried out dreadful acts of violence in all parts of the world. Fundamentalist elements have issued legal decrees (*fatwas*) calling for the death of writers like Salman Rushdie and Taslima Nasreen. These developments have generated an enormous amount of hatred and suspicion against both Islam and Muslims on a world-wide scale.

In India, the above result has been produced by a different set of factors. Since the 1980's Hindu right wing organizations started a movement for Ram temple at Ayodhya, which led to the demolition of the Babri Masjid on 6 December 1992 and anti-Muslim riots in different parts of the country and a series of bomb blasts in Mumbai.¹ The Godhra train in Gujarat incident became the cause of a long bout of riots in which hundreds of Muslims were massacred. The public debate developing around these events, as seen in print and electronic media, often targets Islam and Muslim. The infamous hate speech of Varun Gandhi, which was made in the run-up to the coming parliamentary elections, should be seen in this context.

The attempt to distort the image of Islam is not a recent phenomenon. The prejudice can traced to western scholars who were pioneers in reconstructing the history of Islam in different parts of the world. In the beginning, Christians depicted Muslims in India as idolaters, polytheists and the arch-villains of Christendom. Later, they started learning Arabic and translating original texts.²

They tried to understand the rise and expansion of the Islamic civilization. In 1834, there appeared *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. It was followed in 1839 by *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, which took the place of the *Asiatic Researches* of William Jones's group. In 1841, the Bombay branch began to publish its own journal. The year 1842 saw the founding of the American Oriental Society which also had its own periodical.³ C.H. Becker, Edward G. Brown and Reynold A. Nicholson are some of the interpreters of eastern civilizations to the west. From here, we trace the birth of Orientalism.⁴

Orientalism was concerned with the study of Asian civilizations, identifying, editing and interpreting the fundamental texts of these civilizations. Islamic studies became a major branch of Orientalism.⁵ It studied Islam and other civilizations with European ideas of god, man, nature, society, science, history and consistently found non-western cultures and civilization to be inferior and backward. They believed that the west progressed and changed while the orient remained unchanging and backward. They developed a vision of the Orient as unfathomable, exotic and erotic where mysteries dwell, and cruel and barbaric scenes are staged. Muslims were presented as evil and depraved, licentious and barbaric, ignorant and stupid, unclean and inferior, monstrous and ugly, fanatical and violent.⁶

Orientalism discovered the past of the Orient, a past over which it had more authority and control than the indigenous people. Islamic law, which has a long history and tradition, for example, was not merely studied by Orientalists, they actually constructed it. In India, the Orientalists did not only discover the past, but also constructed it in a specifically dualistic form: thus Muslims became foreigners who represented the inauthentic India, while the authentic Hindus and their indigenous civilization had to suffer the oppression of the intruders. A new history was fabricated with a Hindu golden age, which fell to the age of tyranny of Muslim invasions.⁷ Orientalism is not a construction from experience of the Orient. It is the fabrication of pre-existing western ideas overwritten and imposed upon the Orient. Orientalism justified both the exploitation of Asian people and their political subjugation.⁸ In the words of a modern writer, “Orientalism is the great lie at the center of the western civilization: a lie about the nature of the west and about the nature of the great cultures and civilizations to the east of the west, a lie about us and them.”⁹ Orientalism is composed of what the west wishes to know, not of what can be known. Once created, the Orientalist image more and more entrenched as Islam continued to expand.¹⁰ All the ideas of fanaticism, barbarism, cruelty, despotism, servility, violence, and unbelief came together in Muslim nations which ‘belong essentially to the sword’, and have a history that negates civilization itself.¹¹

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1. On 6 December 1992, the Babri Masjid, a mosque in the city of Ayodhya in the Gangetic plains, was brought down by a large crowd numbering in thousands. While a police force of nearly 20,000 looked on, the crowd set to work on demolishing this (in the words of the Indian state), ‘disputed structure’ with axes, shovels, picks and their bare hands. In the immediate aftermath of the destruction of the mosque, violence broke out across the length and breadth of India, in which the casualties were overwhelmingly of the Muslim faith. Vinay Lal, *The History of History: Politics and Scholarship in Modern India*, pp.141-145.
2. Collections of manuscripts in the libraries provided scholars with the materials necessary for serious study. Printing, particularly printing in Arabic characters, whose beginnings we have noted – began to make each scholar’s work available to all others. One specialist after another made it business to supply such indispensable tools as grammar, dictionaries, and editions of texts. Joseph Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, *The Legacy of Islam*, pp.13-36.
3. *Ibid.*, p.46.
4. Orientalism refers to two intellectual trends in the west: the appearance or deliberate cultivation in literature and art of stylistic and aesthetic traits reminiscent of Asian cultures, which began in eighteenth century Europe and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the scholarly study of pre-modern Asia, especially philology (the study of language and linguistics) and other text-based pursuits, by European and Americans. The fields of anthropology, sociology and cultural, political, and economic history, insofar as they address Asia, have since been called Orientalist as well. David Levinson and Karen Chistensen, *Encyclopaedia of Modern Asia*, Vol.IV, p.393.
5. The term ‘Orientalist’ occurred in England towards 1779 and ‘Orientaliste’ in France in 1799. ‘Orientalisme’ finds a place in the Dictionnaire de l’Academie Française of 1838. The

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idea of a special discipline devoted to the study of the East was gathering support. Joseph Schacht and C.E Bosworth, (Ed.), *The Legacy of Islam*, p.47.

6. Peter Heylyn, considered the Quran a thing so full of tautologies, incoherencies, and such gross absurdities of so impure and carnal mixture, that he must lay aside the use of his natural reason who is taken in by it. Zia uddin Sardar, *Orientalism* , p.30.
7. Legal Orientalism presented Islamic law in an essentialist manner and used this strategy to argue that Muslims are basically conservative tied to backward tradition and customs. Ibid., p.7.
8. Ibid., p.10.
9. The foundation of Orientalism was laid by John of Damascus, a Christian scholar, who was a great friend of the Ummayad Caliph Yazid. He declared Islam to be a pagan cult, the Kaaba in Makkah an idol, the Prophet Muhammad an irreligious and licentious man. He claimed Muhammad cobbled together his doctrine from the old and New Testaments through the instructions of an Arian monk. The writings and accusations of John of Damascus became the classical source of all Christian writings on Islam. Ibid., pp.11-17.
10. Ibid., p.19.
11. Tibawi concludes that modern Orientalism, despite its academic advances, continues to rely substantially on the medieval images of Islam. It has only discarded old fashioned clothes in favour of a more modern attire. Illustrations of the persistence of the old ideas abound, not only concerning the Quran and Muhammad but also quite logically concerning Islamic theology, law and history. Orientalist scholarship lacks clear thinking, objective standards, basic courtesy, tolerance and moderation towards the Muslim points of view. In most cases, the religious and political affiliation of the Orientalists gets the better of their scholarly judgments. There is no concrete or conclusive proof in the voluminous output of Orientalist scholars on the origins of Islam that Islam borrowed from Bible or the Jewish scriptures. In this regard, Orientalist assertions are unproved vague generalizations, and Orientalist scholarship is little more than a learned process of producing 'speculative discourses on the obvious' Ibid., p.58.



32

The Jarawas of South and Middle Andaman Islands

Dr. A. Meera

Abstract

The aborigines of Andaman and Nicobar Islands belong to the stock of Negritos and Mongoloids. They are-

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>The Great Andamanese</i> | 2. <i>The Jarawas</i> |
| 3. <i>The Onge</i> | 4. <i>The Sentinels</i> |
| 5. <i>The Shompens and</i> | 6. <i>The Nicobaris</i> |

The Jarawa today inhabits the West portion of the South and Middle Andaman Islands. It has three social discernible territorial divisions viz, North, Central and South Groups. The Northern Group inhabits the Kadamtala and adjacent areas called Tanmad: the Southern Group inhabits Tirur called Boiab: the Central Group inhabits the R. K. Nallah and the adjacent areas along with the ATR area called Thidong.

I was really surprised when I came to know the song of the tribal Andaman Islands: it goes as follows- the man of the Simple Society while constructing the 'korale' (temporary huts) sings, "I am doing the work all alone. My father-in law or brother-in-law does not help me in my work."

*Aane bang eota aki nning –e totaa kuii kwa,
Noa taan-e- nayo taro-a o-taye daa lay kwene."*

It remained me of the importance given to the father and brothers of our girls even many years of their marriage. The aborigines of Andaman and Nicobar Islands belong to the stock of Negritos and Mongoloids.¹ They are-

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1. The Great Andamanese | 2. The Jarawas |
| 3. The Onge | 4. The Sentinels |
| 5. The Shompens and | 6. The Nicobaris |

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The Jarawa today inhabits the West portion of the South and Middle Andaman Islands. It has three social discernible territorial divisions viz, North, Central and South Groups. The Northern Group inhabits the Kadamtala and adjacent areas called *Tanmad*: the Southern Group inhabits Tirur called *Boiab*: the Central Group inhabits the R. K. Nallah and the adjacent areas along with the ATR area called *Thidong*.²

The Jarawas- The word 'Jarawa' means 'the other people' or the strangers and it is believed that perhaps the Great Andamanese might have termed the people like this.³ In the latest Census of 2011, their population is 420.⁴ They are the darkest people of the world. These people remain almost nude. Women wear leaf waist griddle.⁵ Regarding the food quest of these people, they make use of,

1. Hunting of games
2. Collection of forest products
3. Fishing etc.

The Community- Being the autochthones of the area, they live in groups of about 10 to 12 families and approximately with 50 persons in each group on an average. They live in camps of three types –

1. Permanent Camp
2. Temporary Camp
3. Hunting Camp⁶

The village is generally consists of separate huts for married couples, bachelors, spinsters, widows and widowers.

Society And Culture- It is generally admitted that one of the surest tests of a man's character may be found in the treatment women met at his hands. Judged by these standards, these Simple People are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to the Civilized Society. The Jarawa divided their space into five categories-

1. Pilleh (Sea shore Area)
2. Tagidh (Marshy Area)
3. Chanhannap (Plain Forest Land)
4. Tinon (Hilly Dense Forest)
5. Wa (Streams and Inlets)⁷

The marriage ceremony is celebrated with grand gala of feast and dance. The bride and the bride groom are blessed to be faithful to each other. After one year of the death of the husband, the widow may marry a person of her choice.⁸ During the child birth, the knowledgeable senior lady of the settlement attends the delivery. The system of adoption prevails among them. A good deal of flirtation is carried by the young people; but it ends in marriage. Parents while addressing or referring their children, employ terms, "he that has been begotten by me" or "he whom I have born." In addressing a senior member, terms equivalent to 'Sir', 'Madam', 'Mr' or 'Mrs' are used. Children use respective terms while addressing each other.⁹ The nearest of kin to a widow or widower are the grown up children or the parents, brothers and sisters. Communal marriage is prevalent. Bigamy, Polygamy, Polyandry and Divorce are not generally accepted. Conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception. The girls are strikingly modest and child-like in their demeanor and when married are good wives, while their husbands do not fall short of them in this respect.¹⁰ It often happens that the young couples will pass several days after their nuptials without exchanging a single word and to such an extent do they care their bashfulness. Greater respect is entertained for those who show their love and esteem for the deceased by remaining single and leading a chaste life. A young widow who is childless returns to her childhood house, but if elderly, she continues to stay in her in-laws house. If her husband happened to be the head man, she enjoys the same respect of her rest of

the time. With regards to the deceased husband's property, she disposed off to the male relatives. The system of sati is not prevalent among them.¹¹

Conclusion- The Scholar happened to see a photo of a ten year old Jarawa boy. When she visited the Anthropological Survey of India Office, showing the photo to a girl in the front office, the Scholar tried to verify the identity of the boy. On seeing that, the girl's face brightened, telling his name, she wondered, how the boy looks charming in the dress. She is the native of Kadamtala, a neighboring Jarawa area. They are friends. The long associations with the neighbors, their love and friendship and closely affinity have brought about the changes in the Jarawas.

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33

Identities of Bhuyan Tribe: A Special Reflection

Dr. Jagnyaseni Chhatria

Abstract

The name of the Bhuyan tribe is derived from the Sanskrit word “Bhumi” meaning land or earth and therefore the Bhuyan hold the view that they were born out of the mother earth and became “Bhumiputra” (sons of the soil). The tribe is pronounced differently as Bhuiya, Bhuiyan and Bhuyan. They are regarded as non-Aryan and performed all their family rites among their own clan. At the time of festive occasion they required Brahman to perform the funeral rites. The Bhuyan have no original tribal language of their own like other tribes in Odisha. The plain Bhuyan are able to speak Odia fluently and correctly with their long association with the Odias. They have adopted Odia as their mother-tongue, and speak Odia with local accent. In this research paper I have used both primary and secondary sources. The above research paper highlighted the special identities of the Bhuyan tribe such as its origin, region, division etc. They are the most cultured and civilized and nature loving tribal community.

Key Words: Ganjuen, nayaka, evolution, legend

The term ‘Tribe’ represents a social group of people living in a common territory, having a common name, common dialect, common culture, and common taboos, behaving as an endogamous group, having a distinctive social and political system and running a self-sufficient economy based on mutual co-operation and interdependence.¹ Each tribe has typical problems of its own, due to its socio-economic situation, environment, historical experiences and extent of political articulation. On account of these factors, ethnically as well as culturally the tribal remain at different stages of socio-psychological orientation and politico-

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economic development. India has one of the largest concentrations of tribal population in the world. Prior to the constitution, the tribes were variously termed, as *aboriginals*, *adivasis*, forest tribes, hill tribes, primitive tribes etc. Up to 1919, the tribes were included under the head of 'Depressed Classes'. The Indian Franchise Committee in 1919 accorded a separate nomenclature for the census reports: 1931- Primitive Tribes, 1941 – Tribes; and 1951 – Scheduled Tribes.² The term 'Scheduled Tribe' was inserted in the Indian Constitution vide Article 342 (1), which empowered the President of India to specify the tribes or tribal communities by public notification. According to Census of 2001, demographically the Schedule Tribe population of the Odisha was 22.21% out of 3, 16, 60070 total population of the State.³

Odisha occupies a special position in the tribal map of India. There are as many as sixty-two varieties of tribes in the state, out of which 25 tribes speak their own language. Out of 62 tribes the Bhuyan tribe is one among them. The name of the Bhuyan tribe is derived from the Sanskrit word "Bhumi" meaning land or earth and therefore the Bhuyan hold the view that they were born out of the mother earth and became "Bhumiputra" (sons of the soil).⁴ The tribe is pronounced differently as Bhuiya, Bhuiyan and Bhuyan. The Bhuyan tribe is one of the most widespread tribes found mostly in Bihar, Odisha, Bengal and Assam. Demographically, the Bhuyan are the eighth largest group of Odisha. S.C. Roy has classified the tribe into two broad sections, i.e. the southern section having Odisha as its Centre and the northern section with Chhotanagpur as its Centre. The southern section of the tribe is relatively more backward than the northern section, but of all, the Paudi Bhuyan or the Hill Bhuyan of Odisha is the most primitive and backward or P.T.G. ⁵ The Bhuyan tribes is spread over twelve districts in Odisha.

The twelve districts are Keonjhar, Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur, Dhenkanal, Kalahandi, Balasore, Cuttack, Koraput, Puri, Bolangir and Phulbani. The total population of Bhuyan tribe in Odisha according to Census 2001 was 2, 77,420 (1, 38,882 Males and 1, 38,538 females) and literacy percentage was 50.88(66.18 Males and 35.68 Females).⁶ As a social scientist S.C. Roy in his work classified the tribes like the Bhuyan in many categories such as:(1)Des Bhuyan or Mal Bhuyan (Paudi Bhuyan), (2)Praja Bhuyan or Rautali Bhuyan,(3) Bathudi Bhuyan,(4)Santali Bhuyan, (5)Dandsena Bhuyan, (6)Rajkuli or Bar Bhuyan, (7)Saountia Bhuyan,(8) Khandait or Pawanbans Bhuyan, (9)Kati Bhuyan,⁷ (10)Naksiya Bhuyan,(11)Hake Bhuyan,(12) Dake Bhuyan, (13) Rikhiasan Bhuyan,(14) Musahar Bhuyan,(15) Ghatwar Bhuyan.⁸ The origin and evolution of the tribes like the Bhuyan is based on some legends. In this connection, though the legends are not considered as the first hand source materials, still it plays an important role at the time of the absence of the primary sources.⁹ Therefore a researcher has supported to the legends, folk lore, etc.

According to the first legend the earth was created with three sections of people. In order to decide their socio-economic status God brought three jars duly

sealed at the mouth and placed them before the people. Each section took one jar in a respective manner. When the first category of people opened the jar they found that, their jar was full of earth, and the jars containing gold and money were taken by the other two sections. As the earth fell to their side, the first category became the owner of land and cultivated it for their livelihood. From that day they were called 'Bhuyan' (owner of land).

The relationship of the Bhuyan to the land goes beyond its economic value. At the time of the oath taking ceremony, a Bhuyan tribe generally holds a handful of earth. It is believed that if anybody tells a lie by touching earth, he is likely to die soon and become a part and parcel of the earth. A similar legend showing the royal affinity of Paudi Bhuyan is given below: In the long past, there were seven Bhuyan brothers, arose a quarrel among themselves regarding the possession of the throne, and by mutual agreement it was decided that the throne would go to him who would be able to kill an owl sitting on a Kadam tree in one shot. The first six brothers tried one by one to shoot at the owl, but missed the game.

The youngest brother, however, succeeded in killing the owl in one shot and was thus made the king. He called himself "Kadam Kesari" after the name of the tree on which the owl was sitting, and the other six brothers continued to be called as Bhuyan.¹⁰ The plain Bhuyan are two types, Khandait and Praja Bhuyan or Routali Bhuyan. Rajkuli Bhuyan are also called Plain Bhuyan.¹¹ Khandait Bhuyan belonged to Zamindars, tenure holders, besides all Bhuyan who are the Gaontia of villages. They observe the Hindu rituals. The Praja Bhuyan are definitely cultivators by nature. The Hinduized Khandait Bhuyan and Praja Bhuyan are found in Bamra and Gangpur regions. The Bhuyan tribe in Odisha is categorized under the banner of four houses, six houses, ten houses, fifty houses, five hundred houses, eight hundred houses, six nayaka, ten ganjuen and fifteen hundred banners.¹² That is why the oldest generation has developed a local proverb as:

Bara bhai tera Chula,¹³
Je kahiba Bhuyan pila.

They are regarded as non-Aryan and performed all their family rites among their own clan. At the time of festive occasion they required Brahman to perform the funeral rites. The Praja Bhuyan has *Nagashya* Gotra, *Matshya* Gotra, etc.¹⁴ The Praja Bhuyan represented themselves in many titles in the society such as *Chhatra*, *Pradhan*, *Singh*, *Kalo*, *Sa*, *Bhoi*, *Adha*, *Buda*, *Gauntia*, *Biswal*, *Bariha*, *Themria*, *Choudhury*, *Thakur*, *Patel*, *Taudia*, *Dhamel*, *Raudia*, *Dehuri*, *Behera*, *Salagi*, *Katei*, *Patra*, *Jena*, *Puria*, *Senapati*, *Mahata*, *Mandal*, *Dandsena*, etc. The Paik Bhuyian represented themselves in many titles such as *Majhi*, *Dishri*, *Patra*, *Naik*, *Rout*, etc. The titles of the Bhuyan signify their profession hood. To support this R.C. Majumdar states in the Sambalpur region that all Bhuyan are divided into the following twelve septs i.e., *Chhatra*-one who carried the royal umbrella, *Thakur*-the clan of royal blood, *Samanta* -a viceroy, *Pradhan* – a village headman, *Naik* – a military leader, *Kalo* – a wizard or priest, *Dehuri* – also a

priest, *Sahu* – a money lender, *Majhi* – a headman, *Behera* – manager of the household, *Amata* – counselor and *Dandasena* – a police official.¹⁵ At the representative of the tribe Deheri even today are continued the practice of worship to the Gods. To determine the race of the Bhuyan, Colonel Dalton describes that the Bhuyan are “A dark brown, well-proportioned race, with black, straight hair, plentiful on the head, but scant on the face, of middle height, figures well-knit and capable of enduring great fatigue, but light framed like the Hindu rather than presenting usual muscular development of the Hillman.¹⁶ The Bhuyan have no original tribal language of their own like other tribes in Odisha. The plain Bhuyan are able to speak Odia fluently and correctly with their long association with the Odias.¹⁷ They have adopted Odia as their mother-tongue, and speak Odia with local accent.¹⁸ The concept of beautification is traced back to the Indus Valley civilization in Indian context. With the continuation of such practice at present the Paudi women adorn themselves with a number of bangles, nose rings, ear rings, toe rings, anklets and armlets made of brass and alloy.

They cover their neck and chest with bunches of multi coloured bead necklaces made of beads and decorate their buns with wild flowers and hairpins with pendants.¹⁹ The men wear short Dhoti, but the children go naked or tie a small piece of rag around their waist.²⁰ The women wear Sari, but do not cover their heads. With the development of science and technology increasing contact with non-tribal made the Paudi Bhuyan more industrious, as a result of many changing circumstances such as opening up of mining and industrial complexes the traditional dress pattern is being slowly replaced by modern style.²¹ In Singhbhum the Bhuyan called themselves Pawanbans or “The children of the wind”, and in connection with Hanuman’s title of pawan-ka-put or ‘The Sun of the Wind’, is held to be the veritable apes of the Ramayana. The historical sources like the Ramayana discharge the multifarious activities of the Hanuman of Ramayana. Under the leadership of Hanuman; the monkey-god assisted the Aryan hero Rama on his expedition to Ceylon.²²

This may be compared with the name given to the Gonds of the central provinces of Ravanbansi, or descendants of Ravan, the idea being that their ancestors were the subjects of Ravan, the demon king of Ceylon, who was conquered by Rama with the support of the Bhuyan. H.H. Risley states that, “affect great reverence for the memory of Rikhmun or Rikhiasan, whom they regard, some as a patron deity, others as a mythical ancestor, whose name distinguishes one of the divisions of the Bhuyan tribe. It seems probable that in the earliest stage of belief Rikhmun was the bear-totem of a sept of the tribe, later on he was transformed into an ancestral hero, and finally promoted to the rank of a tribal God”. E.T. Dalton writes in his monumental volume of *Ethnology of Bengal* that “They are not force to fight for the Raja, though they occasionally take up arms against him.

Their duty is to attend on him and carry his loads when he travels about, and so long as they are satisfied with his person and his rule, no more willing or devoted subjects could be found.²³ The above research paper highlighted the special

identities of the Bhuyan tribe such as its origin, region, division etc. They are the most cultured and civilized and nature loving tribal community.

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Indigenous Health Care Practices in Rural Sikkim:

A Case study of Phalidara Village in Namchi District

Dr. John Breakmas Tirkey

Abstract

Indigenous health care practices are integral part of their social structure, religion, culture, and social organization. The study of health care system gives a holistic view for understanding way of life. There are multi connections such as social, religious belief system, culture, ecological, geographical and economic conditions that have a strong influence in the health care practices. In rural areas the tribal people and even non-tribal use indigenous knowledge for treatment of ailments. Indigenous health care system is widely practised by rural people. There are local traditional medicine men, healers and herbalists who utilised their traditional knowledge who play a vital role in dealing with cases of ailment and diseases. The present paper attempts to explore the indigenous health care practices among the rural people of Sikkim. For the purpose a field work was undertaken in Phalidara village of Namchi district in Sikkim. The findings and observations on indigenous health care system is based on the empirical data collected through field work.

Key words: *Indigenous, traditional medicine, little tradition, great tradition, etnomedicine, diagnosis, treatment, supernatural.*

Historical Background of the Study: The History of suffering and illness is as old as the history of mankind. The different forms of healing and medicine too have existed, since history. The people have attributed the causes of illness to different things natural as well as supernatural and so they look upon the same for healing, treatment or relieving human suffering and illness. Though many of these

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healing practices and medicines must have disappeared through ages, but some of the ancient or primitive form of medicines is still wildly used among tribals and other rural communities. This aspect has been the central point of interest among anthropologists and Sociologists. The indigenous medicine among tribals and other people in villages in India today follow the same pattern as it did thousands of years ago. The history of ethno medicine goes back to Torres Strait Expedition of 1898 where W.H.R. Rivers and C.G. Seligman gave attention to ethno medical problems in their field studies. Segerist (1951) has reviewed the history of the study of what he called 'primitive medicine' and showed how a large number of information was already available to early anthropologists like Tylor, Frazer, their European and American contemporaries. The traditional system of medicine is found since antiquity in India, though the term traditional medicine is coined recently. Chaudhuri (1986) observes that traditional medicines in India centre on two traditional system of medicines e.g. little traditional medicins on folk system of medicines and the great traditional medicines such as Ayurveda, Unani, Siddha, nature cure, Yoga cure and Homeopathy but detail explanation is not possible here. Besides these, there were various forms of localized folk medicines and tribal beliefs and practices based on supernatural being magic and sorcery. Traditional medicine is not limited to area of mere treatment of illness and disease but embrace aspects of religion and socio-cultural domain.

Traditional medicine is defined as "the sum of all knowledge and practices whether explicable or not, used in diagnosis prevention and elimination of physical, mental or social imbalance and relying exclusively on practical experience and observation handed down from generation to generation whether verbally or in writing. This system of medicine varies from each other in terms of tools, techniques and beliefs. Anthropologists on the whole have emphasized the importance of understanding the community, its social and cultural pattern. They also have focused on the role of native or traditional; medical practitioners, the knowledge and beliefs associated with the aetiology of diseases and their treatment. Traditional societies consider the indigenous medical practitioners as an important and even spiritual leader who take care both the routine and extraordinary problem relating to diseases and illness of people. The studies of eminent sociologist and anthropologists such as Segerist(1951), Lieben (1973),Hughes(1968), Kurien and Bhanu (1980), Guha (1986) Morinis (1977), Srivastava (1974) Henry (1981), Karna (1976) Carstairs(1977), Bahura (1991), and Singh (1994) have shown that medical concerns are have deep association with social-cultural phenomena such as religion, philosophy, education social and economic condition that exert a great influence on individual's disposition to diseases. There is an intimate relationship between biological and sociological responses of illness and disease. Thus indigenous health care practices persist among rural and tribal folk. Fonning (1997) describes a wide prevalent of indigenous health care practices among the Lepcha tribe which is very much influenced by their culture, faith, beliefs in spirits and religion. Bhasin (1989) observes that the Lepchas of Dzongu in Sikkim have indigenous system of medicine

based on herbs and natural substances. At the same times the Lamas, the religious monks and the local quacks like *Mung Bongthings* or *Jhankris* play an important role in dealing with various diseases.

The social character of the phenomena connected with health and sickness, illness and disease occupies a very prominent role among the tribes and the rural folk. Sociologists see the world of medicine from two angles: first as a cultural complex, that is a complex of material objects, tools, techniques, ideas, values and secondly, as a part of social structure and organisation that is the network of relations between groups. Sociologists, Social Anthropologists and Anthropologists working on this direction emphasise that such studies helps to gain insights of the worlds view of the people – the disease concept, causation and treatment. The present study attempts to discover indigenous health care practices / system, concept of illness and disease and the methods of treatment. As the very term implies indigenous health care system has a long history. The primitive people had their own methods of dealing with health problems. The works of scholars on this field in India and across the world have observed that tribal communities and the rural folk have their own concept of illness, disease and treatment. .

Socio-Economic Profile: The total population of the sample households was 357. There were three categories of ethnic composition of households, namely Bhutia and Sherpa (24.07 percent) and the Nepalese (75.93 Percent). At the time of survey illiteracy was very high (Bhutia, Sherpa 53.85percent) and among Nepalese 58.54 Percent). Agriculture was the principle occupation where 88.89 Percent were dependent on cultivation for their livelihood. The households under study belonged to two religious group Hinduism (63.89 Percent and) and Buddhism (36.11Percent).

The present paper primarily focuses two aspects of indigenous health care system. First, it deals with the health, aetiology of illnesses or disease diagnosis and treatment and secondly to discover common beliefs, ideas, perception of the people of Phalidara village in rural Sikkim.

1. **Natural Causes:** The people of Phalidara village primarily attach some illness to natural causes which include dysentery, diarrhoea, scabies, skin disease, fever and headache. The people in the village take both modern and herbal medicine. However, they try first locally prepared medicine from the village medicine man.
2. **Supernatural Perception:** The people of Phalidara village have a very strong faith in supernatural causes of diseases and illness which has been in practice since generations. The people are tradition bound in term of health problems. The village community believes that lack of proper recognition and reverence and breach of religious rituals brings the wrath of gods and deities resulting in illness not only to human beings but also to crops and domestic animals. For example *dadura* (Measals) is believed to be caused due failure of proper worship. In such cases only supernatural healing and herbal treatment is given by the village medicine man called *Jhankri Dhami/ Bijwa*. Paksha ghat(Paralysis) is attributed to curse of god for wrong doing or sin committed by

the forefathers. Charerog (Epilepsy) is also attributing to curse or wrath of God or deities. The treatment in both cases involves worships, incantation of mantras and herbal medicine by *Jhankri*

Evil Spirit: A very common and dominant belief and perception of evil spirit was found to prevail among the rural people in Sikkim Hills. People dying of unnatural death are believed to become evil spirits which are believed to cause different types of illness such as pain in any part of body, fever, severe headache, suddenly becoming fit, uttering meaningless words, and feeling of feeling frightened. The perception disease causation by evil spirit was very common in Nepalese community of rural Sikkim irrespective of ethnic group.

Witchcraft: A perception of witchcraft is very common in Nepalese society across the Sikkim hills. In the context of the study it was found that people of Phalidara Busti (village) have strong faith in the existence of a witch. A witch is a person believed to possess a mysterious supernatural power of casting evil with disastrous results. In Nepali language a witch is known as *Boksi* who is always a female. No male *Boksi* was reported by the villagers. A witch is always an elderly lady who may be wife, widow or a barren lady but never a young girl. The villagers expressed that the *Boksis* are deadly and are greatly feared by them. The perception prevails that a *Boksi* can cause a great physical harm or illness, bring great suffering and even to fatal death. A *Boksi* is believed to possess a supernatural evil power or spell which she can cast on a person intended.

Evil Eye: The perception of evil eye is also very strong among rural people in Sikkim Hills. It is generally believed that a *Boksi* possesses an evil eye which is believed to cause the illness. The existence of a *Boksi* in the village is taken with a feeling of discomfort and people try to avoid social relations and interactions believed to be a *Boksi*. A *Boksi* possesses such a powerful evil eye that making certain remarks to a child could cause ailments. Evil eye normally is inflicted upon children. The treatment of disease on such cases requires the local *Jhakri* who exorcises the evil spirit.

Diagnosis and treatment: The kind of treatment sought depends upon the diagnosis or identification of the causes of illness. The people of Phalidara Village believe that most of the illness is associated with supernatural beings or agents. The diagnosis is always made by the local *Jhakri* following different methods of diagnosis such as interrogation, feeling of pulse accompanied by recitation of some mantra i.e. chants and rice divination being very popular among such practices. The *Jhakris* also take the help of *Jyotis Patra*, an astrological book for diagnosis.

Herbal medicine: The inhabitants of Phalidara village rely very much upon medicinal plants that are available in abundance in forests. The local medicine men collect medicinal items from plants, herbs, shrubs, grass, fruits etc. Most of these herbal plants are known to the medicine men only. The villagers, for ordinary illness identify some medicinal plants and make use of them without consulting the medicine men. But for serious illness, only the medicine men or *Jhakri* prepares the medicine.

Magico-religious treatment: Religious faith as well as superstitions permeates practically all aspects of their life. They believe in numerous gods, goddesses, deities and malevolent spirits which inflict them with various illness and disease. The Jhakri after identification of supernatural causative agents resort to magico-religious treatment which includes the method of worship, recitation of mantra offering sacrifices, and propitiation to appease these supernatural disease causing agents. For example, *dadura* (measles) and *Mai ko rog* (small pox) are attributed to goddess Kali and hence she is worshipped for seven days).

Conclusion: Indigenous health care system is widely prevalent in the rural Sikkim. It is because the illness and disease is influenced by interplay of complex social, cultural and economic factors. To a great extent faith, religion, magic superstitions also influence their concept of illness and disease. Causes of illness and disease in Phalidara village can be classified into three categories (i) Natural (ii) Supernatural and (iii) Human Agency including witchcraft. In short most of the illness and diseases are attributed to supernatural forces. The phenomena of witchcraft are very common. The witches are known as *Boksis* in Nepali language. *Boksis* are believed to cause various illnesses which even may lead to death of a person. Hence they are greatly feared. The people of rural Sikkim believe that treatment of illness caused by a *Boksi* can be cured only by an experienced *Jhakris*. The institution of Jhakri continues to play a vital role in the indigenous health care system.

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संस्कृत वाङ्मय में राज्याङ्ग-दर्शन : एक अवलोकन

डॉ. घनश्याम महतो

सारांश

राजनीति ऐसा शब्द है, जिससे प्रायः सभी लोग परिचित हैं और सभी व्यक्ति इस के ही अधीन जीवन-निर्वहण करते हुए परिलक्षित होते हैं। जब हम राजनीति शब्द पर ध्यान देते हैं, तो अनायास ही इससे सम्बद्ध राजनेता, प्रशासकगण, राजकोष जनता जैसे राज्याङ्गों की ओर हमारा ध्यान आकृष्ट हो जाता है। अतः यहाँ संस्कृत वाङ्मय के कतिपय ग्रन्थों-पुराण, महाभारत, स्मृतिग्रन्थ, नीतिशास्त्रादि में निर्दिष्ट राज्य के महत्त्वपूर्ण अवयवों पर प्रकाश डाला जा रहा है।

राजनीति में 'राजनेता' शब्द सर्वप्रमुख होता है। इस बात की पुष्टि शास्त्रकारों¹ की इस उक्ति से हो जाती है "स्वाम्यमात्यौ पुरं राष्ट्रं कोषो दण्डं सुहृद् तथा"। सभी शास्त्रों में राज्याङ्ग-वर्णन से सम्बद्ध श्लोकों के प्रारम्भ में ही 'स्वामी' शब्द का उल्लेख किया गया है। शुक्राचार्य ने सप्ताङ्गों को मानव-शरीराङ्गों से तुलना करते हुए कहा है कि राज्यरूपी शरीर के लिए राजा 'सिर' होता है।² इसका प्रमाण मत्स्यपुराणकार एवं शुक्राचार्य के इस कथन से मिलता है 'राज्यरूपी वृक्ष का मूल राजा होता है।'³ अतः इस विशिष्ट पद पर आसीन होनेवाले व्यक्ति को सर्वगुणसम्पन्न होना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है, क्योंकि इनके अधीन सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र होता है। अथवा, ऐसा कहा जा सकता है कि देश की अधिकांश जनता मतैक्य होकर विलक्षण प्रतिभा से युक्त व्यक्ति के अधीन अपने राज्य को न्यास के रूप में सौंपती हैं। यह विदित है कि न्यास की रक्षा करना बहुत ही कठोर कार्य है। इस बात की सिद्धि महाकविभासविरचित 'स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्' नामक नाटक में वर्णित कंचुकी की इस उक्ति से हो जाती है धन, प्राण एवं तप का फल तथा अन्य कुछ देना सरल है, परन्तु न्यास की रक्षा करना बहुत ही कठिन है।⁴ इससे स्पष्ट होता है कि किसी भी नृप को अपने राज्यरूपी न्यास की रक्षा करने में सतत् संलग्न रहना चाहिए।

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जब हम किसी राजा के ऊपर दृष्टिपात करते हैं, तो पाते हैं कि इन्हें जितेन्द्रिय, उद्यमी, विनयी, विद्वान्, उत्साही, स्वच्छ छविवाला इत्यादि गुणों से युक्त होना चाहिए, क्योंकि मानव अपने गुणों से श्रद्धा, मान-सम्मान पाता है; विशालाकृति से नहीं।⁵ विशालाकृति भय उत्पन्न कर सकती है, सम्मान नहीं। मत्स्यपुराण में राजा के गुणों को विभिन्न पशु-पक्षियों के गुणों से तुलना करते हुए उल्लेख किया गया है कि राजा को बगुले की तरह अर्थ-चिन्तक, सिंह के समान पराक्रमी, भेड़ियासदृश लूट-पाट करनेवाला, शशकवत् छिपनेवाला, कुत्ते के समान अनन्य भक्त, कोकिलवत् मृदुभाषी और काककल्प सशंकित होना चाहिए।⁶ इसके अल्प-अल्प भागों को वर्णन महाभारत⁷, मनुस्मृति⁸, कामन्दकीय नीतिसार⁹ आदि ग्रन्थों में देखने को मिलता है। अतः राजा को सर्वगुणसम्पन्न तथा चरित्रवान् होना अनिवार्य होता है।

जब छोटे-से-छोटे कार्यों को सम्पादन करना किसी एक व्यक्ति के लिए दुरूह होता है, तो राजकीय कार्य-व्यवस्था जैसे कठिन एवं व्यापक कार्यों का एकाकी संचालन करना किसी भी नृप के लिए असम्भव-सा प्रतीत होता है।¹⁰ अतः राजकीय कार्य-व्यापार के सम्पादनार्थ उन्हें विभिन्न प्रकार के अध्यक्षों तथा कर्मचारियों की नियुक्ति करना परमावश्यक होता है।¹¹ किन्तु, मत्स्यपुराणकार¹² ने हमारा ध्यानाकृष्ट इस ओर अवश्य किया है कि जिसको जिस कार्य में विशेष कुशलता हो, उसे राज जाँचकर उसी कार्यविशेष में नियुक्त करें।

किसी भी उन्नतिशील देश के मुखिया का प्राथमिक एवं आवश्यक कार्य है 'देश की आन्तरिक और बाह्य सुरक्षा'। इसे हम इस रूप में कह सकते हैं कि प्रजा की रक्षा करना ही राष्ट्र-प्रधान का सर्वप्रमुख कार्य है। वैदिककाल से ही इस बात पर विशेष बल दिया जाता रहा है। इस सम्बन्ध में, धर्मसूत्र में स्पष्टतः उल्लिखित है कि प्रजा से छठा भाग राज्य-संचालनार्थ 'कर' के रूप में लेकर राजा सेवकसदृश होता है और प्रजा-रक्षण उनका पुनीत कर्तव्य है।¹³ करकल्प प्रजा से छठे भाग का अहरणसम्बन्धी चर्चा करते हुए स्मृतिकारों ने इसके फलाफल पर भी ध्यानाकृष्ट किया है। याजवल्क्य मुनि के शब्दों में न्यायपूर्वक प्रजा का पालन करने पर राजा प्रजाओं के पुण्य का छठा भाग प्राप्त करता है। अतएव सभी प्रकार के दानोत्पन्न फल से प्रजा-पालन का फल अधिक होता है।¹⁴ इसी बात को स्मृतिकार मनु ने इस प्रकार दर्शाया है 'राजा रक्षा करने पर ही छठे भाग का अधिकारी होता है, परन्तु जब वह रक्षा नहीं कर पाता है, तब अधर्म का भी छठा भाग प्राप्त करता है।'¹⁵ इस सम्बन्ध में आचार्य कौटिल्य ने और अधिक स्पष्ट करते हुए कहा है कि राजा को स्वर्ग प्राप्ति हेतु धर्मपूर्वक प्रजा पर शासन करना चाहिए। यह उनका निजी धर्म है। प्रजा की रक्षा न कर उसे गलत रूप से दण्ड देनेवाला नृप कभी भी सुखी नहीं रहता है।¹⁶ मत्स्यपुराण में भी प्रजा-पालन एवं राष्ट्र-रक्षण पर विशेष रूप से बल दिया गया है। उसमें वर्णित है कि अपने राष्ट्र की रक्षा में तत्पर होना राजा का कर्तव्य होता है। अन्यथा, वह राज्य को तो दुर्बल कर ही देता है, साथ ही अपने-आपको कुलसहित नष्ट करता है। जो राजा अपने राष्ट्र के ऊपर अनुग्रह की दृष्टि रखता है, वस्तुतः वह ही राज्य की रक्षा कर सकता है और वह महान् फल का भागी होता है। अतएव माता-पिता की तरह राज्य की रक्षा करना उसका परम धर्म है। अपने और पराये सभी दिशाओं से

आनेवाले बाधाओं से राज्य की रक्षा करना उसका सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य। एतदर्थ नृप को अपने उत्तम, मध्यम तथा अधम अनुचरों द्वारा प्रजा को बुलाकर उनका पालन करना चाहिए।¹⁷ शुक्राचार्य¹⁸ ने भी प्रजा का पालन करना और दुष्टों का दमन करना राजा के परम धर्म के रूप में दर्शाया है।

किसी भी राज्य की सबलता एवं दुर्बलता उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति पर निर्भर करती है। जिस राज्य का कोश जितना अधिक धन-धान्य, हीरा-जवाहरात इत्यादि से पूरित होता है, वह उतना ही अधिक शक्तिशाली माना जाता है। इस सम्बन्ध में, आचार्यों का कथन है कि कोश में पूवार्जित सम्पत्ति और स्वार्जित सम्पत्ति-धान्य, सुवर्ण, चाँदी, नाना प्रकार के बहुमूल्य रत्नादि-का संग्रह राजा को करना चाहिए, जिससे दुर्भिक्ष और आपत्तिकाल में प्रजा को सहायता प्रदान की जा सके।¹⁹ शुक्राचार्य के अनुसार राजा को निज कल्याणार्थ और राष्ट्र-रक्षणार्थ एक ही बार तीन वर्षों तक खाने के निमित्त खाद्य-सामग्रियों का संग्रह कर लेना चाहिए।²⁰ ऐसा करने से राजा किसी भी प्रकार की परिस्थितियों से निपटने में सक्षम होता है।

किसी भी राज्य के लिए 'जनपद' ही उसका आधार होता है। इसके अभाव में राज्य की कल्पना ही नहीं की जा सकती है। शब्दकोश में जनपद का अर्थ प्रजा एवं भूमि-दोनों दर्शाया गया है।²¹ जब हम जनपद को 'जन' एवं 'पद' दो अलग शब्दों में विभक्त कर अर्थ लगाते हैं, तो प्रजा तथा प्रदेश जैसे आवश्यक तत्त्व देखने को मिलते हैं। अतएव राजा के लिए एक सुदृढ़ जनपद विशिष्ट महत्त्व रखता है। इसके निमित्त राजा को खनिज का विक्रय-स्थल, हाथियों का जंगल, पशुओं का वृद्धि स्थान, आयात-निर्यात के साधन, जल-थल-मार्ग और बड़े-बड़े बाजार का निर्माण कराना चाहिए।²² अग्निपुराणकार ने जनपद की विशेषता पर अपना मत इस प्रकार प्रस्तुत किया है अच्छे आकारोंवाली, पवित्र खनिद्रव्यों एवं अतिशय जलाशयों से युक्त भूमि लाभप्रद होती है।²³ ऐसी भूमि बहुत उर्वर होती है, जिससे वहाँ की प्रजा खुशहाल रहती है।

राज्य-सीमा के चारों ओर शत्रुराजा के आक्रमण से राज्य की सुरक्षा के निमित्त दुर्गों की रचना की जानी चाहिए। दुर्ग का अभिप्राय वैसे स्थल से है, जहाँ शत्रुओं को पहुँचना कठिन हो- 'दुःखेन गम्यते इति दुर्गम्'। इस दुर्ग रचना के सम्बन्ध में याज्ञवल्क्यमुनि ने स्पष्टतः उल्लेख किया है कि जन, कोश तथा राज्य की रक्षा के लिए दुर्ग का निर्माण करना चाहिए।²⁴ दुर्गनिर्माण-स्थल के बारे में कौटिल्य की उक्ति है कि जनपद-सीमाओं की चारों दिशाओं में राजा को युद्धोचित प्राकृतिक दुर्ग का निर्माण करना चाहिए।²⁵ इस दुर्ग के अन्दर ही राजभवन का निर्माण किया गया होता है। साथ ही, शत्रुओं को ईंट का जबाब पत्थर से देने हेतु दुर्ग में विभिन्न प्रकार के अस्त्र-शस्त्र आदि का संग्रह भी अपेक्षित होता है।

राजनीति-क्षेत्र में साम, दाम, दण्ड और भेद-इन चारों का महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान है। ये नीतिचतुष्टय के नाम से अभिहित होते हैं। परन्तु, इन चारों में 'दण्ड' एक ऐसा उपाय है, जिसके आधार पर राजा अन्य जन से पृथक् दिखते हुए शोभायमान होते हैं और सभी जगत्-प्राणी स्वतः उनके अधीन हो जाते हैं। इसकी महत्ता का वर्णन महर्षि व्यास ने इस प्रकार किया है यह दण्डनीति

यथोचित रूप से चलायी जाये, तो वह माता-पिता के सदृश उत्तम व्यवस्थापिका तथा मर्यादा एवं जगत् की रक्षक होती है।¹⁶ यहाँ 'यथोचित' शब्द का अभिप्राय यह है कि किसी भी व्यक्ति को दण्डित करने से पूर्व उसकी सम्पूर्ण स्थितियों से अवगत हो जाना चाहिए। जैसाकि आचार्यों ने भी उल्लेख किया है कि राजा को दण्ड प्रयोग करते समय अपराधी के अपराध, देश, काल, शक्ति, आयु, कर्मादि का सम्यक् रूपेण जानकारी प्राप्त कर लेना आवश्यक है, क्योंकि ईर्ष्यावश अथवा अनुचित ढंग से दण्ड-प्रयोग करने पर साधारण जन भी कुपित हो जाया करते हैं।¹⁷ इससे राजा को ही क्षति होती है।

'मित्र' शब्द बहुत ही आत्मीय और आदरणीय है। किसी भी व्यक्ति के जीवन में मित्र की अहं भूमिका होती है। एक मित्र अपने मित्र के हित-चिन्तन में सदा संलग्न रहता है। वह कदापि अपने मित्र को गर्त में निमग्न नहीं होने देता है। इस सम्बन्ध में पुरुषोत्तम राम की उक्ति इस प्रकार है 'जो अकर्तव्य विषयों में डूबते हुए पुरुष को उबारता है, वही मित्र है, अन्यथा वह शत्रु है।'¹⁸ आवश्यकतानुसार एक मित्र अपने मित्र को दारुण स्थिति में पाकर अपने प्राण की भी बाजी लगाने में हिचकिचाहट नहीं महसूस करता है। इसका विश्वप्रसिद्ध प्रमाण महाभारत का पात्र कर्ण है, जो अपने मित्र दुर्योधन के लिए प्राणोत्सर्ग कर देता है। दूसरी ओर, राजा रामचन्द्र भी एक आदर्श मित्र के रूप में दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं। उन्होंने अपने मित्र सुग्रीव की रक्षा के लिए बाली का वध किया। पुनः स्वर्णमयी लंका को जीतकर अपने परम मित्र विभीषण को समर्पित कर मित्रता के आदर्श को उपस्थापित किया। इसके अतिरिक्त, महाभारत में वर्णित कृष्ण और सुदामा की मित्रता भी अनोखी है। इस मित्रता से सत्य, स्नेह एवं भक्तिभाव का परिचय मिलता है। यहाँ हम पाते हैं कि किसी भी व्यक्ति का सर्वाधिक अधिकार अपने मित्र पर होता है। उसके समक्ष भाई, बहन, पत्नी, आदि भी फीके पड़ जाते हैं। शुक्राचार्य ने ठीक ही कहा है कि जिस कार्य को भृत्य, भ्राता, पुत्र और पत्नी भी करने में असमर्थ होते हैं, उसे मित्रगण निःसंदेह सम्पादित करने में सक्षम होते हैं।¹⁹

इस प्रकार यहाँ राज्याङ्ग-वर्णन से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि एक शक्तिशाली राज्य की स्थापना के निमित्त उक्त अवयवों पर शासक को सम्यक् रूपेण ध्यान देना अपेक्षित होता है। इनमें से किसी एक को विकल होने पर राज्य कमजोर पड़ने लगता है। अन्ततोगत्वा उस राज्य का सर्वनाश ही सम्भव होता है।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ

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10. मत्स्यपुराण - 215/3, यदप्यल्पतरं कर्म तदप्येकेन दुष्करम् । पुरुषेणासहायेन किमु राज्यं महोदयम् ॥ पुनः, शुक्रनीति - 2/1.
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महर्षि वेदव्यास के सामवेदीय शाखा प्रवर्तक - शिष्य एवं ऋषि परम्परा

डॉ. प्रीति बागड़े

सारांश

पौराणिक शाखा प्रकरण में सुकर्मा के तीन शिष्य कहे गये हैं, यथा पौष्यिञ्जि, हिरण्यनाभ कौसल्य तथा आवन्त्य। पुराणों में पौष्यिञ्जि के लगभग 7 शिष्य ज्ञात होते हैं यथा लौगाक्षि कुथुमि लाङ्गलि कुक्षिकुल्य, नौधमि तथा कुक्षीवान्। वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में कुथुमि के तीन शिष्यों में एक पाराशर थे। पाराशर के तीन अन्य शिष्य हुए हैं, यथा आसुरायण प्राचीन योगपुत्र पतञ्जलि। इसी प्रकार लौगाक्षि के भी तीन शिष्य हुए ताण्डिपुत्र, सात्यपुत्र तथा राणायनीय। वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में लाङ्गलि के शिष्य भालुकि का नाम मिलता है, संभवतः यह भाल्लवि है। वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में भी हिरण्यनाभ के शिष्य कृत-नृप और उनके “24” शिष्य उल्लेखित हैं। विष्णुपुराण में भी हिरण्यनाभ के ही 500 उदीच्य सामग और 500 प्राच्य सामग शिष्य कहे गये हैं। इस प्रकार महर्षि वेद व्यास (कृष्णद्वैपायन) की सामवेदीय शाखा के शिष्य-प्रशिष्य एवं उनकी ऋषि परम्परा पुराणों इत्यादि के माध्यम से ज्ञात होती है।

सामवेदीय शाखा प्रसंग में जैमिनि को व्यास का प्रथम सामशाखा प्रवर्तक शिष्य माना गया है विष्णु पुराण¹ तथा भागवतपुराण² के अनुसार जैमिनि का प्रथम सामग शिष्य सुमन्तु है। इन्हीं पुराणों में सुमन्तु को जैमिनि का पुत्र भी कहा गया है। वैदिक परम्परा में शिष्य के रूप में पुत्र का उल्लेख बहुधा मिलता है। अतः यह संभव है। सुमन्तुकृत शाखा के विषय में पुराणों की कुछ भी सामग्री नहीं मिलती है। यद्यपि अथर्ववेद शाखा का प्रथम प्रवर्तक व्यास शिष्य भी सुमन्तु हैं, यद्यपि ये दोनों भिन्न सुत्वा हुए हैं।³ भागवतपुराण⁴ में इसके लिए “सुन्वान” पाठ मिलता है जिनको स्पष्टतः सुमन्तु-सुत कहा गया है।

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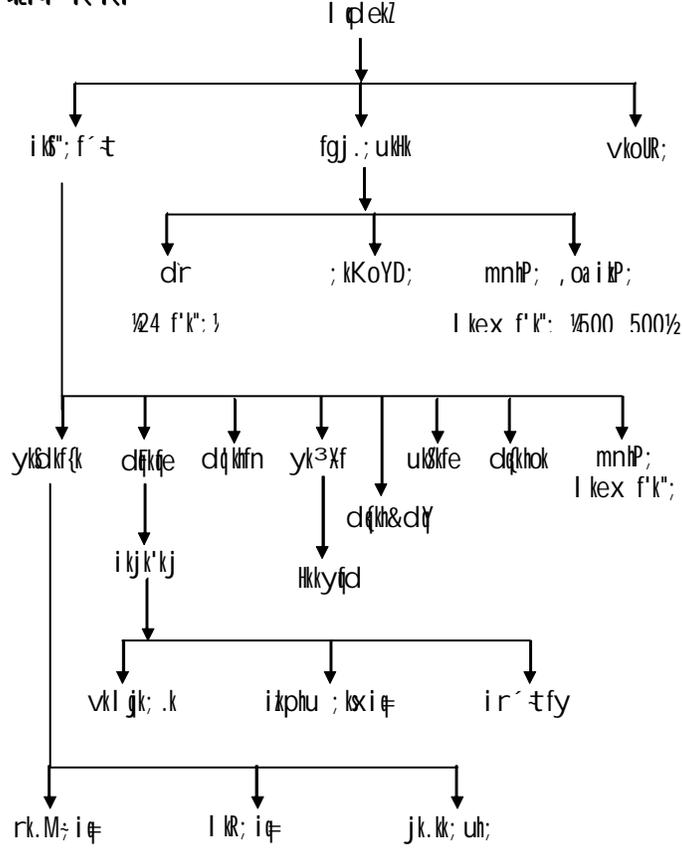
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वायुपुराण⁵ में सुमन्तु के पुत्र का नाम सुकर्मा उल्लेखित है जबकि वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण के अनुसार सुकर्मा सुत्वा के पुत्र है। विष्णु पुराण में कहा गया है कि जैमिनि से सुमन्तु और सुकर्मा (पिता और पुत्र) ने एक संहिता का अध्ययन किया। सुत्वा का नाम विष्णु पुराण में न रहने के कारण अपवाद की स्थिति उत्पन्न हो गई है, जिसका निराकरण अभी नहीं हो पाया है। भागवत पुराण में सुकर्मा को जैमिनि शिष्य कहा गया है। अतः यह विवाद परम्परा सम्बन्ध से भी उत्पन्न हो सकता है, या यह भी हो सकता है कि सुमन्तु के साथ सुकर्मा ने भी व्यास से ही अध्ययन किया हो। वर्तमान में इस मतभेद का समन्वय नहीं हो पाया है, किन्तु व्यास की परम्परा को आगे निरन्तर रखते हुए अन्य पुराणों में कहा गया है कि सुकर्मा ने सामवेद की सहस्रभाषाओं का निर्माण किया था, इसी भाव को लक्ष्य कर इन्हें सहस्रशाखाध्येता⁶ कहा गया है।

पौराणिक शाखा प्रकरण में सुकर्मा के तीन शिष्य कहे गये हैं, यथा पौष्यिञ्जि, हिरण्यनाभ कौसल्य तथा आवन्त्य।⁷ पौष्यिञ्जि के अनेक पाठभेद पुराणों में मिलते हैं, जैसे पौश्यजि, पौष्यिञ्जि आदि। वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में उल्लेख आया है कि पौष्यिञ्जि ने 500 सामसंहिताओं का प्रणयन किया तथा इन 500 संहिताओं के 500 अध्येता उदीच्य सामग (विशेषणरूप) कहलाये। पुराणों में पौष्यिञ्जि के लगभग 7 शिष्य ज्ञात होते हैं⁸ यथा लौगाक्षि कुथुमि लाङ्गलि कुक्षिकुल्य, नौधमि तथा कुक्षीवान्⁹ इन शिष्यों में कुथुमि महत्वपूर्ण जान पड़ते हैं क्योंकि सामवेद की दो प्रमुख शाखाएँ हुई हैं, कौथुमिय तथा राणायनीय। संभव है, कौथुमिय शाखा के प्रवर्तक पौष्यिञ्जि के शिष्य कुथुमि हो। अग्निपुराण¹⁰ में सामवेद की दो शाखाएँ स्मृत हुई हैं। वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में कुथुमि के तीन शिष्यों के नाम मिलते हैं। इनमें से एक पाराशर थे। यद्यपि इन शिष्यों का परिचय पुराणों से प्राप्त नहीं होता है, तथापि पाराशर के तीन अन्य शिष्य हुए हैं, यथा आसुरायण¹¹ प्राचीन योगपुत्र¹² पतञ्जलि।¹³

इसी प्रकार लौगाक्षि का लौकाक्षि के भी तीन शिष्य हुए ताण्डिपुत्र (ताण्ड्यपुत्र) सात्यपुत्र (सात्यमुग्र) तथा राणायनीय। इनमें से ताण्डिपुत्र का उल्लेख वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में मिलता है, संभवतः यह ताण्ड्यशाखा को लक्ष्य करता है। यह शाखा बहुत प्रसिद्ध थी। वैदिक सम्प्रदाय में प्रसिद्ध हैं कि छान्दोग्य उपनिषद् इस शाखा से संबद्ध है। इसी प्रकार सात्यपुत्र का उल्लेख भी आया है हो सकता है कि सात्यपुत्र सात्यमुग्र हो, क्योंकि राणायनीयों के भेदों में सात्यमुग्र नाम मिलता है।¹⁴ वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण में लाङ्गलि के शिष्य भालुकि का नाम मिलता है, संभवतः यह भाल्लवि है। भाल्लवि शाखा संबंधी विवरण वैदिक वाङ्मय में मिलता है¹⁵ पुनःश्च सुकर्मा के दूसरे शिष्य हिरण्यनाभ है जिन्हें कौसल्य, हिरण्यनाभि तथा हिरण्यनभ भी कहा गया है।¹⁶ प्रश्न उपनिषद्¹⁷ में भी हिरण्यनाभ कौसल्य (राजपुत्र) का उल्लेख हुआ है। संभवतः ये भी हिरण्यनाभ है। इस आधार पर कौसल्य को कौशल देशीय राजपुत्र हिरण्यनाभ भी कहा जा सकता है और साथ ही क्षत्रिय वर्णी भी। हिरण्यनाभ के विषय में कई ज्ञातव्य बातें पुराणों से मिलती हैं, विष्णुपुराण के वंशानुचरित प्रकरण में कहा गया है कि पोरव वंश में कृत नामक नृप (राजा) हुए जिनसे हिरण्यनभ ने योगविद्या का अध्यापन किया था। (यह हिरण्यनभ ही हिरण्यनाभ है) जिसने “24” प्राच्य सामसंहिताओं का निर्माण किया था। वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण्ड पुराण¹⁸ में भी हिरण्यनाभ के शिष्य कृत-नृप और उनके “24” शिष्य उल्लेखित हैं। मत्स्यपुराण¹⁹ में सन्नतिमान् नृप के पुत्र कृत को हिरण्यनाभी कौशल का शिष्य कहा गया है।

शिष्य एवं ऋषि परंपरा



हरिवंश पुराण²⁰ में भी ऐसा ही उल्लेख आया है। विष्णुपुराण²¹ में भी हिरण्यनाभ के ही 500 उदीच्य सामग और 500 प्राच्य सामग शिष्य कहे गये है विष्णुपुराण²² में हिरण्यनाभ को इक्ष्वाकुवंशी कहा है तथा इन्हें भी रामचन्द्र के पुत्र कुश के वंश में उत्पन्न विश्वसह का पुत्र कहा गया है। साथ ही यह भी कहा गया है कि ये महायोगीश्वर जैमिनि के शिष्य थे और इन्हीं से याज्ञवल्क्य को योगविद्या मिली थी (यहाँ पर हिरण्यनाभ को जैमिनि शिष्य प्रशिष्य परम्परा के अन्तर्गत समझना चाहिए) भागवत पुराण²³ में भी ऐसा वर्णन हुआ है, वायुपुराण²⁴ में पौत्रस्य जैमिनेः शिष्यः स्मृतः सर्वेशु शर्मसु कहा गया है जिसका अर्थ यदि जैमिनि के पौत्र का शिष्य हिरण्यनाभ है ऐसा मान लिया जाय तो यह इस दृष्टि से संगत हो सकता है कि जैमिनि का पौत्र सुकर्मा है और हिरण्यनाभ सुकर्मा के शिष्य हैं विष्णु पुराण के अनुसार ऐसा कहना सर्वथा समीचीन हो गया वायुपुराण के अगले श्लोक में कहा गया है कि इन्होंने जैमिनि-पौत्र (सुकर्मा) से 500 संहिताओं का अध्ययन किया और इनसे याज्ञवल्क्य को योगविद्या मिली थी। यहाँ जिस याज्ञवल्क्य का नाम आया है वह कौन याज्ञवल्क्य है यह विचार्य है प्राचीन भारत में अनेक याज्ञवल्क्य हुए हैं। यथा याज्ञवल्क्य वाजसनेय, योगी याज्ञवल्क्य जिनका ग्रन्थ है योगीयाज्ञवल्क्य स्मृतिकार याज्ञवल्क्य जिन्हें योगीन्द्र कहा जाता है, इत्यादि उपर्युक्त वर्णित याज्ञवल्क्य के विषय में अंतिम निर्णय अभी प्रतीक्षित है। हिरण्यनाभ के शिष्यों

का उल्लेख विष्णुपुराण²⁵ में हुआ है जहाँ उन्हें विशेषण के रूप में उदीच्य सामग कहा है जिनकी संख्या 500 थी इसी प्रकार उनके 500 प्राच्य सामग शिष्य भी थे। कुछ पुराणों में हिरण्यनाभ के शिष्यकृत को (यह सन्नतिमान का पुत्र है तथा नृप भी है) उदीच्य सामग शिष्य कहा है तथा कुछ पुराणों में प्राच्य सामग शिष्य कहा है। कृत के भी “24” शिष्य हुए हैं, जिनके नामों का विवरण वायुपुराण तथा ब्रह्माण पुराण में मिलता है। पुनःश्च सुकर्मा के तीसरे शिष्य आवन्त्य का उल्लेख केवल भागवतपुराण²⁶ में हुआ है। इस प्रकार महर्षि वेदव्यास (कृष्णद्वैपायन) की सामवेदीय शाखा के शिष्य-प्रशिष्य एवं उनकी ऋषि परम्परा पुराणों इत्यादि के माध्यम से ज्ञात होती है। इस परम्परा से वेदों की विभिन्न शाखाओं तथा उनके उन्नायकों का ज्ञान प्राप्त करने में सहायता प्राप्त हो सकती है जिससे संपूर्ण वैदिक वाङ्मय को समझने में मदद मिलती है। इसी प्रकार यदि ऋग्वेद यजुर्वेद एवं अथर्ववेद की शाखा प्रवर्तक वंश परम्परा को अन्य शोध पत्रों के माध्यम से एकत्रित कर लिया जाए तो अवश्य ही एक महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय तक पहुँचने में सहायता मिलेगी, यही इस शोधपत्र का हेतु है।

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वाल्मीकीय रामायण में वर्णित अधिकारों का अध्ययन

डॉ. मोना

सारांश

भारतीय ऐतिहासिक कालक्रम में महाकाव्य काल का भी महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है क्योंकि महाकाव्य के अन्तर्गत 'रामायण' व 'महाभारत' का उल्लेख है, जो भारतीय संस्कृति के महत्वपूर्ण ग्रन्थ हैं। रामायण में अधिकारों की विस्तृत व्याख्या की गई है जो यह सिद्ध करते हैं कि रामायणकालीन समाज में प्रजा के कल्याणार्थ राजकीय व्यवस्था विद्यमान थी। प्रजा के सर्वजन हिताय के तहत प्रजा के लिये न्याय, करुणा व दया की भावना इस ग्रन्थ का आदर्श स्वरूप है। महर्षि वाल्मीकि के जीवन का परिवर्तन क्रौंच पक्षी के वध के पश्चात् परिलक्षित हुआ तथा ब्रह्माजी ने वाल्मीकि के द्रवित भावावेश में कण्ठ से निकले श्लोक को प्रथम छन्दबद्ध कविता कही तथा निर्देश दिया कि नारद जी के द्वारा सुनी हुई रामकथा को श्लोकबद्ध रूप में लिखे इसलिये कविता के रचयिता होने के कारण वाल्मीकि जी राम के चरित्र को व्यवस्थित रूप से प्रस्तुत करने वाले प्रथम मनीषी का गौरवपूर्ण पद भी प्राप्त करने वाले आदिकवि कहलाए तथा रचित काव्य 'महाकाव्य रामायण' कहलाया।

रामायण में सामाजिक समरसता से परिपूर्ण उत्कृष्ट न्याय व्यवस्था का दर्शन प्रस्तुत होता है, जिससे प्रेरित होकर कोई भी व्यक्ति समाज का श्रेष्ठ नागरिक बन सकता है। रामायण को आदर्श ग्रन्थ माना जाता है जिसमें सभी के उपयुक्त आदर्शों की व्याख्या वाल्मीकि के द्वारा की गई है।

कूटशब्द महाकाव्य, परिलक्षित, समरसता

रामायण में वर्णित अधिकार

रामायण महाकाव्य में प्रजा के राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक अधिकारों का वर्णन

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असि.प्रो. - भारतीय इतिहास एवं संस्कृति केन्द्र, देव संस्कृति विश्वविद्यालय शान्तिकुज हरिद्वार (उत्तराखण्ड)

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मिलता है तो यह स्वतः सिद्ध हो जाता है कि रामायण में प्रजा के लिये कर्तव्य तो थे परन्तु अधिकारों का भी समावेश था।

राजनीतिक अधिकार रामायण में राजनीतिक अधिकारों का उल्लेख मिलता है। रामायण में लोकरक्षा के लिये लोकपालों की नियुक्ति की जाती थी तथा इनकी नियुक्ति सभी देवताओं की सहमति से की जाती थी। यम, इन्द्र, वरुण एवं कुबेर चारों लोकपाल ब्रह्माजी द्वारा ही नियुक्त किये गये हैं रामायण में पूर्णरूपेण राजनीतिक रूप से राजा के चयन का वर्णन आता है। लक्ष्मण राम के राज्याभिषेक के समय कहते हैं कि “तीनों लोकों के सम्पूर्ण प्राणी भी आज श्रीराम के राज्याभिषेक को नहीं रोक सकते हैं।”¹ यद्यपि रामायण में मतदान की प्रथा नहीं थी परन्तु मौखिक रूप से अपना मत रखने की अनुमति थी। राजा दशरथ भी राम राज्याभिषेक के पूर्व अयोध्या के नागरिकों के मध्य अपना मत रखते हैं कि

“यदिदं मेऽनुरूपार्थं मया साधु सुमन्त्रिता ।
भवन्तो मेऽनमन्यतां कथं वा करवाण्यहम् ॥”²

अर्थात् आप (प्रजा) मुझे अनुमति प्रदान करें कि मेरा यह निर्णय राम को राजा बनाने का उचित है अथवा नहीं। रामायणकालीन समाज में नागरिकों को यदि युवराज का चयन पसंद नहीं है तो उन्हें अपने राजा को बहिष्कृत करने का भी अधिकार था जब भारत को राजा बनाया जाने का निर्णय हुआ तो प्रजा ने अपनी असहमति दर्ज कर वनोगमन का निर्णय किया

अथ यास्यति वैदेही वनं रामेण संगता ।
वयमत्रानुयास्यामः पुरं चेदं गमिष्यति ॥
अन्तपालाश्च यास्यन्ति सदारो यत्र राघवः ।
सहोपजीव्यं राष्ट्रं च पुरं च सपरिच्छदम् ॥³

अयोध्या के अन्तःवासी राज्य के प्रति निष्ठावान थे इसलिये वे अपने अधिकारों का प्रयोग राज्य के हित में करते थे। “वन में जब भरत राम से मिलने जाते हैं तो राम कहते की। तुम वृद्ध पुरुषों बालको व वैद्यो का आन्तरिक अनुराग मधुर वचन व धन दान को द्वारा सम्मान करते हो”⁴ राम भरत को आगे राजनीतिक उपदेश में कहते हैं की “धर्म के अनुसार प्रजा का पालन करने वाला स्वर्ग लोक को जाता है”⁵

सांस्कृतिक अधिकार संस्कृति किसी भी समाज को समझने के लिये आवश्यक प्रमाण है रामायण कालीन जीवन पूरी तरह संस्कृतिमय था तथा संस्कृति के सभी घटकों का समावेश मिलता है अनेक संगीतमय आयोजन, विभिन्न क्रीड़ाएँ तथा आमोद-प्रमोद के अन्य साधन उपलब्ध थे।

नटनर्तकसद्धानां गायकानां च गायताम् ।
मनः कर्णसुखा वाचः शुश्राव जनता ततः ॥⁶

मनोविनोद के अन्य साधन जैसे कूटागार, हास्य प्रधान नाटकों का उल्लेख मिलता है। भरत को अप्रिय मनःस्थिति से उबरने के लिये संगीतमय नाटकों का प्रमाण वाल्मीकि रामायण में मिलता है।

तप्यमानं तमाज्ञाय वयस्याः प्रिय वादिनः
आयासं विनयिष्यन्तः सभायां चक्रिरे कथाः ।

वादयन्ति तदाशन्तिं लासयन्त्यपि चापरे
नाटकान्यपरे स्माहुर्हास्यानि विविधानिच ।⁷

सामाजिक समानता के अधिकार रामायणकालीन समाज भी वर्णव्यवस्था के सिद्धान्त पर आधारित था। क्योंकि वर्णव्यवस्था समाज के सुव्यवस्थित संचालन के लिये अनिवार्य है। वर्णों के आधार पर कार्यों का विभाजन था। परन्तु सभी प्रकार के धार्मिक व सामाजिक आयोजनों में भागीदारी बराबरी की थी। “चारो वर्णों के मनुष्य कृतज्ञ उदार शूरवीर धर्म व सत्य का आश्रय लेने वाले थे”⁸ प्रसंग आता है वशिष्ठ जी ने सुमन्त्र को बुलाकर कहा की सभी को आमन्त्रित करो जो भी राजा है तथा इस पृथ्वीलोक पर निवास करते हैं।

ततः सुमन्त्रमाहूय वशिष्ठे वापूय मब्रवीत् ।
निमन्त्रयस्व नृपतीन पृथिव्यां ये च धार्मिकाः ।।
ब्राह्मणान् क्षत्रियान् वैश्याजशूद्राश्चैव सहस्राशः ।⁹

मनुष्य की मूलभूत आवश्यकता रोटी, कपड़ा और मकान मानी गई है। रामायण कालीन समाज में भी सभी को भोजन प्राप्ति का अधिकार था। वही कहा गया है, कि “ऐसी व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये जिसमें सभी वर्णों के लोग भलीभाँति सत्कृत हो व सम्मान प्राप्त करें”¹⁰

ब्राह्मणा भुजते नित्यं नाथवन्तश्च भुजजते ।
तापसाज भुजते चापि श्रमेणैव भुजते
वृद्धाश्च व्याधितै स्त्रीबाला तथैव च
श्रमणाश्चैव भुजते ताश्चैव अनिशं
भुजजमानानां न तृप्तिरुपलभ्येत ।¹¹

जब राम के द्वारा पिता की आज्ञा शिरोधार्य कर वनवास के लिये प्रस्थान किया गया तब माता कौशल्या अत्यन्त करुण स्वर में विलाप करती है कि

“यस्य भक्त्याश्च दासाश्च मूष्टान्यन्नानि भुजते ।
कथं स भोक्ष्यते रामो वने मूलफलान्ययम् ।¹²

वर्ण परिवर्तन का अधिकार आर्शग्रन्थों में भी उल्लेख मिलता है कि श्रेष्ठ कर्म करने पर तथा योग्यता अर्जित कर वर्ण परिवर्तन का उल्लेख है। ब्राह्मणत्व जन्म जाति पर नहीं कर्म पर आधारित है, ऋषि विश्वामित्र क्षत्रिय थे परन्तु साधना द्वारा ब्राह्मणत्व पा गये।

ब्रह्मर्षे स्वागतं तेऽस्तु तपसा स्म सुतोषिताः ।
ब्रह्मण्यं तपसोग्रेण प्राप्त वानसि कौशिक ।¹³

अर्थ सम्बन्धी अधिकार भारतीय संस्कृति में चार पुरुषार्थ - धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष में अर्थ को दूसरे दर्जे पर स्थान प्राप्त है क्योंकि कहा गया है सम्यक् जीविकोपार्जन अनिवार्य है। नीति से प्राप्त धन की कामना की गई है।

तस्मिन् पुखरे दृष्ट्वा धर्मात्मानो बहुश्रुताः ।
नरास्तूष्ठा धनैः स्वैः स्वैरलुब्धा सत्यवादिनः ।¹⁴

अर्थात् रामायण कालीन जन स्वयं की कमाई से सतुष्टी से पूर्ण रहते थे रामायण में वर्णित है कि अर्थ से ही दर्प धर्म, हर्ष, काम, क्रोध, शम व दम सफल होते हैं।¹⁵ राज्य की आर्थिक प्रगति का आधार उसका राजकोष होता है। यदि राजकोष रिक्त है तो वह प्रजा तथा राजा दोनों पर प्रभाव डालता है। धनहीन राज्य की तुलना रामायण में उस सूरा से की है जिसका सारांश पहले ही पान कर लिया गया हो।¹⁶ रामचरितमानस में भी घरों में कताई, बुनाई सिलाई इत्यादि का उल्लेख मिलता है जो उस समय की सुदृढ़ अर्थव्यवस्था का परिचय देती है।

सुग्रीवहिं प्रथमाहिं पहिराए, बसन भरत निज हाथ बनाये।

भरत के वनागमन के समय उनके साथ जाने वालों में कुम्हार, वैद्य, धोबी, दर्जी, कालीन बनाने वाले तथा गौशाल के ग्वाल्लों, मायूरक सुधाकार दन्तकार, रोचक का उल्लेख मिलता है।¹⁷

स्त्रियों को प्राप्त अधिकार वैदिककालीन समाज की तरह रामायण में भी स्त्रियों का यथोचित सम्मान था तथा स्त्रियाँ समाज में शक्ति का प्रतीक था स्त्रियों के लिये बराबरी के अधिकार समाज के द्वारा प्राप्त थे। अपने निर्णय में स्त्रियाँ स्वतन्त्र थीं। वेदाध्ययन की बात हो या धर्म में तप के द्वारा स्वयंवर की। कबन्ध के द्वारा राम को शबरी के बारे में बताया गया रामायण में

श्रमणी शबरी नाम काकुप्स्थ चिरजीविनी ।

त्वां तु धर्मे स्थिता नित्यं सर्वभूत नमस्कृतम्¹⁸

सीता स्वयंवर का उल्लेख स्त्री की स्वतन्त्रता का द्योतक है। “जहां दशरथ स्वयं विचार करते हैं, अपनी पुत्री के स्वयंवर का”।¹⁹ जब जनक ने खेत में धूल में रत कन्या को देखा तो प्रसन्नता से भर गये तथा उन्होंने कहा

“ममेयं तनयेर्युक्त्वा स्नेहो मयि निपातितः।”²⁰

धार्मिक आयोजन में पत्नी की भागीदारी न होने पर आयोजन अपूर्ण समझा जाता था। इसलिये “राम के द्वारा अश्वमेध आयोजित करने पर सीता के अभाव में स्वर्ण प्रतिमा का निर्माण करवाकर अपने दाईं ओर रखने का उल्लेख मिलता है।²¹ उन्होंने प्रत्येक यज्ञ में धर्म पत्नी के स्थान पर स्वर्ण प्रतिमा रखी।”²² जब राम ने पिता की आज्ञा को शिरोधार्य कर वन को प्रस्थान किया तब राजा दशरथ ने कोषाध्यक्ष से कहकर सीता के लिये पर्याप्त वस्त्र व आभूषण की व्यवस्था करने को कहा तब कोषाध्यक्ष द्वारा खजाने से आभूषण सीता को समर्पित कर दिये।²³ रामायण ने सभी प्रकार की स्त्रियों का सम्मान था मन्थरा विधवा थी तथा कुटिल नीति का प्रयोग कर कैकेयी के द्वारा पूरा षड्यन्त्र रचा परन्तु राम के द्वारा मन्थरा के लिये सदैव सम्मान ही प्रकट किया गया। अयोध्या की रानियों द्वारा राम के राज्याभिषेक के समय सुन्दर मनोहारी श्रंगार किया गया

“प्रतिकर्म च सीतायाः सर्वा दशरथस्त्रियः।

आत्मनैव तदा चक्रुर्मनस्विन्यो मनोहरम्।²⁴”

समाज कल्याण के अधिकार रामायण में मांगलिक अवसर पर दान देने का उल्लेख है, जिसके पिछे भाव है कि समाज के श्रेष्ठ कार्यों के लिए अपनी कमाई एक अंश लगाये। “वशिष्ठ जी राम व लक्ष्मण के अभ्युदय के लिए गौ, भूमि, तिल का दान करने को कहते थे तथा भविष्य में वह दान सुख देने वाला होता है।”²⁵ “राजा दशरथ ने भी अपने पुत्रों के मंगल के लिए गौ माता

का दान किया।”²⁶

निष्कर्ष रामायण कालीन समाज पर यदि हम निष्कर्षतः दृष्टि डालें तो देखते हैं कि प्रजा के सभी पक्षों पर ध्यान देकर उन्हें अधिकार प्रदत्त किये गये क्योंकि कहा गया है कि

“जो करते कर्तव्यों से प्यार
उन्हें मिलता उपहार अधिकार।”

रामायण के उपर्युक्त प्रसंग यह सिद्ध करते हैं कि अधिकारों की उपादेयता रामायण कालीन समाज तथा राजा के द्वारा स्वीकार की गई तथा अधिकार स्वतः प्रदान करने पर प्रजा के द्वारा अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रति कटिबद्ध रहने का प्रमाण मिलता है जो यह इंगित करता है कि राज्य तथा राष्ट्र के लिये नागरिक अपना सर्वस्व त्यागने को तैयार रहता है क्योंकि प्रत्येक जन अपना अधिकाररूपी ऋण किसी न किसी रूप में पूर्ण करता ही है।

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मध्यकालीन संगीत में अमीर खुसरो का योगदान

डॉ. पीयूषा वैद्य

सारांश

मध्य युगीन इतिहास में हिन्दुओं तथा मुसलमानों में परस्पर फूट तथा रक्तपात के अनेक उदाहरण मिलते हैं परन्तु सन्त कवियों एवं संगीतज्ञों ने इन दोनों संस्कृति धाराओं में एकता तथा समन्वय स्थापित करने का सफल प्रयास किया। मुस्लिम आक्रमणों के साथ उनके गायक वादक संगीत शास्त्री भी भारत आते रहे। विदेशी संगीत के प्रचलन के परिणाम स्वरूप संगीत में परिवर्तन स्वाभाविक था। भारतीय और ईरानी संगीत का मेल संगीतज्ञ अमीर खुसरो के द्वारा हुआ। भारतीय साहित्य तथा संगीत परम्पराओं में अरबी उर्दू फारसी तुर्की तथा पर्शियन शब्दों एवं धुनों का समावेश हुआ। खुसरो ने भारतीय संगीत को उच्चकोटि की श्रेणी में रखा एवं स्पष्ट रूप से कहा कि कोई भी विदेशी संगीतज्ञ एक राग भी अधिकार नहीं कर सका है। खुसरो ने विभिन्न ग्रंथों को लिखा है। खुसरो ने कव्वाली तराना सितार व तबला का आविष्कार किया है परन्तु कुछ लेखकों में मतभेद है सुल्तानी दरबारों में खुसरो की गजलें लोकप्रिय हुईं।

विशिष्ट शब्द मुख्तलिफ - अलग-अलग, मजलिस-महफिल, सभा मूर्च्छना सिद्धांत-संगीत में स्वर को बहुत ही कोमलता पूर्वक और सुन्दर ढंग से कंपाते हुए और नियमित रूप से उतार चढ़ाव का ध्यान रखते हुये नीचे स्वर से ऊंचे स्वर पर जाने और ऊंचे स्वर से नीचे स्वर में आने की क्रिया अथवा ऐसी क्रिया में गले से निकलने वाला स्वर ।

थाट वह स्वर समूह जो राग उत्पन्न कर सके ।

शास्त्रों के अनुसार जो 64 कलायें हमारे यहाँ मानी गई हैं उनमें संगीत सर्वाधिक लोकप्रिय है और हृदय पर तात्कालिक प्रभाव डालने वाली कला है। संगीत कला एक जीवंत परम्परा के रूप में

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वैदिक युग से एक लंबी यात्रा करते हुये आज तक भी एक शुद्ध पवित्र सरिता की भांति बहती चली आ रही है। संगीत भारतीय संस्कृति का अभिन्न अंग है और यह कला निरंतर जीवित रहने वाली एक कला है। संगीत की परम्परा सृष्टि के समान अनादि और अनंत है।¹ संगीत के विकासक्रम में वैदिक काल की पवित्रा, रामायण और महाभारत काल की पवित्रता महाभारत के हिन्दू राज्यों की राजनितिक अस्थिरता, मुगलों की पारम्परिक संगीत के प्रति उदासीनता एवं अंग्रेजों की उपेक्षा और स्वतंत्र युगों के संघर्ष व चेतना का प्रभाव हमें दिखाई पड़ता है। इतिहास साक्षी है कि कलाकारों ने युगों से जो पाया है, अपनी कला में पिरोकर समाज को दिया है।²

16 वीं शताब्दी से पूर्व हमारे देश और पाश्चात्य देशों में संगीत का स्वरूप धार्मिक था। यह धार्मिक स्वरूप हमारे देश में ध्रुपद गायन के रूप में प्रफुल्लित हुआ देशी राजाओं को कला से जितना प्रेम था उससे अधिक प्रेम अपने बड़प्पन के दिखावे का था। जब संगीतज्ञों की प्रतियोगितायें होती थीं तो ये राजा यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न करते थे कि उनके यहाँ के संगीतज्ञ ही भारत के सर्वश्रेष्ठ संगीतज्ञों में से हैं।³ 10 वीं शताब्दी के प्रारंभ में संगीत ग्वालियर के कुछ धार्मिक व्यक्तियों एवं मन्दिरों तक ही सीमित था क्योंकि मध्यकाल में गोरखनाथ ने संगीत को योगसाधना का एक अभिन्न अंग बना दिया था। इसलिये ग्वालियर के संगीत ग्रंथों में गोरखनाथ एवं उनके मतों का उल्लेख मिलता है।⁴ मध्ययुगीन इतिहास के रचयिता के अनुसार भारत में महमूद गजनबी के आक्रमण का प्रथम अभियान 1000 ई. में आरम्भ हुआ और उसका अंतिम अभियान 1026 ई. में उत्तर भारत में हुआ। उसने कश्मीर थानेश्वर कन्नौज मथुरा तथा सोमनाथ आदि राज्यों को हराकर वहाँ मुस्लिम सत्ता की स्थापना की। इस प्रकार भारत में मुस्लिम संस्कृति का उदय ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी में हुआ।⁵

मुसलमानों के आगमन से हिन्दू संस्कृति का हशस तथा यवन संस्कृति का प्रभाव बढ़ने लगा। मध्य युगीन इतिहास में हिन्दुओं तथा मुसलमानों में परस्पर फूट तथा रक्तपात के अनेक उदाहरण मिलते हैं। सन्त कवियों एवं संगीतज्ञों ने इन दोनों संस्कृति धाराओं में एकता तथा समन्वय स्थापित करने का सफल प्रयास किया।⁶ यद्यपि भारतीय संगीत अपनी स्वाभाविकता व अस्मिता खोने लगा तथापि संगीत पूर्ण रूप से नष्ट नहीं हुआ। भारतीय संगीत पर शहरी प्रभाव से परिवर्तन आने लगा। मुस्लिम आक्रमणों के साथ उनके आश्रित गायक वादक संगीत शास्त्री इत्यादि भी आते रहे अतः विदेशों की धुनों, वहाँ का संगीत यहाँ प्रचलित होने लगा परिणामतः संगीत में परिवर्तन स्वाभाविक था।⁷

भारतीय और ईरानी संगीत का सर्वांगीण मेल 13वीं शताब्दी के प्रमुख संगीतज्ञ अमीर खुसरो के द्वारा हुआ। अमीर खुसरो अपने युग का सर्वाधिक प्रतिभा सम्पन्न व्यक्तित्व था। वह जन्म से भारतीय था और भारत के सांस्कृतिक वैभव का उसे अभिमान भी था परन्तु वह तुर्क अमीर था। और तुर्क सुल्तानों का पदाधिकारी। जिन तुर्क सुल्तानों की सेवा में वह रहा उनके दरबारों में अनेक आलिम और सूफी फारसी तथा अन्य पाश्चात्य देशों से आते थे। उसे उनके समक्ष भी अपनी श्रेष्ठता सिद्ध करनी थी। उसने अनेक रचनायें की। उसने जहाँ ईरानी संगीत का शास्त्रीय और व्यावहारिक ज्ञान प्राप्त किया उस युग के विजित और विजेताओं की संस्कृतियों का

अमीर खुसरो संधि स्थल था।⁹ प्राचीन गीतों की भाषा संस्कृत या प्राकृत होती थी इसलिये इस बात की आवश्यकता पैदा हुई कि गीतों की भाषा ऐसी हो जो विदेशी शासकों को समझ में आ सके। इस प्रकार संगीत को एक नया रंग रूप देना अनिवार्य था। अस्तु कुछ समय बाद संगीत को नया रूप देने का श्रेय हजरत अमीर खुसरो को प्राप्त हुआ।⁹

भारतीय साहित्य तथा संगीत परम्पराओं में अरबी, उर्दू, फारसी, तुर्की तथा पर्शियन शब्दों एवं धुनों का समावेश हुआ। मुसलमानों की धार्मिक कट्टरता का हिन्दुओं की चिंतन पद्धति पर विशेष प्रभाव पड़ा। भारत का प्रत्येक मुसलमान यहीं के धूलि कणों से पल्लवित पोषित होता रहा है। यहीं की भूमि में प्रवाहित सिंधु, गंगा, यमुना, ब्रम्हपुत्र, गोदावरी आदि नदियों के जल सीकरों को ग्रहण करता रहा है। यही पर उसे कोकिल की रसभरी तान द्वारा ऋतुराज बसंत के आगमन का संदेश मिलता रहा है। इसी प्रसंग में अमीर खुसरो, मलिक मोहम्मद जायसी अब्दुल रहीम खानखाना, रसखान, कबीर, तथा अन्य अनेक उदारचेता परम मनीषी एवं रससिद्ध कवियों और सूफी सन्तों को विस्मृत नहीं किया जा सकता। उन्होंने अपनी पीयूष वाणी द्वारा कोटि कोटि हृदयों की पिपासा को न केवल शांत किया है वरन उनके जीवन को महानता की ओर अग्रसर भी किया है।¹⁰ हिन्दी, हिंदवी अथा हिंदुई खुसरो की मातृभाषा थी क्योंकि अमीर खुसरो उत्तरप्रदेश में स्थित एटा जिले के अंतर्गत पटियाली नामक ग्राम में उत्पन्न हुये थे और इनकी मां हिन्दू विशुद्ध भारतीय रक्त की महिला थीं।

खुसरों की रचनाओं के अंतःसाक्ष्य से यह सिद्ध होता है कि वे विदेशी मुसलमानों के उच्चारण का मजाक उड़ाते थे उन्हें भारतीय संगीत सीखने के लिये अनुपयुक्त समझते थे। यहां तक कि वे भारत की रोटी खाकर परदेश की तारीफ करने वालों को खरी-खरी सुनाते थे। उन्होंने अरब का नाम लेकर कहा है कि वहां का संगीत घटिया है उनका यह संकेत अपने उन समवर्तियों की ओर है जो अरब को प्रत्येक दृष्टि से आदर्श समझते थे।¹¹ खुसरो का कथन है भारतीय संगीत समस्त विश्व में उत्कृष्टतम है और श्रोता को इस सीमा तक तन्मय कर देता है कि इसके प्रभाव से हरिण तक मंत्रमुग्ध होकर बहेलियों को अपने प्राण अर्पित कर देते हैं। अमीर खुसरो स्पष्ट रूप से कहते हैं कि भारत में भारतीय संगीत की शिक्षा प्राप्त करने के लिए अनेक विदेशी संगीतज्ञ आये परंतु एक राग पर भी उनका अधिकार न हो सका।¹²

दिल्ली के सुल्तानों में खुसरों का सर्वप्रथम आक्षयदाता कैकुबाद था। इस युग में अवध की रूपाजीवायें गायिकायें और नर्तकियां भी दिल्ली दरबार में पहुंचने लगी थीं। गजलों के साथ हिन्दी गाने भी गाये जाते थे। कैकुबाद ने ही अमीर खुसरो को मलिकशुअरा (कवीश्वर) की उपाधि दी थी। जलालुद्दीन खिलजी (राज्यकाल 1290-1296 ई.) की विजयों का वर्णन अमीर खुसरों ने अपने ग्रंथ मिफताहुलफुतूह में किया। सम्राट ने इस महान व्यक्ति को अमीर उपाधि से विभूषित किया। अलाउद्दीन खिलजी ने अमीर को खुसरूयेशाइरां उपाधि दी। अलाउद्दीन खिलजी की विजयों का वर्णन अमीर खुसरो ने अपने ग्रंथों में किया है जिसमें तारीखें अलाई अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय हुई।¹³

शाहजहां और आलमगीर के जमाने में कश्मीर के गवर्नर फकीरुल्लाह ने किसी हवाले के बगैर राग दर्पण में लिखा है कि गोपालनायक की शहरत सारे हिन्दुस्तान में थी उसके सोलह सौ

चेले उसकी पालकी उठाते थे। अलाउद्दीन के दरबार में तलब किये जाने पर गोपालनायक ने छह मुखल्लिफ मजलिसों में अपने मुखल्लिफ राग पेश किये। इन छह दिनों तक अमीर खुसरो तख्त के नीचे छिपे रहे। सातवें दिन वे हाजिर हुये और उन्होंने गोपालनायक से अपनी काबिलियत का इजहार करने के लिए कहा और दावा किया कि गोपालनायक के गाये हुये रागों की ईजाद मैं पहले ही कर चुका हूँ। हजरत अमीर खुसरो ने गोपाल नायक के गाने की हू ब हू नकल करके गोपाल नायक को ताज्जुब में डाल दिया।¹⁴ ऐसा लगता है कि गोपाल नायक के विद्या और गुण से प्रभावित होकर अमीर खुसरो ने गोपाल नायक को दिल्ली में ही रोक लिया।¹⁵ गोपाल नायक मुकाम सिद्धांत से अपरिचित थे और अमीर खुसरो मूर्च्छना सिद्धांत से। गोपाल नायक पराधीन और पराजित राजा के कलाकार थे और अमीर खुसरो अलाउद्दीन खिलजी जैसे के दरबार का सम्मान थे। अमीर खुसरो गुणग्राही थे और गोपाल नायक भी गुणग्राहियों की, खोज में थे फलतः दोनों की मित्रता हो गई। औरंगजेब कालीन फकीरुल्लाह जैसे लोगों ने अमीर खुसरो की मृत्यु से प्रायः साढ़े तीन सौ वर्ष पश्चात् रागदर्पण में लिखा है कि गोपाल नायक अमीर खुसरो से हारकर मुसलमान हो गये और दक्षिण भारतीयों का कहना है कि गोपाल नायक ने अमीर खुसरो पर विजय प्राप्त की।¹⁶

अमीर खुसरो समन्वयवादी थे उन्होंने विदेशियों को स्वरो के ईरानी नाम और उनके आधार पर सिद्ध होने वाले मुकामों को भुलाने का आधार प्रस्तुत कर दिया और गोपाल नायक ने इस पद्धति के द्वारा संगीत रत्नाकर के रहस्यों पर परदा डाल दिया। अमीर खुसरो के साहित्य का प्रत्येक पाठक यह तथ्य जानता है कि वे विशुद्ध हृदय के व्यक्ति थे। उन्होने वीणा में स्वदेशी और विदेशी रागों को एक ही वाद्य यंत्र के सहारे वर्गीकृत करने का आधार प्रस्तुत कर दिया। ईरानी स्वरो के नाम बदलकर बीन में हिन्दु स्तानीपन ला दिया।¹⁷ खुसरो को कव्वाली तराना सितार व तबला का अविष्कारक माना जाता है परंतु विद्वानों में मतभेद है। आदि पुरुष ख्वाजा मुईनुद्दीन चिश्ती अजमेरी थे उनके शिष्य शेख हमीदुद्दीन नागौरी का प्रसिद्ध कव्वाल महमूद अमीर खुसरो के जन्म से कहीं पूर्व सुल्तान शम्सुद्दीन इल्तुतमिश (शासनकाल 1210-1235) के दरबार में धूम मचा रहा था। अतः खुसरो को कव्वाली का अविष्कारक कहना ठीक नहीं।

जब सूफी भारत आये तब अपनी रूचि का तराना भी साथ लाये। श्री रशीद अहमद कहते हैं कव्वाली और तराना दोनों हजरत अमीर खुसरो से पहले की चीजे हैं। और भारत के इतिहास में भी हमें ऐसे प्रमाण मिलते हैं जिनके आधार पर हम कव्वाली का अविष्कार अमीर खुसरो को नहीं कह सकते हैं। 1854 ई. मे “मअदनउल मूसिकी” के लेखक मुहम्मदकरम इमाम ने इस झूठ का प्रचार किया कि सितार के अविष्कारक अमीर खुसरो है जबकि मुहम्मद बिन कासिम से लेकर मुहम्मदशाह रंगीले तक के दरबार में किसी सितार वादक की चर्चा तक नहीं मिलती। खुसरो के ग्रन्थों में सितार की चर्चा तक नहीं है। विद्वान लेखक जनाब रशीद मलिक साहब का कथन है कि हजरत अमीर खुसरो के जन्म से सैकड़ों वर्ष पहले तबला भारत में आ चुका था इसके अविष्कार से हजरत अमीर खुसरो का कोई संबंध नहीं है।¹⁸

भारतीय संगीत का ज्ञान होना उसके मर्म को समझना आसान नहीं था। अमीर खुसरो को भारतीय संगीत का कुछ ज्ञान था क्योंकि वे ब्रज में उत्पन्न हुये थे। अवध और सुल्तानों

में उन्होंने नौकरी की थी, दिल्ली के सुल्तानों का आश्रय उन्हें प्राप्त रहा। दक्षिण के अभियानों में वे सेना के साथ रहे अतएव भारत के विभिन्न भागों से उनका प्रगाढ़ परिचय हुआ। फलतः उन्होंने प्रचलित रागों को मुकाम पद्धति से व्यवस्थित किया।¹⁹ ईरान के संगीत के मुकामों के आधार पर भारत के रागों को भी थाटों में परिवर्तित किया गया।²⁰ अमीर खुसरो ने गीत के बोल भी नये लिखे जो उसके नये श्रोताओं की रुचि के अनुरूप थे। उसने गजल को बहुत अधिक प्रचलित किया। सुल्तानी दरबारों में अमीर खुसरो की गजलें बहुत लोकप्रिय हुईं।²¹

जामी ने अमीर खुसरो द्वारा रचित ग्रन्थों की संख्या का उल्लेख करते हुये लिखा है कि उन्होंने बयानवे ग्रन्थों की रचना की, जिनमें कई लाख शेर संग्रहित हैं। ये रचनायें सांगीतिक, साहित्यिक, राजनीतिक एवं आध्यात्मिक गुणों से ओतप्रोत हैं। फारसी कवि हाफिज शीराजी ने अमीर खुसरो को “तूतियाने हिन्द” की उपाधि प्रदान करके उनकी प्रशंसा की। अमीर खुसरो सूफी व्यक्तित्व के संगीतज्ञ थे। उन्होंने ब्रजभाषा का मुस्लिम साहित्य में प्रयोग करके सूफी संगीत को समृद्ध किया। उन्होंने भारतीय शास्त्रीय संगीत तथा लोकधुनों को मिलाकर जिस विलक्षण हिन्दुस्तानी संगीत परम्परा को जन्म दिया वह मात्र कला जगत की वस्तु नहीं वरन जीवन के अन्य उच्चतर मूल्यों एवं स्तरों पर वर्णगोत्र में उलझे हुये व्यक्तियों को समष्टि में घुल मिल जाने का निमन्त्रण देती है। अमीर खुसरो द्वारा प्रवर्तित हिन्दुस्तानी मिश्रित संगीत जो हिन्दवी में बांधा जाता था वह सूफी जगत में अत्यन्त लोकप्रिय हुआ। हिन्दवी संगीत की इन रचनाओं में ब्रजभाषा तथा श्री राधा कृष्ण के प्रेम प्रसंगों का वर्णन रहता था।

निजामुद्दीन औलिया अमीर खुसरो के आध्यात्मिक गुरु थे। गुरु और शिष्य में अगाध प्रेम था। हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया बादशाहों और सुल्तानों से सदैव दूर रहना पसन्द करते थे।²²

आचार्य वृहस्पति के अनुसार खुसरो ने ब्राम्हणों से कुछ सीखा था। यह “कुछ”, संगीत शास्त्र नहीं था। ब्रह्म हत्या जैसे पाप से मुक्त करा देने वाली राग जननी जातियों का उपदेश एक मुस्लिम विद्यार्थी को दिया जाना त्रिकाल में असम्भव था।²³

जिस समय निजामुद्दीन औलिया का देहान्त हुआ उस समय अमीर खुसरो गयासुद्दीन तुगलक के साथ बंगाल गये हुये थे। उन्होंने जब अपने गुरु और पीर की मृत्यु का समाचार सुना तो कहा जाता है कि वह पागलों की भांति चिल्लाते हुये दिल्ली आये और उनकी कब्र पर यह दोहा पढते हुये बेहोश हो गये।

“गोरी सोई सेज पर , मुख पर डारे केस ।
चल खुसरो घर आपने, रैन भई चहुँ देस ।।”

अपने गुरु निजामुद्दीन औलिया के देहान्त से छः महीने बाद ही 1325 ई. में अमीर खुसरो का भी देहान्त हो गया। गुरु की कब्र के साथ ही उनकी भी मजार पर उर्स होता है और मेला लगता है। यहां हिन्दू और मुसलमान एकत्रित होकर परम्परागत सूफी संगीत द्वारा अपने श्रद्धा सुमन अर्पित करते हैं।²⁴

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राजा मानसिंह तोमर की सांस्कृतिक उपलब्धियां

प्रो. मीना श्रीवास्तव

सारांश

मानसिंह तोमर ग्वालियर गढ़ का राजा था। उसका शासनकाल 1486 ई. से 1516 ई. तक रहा था। इस सम्पूर्ण शासनकाल में साहित्य, कला, राजनीतिक उन्नति के साथ-साथ विभिन्न सांस्कृतिक उन्नति हुई जिसके प्रमाण आज भी साहित्यिक, अभिलेखीय एवं पुरातात्विक स्रोतों के रूप में प्राप्त हैं। मानसिंह का राज्यकाल वैभवपूर्ण था इसका मुख्य प्रमाण है ग्वालियर के किले में स्थापित 'मानमंदिर', 'गूजरी महल', चौरासी स्तम्भ युक्त शिवमंदिर, जलाशय, वावड़ियां एवं बरई में स्थापित 'रासमण्डल' आदि। राजनीतिक सफलता एवं सांस्कृतिक उन्नति की दृष्टि से 1394 ई. में सर्वप्रथम स्थापित ग्वालियर गढ़ का तोमर राजवंश मुख्य रूप से मानसिंह तोमर के शासनकाल में सर्वोत्कृष्ट पराकाष्ठा पर था, यही कारण है कि मानसिंह तोमर का राज्य 'स्वर्णयुग' के नाम से इतिहास में जाना जाता है।

विशिष्ट शब्द सांस्कृतिक, बरई, ग्वालियर गढ़, मानमंदिर, स्वर्णयुग, अभिलेख, बाबर, ध्रुपद, मध्यदेशीय भाषा, गोपाचल।

मानसिंह तोमर ग्वालियर का राजा था। उसके अधीन ग्वालियर एवं इसके आसपास का क्षेत्र था। मानसिंह का संपूर्ण शासनकाल 1486 ई. से 1516 ई. तक रहा है। मानसिंह तोमर के शासनकाल में सांस्कृतिक उन्नति हुई और इसी कारण ग्वालियर के तोमर राजाओं में से उसका शासनकाल 'ग्वालियर के तोमर राजवंश' का 'स्वर्णयुग' कहा गया है। ग्वालियर एवं इसके आसपास मानसिंह तोमर के समय के अभिलेख तथा वास्तुस्थापत्य के अन्तर्गत तत्कालिन निर्मित महल एवं अन्य ऐतिह्य सामग्री जैसे कि साहित्यिक ग्रंथ, संगीत-सभामंडप, मूर्ति-मंदिर, रासमण्डल आदि ऐसे

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प्रमाणिक स्रोत हमें प्राप्त होते हैं जिनके द्वारा मानसिंह तोमर के शासनकाल की उपलब्धियों का सप्रमाणिक उल्लेख किया जा सकता है।

राजा मानसिंह तोमर के शासनकाल का विक्रम संवत् 1551 अर्थात् कि 1494 ई. की वैशाख सुदी 3, अप्रैल 8 मंगलवार का शिलालेख एवं विक्रम संवत् 1552 (1495 ई.) का एक ओर शिलालेख प्राप्त होता है। ये अभिलेख ग्वालियर किले में निर्मित 'गंगोलाताल' में उत्कीर्ण है। गंगोलाताल में पानी भरा रहता था परन्तु जब किसी शासक को अभिलेख उत्कीर्ण करवाना होता था तब वह इस ताल में से पानी निकलवा देता था और उसमें शिलालेख उत्कीर्ण करवा देता था। ताल तक पहुंचने हेतु कोई मार्ग नहीं है। गुरुद्वारे की छत से ताल को देखा जा सकता है। इसमें कोई युक्त पानी भरा है। इतिहासविद् हरिहर निवास द्विवेदी के अनुसार- गंगोलाताल को साफ करने वाले कारीगरों ने वि.सं. 1551 के अभिलेख को उत्कीर्ण कराया था अतः इस अभिलेख की भाषा साधारण है।¹

विकृत संस्कृत भाषा में विक्रम संवत् 1552 के शिलालेख में मानसिंह तोमर का नाम 'मल्लसिंह देव' उल्लिखित है।² यह शिलालेख ग्वालियर गढ़ की एक जैन प्रतिमा की चरण चौकी में उत्कीर्ण है। इतिहासविद् पूर्णचन्द्र नाहर ने अपनी पुस्तक 'जैन लेख संग्रह' में इस अभिलेख का वर्णन लेख क्र. 1429 में किया है जो इस प्रकार से है

श्री स गोपाचल गढ़ दुर्गे ॥ महाराजाधिराज श्री मल्लसिंह देवराज्ये प्रवर्तमाने संवत् 1552
वर्षे ज्येष्ठ सुदि ।

9 सोमवासरे श्री मूलसंघे बलत्कारगणे सरस्वती गच्छे कुंदकुदा चार्यान्वये म. श्री नन्दिदेव
तत् पट्टालंकार श्री ।

शुभचन्द्रदेव । तत्पट्टे भ. मणिचन्द्रदेव । तत्पट्टे प मुनिकृकृ गणि कचरदेव तदन्दवा रह
भेणीवंशे सालम भार्या व

धुक पु 4 तेशां मध्ये अणंद भार्या उदैसिरि । पुत्र 6 लोहंगराम मुनिसिंध अरजुलधरणमल्लू
नल्लू । मल्लू भार्या ।

पियोसिरि पुत्र पारसराम भार्या नव । डुती पुत्र रामसि भार्या नागसिनी तृतीय पुत्र लिम ।
चतुर्थ पुत्र रोपणि । सा मल्लू ।

तीर्थकरं बिब निर्मापितं प्रणमति पीत्यर्थ 112³

ग्वालियर गढ़ में बादलपौर के पास गूजरी। महल निर्मित है इसका निर्माण मानसिंह तोमर ने अपनी प्रिय गूजरी रानी के निवास हेतु करवाया था। महल के प्रवेश द्वार पर नीली टाइलों द्वारा एक अरबी भाषा का तथा दूसरी फारसी भाषा की पंक्तियाँ⁴ अंकित हैं जो इस प्रकार से हैं :

(अ) प्रथम पंक्ति : विस्मल्लारिहमानिरहीम अलमुल्को लिल्ला हिलमाल्कुल कुल मुल्के जुलजलाल ।

हिन्दी अर्थ "प्रारंभ करता हूँ अल्लाह के नाम से जो बड़ा कृपालु और दयालु है। राज्य अल्लाह के लिये हैं, राज्य का मालिक परमेश्वर है।"

(ब) द्वितीय पंक्ति : ई दुआएं मंद्दीनिये राजा मान बिन। राजा कल्याणमल्ल।

हिन्दी अर्थ यह दुआ है राजा कल्याणमल के पुत्र, राजा मानसिंह की (देवी) सहायता के लिये।”

मानसिंह तोमर के बक्शूखां एवं महमूद लोहंग बाल सखा थे उन्होंने गूजरी महल के प्रवेश द्वार पर सूफी संत ख्वाजा खानून का अरबी में आशीर्वाद लिखा था।

मानसिंह तोमर कालीन उपर्युक्त अभिलेखों से स्पष्ट होता है कि तत्कालीन समय में मानसिंह तोमर ने स्वयं ब्राह्मण धर्म का उपासक होते हुए भी जैन धर्म एवं इस्लाम को प्रोत्साहन दिया था। ‘सलतनत काल’ में गोपाचल के तोमर राजा मानसिंह को अरबी-फारसी धर्मावलम्बियों की सद्भावना एवं सहयोग प्राप्त था। मानसिंह तोमर का काल सांस्कृतिक उन्नति की चरम सीमा का काल था। मानसिंह के दरबार में देश के प्रख्यात संगीतकारों, कवियों, लेखकों और नृत्यों को आश्रय प्राप्त था। वह एक महान वास्तु निर्माता भी था। ग्वालियर के किले में स्थित मानमंदिर तथा गूजरी महल आज भी उसकी महानता का स्मरण कराते हैं।

तंत्र राजाओं के समय के निवास गृहों में मुख्य रूप से मानसिंह तोमर द्वारा निर्मित ‘मानमंदिर’ और ‘गूजरी महल’ ही प्राप्त हो सके हैं।⁵ ये दोनों महल उच्च शिल्पकला व यहां उपलब्ध इमारती पत्थर के नमूने हैं।⁶ मानसिंह तोमर के ये दोनों निर्माण आज भी दर्शनीय हैं और स्थापत्य की दृष्टि से उच्च कोटि की इमारतें हैं जिस पर राजपूत एवं तुर्क शैली का मिश्रित रूप दृष्टिगोचर होता है।

मानसिंह तोमर द्वारा निर्मित करवाये गये भवनों के संबंध में यह उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है कि: “गोपाचलगढ़ के पूर्व भाग में तोमर राजा मानसिंह ने ‘मानमंदिर’ नामक महल का निर्माण सोलहवीं शताब्दी में आरंभ करवाया था। इस महल के बाहर 6 ऊँचे-ऊँचे द्वार हैं जिन पर आकर्षक नक्काशी की गई है। मानमंदिर का पूर्वी सामने का भाग 300 फीट लम्बा एवं 80 फीट ऊँचा है। इसके ऊपर 6 बड़ी-बड़ी बुर्जियां अथवा गुमटियां हैं। मानमंदिर के दक्षिण भाग की ऊँचाई 50-60 फीट एवं लम्बाई 150 फीट है जिसमें तीन बुर्जियां बनी हैं। मानमंदिर की दीवारों पर हाथी, सिंह, हंस, मयूर, वृक्ष-लताएँ और मानवाकृतियां चित्रित हैं।⁷

तोमर साहित्यकार खड़गराय ने अपने ग्रंथ ‘गोपाचल आख्यान’ में इस भवन का उल्लेख करते हुए लिखा है कि :

मंदिर एक करायो मान। घरयो नाम ता मंदिर मान।।

मानौ इन्द्र भूप को धाम। कहां न मंदिर ताहि समान।।⁸

मानसिंह द्वारा निर्मित इस भवन को फर्गुसन ने भारत के प्रारंभिक काल में निर्मित हिन्दू प्रासादों में अत्यंत भव्य एवं आकर्षक उदाहरण माना है।⁹ मुगल बादशाह जहीरुद्दीन मोहम्मद बाबर ने 27 सितम्बर 1528 ई. को ग्वालियर में तोमर राजाओं द्वारा निर्मित भवनों का निरीक्षण किया था उसने बाबरनामा में मानमंदिर का उल्लेख करते हुए इसे उत्तम और भव्य कहा है।

बाबर ने अपनी आत्मकथा को तुर्की भाषा में लिखा है उसने बाबरनामा में अपने जीवन की घटनायें लिखी हैं, जो ‘बाबरनामा’ के नाम से संसार के सामने हैं।¹⁰ मूल तुर्की भाषा की पुस्तक

का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद 'मिस्टर लेईडेन' और 'विलियम अर्सकिन' ने किया था जिसका हिन्दी रूपान्तर श्री केशव कुमार ठाकुर इतिहासकार ने किया है, सितम्बर 1968 ई. में प्रकाशित बाबरनामा की इस अनुवाद प्रति में (सम्राट बाबर की आत्मकथा में) 'मानसिंह तोमर के महल' के संबंध में यह उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है कि "दूसरे राजाओं के महलों की अपेक्षा मानसिंह के महलों का निर्माण अच्छा हुआ। उसके महल की उत्तर दिशा में जो निर्माण किया गया है, उसमें बहुत कारीगरी से काम किया गया है। यह महल चार खण्डों (चार मंजिलों) में बना हुआ है। जिसके सबसे नीचे के खण्ड में एक खिड़की है और वह खिड़की हाथी के ठीक सामने पड़ती है।

बाबर ने राजा मानसिंह तोमर द्वारा निर्मित 'मानमंदिर' नामक महल का वर्णन वास्तविक रूप से जिस प्रकार से किया है वह यथार्थतापूर्ण है। आज भी यह महल अपनी वास्तुशिल्प से 'मानव' मात्र को केवल आकर्षित ही नहीं करता वरन् शिल्पकारों के कलाकौशल के प्रति कृतज्ञता की भावना को भी प्रस्फुटित करता है।¹¹

फजलअली के अनुसार "मानमंदिर का निर्माण करने के लिये इसका पहला पत्थर 26 दिन में तराशकर तैयार किया गया और 27 दिन के बाद ज्योतिष शास्त्र के अनुसार शुभ दिन पूर्णिमा के मुहूर्त में उस पत्थर को ब्राह्मणों की उपस्थिति में उठाकर रखा गया।"¹² मानसिंह तोमर ने अपनी गूजरी रानी 'मृगनयनी' के निवास हेतु 'गूजरी महल' का निर्माण कराया था (मृगनयनी राई गांव की रहने वाली थी) यह इमारत दो मंजिल है। इसकी लंबाई 332 फीट और चौड़ाई 200 फीट है। महल के बाहरी भाग में गुम्बद, छज्जे बने हुए हैं। महल में अंदर चारों ओर कमरे बने हैं। इसके बाहरी भाग में गुम्बददार बुर्ज है, छज्जों के नीचे सुन्दर, घुमावदार ब्रेकटों की पंक्ति है और कुछ आकृतियां हैं जिनमें किसी समय मीनाकारी युक्त टाइल जड़े हुए थे।¹³ संभवतः इस महल का निर्माण वि.सं. 1551 (1494 ई.) के पहले पूर्ण हो चुका था।

छिताई चरित के रचनाकार नारायण दास के उल्लेख से ज्ञात होता है कि मानमंदिर और गूजरी महल का निर्माण 'गार्गी और गुणदास'¹⁴ नामक शिल्पियों ने किया था।

मानसिंह तोमर ने 'संगीत शिक्षा' को भी प्रोत्साहन दिया। "संगीत की शिक्षा हेतु मानसिंह तोमर ने गोपाचल गढ़ में स्थित गूजरी महल में संगीत विद्यालय की स्थापना की थी।"¹⁵ मानकुतुहल के फारसी अनुवादक के अनुसार "राजा स्वयं गायकों से संगीत विद्या के विषय में वाद-विवाद करता था। सर्वसाधारण को संस्कृत भाषा का पूर्ण ज्ञान नहीं था अतः मानसिंह ने संस्कृत के स्थान पर ध्रुपद, गीत, पद एवं दोहे मध्यदेशीय हिन्दी अथवा लोकभाषा में लिखे जो व्याकरण, अलंकार और रस¹⁶ की दृष्टि से श्रेष्ठ थे।"¹⁷

मानसिंह तोमर संगीत का महान् पारखी और ध्रुपद और 'धमार' संगीत के विभिन्न खण्डों का जन्मदाता था। उसने 'मान कुतुहल' नामक संगीत ग्रंथ की रचना की थी। इस ग्रंथ का फारसी अनुवाद फकीरुल्ला सैफ खां ने 'रागदर्पण' नामक पुस्तक में किया था। मानकुतुहल संगीत का प्रमुख ग्रंथ माना जाता है। इतिहासकार स्मिथ के अनुसार "तानसेन ने अपनी आरंभिक संगीत शिक्षा मानसिंह द्वारा ग्वालियर में स्थापित संगीत विद्यालय में प्राप्त की थी बाद में वह वृंदावन जाकर स्वामी हरिदास का शिष्य बन गया।"¹⁸

मानसिंह तोमर की संगीत सभा में बैजू, रामदास धोंडी, चरजू प्रमुख संगीतकार थे। बख्शू की मल्हार, घोन्डिया की मल्हार और चरजू की मल्हार राग प्रसिद्ध हैं। इनके अतिरिक्त मानसिंह ने गुजरात के महमूद लोहंग, पूर्व से नायक पांडवीय और दक्षिण से नायक कर्ण को भी बुलवाया था।¹⁹ बैजू बावरा ने मानसिंह की रानी मृगनयनी को संगीत की शिक्षा प्रदान की थी।²⁰ मानसिंह तोमर की मृत्यु के उपरांत उसके आश्रित संगीतरा ओड़छा, रीवा, गुजरात, सीकरी, दिल्ली के राजदरबारों में चले गये, जहां ग्वालियर के संगीत को विशिष्ट स्थान प्राप्त हुआ।

मानसिंह तोमर के राज्यकाल में मंदिर एवं मूर्तियों का निर्माण किया गया था। मानसिंह कालीन 'पद्मासन मूर्ति' की स्थापना वि.सं. 1552²¹ (1495 ई.) में हुई थी। मानसिंह तंत्र कालीन किसी मंदिर का 'कृष्ण लीला' से संबंधित मूर्ति उत्कीर्ण युक्त स्तंभ प्राप्त हुआ है जो तत्कालीन मूर्तिकला का प्रमाणित स्रोत है।

मानसिंह तोमर ने सिंचाई के लिये अनेक झीले एवं तालाब बनाये थे।²² नगर के उत्तर-पश्चिम में निर्मित 'मोतीझील'²³ ग्वालियरगढ़ के निकट ही स्थित है। इसके अतिरिक्त मानसिंह के समय का 'मान सरोवर', 'रानीताल' और 'चेरीताल'²⁴ आदि का भी उल्लेख प्राप्त होता है जो सिंचाई के साधन थे।

मानसिंह तोमर के शासनकाल की सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों के उल्लेखों, प्रमाणित स्रोतों के अन्तर्गत तत्कालीन महल, भवन, रासमण्डल, मूर्तियों, मंदिरों, अभिलेखों आदि से प्रमाणित होता है कि मानसिंह के समय उनकी सामाजिक व्यवस्था उच्च स्तर की थी। रइधू की 36वीं प्रशस्ति 'पासणाहपुराण' या 'पासणाह चरित' से ज्ञात होता है कि "उस समय के मंदिरों के शिखरों पर ध्वजा (झंडे) फहराते रहते थे। सुन्दर भवन, बाजार एवं जन कोलाहल पूर्ण राजमार्ग स्थापित थे। यहां पर लुटेरे, कपटी, चोर, दुष्ट, क्षुद्र, खल, दुःखी एवं अनाथजन दिखलाई नहीं पड़ते थे। यहां के नगरवासी धर्मात्मा परोपकारी एवं सज्जन थे।

मानसिंह तोमर का काल 'सांस्कृतिक उन्नति' की चरम सीमा का काल था। मानसिंह के दरबार में देश के प्रख्यात संगीतकारों, कवियों, लेखकों और नृत्यकों को आश्रय प्राप्त था। वह एक महान निर्माता भी था। ग्वालियर के किले में स्थित 'मानमंदिर' और गूजरी महल आज भी उसकी महानता का स्मरण कराते हैं मानसिंह तोमर की साहित्यिक, स्थापत्य, मूर्ति, संगीत एवं अन्य उपलब्धियों के साथ-साथ वह लोदी सुल्तानों के साथ संघर्षरत रहते हुए विजय भी प्राप्त करता रहा और यही कारण है कि उसका शासनकाल ग्वालियर के तोमर राजवंश का 'स्वर्णयुग' कहलाया।

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भरतपुर क्षेत्र से प्राप्त शैव प्रतिमाएँ

डॉ. मीना कुमारी जाँगिड

सारांश

भरतपुर क्षेत्र में प्राचीन काल में शैवधर्म प्रचलन में रहा था। फलतः इस मत से संबंधित प्रतिमा के दोनों रूपों-लिंग प्रतिमा व रूप प्रतिमा का अंकन भी अस्तित्व में आया। रूप प्रतिमा की अपेक्षा लिंग प्रतिमा उपासना प्राचीनतम है। शिल्पग्रन्थों में वर्णित शिव के सकल एवं निष्कल रूप लिंग के ही भेद हैं। लिंग को शिव का प्रतीक माना गया है। अतः लिंग ही शिव की प्रधान प्रतिमा है। चूंकि शिव पूजा में विशेष स्थान लिंग का है इसलिए शिव मन्दिर में लिंग ही प्रधान प्रतिमा का स्थान ग्रहण करती है।

मनुष्यों द्वारा प्रतिष्ठापित होने के कारण ये लिंग मानुष लिंग कहलाते हैं जो अचल लिंग श्रेणी में आते हैं।¹ लिंग स्थापत्य के दोनों प्रकारों में से भरतपुर क्षेत्र में केवल मुखलिंग ही उपलब्ध हुए हैं।² कुशाणकाल एवं तत्पश्चात् शिव का अधिकांश अंकन मुखलिंग रूपों में हुआ है जिनमें उन्हें पंचमुखी, चतुर्मुखी और एक मुखी अंकित किया गया है। मुखलिंग के रूद्रभाग पर पंचानन शिव के प्रसिद्ध पांच रूपों वामदेव, तत्पुरुष, अधोर, सद्यज्ञात एवं उर्ध्व में ईशान का अंकन आवश्यक है।³ इनमें से एक, दो, तीन या पांच मुखी भी विकल्प है। भारत में सबसे प्राचीन मुखलिंग गुडिमल्लम (आन्ध्र प्रदेश) का है जो प्रायः प्रथम शती ई. का माना जाता है, लेकिन उत्तर-भारत में मुखलिंग का विकास विलम्ब से हुआ है। यहाँ पर प्रारम्भिक गुप्तकाल से पूर्ववर्ती नहीं हैं।⁴ भरतपुर के अघापुर, भरतपुर, गामड़ी, चौमाभण्डपुरा से मुखलिंग प्राप्त हुए हैं।

भरतपुर क्षेत्र के अघापुर गांव से तीन एक मुखी शिवलिंग प्राप्त हुए हैं लाल बलुज प्रस्तर से निर्मित एक कुशाणकालीन मुखलिंग (152x29 से.मी.) अद्वितीय है। इस शिवलिंग की विशिष्टता यह है कि यह विष्णुधर्मोत्तर पुराण⁵ में शिवलिंग निर्माण के संदर्भ में दिये निर्देशों के अनुसार निर्मित किया गया है। लिंग का भोग भाग वृत्ताकार, भद्रपीठ भाग अष्टकोणीय तथा उसका ब्रह्मा पीठ भाग चतुष्कोणीय है। भद्रपीठ भाग में शिवमुख को उष्णीश बांधे अंकित किया गया है। उष्णीश पर गंगा की मुखाकृति अंकित है जो अब तक प्राप्त मुखलिंगों में अद्वितीय है।

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राष्ट्रीय संग्रहालय नई दिल्ली व प्रयाग के म्युनिसिपल म्यूजियम के चर्तुमुख शिवलिंगों में भी, शिव का शीर्ष उष्णीश या पहाड़ी पहने हुए प्रदर्शित किया गया है। अघापुर से प्राप्त द्वितीय शिवलिंग लाल बलुज प्रस्तर निर्मित है जिसका मुख भाग खण्डित है इसके शीर्ष पर जूड़ायुक्त केश राशि अंकित है। तृतीय शिवलिंग भी कुशाणकालीन बलुज प्रस्तर निर्मित है जो खण्डित एवं विदीर्ण अवस्था में है।

भरतपुर से 8 कि.मी. दूर गामड़ी ग्राम से आर.सी. अग्रवाल व विजय कुमार को एक अद्वितीय शिवलिंग प्राप्त हुआ जो भारतीय मूर्तिकला का अद्वितीय उदाहरण है। यह रक्त प्रस्तर निर्मित गुप्तकालीन शिवलिंग (44 से.मी. X 22 से.मी.) है। इस पर पुरुषाकृति उत्कीर्ण है। परन्तु इसका मुख भाग वर्षा के कारण विदीर्ण हो चुका है। इसका एक हस्त अभयमुद्रा में और द्वितीय हस्त कट्यावलम्बित कोई वस्तु धारण किए हुए है। इस मुद्रा में इसके देवी स्वरूप की झलक प्रतिबिम्बित होती है। इस मुद्रा का अवलोकन करने के पश्चात् यह ज्ञात होता है कि शिवलिंग के सहारे अभय मुद्रा में अवस्थित उष्णीयधारी शिव होना चाहिए।⁶ इससे पूर्व भी गुडिमल्लम के शिवलिंग में भी लिंग के साथ पुरुष विग्रह भाव की अभिव्यक्ति हो चुकी है।

अतः इस शिवलिंग में उत्कीर्ण अभयमुद्रा में व्यक्ति तो शिव हो सकता है। इसके दोनों ओर आकृतियां समाप्त प्राय हो चुकी है। परन्तु पार्श्व भाग में कुंमोदर स्थानक व्यक्ति यक्ष हो सकता है क्योंकि इसने तत्कालीन यक्ष परम्परानुसार धोती पहनी हुयी है तथा ऊपर मोटी मेखला लटकी हुयी है। इसी प्रकार का साक्ष्य कानपुर के समीप मुसानगर ग्राम में दो कुशाणकालीन शिव फलक प्राप्त हुए हैं। यहाँ एक स्थल पर अध्वरितस आसनस्थ शिव के नीचे सिंह विद्यमान है। दूसरे शिला फलक में अध्वरितस शिव के एक ओर सिंह खड़ा है व दूसरी ओर कुम्भोदर यक्ष मुसानगर की दोनों शिव प्रतिमाओं में शिव एक हस्त में अमृतघट धारण किए हुए हैं। अतः शिव के साथ सिंह, यक्ष, अमृतघट आदि का संबंध कुशाणकाल से ही देखने को मिलता है।⁷

चौमाभण्डपुरा ग्राम के बाहर स्थित पुजार्नात कुशाणकालीन शिवलिंग में शिव हाथ में अमृतघट धारण किए है। साथ में स्त्रीशीर्ष सिंह व यक्ष का अंकन भी है।

भरतपुर से उपलब्ध गुप्तकालीन बलुज प्रस्तर निर्मित मुखलिंग (55.90 से मी ग 20.30 से. मी.) इसमें अलंकृत जटा मुकुट से आवृत शिव शीर्ष अंकित है। (चि0) मुकुट आभूषणों से सज्जित एवं मुक्तामालाओं युक्त है। मथुरा क्षेत्र से उपलब्ध इस प्रकार के एकमुखी शिवलिंग में शिवशीर्ष पर घुंघराले बाल अंकित है।

रूप प्रतिमा: शिव के मानवरूप अंकन का उल्लेख गुप्तकालीन प्रतिमा लक्षण ग्रन्थों में प्राप्त होता है। वराहमिहिर⁸ शिव के मानवरूप के अंकन का उल्लेख करते हुए शिव मस्तक पर अर्द्धचन्द्र, पार्श्व में वृषभ, मस्तक पर तृतीय नेत्र, एक हस्त में त्रिशूल एवं दूसरे में पिनाक अंकित किए जाने का उल्लेख है। शिव के आयुधों में वज्र, चक्र, त्रिशूल, गदा, परशु, तलवार की गणना की गयी है।⁹

उमा महेश्वर : इस रूप में शिव पार्वती के साथ प्रदर्शित किए जाते हैं। द्विभूजी शिव का वाम हस्त देवी के स्कन्द पर अवलम्बित और दक्षिण हस्त में उत्पल धारण किए रहते हैं।¹⁰ देवी

की कटि क्षीण तथा शरीर सुन्दर होता है।¹¹ श्रीमद्भागवत् के अनुसार¹² शिव देवी पार्वती के साथ कैलाश पर विराजमान रहते हैं। वृहत्संहिता¹³ के अनुसार शिव देवी उमा को अपनी जंघा पर आसीन किए रहते हैं और उनका एक हस्त देवी के पृष्ठभाग पर अवलम्बित रहता है। रूपमण्डन के अनुसार इस रूप में चतुर्भुजी शिव पार्वती सहित अंकित रहते हैं। इनके दक्षिण हस्तों में त्रिशूल तथा मातुलुण्डा धारण किए रहते हैं तथा वाम हस्तों में से एक हाथ से देवी को आलिंगनबद्ध किए और दूसरे में सर्प धारण किए रहते हैं।¹⁴

कांमा से प्राप्त सलेटी बलुज पाषाण की उत्तर गुप्त कालीन प्रतिमा (116.80 ग 83.90 से. मी.) में उमा महेश्वर नंदी पर ललितासन मुद्रा में आसीन है। देवी उमा शिव की वाम जंघा पर आसीन शिव को निहार रही है। चतुर्भुजी शिव का अग्र वाम हस्त देवी के वाम स्कंध पर एवं अग्र दक्षिण हस्त देवी की दक्षिण जंघा पर अवलम्बित है। पृष्ठ दक्षिण हस्त खण्डित है, पृष्ठ वाम हस्त में त्रिशूल है। शिव-पार्वती दोनों के केश जूड़े में सज्जित हैं। शिव की जटाएँ उनके दोनों स्कन्धों पर विस्तारित हैं। कण्ठ में सर्पधारी शिव के मस्तिष्क पर देवी गंगा स्थित है। शिव गले में मुक्तामाल एवं यज्ञोपवीत धारण किए अंकित है। देवी उमा ने बाजूबन्द, करधनी, कर्णकुण्डल तथा ग्रीवा में मुक्तामाल धारण किए अंकित है। देवी उमा का वाम हस्त स्वयं की वाम आजानु पर, दक्षिण हस्त शिव के वाम पाद की एड़ी पर तथा दक्षिण पाद भूमि पर अवस्थित है। शिव के दक्षिण अद्योभाग में गणेश अपने वाहन मूशक के साथ नृत्यमान मुद्रा में तथा कार्तिकेय देवी उमा के वाम अद्योभाग में अपने वाहन मयूर के साथ अंकित हैं। शिव-पार्वती के दोनों पार्श्वों में महिला अनुचर स्थानक मुद्रा में हैं तथा दोनों उर्ध्व पार्श्वों में मालाधारी गंधर्वगण दो-दो की संख्या में अंकित हैं। ऊपर की दोनों दिशाओं में वाम दिशा में कमलासीन ब्रह्मा तथा दक्षिण दिशा में गरुडासन विष्णु प्रदर्शित है। ब्रह्म एवं विष्णु के मध्य चार शिवलिंगों पर दो-दो की संख्या में आठ पूजक जल अर्पित करते हुए प्रदर्शित हैं। भरतपुर क्षेत्र से प्राप्त यह उमा महेश्वर की अद्वितीय कलात्मक प्रतिमा वास्तव में त्रिदेव की समन्वय की संकल्पना को साकार करती प्रतीत होती है। त्रिदेव एवं शिव परिवार का यह अद्भुत समन्वय अनुपम है।

कल्याणसुन्दर प्रतिमा शिव की वैवाहिक प्रतिमाएँ कल्याणसुन्दर प्रतिमाओं के रूप में अभिहित की जाती हैं। ये प्रतिमाएँ शिव तथा पार्वती के विवाह का चित्रण करती हैं। अनेक पुराणों में शिव तथा पार्वती के विवाह का वर्णन हुआ है। वैष्णव पुराणों में विवाहादि का वर्णन तो नहीं हुआ है, किन्तु कुछ ऐसे प्रसंग अवश्य प्राप्त होते हैं जो इस रूप की ओर संकेत करते हैं। विष्णु पुराण¹⁵ में पार्वती के दुःसह तपस्या करने तथा शिव के साथ पाणिग्रहण संस्कार किए जाने का उल्लेख हुआ है।

नोह से प्राप्त सलेटी बलुज प्रस्तर निर्मित गुप्तकालीन कल्याणसुन्दर प्रतिमा (83 x 60 से. मी.) में शिव पार्वती स्थानक मुद्रा में एक दूसरे के हस्तों को पकड़े हुए पाणिग्रहण मुद्रा में हैं। मुख्य प्रतिमाओं के शीर्षभाग खण्डित हो चुके हैं। देवी की कटि आभूषण युक्त है तथा शिव कण्ठ में भुजगहार धारण किए है। शिव पार्वती के अद्योभाग के मध्य में ब्रह्मादेव एक अन्य पुरुषाकृति के साथ आसीन हैं। शिव पार्वती के दोनों ओर दो संगीतकार बैठे हुए तथा दो महिला संगीतकार स्थानक अवस्था में अंकित हैं।

शिव पार्वती सतवास (जिला भरतपुर) से बलुज प्रस्तर निर्मित शिव-पार्वती का धड़भाग (32.50 X 20.60 से.मी.) प्राप्त हुआ है। गुप्तकालीन इस प्रतिमा में शिव पार्वती आलिंगन मुद्रा में अंकित हैं। चतुर्भुज शिव अपने उर्ध्व हस्तों में त्रिशूल एवं सर्प धारण किए तथा निम्न वाम हस्त में पार्वती की ठुड्डी को पकड़े अंकित है। देवी पार्वती के वाम हस्त में दर्पण है। शिव पार्वती कण्ठ में मुक्तामाल एवं बाजूबन्द पहने हुए हैं, यद्यपि दोनों का मुख भाग खण्डित एवं विदीर्ण दशा में है लेकिन केश भलीभांति सज्जित किए परिलक्षित हैं। पार्वती के केशों में गजरा बंधा हुआ है शिव की जटाएँ उनके स्कन्धों पर लटकी हुयी हैं। यहाँ शिव-पार्वती को अलग-अलग प्रभा मण्डलयुक्त अंकित किया गया है।

महिला शरीर युक्त शिव- गुप्तकालीन ही एक अन्य शिव शीर्षयुक्त धड़ (25.40 से.मी. X 20.40 से.मी.) नोह ग्राम से प्राप्त हुआ है। यह सलेटी पत्थर से निर्मित है। इसके शरीर का ऊपरी भाग मिला है जो अत्यधिक गहनों से सज्जित है। इसके चार हाथ है लेकिन वे टूटे-हुए हैं शर पर जटा मुकुट धारण किया हुआ तथा कर्ण में कुण्डल कण्ठ में हार और बाजूबन्द पहने हुए हैं। आंखें ध्यान मुद्रा में हैं, लेकिन उसका चेहरा छिन्न-भिन्न अवस्था में है।

अतः भरतपुर क्षेत्र से प्राप्त शिव के लिंग व रूप प्रतिमाओं के अंकन से यह सिद्ध होता है कि विविध शिल्पीय व शास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में वर्णित प्रतिमा विज्ञान के निर्देशानुसार ही यहाँ शैव प्रतिमाओं का अंकन हुआ है जो इस क्षेत्र में शैव धर्म के शास्त्रीय स्वरूप का जनसामान्य तक पहुंच को पुष्ट करता है। साथ ही इन प्रतिमाओं पर उत्कीर्ण विविध अलंकरणों से इस क्षेत्र में लोगों द्वारा प्रयुक्त आभूषणों, वस्त्र सज्जा, प्रासाधन सामग्री, भाव भंगीमा, जन विश्वास, रीति-रिवाज, और परम्पराओं का भी परिज्ञान होता है।

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(8) नोह (भरतपुर) से प्राप्त शिव शीर्ष प्रतिमा



(4) भरतपुर से प्राप्त मुखलिंग



(5) नोह (भरतपुर) से प्राप्त शिव की कल्याण सुन्दर प्रतिमा



(6) सतवास (भरतपुर) से प्राप्त शिव—पार्वती प्रतिमा

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लोक आस्था के प्रतीक : हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया

डॉ. अलीमा शहनाज सिद्दीकी

सारांश

भारत वर्ष में सल्तनत कालीन हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया चिश्तिया सूफी हैं। चिश्ती सिलसिले के सूफियों में आपका चौथा स्थान है। आपके नाम के साथ जो औलिया शब्द जुड़ा है, इसका आशय मित्र, सहायक, शुभ चिंतक या संरक्षक से लगाया जाता है। (auliya it's often used to designate the status of a saint.) हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया अपनी सादगी, उदारता, शांति, सहायता व मानव प्रेम आदि गुणों के कारण सर्व साधारण में कुतुब-ए-देहली, आईना-ए-हिंद, सुल्तान-उल-मशाएख व महबूब-ए-इलाही के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हुये। आपका जन्म 27 सफर 636 हि. (1238 ई.) दिन बुधवार उत्तर प्रदेश बदायु में हुआ। “हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया का वास्तविक नाम इब्न-ए-अली अलबुखारी था।” “बाल्यावस्था में जब पिता ख्वाजा अहमद की मृत्यु हो गई तब माँ बीबी जुलेखा उन्हें अपने साथ दिल्ली ले आई। हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया के जीवनी का उल्लेख आईन-ए-अकबरी में सोलहवीं शताब्दी के लिखित प्रमाण में दर्ज हैं।”²

आपकी वंशावली इस प्रकार है : (स्त्रोत इंटरनेट)

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जब आप 20 वर्ष के थे, तो आपने हजरत बाबा फरीदुद्दीन गंज शकर (पाक पतन) को अपना मुर्शिद (गुरु) बनाया और 1258 ई. में दिल्ली के गियासपुर में शोरगुल से दूर अपने खानकाह में रहने लगे। खानकाह में अमीर-गरीब सभी की भीड़ रहा करती। उनके खानकाह में लोगों की भीड़ को उनकी श्रद्धा के रूप में देखा जा सकता है। वे सभी से मिलते व वार्तालाप भी किया करते। सन् 1265 ई. बाबा फरीद ने अपना उत्तराधिकारी नियुक्त कर चिश्ती सिलसिले को आगे बढ़ाने का कार्यभार इन्हें सौंपा और कहा कि हिंदुस्तान को इनके अध्यात्मिक पनाह में छोड़ा और उपदेशित किया कि “सूफीवाद का लक्ष्य जीवन की निषिद्ध वस्तुओं तथा शासकों की संगति का परित्याग करके हृदय में परम शक्ति का ध्यान करना है।”⁴



-राहत-उल-कुलुब

खानकाह

बाबा फरीद के मुरिद हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया थे जिन्होंने अपने मुर्शिद के परंपरा को अग्रसर किया। इतिहासकार सिद्दीकी लिखते हैं कि “शेख निजामुद्दीन ने दिल्ली के सिंहासन पर आरूढ़ रहते एक के बाद एक सात सुल्तानों का शासन देखा। (बलबन से खुसरो खिलजी तक) किंतु वे कभी भी किसी के दरबार में नहीं गये।”⁵ वे सूफी परंपरा अनुसार राज दरबार से सदैव बचते रहे। कहा जाता है कि खिलजी कालीन जलालुद्दीन खिलजी ने हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया से मिलने का अथक प्रयत्न किया किन्तु सारे प्रयत्न व्यर्थ निकले। यद्यपि अमीर खुसरों ने प्रयत्न किया कि मुलाकात हो जाय। तत्पश्चात् शासक अलाउद्दीन खिलजी ने जब ऐसा ही प्रयत्न किया तो हजरत औलिया ने कहलवा दिया कि “मेरे घर के दो द्वार हैं, यदि सुल्तान ने एक द्वार से घुसने का प्रयास किया तो मैं दूसरे द्वार से बाहर निकल जाऊंगा।”⁶ कालांतर में जब शासक ने मिलने का प्रयास किया तो उन्होंने ऐसा ही किया। स्त्रोतों से जानकारी मिलती है कि तुगलक शासक गियासुद्दीन तुगलक ने हजरत औलिया को संगीत गोष्ठियों (समा, कब्बाली) में भाग लेने के कारण उन पर मुकदमा चलाकर राज दरबार में उपस्थित होने के लिए आदेशित किया। हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया ने 53 उलेमाओं के समिति के समक्ष में राज दरबार में उपस्थित होकर अपनी बात रखी। फलस्वरूप उलेमाओं ने उन्हें बरी कर दिया। फिर भी सुल्तान गियासुद्दीन तुगलक के मन में मनमुटाव बना रहा। यह मनमुटाव तब और भी बढ़ गया जब हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया ने सुल्तान गियासुद्दीन तुगलक के पुत्र उलुगखां उर्फ मुहम्मद बिन तुगलक को देख कर यह भविष्यवाणी की कि अब वह जल्द ही दिल्ली का सुल्तान होगा जिससे सुल्तान गियासुद्दीन तुगलक ने हजरत औलिया के भविष्यवाणी को स्वयं के लिए खतरा समझ यह आदेशित किया कि उसके बंगाल अभियान से दिल्ली लौटने से पहले हजरत औलिया गियासपुर छोड़ दें। शेख ने उत्तर दिया

“हुनोज दिल्ली तुर अस्त” (दिल्ली अभी दूर है) और फिर यही हुआ, सुल्तान गियासुद्दीन तुगलक दिल्ली पहुंचने से पहले ही दुर्घटनावश मृत्यु को प्राप्त हो गए। लोगों का पूर्ण विश्वास है कि शेख की बददुआ से ही सुल्तान को अचानक कालकवलित होना पड़ा।

शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया लोगों को सदैव सेराते-मुस्तकीन (सीधे राह पर) चलने की शिक्षा दिया करते। युसुफ हुसैन ने लिखा है “हजरत अमीर खुसरो ने अपनी अफ-जलुल-फवाद” में जिक्र किया है कि उन्होंने (शेख) ने कहा कि एक विद्वान का संपूर्ण ज्ञान इन दो गुणों के बराबर नहीं है

प्रथम - तस्तीह-ए-मिल्लत व

द्वितीय - तजरीद-ए-खिदमत ।⁷

प्रथम जहां लोगों को सुधार की ओर प्रेरित करता है तो द्वितीय निःस्वार्थ भाव से लोगों की सेवा की ओर इशारा करता है। इतिहासकार जिआउद्दीन बरनी लिखता है कि “(शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया ने अपने द्वार शिष्यों के लिए खोल दिए थे), और उन्होंने अमीरों तथा सामान्य व्यक्तियों, धनी तथा निर्धनों, पढ़ों और अनपढ़ों, शहरियों और देहातियों, सैनिकों तथा योद्धाओं, स्वतंत्र व्यक्तियों तथा गुलामों को अंगीकार कर लिया था। ये लोग बहुत सी अनुचित बातों से दूर रहते थे, क्योंकि वे स्वयं को शेख का शिष्य मानते थे। अगर कोई शिष्य पाप करता था तो वह शेख के सामने उसे स्वीकार कर लेता था और फिर उनका शिष्य बन जाता था। नामाज अदा करते थे।”⁸ हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया को धार्मिक सहिष्णुता एवं मानव प्रेम आदि का वातावरण मुर्शिद बाबा फरीदुद्दीन से मिला। स्त्रोतों में राजकुमार हरदेव के रोजनामचे ‘निजाम-बसरी’ में ऐसा कई जिक्र आता है “जब बाबा फरीद हिन्दू और मुस्लिम दोनों ही से दीन के विषयों में वार्ता किया करते। उनके खानकाह में हिन्दू योगी ‘बड़ी संख्या’ में उपस्थिति दिया करते। उनके साथ योगियों के विचारों का विनिमय होता रहता। यहां एक घटना का उल्लेख इस प्रकार किया जा सकता है। एक दिन एक योगी उनकी खानकाह में उपस्थित हुआ। शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया भी उपस्थित थे। बाबा फरीद ने उस योगी से पूछा कि तुम्हारे विचार में बुनियादी बात क्या हैं? उसने उत्तर में कहा कि हमारे शास्त्रानुसार मानव शरीर के दो जगत हैं। एक ऊपरी जगत तथा दूसरा निचला जगत। ऊपरी जगत आलम-ए-उलबी तथा निचला जगत आलम-ए-सिफली कहलाता है। होना यह चाहिए कि ऊपरी जगत में सत्यता, सत्गुण व शुद्धता का वास हो तथा निचले जगत में निरीक्षण, पवित्रता और सुशीलता का वास रहे। यह सुनकर हजरत निजामुद्दीन ने कहा

“मरा सुखने ओ खुशआमद।”⁹ (यानि कि मुझे इसकी बातें अच्छी लगी)

स्त्रोतों के आधार पर जानकारी मिलती है कि एक शाम जब हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया अपने खानकाह की छत पर अमीर खुसरो व अन्य मुरीदों के साथ टहल रहे थे और यमुना किनारे हिन्दू योगी अपने धार्मिक रसमों (पूजा पाठ) करने में व्यस्थ थे तब एक मुरीद के उस ओर आकृष्ट किये जाने पर शेख ने फरमाया every people have got their path, their religion and their house of worship, “हर कौम रास्त-राहे, दीने व किबला गाहे।”¹⁰

(फारसी में) अर्थात् हर कौम का एक मार्ग, धर्म तथा किबला है। अतः हर धर्म को अपने तरीके से पूजा करने का हक है। प्रो. खलीक अहमद निजामी ने इस विषय में लिखा है कि “इस मिसरे में धार्मिक उदारता का एक विलक्षण भाव समाहित है। एक ऐसे दौर में जब मुसलमानों का राजनीतिक प्रभुत्व अपनी पराकाष्ठा तक पहुंच चुका था। उपरोक्त घटना से हमें जानकारी मिली कि हिन्दू-मुस्लिम सभी स्वतंत्रता पूर्वक अपने तरीके से इबादत के लिए स्वतंत्र थे। एक धार्मिक मार्गदर्शक का यह स्वाभाविक कथन धार्मिक उदारता का ही नहीं, बल्कि एक ऐसी सोच का आईना भी है जिसने भारतीय संस्कृति के जलवा-ए-सदरंग (सैकड़ों रंगरूपों) को समझ लिया हो और जो यहां के सांस्कृतिक परिवेश में हर धर्म और पूजा स्थल को देखने के लिए तैयार हो।”¹¹ इससे यह स्पष्ट हुआ कि हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया ने सदैव अपने शिष्यों को धार्मिक सहिष्णुता व सह अस्तित्व का पाठ पढ़ाया जो कि भारतीय सांस्कृतिक एकता हेतु आवश्यक था। इसके अलावा शेख जी की उदारता व सहनशीलता का पता हमें ‘सैरूल औलिया’ में विस्तारित अंशों से भी चलता है। मुझे लगता है कि शायद यही वजह रही है कि कालांतर में उनके प्रिय मुरीद अमीर खुसरो भी भारतीय संस्कृति के प्रसंशक व पोषक रहे हैं। युसुफ हुसैन लिखते हैं कि “नैतिक आदर्शों में मानव प्रेम एक आदर्श था, जिसे शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया अपने शिष्यों के मस्तिक में बैठाते थे।”¹² यह गुण उनके मुरीद हजरत अमीर खुसरो में स्वाभाविकतः स्पष्ट होती है। सरवर सौलत ने लिखा है कि “निजामुद्दीन औलिया ने अपने खलीफाओं को समस्त देश में भेजा, जहां वे गये। उन्होंने इस्लाह व सुधार का कार्य किया।”¹³

हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया के वार्तालापों व उनकी शिक्षा देने की पद्धति को अमीर हसन सिन्जरी ने अपने ग्रंथ **फवायद-उल-फुवाद** में संग्रहीत किया है। इस ग्रंथ का अपना ऐतिहासिक मूल्य है। इस ग्रंथ का ऐतिहासिक मूल्य इसलिए और बढ़ जाता है क्योंकि शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया ने स्वयं इसे दुबारा देख कर खाली जगहों की पूर्ति की। अतः यह व्यवहारिक सूफीवाद की प्रसिद्ध पुस्तक मानी जाती है। फवायद-उल-फुवाद में उनकी शिक्षाएं हैं। युसुफ हुसैन लिखते हैं कि “उनके व्यक्तित्व तथा विस्तृत धार्मिक दृष्टिकोण ने हिन्दुस्तान में चिश्ती संप्रदाय की लोकप्रियता को सुदृढ़ कर दिया। लगभग 60 वर्षों तक सैकड़ों और हजारों लोगों के लिए जो उनसे शिक्षा लेने हेतु दूर से और निकट से आते थे, उनके लिए वे अनुकम्पा के स्रोत थे। जो लोग ‘अताअत’ (आत्मसमर्पण) की स्थिति तक पहुंच जाते, वे ‘तरीकत’ के बिन्दू तक ले जाते।”¹⁴



दरगाह - हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया

शेख निजामुद्दीन औलिया अत्यंत सरल व सादा जीवन निर्धनता पूर्वक जिए। यद्यपि उनका कई सुल्तानों से मनमुटाव रहा, किन्तु वे दिल्ली छोड़कर कहीं नहीं गये। “वही दिल्ली में 18 रबीउस्सानी 725 हि. (अप्रैल 1325 ई.) को बुधवार के दिन दोपहर में 92वें वर्ष की उम्र में इनकी मृत्यु हुई। मृत्यु उपरांत हजरत निजामुद्दीन औलिया के जनाजे की नमाज रूकनुद्दीन बहाउद्दीन जकारिया ने पढ़ी।”¹⁵ स्रोत प्रमाणित करते हैं कि ख्वाजा निजामुद्दीन औलिया देहलवी ने धार्मिक सहिष्णुता व इंसानी मुहब्बत का ऐसा वातावरण निर्मित किया कि लोग आज भी जियारत व दर्शन हेतु उतने ही आदर सम्मान के साथ अपने मन्ते पूर्ति हेतु पूरी अकीदत से उनके मजार पर उपस्थित होते हैं। इनकी पवित्र दरगाह मुगल राजकुमारी जहाँआरा बेगम व अमीर खुसरो के समीप दक्षिणी दिल्ली गियासपुर में आज भी स्थित है। यह दरगाह संगमरमर का बना चहु ओर मेहराबों से घिरा इस्लामिक वास्तुकला शैली बेहतरीन नमूना है। यहीं पर हजरत औलिया ने सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक मुहिम का ऐसा अध्याय आरंभ किया कि लोग गियासपुर में तृप्त होने लगे।

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राष्ट्र-निर्माण की कड़ी में चम्पारण

डॉ. पूनम वर्मा

सारांश

विश्व के इतिहास की अनेक क्रांतियों की तरह चम्पारण का आन्दोलन भी एक शोषणकारी आर्थिक व्यवस्था की भयंकर बुराइयों के विरुद्ध असंतोष तथा प्रतिरोध का परिणाम था। चम्पारण में यह प्रथा (तीनकठिया) पूँजीवादी व्यवस्था के प्रभाव में वर्षों से कायम थी। इस प्रथा के अंतर्गत गोरे निलहे बड़े पैमाने पर नील की खेती एवं उत्पादन करते आ रहे थे। उन्हें केवल अपने लाभ एवं मुनाफा की धुन रहती। निलहे साहबों द्वारा रैयतों के प्रति व्यवहार लोभहर्षक अत्याचारों की लम्बी कहानी है।

प्रस्तुत आलेख द्वारा राष्ट्र निर्माण की प्रक्रिया में चम्पारण आन्दोलन एवं गाँधी जी के आगमन उपरांत उसमें तीव्रता तथा उसके दूरगामी प्रभावों पर नजर डालने की छोटी-सी कोशिश की गई है।

विशेष शब्द सत्याग्रह, तीनकठिया प्रथा, राष्ट्रवाद, निलहे-साहबों (गोरे-भूमिपतियों), चम्पारण, निलहे- रैयत।

दक्षिण अफ्रीका में सत्याग्रह का सफल प्रयोग एवं 1915 में भारत आकर गाँधी जी ने लगभग चार वर्ष 'ठहरो, स्थिति का अध्ययन करो और फिर आगे बढ़ो' की नीति अपनाते हुए भारतीय तत्सुगीन राजनीति का सूक्ष्म अध्ययन किया।

गाँधी जी का प्रत्येक कार्य एवं उनके द्वारा चलाए गए प्रत्येक आन्दोलन के पीछे एक दर्शन निहित होता था। महात्मा गाँधी 1915 में जब भारत आए, उस समय स्वाभाविक रूप से दक्षिण अफ्रीका की सफलता से उनकी ख्याती चारों ओर फैल चुकी थी। वे किसी परिचय के अब मोहताज नहीं थे।¹ महात्मा गाँधी भी भारतीयों पर हो रहे अत्याचारों से परिचित थे परन्तु उनके राजनीतिक गुरु गोपालकृष्ण गोखले ने उन्हें स्थिति को भली-भाँति समझकर कोई भी कार्य आरंभ

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एशोसिएट प्रोफेसर एवं विभागाध्यक्षा, इतिहास महिला शिल्पकला भवन महाविद्यालय, मुजफ्फरपुर (बिहार)

को कहा। उन्होंने कहा, “गाँधी जी में वे सारे गुण हैं जो वीरों और शहीदों में पाये जाते हैं। उनमें लोगों को सम्मोहित करने की अद्भुत प्रतिभा है। वह जन-साधारण को बलिदानी एवं संघर्षशील बनाने की अपूर्व क्षमता रखते हैं।”² इस तरह अपने राजनीतिक गुरु की बात मानकर गाँधी जी ने लगभग एक वर्ष तक देश के विभिन्न भागों की यात्रा की। लोगों को करीब से समझा, देश की राजनीतिक, सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्थिति का व्यवहारिक अध्ययन किया, जन साधारण की भावनाओं, भय, आक्रोश को समझा।

यह अत्यंत संयोग ही कहा जाएगा कि गाँधी जी ने सत्याग्रह का पहला सफलतम प्रयोग चम्पारण नामक स्थान से ही किया। दूसरे शब्दों में अफ्रीका से लौटने के बाद गाँधीजी ने भारत के नवोदित राष्ट्रवाद का पहला सफल प्रयोग किया था। गाँधी जी के नेतृत्व में भारतीय राष्ट्रवाद का यह पहला प्रयोग अहिंसा, सत्य एवं शोषित, दलित जन-समूह के जागरण तथा उन्मुक्ति पर बल देने के कारण सर्वथा अद्वितीय था। गाँधी जी ने आर्थिक विषमताओं को पूर्णतः दूर करने पर बल दिया था।³ ये विषमताएँ मानव को शोषक बना देती हैं। फलतः भारत के राष्ट्रपिता ने सर्वप्रथम आर्थिक विषमताओं को दूर कर समाज के शुद्धिकरण पर बल दिया था।⁴ राजेन्द्र बाबू ने 1949 में ही कहा था, “चम्पारण में जो कुछ हुआ, मेरी आशा के अनुरूप सारे देश में विराट् पैमाने पर उसकी पुनरावृत्ति की गई। चम्पारण निलहे साहबों (गोरे भूमिपतियों) के अत्याचार से मुक्त हुआ। भारत आज विदेशी राज्य से मुक्त है।”⁵

उपजाऊ जमीन, हरे-भरे जंगल तथा पहाड़ी नदियों से परिपूर्ण, हिमालय की तराई में बसा बिहार का पश्चिमोत्तर सीमांत जिला चम्पारण पुरातन काल से ही ग्राम्य-जीवन तथा कृषि आधारित अर्थ-व्यवस्था का पोषक रहा है। भारत में कम्पनी राज कायम होने के बाद भी इस क्षेत्र की सामाजिक- राजनीतिक अवस्था पूर्ववत् ही रही पर इसका आर्थिक स्वरूप जो परम्परागत कृषि व्यवस्था पर आधारित था, पूर्णतः बदल गया। अमेरिकी स्वतंत्रता-संग्राम के बाद, यूरोपीय बाजारों में नील की बढ़ती मांग ने, ब्रिटिश ईस्ट इण्डिया कम्पनी का ध्यान नील के उत्पादन और तिजारत की ओर आकृष्ट किया। इस समय नील का व्यापार सर्वाधिक मुनाफा देने वाला व्यवसाय था। नील की अप्रत्याशित मांग को पूरा करने के लिए बंगाल तथा बिहार में नील की कई कोठियाँ स्थापित की गईं।⁶ मिल बर्न ने 1813 ई. में लिखा, “नील का स्थान एशियाई माल की सूची में प्रमुख हो गया है। भारत से गैर-सरकारी व्यापार का वह एक सर्वप्रमुख माल है।”⁷

1830 ई. के एक सरकारी विवरण के अनुसार बंगाल महाप्रांत में लगभग एक हजार नील की कोठियाँ थीं। पुनः नील की कोठियाँ शाहाबाद, पूर्णिया, भागलपुर और संधालपरगना जिलों में खोली गईं।⁸ 1840 ई. तक चीनी व्यवसाय में मंदी के कारण यूरोपीय कोठीवालों ने ऊख की खेती छोड़कर विशेष लाभ प्रदान करने वाले नील की ओर अपना रुख किया। परन्तु नील की खेती से स्थानीय रैयतों का कई तरह से अनुचित शोषण किया जाता था। लॉर्ड मैकॉले ने 1840 के लगभग लिखा था “यह बुरी प्रथा अभी भी कायम है। घोर अन्याय स्थानीय लोगों के साथ अक्सर किया जाता है। अनेक रैयतों को किन्हीं कानून के द्वारा और किन्हीं कानून का उल्लंघन करके ऐसी स्थिती में पहुँचा दिया गया है जो अर्द्धदासों की अवस्था से अधिक भिन्न नहीं। मुझे भय है कि ये सब बातें सही ही हैं।”

यूरोपीय निलहे उत्तर बिहार में दो तरीके से नील की खेती करते थे जिरात और आसामीबार। जिरात के अन्तर्गत वे अपनी सीधी देख-रेख में अपने हल-बैल की सहायता से नील की खेती करते थे। आसामीबार व्यवस्था में कोठीवाला साहब रैयतों के द्वारा उन्हीं की खेत में नील की खेती कराते थे। इस व्यवस्था के अन्तर्गत सबसे अधिक प्रचलित तरीका 'तीन कोठिया' था। डॉ. राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने अपनी पुस्तक 'चम्पारण में महात्मा गाँधी' ने तीनकोठिया व्यवस्था को रैयतों के अपार कष्ट का मुख्य कारण बताया है। गाँधी जी ने अपनी आत्मकथा में लिखा है कि चम्पारण के किसान अपनी ही जमीन के 3/20 हिस्से में नील की खेती उसके असल मालिक के लिए करने को कानून से मजबूर था। बीस कट्टे का वहाँ का एक एकड़ था और उसमें तीन कट्टे की बोआई का नाम था "तीन कोठिया का रिवाज"।⁹ अपने खेत में नील उपजाने के लिए अनेक तरह की धमकी देना, जबर्दस्ती कम मजदूरी और कभी-कभी बिना मजदूरी पर भी काम करना, किसी कारण से अगर नील नहीं उपजा सके तो उसके लिए भारी जुर्माना करना उस व्यवस्था के विभिन्न पहलू थे।

1859 में बंगाल के कुछ जिलों में रैयतों ने निलहों के कठोर अत्याचारों के विरुद्ध आवाज उठाई। बंगाल व बिहार के विभिन्न भागों में फैली उत्तेजना के परिणामस्वरूप सरकार ने एक जाँच आयोग नियुक्त किया। नील आयोग को यह जानने में देर नहीं लगी कि बंगाल में नील की खेती का सम्पूर्ण व्यवस्था स्थानीय अधिवासियों के लिए कितनी अत्याचार मूलक थी। यह व्यवस्था सिद्धान्त में गृहित व्यवहार में हानिकर तथा किसी भी दृष्टि से अनुचित थी।¹⁰ आयोग ने निलहे साहबों और रैयतों के सम्बन्ध सुधारने हेतु तथा रैयतों के हित संरक्षण हेतु कुछ अनुशंसाएँ कीं। बंगाल के तत्कालीन लेफ्टिनेण्ट गवर्नर, जॉन पीटर ग्रान्ट अनुशंसाओं से पूर्णतया सहमत थे। आयोग पर अपनी सहमति देते हुए उसने कहा कि इनसे सभी सम्बन्ध पक्षों को लाभ होगा। सरकार ने इनमें से अधिकांश को लागू करने का प्रयत्न किया। फलस्वरूप बहुत काल तक बंगाल में नील की खेती की अत्याचारी व्यवस्था कायम नहीं रही। किन्तु उत्तर बिहार के निलहे रैयत की दुखगाथा का कोई अन्त न था। अपने दुखमय जीवन से ऊब कर रैयतों ने 1867 में विद्रोह कर दिया। अदालत ने नीलवरों का पक्ष लिया और रैयतों के दुख-दर्द की कोई सीमा न रही।¹¹

नीलहे साहबों के दुःसह्य अत्याचारों से पीड़ित चम्पारण रैयत जहाँ कहीं से भी संभव हो, अपने उद्धार का मार्ग तलाश रहे थे। शीघ्र ही उन्हें सही रास्ता मिला तथा ईश्वर ने उनके पास मुक्ति हेतु सही व्यक्ति को भेज दिया। 1916 के अखिल भारतीय कांग्रेस का वार्षिक अधिवेशन लखनऊ में हुआ जिसमें बिहार से काफी संख्या में प्रतिनिधियों ने हिस्सा लिया। इसी अधिवेशन में ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद ने चम्पारण के रैयतों पर होनेवाले जुल्मों का वर्णन किया। बिहार के ये प्रतिनिधि कांग्रेस में प्रस्ताव पेश करवाना चाहते थे। गाँधी जी ने ब्रजकिशोर प्रसाद के सारे अनुरोधों को नजरअंदाज कर दिया। किन्तु काफी आग्रह के बाद समीक्षा करने का वादा किया। बिहार के जिन लोगों के अनुरोध पर गाँधीजी ने चम्पारण आगमन स्वीकार किया उनमें राजकुमार शुक्ल का नाम उल्लेखनीय है। जिन्हें नीलवरों की ज्यादतियों का व्यक्तिगत कटु अनुभव था। गाँधीजी के शब्दों में "पंडित शुक्ल बिहार के हजारों लोगों पर से नील के कलंक को धो देने को कृतसंकल्प थे।"¹² शुक्लजी ने गिड़गिड़ाकर गाँधीजी से कथा था, "चम्पारण के 19,00,000

दलित-पीड़ित लोग आपके चरण कमल के दर्शन हेतु बड़ी ही उत्सुकता के साथ प्रतीक्षा कर रहे हैं। उन्हें केवल आशा ही नहीं पूर्ण विश्वास है कि चम्पारण में आपके चरण रखते ही उनका उसी तरह उद्धार हो जाएगा जैसे भगवान राम के चरणों के स्पर्श से अहिल्या का उद्धार हुआ था।¹³ गाँधी जी ने अपनी आत्मकथा में लिखा है कि “मुझे स्वीकार करना चाहिए कि वहाँ जाने के पहले मैं चम्पारण का नाम तक नहीं जानता था। वहाँ नील की खेती होती है, इसका ख्याल भी नहीं के बराबर ही था। नील की गोटियाँ देखी थी, पर यह चम्पारण में बनती हैं और उसके कारण हजारों किसानों को कष्ट भोगना पड़ता है, इसकी तनिक भी खबर नहीं थी।”¹⁴

काफी अनुनय-विनय के पश्चात् 15 अप्रैल 1917 को गाँधीजी मोतिहारी के लिए रवाना हुए। वहाँ पहुँचने के उपरान्त परिस्थितियाँ ऐसी घटीं कि जिलाधिकारी डब्ल्यू.बी.हार्डिकॉक ने धारा 144 के अन्तर्गत यह आदेश दिया कि गाँधी जी यथार्थ शीघ्र लौट जाएँ। गाँधी जी ने जिलाधिकारी की आज्ञा मानने से इन्कार कर दिया। गाँधी जी पर नोटिस और सम्मन जारी किए जाने की खबर आग की लपटों की तरह फैल गई। भोली-भाली जनता इस करिश्माई व्यक्ति के दर्शन हेतु व्याकुल हो उठी। गाँधी जी ने खचाखच भरे अदालत में अपना अपराध स्वीकार किया और अपने निर्णय को उचित ठहराया। 21 अप्रैल को एक लिखित आदेश द्वारा गाँधी जी पर से मुकदमा हटा लिया गया। गाँधी जी के अनुसार, “देश को सविनय अवज्ञा का यह पहला प्रत्यक्ष सबक था।” राजेन्द्र प्रसाद ने अपनी पुस्तिका में लिखा है कि गाँधी जी का सत्य के लिए यह निर्भिक आग्रह का हम पर गहरा प्रभाव हुआ।¹⁵ गाँधी जी ने चम्पारण की रैयतों का दुख दूर करने का अपना मन बना लिया था। मोतिहारी में मिली सफलता ने गाँधी जी को मसीहा बना दिया। गाँधी जी ने चम्पारण के अनगिनत गाँवों की पैदल यात्रा की, ग्रामीणों के घर-आंगन तथा सामाजिक पिछड़ापन देखा तथा स्वयं लोगों से हाल-चाल पूछा। तत्पश्चात् 22 अप्रैल, 1917 को गाँधी जी बेतिया के लिए प्रस्थान हुए। उन्होंने चंपारण के सम्पूर्ण आन्दोलन को राजनीतिक प्रभाव से मुक्त रखना चाहा। धीरे-धीरे सत्याग्रह का स्वरूप तेजी से बढ़ता गया। गाँधीजी की बढ़ती लोकप्रियता के कारण लेफ्टिनेण्ट गर्वनर ऐडवर्ड अलवर्ट गेट ने गाँधी जी को राँची बुलाया। उनके कार्यकर्ताओं ने तरह-तरह के अटकलें लगाना शुरू कर दिया। गाँधी के नजरबन्द होने के डर से गतिविधियाँ पटना में तेज हो गई। कार्यकर्ताओं के एक सम्मेलन में यह निर्णय लिया गया कि सरकार यदि गाँधी जी पर कार्रवाई करती है तो श्री हक और पं. मालवीय चम्पारण के कार्य का नेतृत्व करेंगे। देश के अन्य नेताओं के साथ पत्राचार शुरू किया गया।¹⁶ परन्तु राँची में ऐसा कुछ भी नहीं हुआ। तदुपरांत एफ.जी.स्ताई की अध्यक्षता में एक समिति गठित हुई जिसके अन्य सदस्यों में स्वयं गाँधी जी, एल.सी. अदामी, राजा हरिहर प्रसाद, नारायण सिंह, डी.जी.रीड एवं जी. रैना आदि थे।¹⁷ समिति के कार्य का पहला चरण अगस्त 1917 के मध्य तक समाप्त हुआ तथा अगले सितम्बर में राँची में अगली बैठक करने का निर्णय लिया गया। चम्पारण का कार्यभार राजेन्द्र बाबू व रामनवमी बाबू के जिम्मे छोड़कर गाँधी जी 16 अगस्त को मोतिहारी से अहमदाबाद के लिए चल पड़े। 22 सितंबर को गाँधीजी राँची लौट आए। जाँच समिति ने लगभग तीन दिनों तक सर्वेक्षण और बैठकों के उपरांत अपनी रिपोर्ट 3 अक्टूबर, 1917 को सरकार के समक्ष प्रस्तुत कर दी। समिति द्वारा प्रस्तुत लगभग सारी अनुशंसाएँ सरकार ने स्वीकार कर ली

जिसे 18 अक्टूबर को प्रकाशित कर दिया गया। अनेक स्वीकृत अनुशंसाओं में जो सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण था वह था तीन कठिया प्रथा की समाप्ति एवं किसानों को अवैध रूप से वसूले गए धन का 25% वापस कर दिया गया। चम्पारण सत्याग्रह के दौरान गाँधी जी के कुशल नेतृत्व से प्रभावित होकर रविन्द्रनाथ टैगोर ने उन्हें महात्मा की उपाधि प्रदान की।¹⁸

इस प्रकार चम्पारण नील आन्दोलन न सिर्फ बिहार अपितु सम्पूर्ण भारतीय इतिहास में महत्वपूर्ण है। सत्य-अहिंसा पर आधारित इस महान् प्रयोग द्वारा चम्पारण के रैयतों को न सिर्फ अन्यायपूर्ण अत्याचारी व्यवस्था से मुक्ति मिली अपितु आगामी दशकों में स्वतंत्रता संघर्ष के दौरान जो अग्नि परीक्षा गाँधी जी को देनी थी उसकी पृष्ठभूमि भी तैयार हो गई। वस्तुतः चम्पारण में जिस सत्याग्रह नामक अस्त्र का प्रयोग गाँधी जी ने किया निःसंदेह इसने न सिर्फ राष्ट्र निर्माण में महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका अपितु राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति के रूप में इसकी परिणति हुई। अंततः गाँधी जी के शब्दों में, “चम्पारण संघर्ष इस बात का प्रमाण था कि किसी भी क्षेत्र में जनता की निस्वार्थ सेवा देश को राजनीतिक दृष्टि में अंततः सहायता प्रदान करती है।”

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स्वदेशी आंदोलन के प्रणेता बिपिन चंद्र पालः एक समीक्षात्मक मूल्यांकन

डॉ. अंजनी कुमार झा

सारांश

सुविख्यात त्रिमूर्ति लाल-बाल-पाल के बिपिनचन्द्र पाल (1858-1932) ने अपने जीवन काल में अपने देशवासियों को सम्मोहित कर दिया था और निःसंदेह बंगाल-विभाजन के स्वदेशी आन्दोलन के वे जननायक थे। उनके समकालीन विद्वानों ने देशभक्ति की इस अभूतपूर्व लहर में महान योगदान के असंख्य प्रमाण दिये।

कुंजी शब्द राष्ट्रीयता, विद्रोही, देवदूत, आदर्शवादी, न्यायप्रियता, उदारता, सांस्कृतिक पुनरूत्थान स्वाभिमान, बायकाट, देशभक्ति, क्रांतिकारी, गतिविधि

परिचय स्वदेशी आन्दोलन के एक सक्रिय नेता विनय कुमार सरकार (1887-1949) ने पाल के बारे में कहा कि “वे 1905 के स्वर्णिम स्वदेशी आन्दोलन के प्रणेताओं में से एक थे। किसी अन्य की अपेक्षा, युवा बंगाल की क्रांतिकारी राजनीति के दर्शन के निर्माण में पाल की सबसे बड़ी भूमिका थी और वे मद्रास तथा दक्षिण भारत को इसमें सम्मिलित करने में सफल रहे। इसी प्रकार जिस चरमपंथी राष्ट्रीयता ने बंगाल और बम्बई को एकजुट कर दिया था उसके प्रणेता भी पाल ही थे।”¹ इसी प्रकार की भावना राष्ट्रवादी नेता बी. ए. श्रीनिवास शास्त्री (1869-1946), जिन्होंने मद्रास का विलय होते देखा था, व्यक्त किये हैं:

“मद्रास में बाबू बिपिन चन्द्र पाल, नई राजनैतिक विचारधारा के प्रबलतम प्रचारक थे, क्रांति की ज्वालामुखी के विस्फोटक थे। समुद्र तट के किनारे अनेक दिनों तक वे भावुक होकर संवेदनात्मक भाषा में अकाट्य तर्क देते रहे जो संध्याकालीन सुगंधित बयार में बहकर हजारों हजार श्रोताओं के दिलों दिमाग में क्रांति की ज्वाला भरते थे। भारत में भाषण कला की विलक्षणता का इससे श्रेष्ठ उदाहरण नहीं है और बोले जाने वाले शब्दों का इतने प्रभावकारी शक्ति से प्रदर्शन भी किसी ने नहीं किया था।

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देशभक्ति के देवदूत अरविन्द घोष (1872-1950) जो स्वदेशी आन्दोलन में उसके शुरू होने के एक वर्ष बाद आए और उनके सानिध्य में कार्य करते रहे, उन्होंने पाल के बारे में लिखा है कि वे “देशभक्ति के देवदूत थे”² और देश के मौलिक विचारकों में से थे।³

विवेकानन्द से प्रभावित जब बंगाल को विभाजित करने की अंग्रेजों की योजना पहली बार प्रकाश में आई, तो पैतालिस वर्षीय बिपिन चन्द्र पाल एक आदर्शवादी, सुधारक और लेखक के रूप में ख्याति प्राप्त कर चुके थे। सुधार के क्षेत्र में उन्होंने पंडित शिवनाथ शास्त्री का अनुकरण किया जो केशव चन्द्र सेन से अलग हो गये थे और जिन्होंने “साधारण ब्रह्म समाज” की स्थापना की। उन्होंने वैष्णव संत विजय कृष्णास्वामी से आध्यात्मिक प्रेरणा और मार्गदर्शन प्राप्त किया और राजनीति में सुरेन्द्र नाथ बनर्जी का अनुकरण किया और उनकी भांति ही वे भी अंग्रेजी शासकों की न्यायप्रियता और उदारता में गहन विश्वास रखते थे। आध्यात्मिक और बौद्धिक रूप में प्रेरित होकर उन्होंने कलकत्ता और मद्रास में क्रमशः 1886 और 1887 के कांग्रेस सम्मेलनों में भाग लिया। उस समय तक लोग उनकी और ध्यान देने लगे थे क्योंकि उन्होंने अपने संक्षिप्त भाषण में आर्म्स एक्ट को रद्द करने की मांग की थी।⁴

पाल दो वर्ष (1899-1900) तक इंग्लैंड और अमेरिका में रहे। और वहां वे स्वामी विवेकानन्द की पश्चिमी देशों में मान्यता देख कर बहुत प्रभावित थे। विदेश में पाल सिस्टर निवेदिता से भी मिले थे और जब वे भारत लौटे तो एक नई दृष्टि और कल्पना लेकर आए।⁵

राष्ट्रीयता से ओत-प्रोत 12 अगस्त, 1901 को पाल ने अंग्रेजी साप्ताहिक “न्यू इंडिया” शुरू किया। उसके पहले अंक में ही उन्होंने अपने आदर्शों का उल्लेख किया। भावोत्तेजक ढंग में उन्होंने घोषणा की कि “इसका मत गहन राष्ट्रीयता के भाव से ओत-प्रोत है, इसकी भारतीय सभ्यता की आध्यात्मिक, नैतिक और बौद्धिक उपलब्धियों के प्रति अगाध श्रद्धा है और उसकी आकांक्षाएं स्पष्टतः सार्वभौमिक है।” “न्यू इंडिया” ने मुख्य रूप से भारत के आर्थिक और शैक्षणिक पुनर्निर्माण के मुद्दों पर प्रकाश डाला और जान-बूझकर उन्होंने केवल राजनैतिक आन्दोलन पर जोर देने के बजाय सांस्कृतिक पुनरुत्थान पर अधिक जोर दिया। कलकत्ता में 26 जून 1902 को जब राष्ट्रीय स्वाभिमान के प्रदर्शन के रूप में पहली बार शिवाजी उत्सव मनाया गया तो पाल मुख्य वक्ता थे।⁶

कोलकाता में एक के बाद एक तीन मीटिंग हुई। कलकत्ता थियेटर में हुई अंतिम तीन मीटिंग में लोगो की भीड़ थी। मैंने आकर कहा कि “क्या आप ब्रिटिश माल को उस समय तक बायकाट कर सकेंगे जब तक कि विभाजन रद्द नहीं कर दिया जाता?” एक आवाज में श्रोताओं ने जोरदार ढंग से कहा, “हमेशा के लिये बायकाट”⁷ जिसे पूर्वी बंगाल और आसाम की सरकार ने पाल पर तैयार की थी।⁸

असाधारण लेखन कला 1905 के अंत तक पाल बायकाट आन्दोलन के प्रमुख प्रवक्ता के रूप में उभर कर सामने आ गये थे। अपने लेखों और भाषणों के द्वारा उन्होंने बायकाट का संदेश जोरदार ढंग से प्रचारित किया। न्यू इंडिया के अतिरिक्त उन्होंने अन्य अनेक बांग्ला समाचार पत्रों के लिये भी लेख लिखे। पाल और अरविंद ने साथ मिलकर बायकाट के आन्दोलन को भारत को संपूर्ण आजाद के लिये सकारात्मक राष्ट्रीय अभियान में रूपांतरित कर दिया।

अरविन्द घोष के आगमन से पूर्व ही बिपिनचन्द्र पाल ने बायकाट आंदोलन को आर्थिक, शैक्षिक और प्रशासनिक क्षेत्रों तक व्यापक बनाने के लिये अनेक उपाय किये।⁹

स्वशासन अंतिम लक्ष्य उन्होंने उपनिवेशवादी शक्ति के साथ असहयोग की बात दोहराई और स्वशासन को भारत का अंतिम लक्ष्य घोषित किया। 10 नवंबर 1905 में उन्होंने कलकत्ता यूनिवर्सिटी के बायकाट की मांग की और इसके स्थान पर नेशनल यूनिवर्सिटी बनाने का सुझाव दिया।¹⁰

साहसिक निर्णय इस अंग्रेजी पत्र 'वन्दे मातरम्' ने स्वाधीनता संघर्ष के इतिहास में अपने लिये विशेष स्थान बना लिया। पाल ने अरविन्द को 'वन्दे मातरम्' के संपादकीय मंडल में सम्मिलित होने का निमंत्रण दिया। अरविन्द अभी हाल में नव स्थापित नेशनल कालेज के प्रिंसिपल नियुक्त हुये थे। अरविन्द ने पाल का निमंत्रण सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया। 'वन्दे मातरम्' के संपादकीय दल को गौरव था कि उसमें उत्कृष्टतम प्रतिभाएं थीं, सम्पादक पाल और सहायक संपादक अरविन्द के अतिरिक्त इसमें हेमेन्द्र प्रसाद घोष, श्याम सुंदर चक्रवती और विजय चटर्जी जैसे विद्वान सम्मिलित थे।¹¹

पाल यद्यपि युवा क्रांतिकारियों की देशभक्ति, साहस और त्याग भावना की सराहना तो करते थे पर उनका विश्वास था कि उपनिवेशवादी शासन की दुर्जेय शक्ति के सामने छिट-पुट हिंसक गतिविधियों से स्वाधीनता का मार्ग प्रशस्त नहीं हो सकता। पाल को इस बात का खेद था कि वे अलग हो रहे हैं। यह निर्णय उस समय लिया गया जबकि बीमारी के कारण अरविन्द बाहर गये हुये थे।¹²

जनमत तैयार जून, 1906 में शिवाजी उत्सव के अवसर पर लोकमान्य तिलक कलकत्ता आये और कांग्रेस में नरमपंथी और मध्यमार्गी नेताओं के विरुद्ध राष्ट्रवादी और उग्रवादियों के एकजुट होने का आकर्षण केन्द्र बन गये। अरविन्द और पाल ने तिलक को दिसम्बर, 1906 में कलकत्ते में होने वाले कांग्रेस सम्मेलन का अध्यक्ष बनाने की योजना बनाई। पाल ने तिलक की उम्मीदवारी के समर्थन में जोरदार ढंग से जनमत तैयार करना शुरू कर दिया। नरमपंथी और मध्यमार्गी लोग डर गये और उन्होंने वयोवृद्ध (नेता दादा भाई नारौजी से अपील की कि वे कलकत्ता सम्मेलन की अध्यक्षता स्वीकार कर लें। पाल को भनक लग गई। बायकाट और स्वदेशी के समर्थन में कांग्रेस का प्रस्ताव अम्बिका चरण मजूमदार ने पेश किया और पाल को उसका अनुमोदन करने की अनुमति दे दी। उन्होंने कहा "आपने देखा होगा कि बायकाट का शब्द 'आन्दोलन' के साथ जुड़ा है इसका अभिप्राय है कि यह एक बिन्दू से दूसरे बिन्दू तक, एक शहर से दूसरे शहर तक, डिवीजन से डिवीजन तक और प्रान्त से दूसरे प्रान्त तक तब तक जारी रहेगा जब तक कि हम अन्य राष्ट्रों के मध्य एक राष्ट्र के रूप में अपनी जनता के सर्वोच्च भाग्य विधाता बनने में सफल नहीं हो जाते"¹³

सम्पादकीय ब्रिटिश गुप्तचर रिपोर्ट में मद्रास शहर में विद्रोह की भावना भड़काने के लिये पाल को जिम्मेवार ठहराया गया। 10 मई को जो पाल का भाषण होना था, वह नहीं होने दिया गया क्योंकि लाला लाजपत राय और अजीत सिंह को भारत से बाहर निष्कासित कर दिया गया था। सरकार के लिये पाल और अरविन्द व्याकुलता का कारण बन गये और सरकार अरविन्द के

विरुद्ध विद्रोही गतिविधि कानून के अन्तर्गत बंदी के लिये प्रमाण खोजने में लग गई। उनके विरुद्ध एक सम्पादकीय को प्रमाण बनाया गया परंतु सवाल यह था कि इसमें उन्हें कैसे फंसाया जाये क्योंकि कार्यालय की तलाशी के दौरान उपनिवेशवादियों के हाथ एक पत्र लगा जो पाल ने 26 मई, 1907 को किसी को अरविन्द ने वन्दे मातरम् में सम्पादकीय लिखने के लिए लिखा था। पाल से कहा गया कि वे अदालत में आकर गवाही दें। यदि वे गवाही के लिये सहमत होते हैं, तो अरविन्द को दंडित किया जाता है और यदि वे इंकार करते हैं तो अदालत की अवमानना के दोषी बनते हैं और उन्हें इसके लिये कानून का कोपभाजन बनना पड़ता है। अरविन्द को बचाने के लिये पाल ने स्वयं को बंदी बनना स्वीकार कर लिया। उन्हें छह माह की सजा दी गई। देवदूत की वाणी:पाल की रिहाई बक्सर जेल से 9 मार्च 1908 को हुई और इस अवसर पर अरविन्द ने सारे देश में इसकी अवसर पर अरविन्द ने सारे देश में इसकी खुशी मनाने का आह्वान किया। कलकत्ता की जनता से कहा गया कि वे उनका शानदार स्वागत करें। अरविन्द ने लिखा “अब बिपिन चन्द्र पाल जेल से बाहर आ रहे हैं, हमें उनके महान वक्तृत्व की प्रतीक्षा है, देववाणी का उद्घोष करने वाली उनकी अद्भूत कला उच्च आदर्शवाद की भावना को पुनः जाग्रत करेगी, सिद्धांतों के प्रति उनकी अडिग निष्ठा पुनः व्यक्त होगी उस देवदूत की वाणी जिसमें देव स्वयं अनेक बार फिर हमारे हृदयों को स्वच्छन्द मिलेगी, वह वाणी जिसमें देव स्वयं अनेक बार बोल चुके है।

अरविन्द ने लिखा बिपिन चन्द्र अन्तः प्रेरणा से बोलते हैं जिसे वे स्वयं भी रोक नहीं पाते जनता उनसे स्वराज, स्वदेशी, बायकाट, नेशनल एजुकेशन आदि पुराने विषयों पर सुनाना चाहती थी, उनकी अद्वितीय वक्तृत्व कला उन्हें आकर्षित करती थी, और स्वयं भी इन विषयों पर बोलना चाहते थे, “परंतु देवदूत की भाषा उसकी अपनी नहीं होती बल्कि वह भाषा किसी अपरा शक्ति की होती है जिसे उसे बोलना ही पड़ता है।”¹⁴

उन्होंने कहा, “हम केवल अपने लिये ही संघर्ष नहीं कर रहे हैं, केवल भारत के ही लिये नहीं, एशिया के लिये भी नहीं, बल्कि इंग्लैंड, यूरोप और समस्त विश्व के लिये युद्ध कर रहे हैं। इस संघर्ष के मुद्दों में भारत की मुक्ति और मानवता का उद्धार निहित है।”¹⁵

राष्ट्रीय समाचार पत्रों यथा, युगान्तर, सान्ध्य, बारीसल हितैषी और चारु मित्रा को जबरदस्ती बंद कर दिया गया। तिलक को दूर देश माण्डले जेल में 6 महीने की कठोर सजा दे दी गई। अरविन्द और वन्दे मातरम भी सरकारी अत्याचारों से बच नहीं सके। 2 मई, 1908 को अरविन्द और युगान्तर के उनके दल के 36 व्यक्तियों को बंदी कर उन पर मुकदमा चलाया गया जिसे पाल ने सहर्ष स्वीकार कर लिया और 20 अगस्त, 1908 तक वे संपादन करते रहे।

राष्ट्रीय आंदोलन का संदेश इंग्लैंड में वे तीन साल रहे और वहां भी राजनैतिक और बौद्धिक सभाओं में भारतीय राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का संदेश प्रसारित करते रहे। उन्होंने अंग्रेजी प्रेस में लेख भी लिखे। 1 मार्च, 1909 को उन्होंने अपना पाक्षिक पत्र स्वराज्य शुरू कर दिया।¹⁶ शीघ्र ही उनके यूरोप में स्थित भारतीय क्रांतिकारियों से गम्भीर मतभेद हो गये। वे चाहते थे कि पाल उनकी गतिविधियों में भाग लें। पाल इसके लिये तैयार नहीं थे। हिंसात्मक संघर्ष के प्रति उनके मन में गंभीर संदेह था। इसी मुद्दों पर वे दिसम्बर 1906 में वन्दे मातरम् से अलग हुये थे।¹⁷ परंतु

सशक्त संघर्ष में उनकी अरुचि से अरविन्द के प्रति उनका सराहनीय भाव यथावत बना रहा। उन्होंने स्वराज में उनकी अत्यधिक प्रशंसा की और राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में उनके योगदान को सराहा।¹⁸

निष्कर्ष इंग्लैंड में पाल का सम्पर्क अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय जगत की राजनीति और उसकी विभिन्न गतिविधियों से हुआ। वे अपनी अन्तर्दृष्टि से देख सकते थे कि तीन वाद चल रहे हैं, इस्लामवाद, जिसका नेतृत्व भारत और मित्र के मुसलमान कर रहे थे। मंगोलियावाद, जिसका नेतृत्व चीन कर रहा था और इनकी प्रतिक्रिया के रूप में अखिल यूरोपवाद उभर रहा था।¹⁹ उन्होंने 'हिन्दु रिव्यू' में इन विषयों को प्रकाशित किया। सैम्युल हान्टिंगटन की लोकप्रिय पुस्तक "सभ्यताओं का टकराव" को उन्होंने लगभग एक शताब्दी पहले ही देख लिया था। परंतु इस देवदूत की चेतावनी पर देशवासियों ने ही ध्यान नहीं दिया, जिस कारण 1947 में विभाजन हुआ। आज भी इस्लामवाद और मंगोलियनवाद के आक्रमक तेवर जारी हैं।

संदर्भ ग्रंथ

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संजीत कुमार

सारांश

उपर्युक्त प्रसंग में अपना अध्ययन आरंभ करने के पहले हमें सन् 1855 से 1905 ई. के दौरान संताल परगना की परिवेशगत पृष्ठभूमि और सामाजिक ताने-बाने पर दृष्टिपात करना होगा। यह वह समय था जब ईस्ट इंडिया जैसी एक पेशेवर कम्पनी ने अनेक तिकड़मों द्वारा अपनी आर्थिक स्थिति काफी मज़बूत कर ली थी। अब उसकी राजनीतिक महत्त्वकाक्षाएं बढ़ने लगी थीं। वह व्यापारिक से शासकीय ढाँचे में कायांतरित होने को व्यग्र थी। सन् 1757 ई. में संताल परगना से सटे प्लासी की जंग जीत कर कम्पनी बंगाल में अपनी धक जमा चुकी थी। इसके बावजूद जो कसर रह गई थी उसे उध्वानाला की लड़ाई ने पूरी कर दी। उध्वानाला संताल परगना के साहेबगंज जिला स्थित राजमहल अनुमण्डल से 8 कि.मी. दूर है। 4 सितम्बर, 1763 ई. की रात मेजर एडम्स के नेतृत्व में कम्पनी की सेना ने मीरकासिम की सेना को बुरी तरह पराजित कर दिया। उध्वानाला विदेशी व्यापारियों के विरुद्ध (बंगाल के भारतीय सूबेदारों की आशा का अंतिम आधार था। 4 सितम्बर, 1763 की रात आशा का वह दीप सदा के लिए बुझ गया। इसी दरम्यान सन् 1764 ई. में हुई बक्सर की लड़ाई में भारतीयों की करारी हार के बाद दिल्ली के अक्षय बादशाह शाह आलम ने बंगाल, बिहार और उड़ीसा की दीवानी ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी को सौंप दी। अब बंगाल के साथ पूरे संताल परगना में 'कम्पनी सरकार' का वर्चस्व स्थापित हो गया।

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'संताल-विद्रोह' (1855-56) इस अंचल की एक महत्वपूर्ण क्रांतिकारी घटना है। इसी विद्रोह के बाद ब्रिटिश सरकार को अधिनियम संख्या 34/1855 के द्वारा 'संताल परगना' नामक

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एक 'नन रेगुलेटेड' जिले का निर्माण करने के लिए विवश होना पड़ा।¹ संतालों को विशेष सुविधा मुहैया कराने के बहाने इसे एक 'बहिर्गत क्षेत्र' घोषित कर दिया गया। संताल बहुल क्षेत्र को भागलपुर और वीरभूम से अलग कर 'संताल परगना' नामक एक भिन्न जिला बनाया गया जिसमें देवघर, दुमका, गोड्डा और राजमहल नामक चार अनुमण्डल बनाए गए।² यहाँ एक उपायुक्त तथा चार सहायक उपायुक्तों को दीवानी तथा फौजदारी अधिकारों के साथ नियुक्त किया गया। साथ ही, अधिनियम 37 निर्मित कर इस क्षेत्र को साधारण नियमों तथा विनियमों से पृथक कर दिया गया। भागलपुर के आयुक्त; कमिश्नर को इस नव निर्मित 'संताल परगना' जिला की निगरानी के लिए खास आदेश मिले। सन् 1855 ई. में अंग्रेज़ी सरकार ने कहलगाँव, पीरपैती, राजमहल आदि क्षेत्रों में रेल पटरियाँ बिछाने का काम शुरू किया। निर्माण-कार्य में अधिकतर अंग्रेज़ ठेकेदार जुड़े थे जिनका रवेया तानाशाही से युक्त था। वे नस्ली भेदभाव से भी भरे थे। रेल पटरियाँ बिछाने में श्रमिक के रूप में संताल स्त्री-पुरुष बड़ी संख्या में लगाए गए थे। ये अंग्रेज़ ठेकेदार और उनके भ्रष्ट कर्मचारी संताल श्रमिकों पर कई तरह के अत्याचार करने लगे। इनके पशु-पक्षियों को बिना मोल ले लेना, बेगारी कराना और जब-तब उन्हें पीट देना आम बात थी।³ सन् 1855 ई. के 'कलकत्ता रिव्यू' में दो संताली स्त्रियों के साथ शोषक तत्त्वों द्वारा बलात्कार किए जाने का सनसनीखेज समाचार छपा।⁴ इसने संताल परगना से लेकर तत्कालीन राजधानी कलकत्ते तक भारतीयों में ज़र्बदस्त उफ़ान पैदा कर दिया। संताल परगना के लोगों में भी इसने दुःख और क्षोभ की भावना जगा दी। थोड़े ही दिनों में; 1855 के अवसान-काल में इस तरह की कई और रपटें 'कलकत्ता रिव्यू' की सुर्खियाँ बनीं।

अखबार-ए-बिहार; ऊर्दू: सन् 1855-56 के 'संताल-विद्रोह' के बाद जिस क्रांति ने पूरी बरतानवी सरकार को हिलाकर रख दिया, वह निःसंदेह 1857 की बगावत थी। इसे तत्कालीन फारसीवां लोगों ने 'गदर' यानी 'विप्लव' के रूप में सूचीबद्ध किया है। पटना की तरह सूबा-ए-बंगाल की राजधानी रहे संताल परगना में भी ऊर्दू-फारसी के जानकारों की कमी नहीं थी। ये देश-दुनिया की ताजातरीन ख़बरों से अपनी वाकिफ़ियत (परिचय) बढ़ाने के लिए 'अखबार-ए-बिहार' की प्रतियाँ मंगाया करते थे। गौरतलब है कि पहले 'अखबार-ए-बिहार' का नाम 'पटना हारकरा' हुआ करता था। 12 पृष्ठों का इसका पहला अंक 21 अप्रैल, 1855 को निकला था।⁵ 1 सितम्बर, 1856 को इसका नाम 'अखबार-ए-बिहार' हो गया। इसके प्रकाशक शाह अबू तुराब और व्यवस्थापक शाह विलायत अली थे। इस अखबार ने 1857 के गदर के संबंध में अनेक सूचनाएं दी हैं। यद्यपि यह अखबार अंग्रेज़ों के प्रति उदार था, फिर भी इसके सितम्बर 1856, अक्टूबर 1856 नवम्बर 1856, दिसम्बर 1856, जनवरी 1857, फरवरी 1857, जून 1857, अप्रैल 1857 मई 1857, मार्च 1857, तथा जुलाई 1857 के अंकों में गदर के संबंध में कई अहम समाचार प्रकाशित हुए हैं।⁶

यहाँ उल्लेखनीय है कि 12 जून 1857 को संताल परगना की रोहिणी (देवघर) स्थित 5वीं अस्थायी घुड़सवार सेना की छावनी में तीन भारतीय सैनिकों ने स्वतंत्रता का प्रथम शंखनाद करते हुए अंग्रेज़ सेनानायक सर नार्मन लेस्ली को तलवार के घाट उतार डाला था। उन तीनों

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सैनिकों को रोहिणी में ही दिनांक 16 जून 1857 को बड़े अमानुषिक तरीके से फाँसी के फंदे पर लटका दिया गया।⁷ रोहिणी में परम्परा से यह बात चली आ रही है कि प्राणदण्ड पाए सैनिकों के शव अंग्रेजों ने वृक्षों पर झूलते ही छोड़ दिए थे और वे शव सरकार के आंतक का प्रतीक बनकर कई दिनों तक वैसे ही लटके रह गए थे।⁸

‘हितवादी’ (बांग्ला) इस कोटि क्रम में ‘हितवादी’ का नाम अग्रगण्य है जो एक समाचार-विचार प्रधान पत्र था। इसका प्रकाशन कलकत्ते से होता था। उन दिनों बंग-भंग के लिए अंग्रेजी सरकार ने अपनी कमर कस ली थी। बंग-भंग की कुटिलता भांपते ही बंगाली, संध्या, संजीवनी जैसी पत्रिकाओं के साथ ‘हितवादी’ ने भी अपना कड़ा प्रतिवाद छापना आरंभ कर दिया।⁹ इस पत्र के सम्पादक थे सुनामध्व्य साहित्यकार काली प्रसन्न बंदोपाध्याय। उनकी निर्भीक शैली के कारण ‘हितवादी’ को काफी लोकप्रियता प्राप्त हुई।

‘युगान्तर’ (बांग्ला) बंगाल के सक्रिय क्रांतिकारियों-भूपेन्द्रनाथ दत्त (स्वामी विवेकानन्द के छोटे भाई) वारीन्द्र कुमार घोष (श्री अरविंद के छोटे भाई) तथा अविनाश भट्टाचार्य ने मार्च, 1905 ई. में एक पत्रा का प्रकाशन किया जिसका नाम ‘युगान्तर’ था। स्वाधीनता-संग्राम की रक्तिम धारा से युवा वर्ग को जोड़ने में इस पत्र का बहुत बड़ा योगदान है। अपने कलेवर की दृष्टि से यह एक सजग पत्रिका की कमी पूरी करने में भी सक्षम था। इसके आह्वानकारी आलेखों ने अनेक युवाओं को आकर्षित किया। संताल परगना में भी ‘युगान्तर’ काफी लोकप्रिय हुआ। यहाँ के शशिभूषण राय, पं. विनोदानंद झा, डॉ. लम्बोदर मुखर्जी, ऊषारानी मुखर्जी, प्रभुदयाल हिम्मतसिंह का जैसे स्वतंत्रताकामी युवा ‘युगान्तर’ के आलेखों से क्रांति-पथ पर और भी दृढ़ता से अग्रसर होने लगे। ऐसा होना बिल्कुल स्वाभाविक था, क्योंकि इस पत्र के संचालक/सलाहकार मण्डल में श्री अरविन्द के साथ-साथ पं. सखाराम गणेश देउस्कर भी शामिल थे।¹⁰ यहाँ यह उल्लेखनीय है कि शिक्षाशास्त्री एवं साहित्यकार विश्वनाथ शास्त्री (शिवनाथ शास्त्री) ने बांग्ला में एक उपन्यास लिखा था ‘युगान्तर’। रोमांच से भरा यह रोमानी उपन्यास भूपेन्द्र, वारीन्द्र, अविनाश जैसे युवाओं को इतना भाया कि उन्होंने समाचार-पत्रा का नाम ‘युगान्तर’ ही रख डाला। इस पत्र को पाठकों ने हाथोंहाथ लिया। अभी दो बरस भी नहीं बीते थे कि इस पत्र की प्रसार संख्या 7000 हो गई। सन् 1908 ई. आते-आते इसकी प्रसार संख्या 25000 हो गई।¹¹

सन् 1905 ई. में हुए ‘बंग-भंग’ पर ‘युगान्तर’ के सम्पादकीय का यह अंश पत्रिका की निर्भीक दृष्टि का परिचायक है ‘अशांति की अग्नि प्रज्वलित करनी ही होगी आमलोग इस अशांति का आह्वान करते हैं जिसका नाम विद्रोह है’¹²

क्रांति की ज्वलंत चेतना जगाने वाली ‘देशेर कथा’ बांग्ला विद्रोह की पृष्ठभूमि तैयार करने के पत्रकारिता धर्म के निर्वहन हेतु पं. सखाराम ने काफी शोध, अध्ययन और क्षेत्र-भ्रमण के बाद सन् 1904 ई. में ‘देशेर कथा’ के रूप में अपना क्रांतिदर्शी शाहकार जनता की अदालत में प्रस्तुत किया। इस शाहकार के लेखक भी वे स्वयं थे और प्रकाशक भी। यानी लिखने से लेकर पुस्तक छापने तक उन्होंने अपना धन और पसीना दोनों देश की आजादी के लिए बहाया पं. सखाराम को उनके अतुल्य सपर्मण का परितोषिक भी तुरंत मिला। ‘देशेर कथा’ का पाठकों के हाथों में

आना था कि विप्लव भावापन्न युवा गुप्त क्रांतिकारी संगठनों/अखाड़ों में 'गीता' की तरह इसका पाठ करने लगे।¹³

'बिहार टाइम्स' (अंग्रेजी) संताल परगना सहित पूरा बिहार अपनी विवशता से आहत था और पृथक राज्य-निर्माण के लिए प्रयासरत था। लक्ष्य की सिद्धि के लिए बिहार की बौद्धिक बिरादरी का प्रतिनिधित्व करनेवाले सच्चिदानंद सिंहा, नंदकिशोर लाल, कृष्ण सहाय तथा महेश नारायण न जनवरी, 1894 ई. में 'बिहार टाइम्स' नामक अखबार का प्रकाशन आरंभ किया।¹⁴ बिहार में प्रशासकीय पदों को भरने के लिए कलकत्ता से अंग्रेजी शिक्षा प्राप्त किए हुए बंगालियों को ही लाया जाता था। बिहार के शैक्षिक, प्रशासकीय तथा अन्य निकायों में काम करने के लिए उन्हें अतिरिक्त भत्ता भी दिया जाता था। फलस्वरूप, बंगाल की तुलना में सामाजिक और माली दृष्टि से बिहार का विकास अवरूद्ध हो गया था।

'होड़ होपोन रेन पेड़ा' (संताली) संताली भाषा में लिखित साहित्य की शुरुआत रेवरेण्ड डॉ. जे. फिलिप्स रचित वर्णमाला 'संताली भाषा का एक परिचय' (An introduction to Santal Language) से मानी जाती है। इसका प्रकाशन सन् 1852 ई. में हुआ।

1 मई, 1890 ई. को इसी छापाखाना से संताली भाषा का पहला समाचार-पत्र छपा गया जिसका नाम 'होड़ होपोन रेन पेड़ा' रखा गया। आरंभ में मसीही धर्म के प्रार्थना गीत, इस धर्म संबंधित सूक्तियाँ, भावी योजनाएं आदि इस पत्र में छपी गईं। फिर इसमें देश-दुनिया और ज्ञान-विज्ञान संबंधी सामग्री भी छपने लगी जिससे संताली भाषा को पढ़नेवालों को काफी लाभ पहुँचा। संतालों की बातें भले ही मसीही धर्म के आभामण्डल में संताली में ही छपने से संताली युवा की बौद्धिक उन्नति का मार्ग प्रशस्त हुआ। इस पत्र में संपादक-मण्डल भारत की राजनीतिक स्वतंत्रता की आवश्यकता पर कुछ लिखने से बचते थे, पर शिक्षा के विकास पर उनका काफी जोर था।

निष्कर्ष: संताल परगना के लोगों में चेतना लाने में समाचार पत्रों की भूमिका (1855 से 1905 ई.) से शीर्षक अन्तर्गत इस अध्ययन की आवश्यकता दरअसल उस दौर के संताल परगना के परिवेश और वहाँ के लोगों, कलमकारों-पत्रकारों की मनोदशा को समझने की मांग से जुड़ी दिखती है। ऊपर निर्दिष्ट अवधि को ध्यान से देखें तो विदित होगा कि वह अवधि क्रमशः तीन बड़ी क्रांतियों/आंदोलनों से संबंध रखती है। 1855-56 ई. में प्रसिद्ध 'संताल विद्रोह' हुआ। जिसमें संताल परगना के प्रकृति पुत्रों ने अपनी अस्मिता और विशिष्ट पहचान के लिए अजेय समझी जाने वाली ब्रिटिश हुकूमत से लोहा लिया। 1857 ई. में गदर की जो लहर उठी, उसमें एक खास प्रकार के शोषण से मुक्ति का अलख जगानेवाली तत्कालीन बिहार की धरा पर रोहिणी (संताल परगना) का विस्फोटक विद्रोह हुआ। 1905 ई. में 'बंग-भंग' की प्रशासनिक कुटिलता के विरुद्ध पूरे संताल परगना में क्रांतिकारी आंदोलनों का एक सिलसिला चल पड़ा। इन तीनों बड़ी क्रांतिकारी घटनाओं के मूल में अखबारों की आंच है। अनेक अखबारों और उसके तपःपूत संपादकों-पत्रकारों ने जनता के संघर्ष को अभिव्यक्ति दी। चाहे 'संताल विद्रोह' हो, 'रोहिणी सैन्य विद्रोह' हो या फिर 1905 का 'बंग-भंग' हर जगह शब्दों के सजग प्रहरी अपनी भूमिका निभाते दृष्टिगोचर होते हैं।

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1857 की क्रान्ति मे रेवाड़ी तथा आस-पास के क्षेत्र का योगदान

प्रदीप

सारांश

1857 की क्रान्ति मेरठ, (उत्तर प्रदेश) से शुरू होकर दिल्ली तथा इसके आस-पास के क्षेत्र में फैल गई। हरियाणा उत्तर प्रदेश तथा दिल्ली के नजदीक होने के कारण इससे अछूता नहीं रह सकता था। हरियाणा के रोहतक, अम्बाला, हिसार, गुड़गाँव, महेन्द्रगढ़, मेवात में फैली थी। लेकिन इसका मुख्य केन्द्र रेवाड़ी झज्जर के पास के क्षेत्रों में था। इस क्षेत्र में झज्जर के नवाब, राजा नाहर और राव तुलाराम का बहुत योगदान था। इन्होंने ना केवल 1857 की क्रान्ति में सैन्य गतिविधियों में भाग लिया बल्कि दिल्ली के बादशाह की आर्थिक तथा खाद्य सामग्री के रूप में सहायता की। राव तुलाराम ने तो हरियाणा, राजस्थान और उत्तर प्रदेश में तात्या टोपे की भी सहायता की थी। इस शोध में हमारा मुख्य केन्द्र रेवाड़ी तथा उसके आस-पास के क्षेत्र किस तरह का योगदान रहा था।

क्रान्ति के कारण हरियाणा में भी उसी तरह से रहे जिस तरह पूरे भारत में थे जैसे जमींदारों पर अत्याचार, किसानों में असंतोष की भावना, सैनिकों के साथ मारपीट, यातना, भारतीयों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार ईसाई मिशनरों का प्रचार कार्य इत्यादि। विद्रोह के कारणों में चर्बीदार कारतूस को मुख्य माना जाता है। क्योंकि इन पर गाय तथा सुअर का मास लगा होने की बातें की जाती थी। इस कारतूस के चलने से उसका भय और उसकी उत्तेजना बढ़ गई। पर यह भी सच है कि उस समय कारतूस के अलावा भी बंगाल सेना सिपाही विद्रोह की स्थिति में थी।¹

हरियाणा के अन्दर भी जमींदार अंग्रेजों के खिलाफ थे। इसका उदाहरण रेवाड़ी के राव तुलाराम के पूर्वजों से पता चलता है। जिनके पास 1803 में 87 गांवों का एक परगना था। लेकिन अंग्रेजों ने उसको केवल 45 गांव ठेके पर दिये। राव तेजसिंह के तीन लड़के थे इसमें से राव तुलाराम एक पुत्र था। जिसके पास केवल अब 4 गांव रह जाने के कारण राव तुलाराम का अंग्रेजों के प्रति

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बड़ा रोष था। 10 मई 1857 को जब देश में विद्रोह का बिगुल बजा तब राव तुलाराम ने इस मौके को ठीक समझकर अपने पूर्वजों के इलाके रेवाड़ी बोहड़ा और शाहजहाँपुर परगनों पर अधिकार कर लिया और सम्राट बहादूरशाह जफर को इसकी सूचना दी। बादशाह ने उसका इन इलाकों पर अधिपत्य स्वीकार कर लिया। फिर राव तुलाराम ने रामपुरा में अपना मुख्यालय बनाया।¹ इसके बाद अपने बहादूरशाह की लगातार धन, अफीम, अनाज की पूर्ति करता रहा। जीवन लाल ने बताया की जब दिल्ली में अफीम तथा अनाज के कारण सैनिक मर रहे थे तो राव ने कई गाड़ी अनाज तथा अन्य सामान भेजा इससे यह सिद्ध होता है कि राव तुला ने ना केवल सैनिक योगदान दिया बल्कि दिल्ली में लड़ने वाले विद्रोही सैनिकों के लिए खाद्य सामग्री दी।²

रावतुलाराम ने एक अच्छी खासी सेना भर्ती की। कोई चार पांच हजार घुड़सवार तथा पैदल सैनिक होंगे इसके अतिरिक्त उसके पास एक छोटा सा तोप खाना तथा पुलिस की पल्टनें भी थी। उसकी सेना का सेनापति राव गोपाल देव था। कारतूस, बारूद, बंदूकें तथा दूसरे हथियार और युद्ध सामग्री बनाने के लिए रामपुरा के दुर्ग में एक बड़ा कारखाना था। इससे यह पता चलता है कि रेवाड़ी के लोगों ने 1857 की क्रान्ति में युद्ध सामग्री बनाने में भी महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया।³

रेवाड़ी क्षेत्र की महत्वपूर्ण लड़ाई नारनौल में लड़ी गई। गुड़गांव के कब्जे के बाद शार्वस ने रेवाड़ी की तरफ रुख किया। राव तुलाराम ने रामपुरा किले को खालीकर दिया शार्वस ने वहा पर किले में गोला बारूद देखें और राव तुलाराम को आत्मसमर्पण करने को कहा उसने मना कर दिया। फिर शार्वस ने 10 तारीख तक लूटपाट की तथा फिर काहनौड महेन्द्रगढ़ व झज्जर होता वापिस लौट गया। राव ने दुबारा से रामपुरा पर कब्जा कर लिया और गोपाल देव भी उसके साथ मिल गया। फिर राव ने नारनौल में अपना मोर्चा जमाया जहां पर शाहजहां मुहम्मद अजम, झज्जर का सेनापति अब्दुस्समद खाँ और जोधपुर लीजन के सैनिकों के साथ आ मिले। 16 नवम्बर 1857 को नसीबपुर गांव के पास निर्णायक युद्ध हुआ। सभी बाहदुरी से लड़े। लेकिन रजवाड़े की गद्दारी के कारण शहजादे मुहम्मद, राव कृष्णगोपाल, राव रामलाल व समद खां के पुत्र समित लगभग 5000 सैनिक मातृभूमि के लिए शहीद हो गए। अंग्रेज सेनापति कर्नल गोरार्ड समित लगभग 1700 सैनिक अंग्रेज भी मारे गए।⁴

उसके बाद अंग्रेजों में झज्जर पर अपना अधिकार करने की योजना बनाई। क्योंकि बागी रिसायतों में झज्जर बड़ी रिसायत थी। यहां के नवाब अब्दूरहमान खां ने की। 1857 में भगावत की थी। जहां एक तरफ उसने अपनी सेना अपने चाचा अब्दूल समदखा के नेतृत्व बादली भेजी थी। उमर दूजरी नारनौल के युद्ध में साथ दिया। अन्त में 17 अक्टूबर को कर्नल लोरेस ने नवाब को छुछकवास में गिरफ्तार किया और 23 दिसम्बर को लाल किले के सामने फांसी पर लटका दिया था।⁵ जहां इस तरह रेवाड़ी में विद्रोह को शान्त किया जा रहा था तो दूसरी ओर राव तुलाराम ने राजस्थान में जोधपुर तथा अन्य रिसायतों को एक साथ विद्रोह के लिए तैयार किया। फिर वह उत्तर प्रदेश में तात्या टोपे को फांसी होने के बाद वह इधर-उधर भटकता रहा। फिर उसमें विदेश जाने की सोची ओर अन्त में काफी मुश्किलों के साथ अफगास्तान गया वह के शासक मोहम्मद खान ने उसकी सहायता की ओर वही पर उसकी मृत्यु हो गई।⁶

इस तरह से हरियाणा में क्रान्ति की चिंगारी तो समाप्त हो गई लेकिन इसके बहुत सारे प्रभाव पड़े। एक स्रोत के अनुसार 134 गांवों को जलाकर तबाह किया गया था और 51 गांवों को नीलाम किया गया। मेवात में एडन द्वारा दमन व संघर्ष में 252 लोग मारे गए। रोहतक में निकोलस द्वारा बारूद में आग लगाने से 500 लोग मारे गए और हडजन ने महिलाएँ बच्चों को जिन्दा जला दिया।⁸

रेवाड़ी में 128 लोग मरे जिनमें 75 की पहचान की थी। झज्जर में 85 लोग भिवानी में 30 लोग हिसार में 2332 महेन्द्रगढ़ में 485 लोग मारे गए थे। इनके अलावा बहुत सारे सैनिक तथा लोगों की तो गिनती ही नहीं की गई होगी। इसके अतिरिक्त अंग्रेजों को नारनौल कानौद, बछवाना, बावल जो झज्जर की रिसायते में उनकी मिला लिया था।⁹

निष्कर्ष :-1857 की क्रान्ति की असफलता हो गई। हो तो इस तरह सबसे बड़ी चुनौती का अंत हुआ। अगर यह सफल हो जाता तो इतिहास की दिशा क्या होती। 1857 का विद्रोह भी महज एक ऐतिहासिकी ट्रेजरी नहीं थी। अपनी विफलता में भी एक महान उद्देश्य की पूर्ति की। यह उस राष्ट्रीय मुक्ति आन्दोलन का प्रेरणास्रोत बन गया।¹⁰ अन्त में हम इतना ही कह सकते कि हमारे इतिहास में बहुत सारे क्रान्तिकारी राव तुलाराम, राजा नाहर सिंह, झज्जर का नवाब जैसे में जिनके का योगदान का हम भी भुला नहीं सकते और रेवाड़ी तथा उसके आपस पास के क्षेत्र के अन्य लोग जिनका नाम हम नहीं जानते लेकिन यह शोध उसको भी एक सच्ची श्रद्धांजलि होगी।

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46 नेपाल-मधेशी सम्बन्ध

शोभा कुमारी

सारांश

नेपाल के मधेशियों ने अस्सी के दशक से जिस प्रकार अपने समाज को संगठित कर सदियों से चली आ रही पक्षपातपूर्ण नीति के खिलाफ आवाज उठानी शुरू की है और जिस तीव्रता के साथ मधेशी समाज में नेपाल की राजव्यवस्था के विरुद्ध विक्षोभ घनीभूत हो रहा है, वह अपने वाले समय में किसी अशुभ परिणति की ओर इशारा करता है। जैसे तो मधेश के लगभग सभी नेता एक स्वर में बोलते हैं कि वे नेपाल का विभाजन कर किसी नये देश के निर्माण की मांग नहीं करते, किन्तु इसके साथ ही वे इस बात का भी संकेत दे रहे हैं कि यदि हमेशा की तरह अब भी उनके साथ छल किया गया तो मधेशी जनता के दबाव पर उन्हें बाध्य होकर स्वतंत्र राष्ट्र के लिए भी संघर्ष करना पड़ सकता है। यदि ऐसा होता है तो माओवाद से त्रस्त नेपाल को एक नये संकट का सामना करना पड़ेगा जो निःसंदेह राजनीतिक अस्थिरता की दौड़ से गुजर रहे नेपाल के लिए कठिन चुनौती होगी।

नेपाल में मधेशियों के राजनीतिक आंदोलन का इतिहास जितना ही नया है, मधेशियों के साथ होने वाले अन्याय, तिरस्कार, अमानवीय व्यवहार और शोषण-उत्पीड़न का इतिहास उतना ही पुराना। कभी-कभी तो ऐसा भी प्रतीत होता है कि आधुनिक नेपाल के निर्माण एवं विकास तथा मधेशियों की उत्पत्ति एवं उनके शोषण की विकास-यात्रा लगभग साथ-साथ समानांतर चलती रही है। आज स्थिति इतनी बुरी हो गई है कि नेपाल की कृषि-अर्थव्यवस्था को स्थायित्व देने वाले मधेशियों को जहां एक ओर नेपाली मानने से भी इंकार किया जा रहा है, वहीं दूसरी ओर ऐसी परिस्थितियां निर्मित की जा रही हैं, जिसमें मधेशी स्वतः मधेस से पलायन कर जाए। किन्तु हाल-फिलहाल की घटनाओं को देखकर ऐसा प्रतीत नहीं होता है कि मधेशियों को लंबे समय तक दबा कर नहीं रखा जा सकता¹ अथवा कथित तौर पर उन्हें उनके नागरिक अधिकारों से वंचित नहीं किया जा सकता है, खास तौर पर तब, जब माओवादियों से प्रेरणा लेकर उग्र हिंसा की भाषा

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समझने वाले नेपाल के असहिष्णु समाज पर दबाव बनाने के लिए सशस्त्र मधेशी आंदोलनकारियों के 20-25 गिरोहों ने सम्पूर्ण मधेश क्षेत्र में अपनी सक्रियता बढ़ा दी हो। इन सक्रियतावादियों की फुटकर कार्रवाईयों से स्वयं मधेशी नेतागण भी भयाक्रांत हैं और उन्हें विश्वास हो गया है कि यदि वे अपनी मांद से बाहर नहीं निकले तो उनके समर्थक ही उनके हत्यारे बन जाएंगे। नेपाल के तराई क्षेत्र में मधेशियों की जमीन छीनने तथा उन्हें विस्थापित करने के लिए जो तरीका अपनाया गया है, वह है 'सुकुम्वासियों' की जमीन की बंदोवस्ती। सुकुम्वासी का अर्थ है भूमिहीन। सरकारी आंकड़े बताते हैं कि नेपाल में लगभग 83 हजार कमैया अथवा कमयोटी अथवा कामया है किन्तु वास्तव में यह संख्या कई गुणा अधिक है, जिनमें अधिसंख्य थारू जाति के हैं। ये सुकुम्वासी थारू मूलतः उन भूखंडों के स्वामी थे जिन्हें अलग-अलग युग-काल में नेपाल शासकों ने उनसे छिन लिया था। सच्चाई तो यह भी है कि राजसत्ता से जुड़े लोगों की भू-लालसा का सबसे अधिक शिकार इसी जाति को होना पड़ा है और इसी कारणवश किसी जमाने में बड़ी-बड़ी जोतों के स्वामी रहे थारू, आज भूमिहीन किसान या सुकुम्वासी बनते जा रहे हैं।

जानकार बताते हैं कि विक्रम.संवत्. 2009 में जारी किये गये कानून के प्रावधानों का लाभ उठाकर सरकारी कर्मचारियों ने जिनमें लगभग शत-प्रतिशत पहाड़ी थे, ने मधेशियों का आर्थिक-मानसिक शोषण करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। जिनके पास धन और बदलते जमाने की चलन को समझने की क्षमता थी, उन्होंने पैसे के बल पर, निर्धारित अवधि से कम समय तक नेपाल में प्रवास के बावजूद, नागरिकता हासिल कर ली। किन्तु तराई में रहने वाले बहुसंख्यक मधेशी, जिनके पास न तो पर्याप्त शिक्षा थी न लेन-देन की कला एवं विज्ञान का ज्ञान, बुरी तरह प्रभावित हुए। लगातार सरकारी विभागों के चक्कर काटने के बावजूद सीधे सादे मधेशियों को 'नागरिकता' नहीं मिली।¹ तराई में बसे पहाड़ियों ने पहाड़ी सरकारी कर्मचारियों के साथ मिलकर झूठ को सच और सच को झूठ बनाना शुरू कर दिया। राणाशाही से मुक्ति दिलाने में जिन मधेशियों की उल्लेखनीय भूमिका थी, उन्हें नागरिकता दिलाने में उनके पहाड़ी साथियों ने ही सर्वाधिक नकारात्मक भूमिका निभाई और यह समझते हुए कि नागरिकता की हैसियत और दर्जा मिलते ही वे वैधानिक रूप से उनके समकक्ष हो जायेंगे, उनकी नागरिकता के दावे को खारिज करने में हर संभव कोशिश करनी प्रारंभ कर दी। लगातार ठुकराये जाने तथा तिरस्कार झेलने के कारण धीरे-धीरे मधेशियों में हीन-भावना भरने लगी।² एक अनुमान के अनुसार नेपाल में नागरिकता प्रमाण-पत्र से वंचित मधेशियों की संख्या 50 लाख के करीब है। इन्हें जमीन खरीदने, ऋण लेने, बैंक में खाता खोलने, व्यापार करने, ठेकेदारी करने, किसी प्रकार का रोजगार-व्यापार करने अथवा उद्योग-धंधा स्थापित करने का अधिकार नहीं है। नागरिकता विहीन मधेशियों की स्थिति नेपाल में विदेशी प्रव्रजक दासों जैसी है। कमैया मजदूर, जिनमें प्रायः थारू हैं, परम्परागत और जन्मजात दास हैं।³ कभी उनके पूर्वजों ने ऋण खाया होगा, जिनकी भरभाई वे पीढ़ी-दर-पीढ़ी करते चले आ रहे हैं। कहा गया है कि "भाघ संक्रान्ति के दिन उनकी खरीद-बिक्री होती है। अर्थात् यहां के थारू यानी मधेशी और मवेशी में कोई अंतर नहीं।⁴ वे मधेशी अर्थात् वे लाइसेंसधारी दास हैं। पंचायती काल में जो सरकारी सेवा या अन्य मान्यता-प्राप्त संस्थानों में प्रवेश कर गये, गनीमत समझिये। वर्तमान अवस्था एवं व्यवस्था में नौकरी में प्रवेश उनके लिए निषिद्ध है। सारी सुविधाओं से वे वंचित हैं, सिर्फ मालिकों की सेवा भर करना उनका काम है। नागरिकता-प्राप्त मधेशी अपने गुजारा के लिए अपनी बची-खुची जमीन बेचने के लिए बाध्य हैं और लठैतों के रूप

में मालिकों की सेवा और सुरक्षा कर रहे हैं।”⁶ नेपाल की शासन-व्यवस्था पर हावी पहाड़ियों के मनोविज्ञान का आंकलन करते हुए शोधार्थी बतलाते हैं कि विक्रम संवत् - 2015 साल के पहले आम निर्वाचन में नेपाली तराई कांग्रेस (जो विशेषतः मधेशियों का राजनीतिक दल था) को उसके अस्तित्व और महत्व के अनुरूप ही निर्वाचन आयोग की ओर से चुनाव चिह्न मिला था “लंगोटी लगाये हुए आदमी के सिर पर गेहूँ के बालों का बोझा और हाथ में ‘हसिया’ यह महज संयोग था या जानबूझ कर दिया गया था, लेकिन था मधेशियों के असली स्वरूप का वास्तविक चित्रण।”

नेपाल में 75 जिलों में 19 जिलों को तराई क्षेत्र के रूप में जाना जाता है। ये जिले हैं झावा, मोरंगड़, सुनसरी, सप्तरी, सिरहा, धनुशा, महोत्तरी, सर्लाही, रौतहट, बारा, पर्सा, चितवन, नवलपरासी, रूपन्देही, कपिलवस्तु, बांके, वर्दिया, कैलाली और कंचनपुर। नेपाल की 87 प्रतिशत आबादी गांवों में रहती है और तीन-चौथाई गांव सिर्फ तराई क्षेत्र के 17 प्रतिशत भू-भाग पर बसे हैं। नेपाल के अन्न भंडार के रूप में प्रसिद्ध इस क्षेत्र की उन्नति, प्रगत और सर्वांगीण विकास पर नेपाल का विकास निर्भर करता है। अधिकांश औद्योगिक इकाईयां भी तराई क्षेत्र में ही हैं। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं कि तराई क्षेत्र ही नेपाल की वह हृदय-स्थली है, जिससे सम्पूर्ण देश की आर्थिक गतिविधियां ऊर्जा एवं शक्ति प्राप्त करती है। फिर भी नेपाली राजव्यवस्था पर पूरी तरह हावी रहने वाले पहाड़ियों ने अनवरत तराई क्षेत्र में रहने वाले मूलवासियों के हितों एवं अधिकारों की अनदेखी की है। लम्बे समय से लगातार उपेक्षा का शिकार रही मधेशी आबादी यदि आज राजव्यवस्था (व्यवस्था का स्वरूप चाहे जैसा भी हो) के विरोध में खुलकर प्रतिकार करने की मानसिकता बना रही है, तो यह स्वाभाविक मानवीय प्रतिक्रिया मानी जानी चाहिए।⁷ मधेशियों के सम्बन्ध में पहाड़ियों की चाहे जो भी धारणा हो, मूलतः ये अति सरल, सौम्य, सहनशील और परम्परावादी होते हैं। किसी जमाने में आदर्श चरित्र का पर्याय माने जाने वाले समस्त वे गुण जो आधुनिक समाज में किसी समूह अथवा समुदाय को अप्रासंगिक बना देते हैं, मधेशियों में कूट-कूट कर भरे पड़े हैं। दरअसल ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था तथा सेवा-क्षेत्र से जुड़े रहने के कारण समकालीन मधेशी समुदाय के पूर्वजों ने कभी भी उन नवीन कलाओं, विज्ञान तथा गुण-कौशलों को अपनाने की चेष्टा ही नहीं की जो उन्हें बौद्धिक, आर्थिक, सामाजिक अथवा राजनीतिक दृष्टि से उत्कृष्ट बनाता।⁸ राणा शासन के दौरान, शिक्षा एवं संगठन के अभाव में मधेशियों की उत्कृष्टता, जिज्ञासा तथा उत्सुकता लगभग कुंठित हो गई थी। उनकी इसी कुंठा का लाभ उठाकर राजसत्ता से जुड़े संचालकों ने उनमें हीनता का भाव भरा और धीरे-धीरे वे दबूपन के शिकार हो गये। आमतौर पर ग्रामीण परिवेश में प्रचलित कहावत “सादा जीवन उच्च विचार” उसी अवस्था की देन है जब व्यक्ति महत्वाकांक्षा पूर्ति में स्वयं को अशक्त मान अपनी निष्क्रियता अथवा अक्षमता को, उच्चादर्शों से महिमामंडित करने का प्रयास करता है। सम्भवतः मधेशियों की पुरानी पीढ़ियों के साथ भी ऐसा ही कुछ हुआ था जब उन्होंने पहाड़ियों के उपकार का प्रतिकार करने में खुद को असक्षम पाकर एकतरफा उपकार करने की नीति अपनायी। शायद ऐसा करना उस समय की आवश्यकता भी रही। संभव है कि उस समय मधेशियों में राजनीतिक चेतना का संचार ही न हुआ हो।

आज भी अधिकांश मधेशी ‘अल्पभोगी : सदा सुखी’ के सूत्र वाक्य को अपने जीवन में उतारने की कोशिश करते हैं। आज से सौ-दो-सौ साल पहले भी यही स्थिति थी। जिसके पास जितना धन था अथवा भूमि थी, वह उतने में ही संतुष्ट था। लोगों की आवश्यकताएँ तथा अपेक्षाएँ न्यूनतम थीं। आधुनिकता की आवश्यकताओं से दूर रहने के कारण उनके जीवन में

अभावग्रस्तता का नामों-निशान न था। जिनके पास जमीन के छोटे-बड़े टुकड़े थे, वे भी स्वयं को जमींदार मानते थे और पैसों की खातिर दूसरों की नौकरी उन्हें स्वीकार्य नहीं थी। “उत्तम खेती, मध्यम बान, निषिद्ध चाकरी, भीख निदान” वाली कहावत पर उनकी पूरी आस्था थी और यही कारण है कि आज से पचास साल पूर्व तक कोई भी मधेशी भूस्वामी अपने बच्चों को किसी भी प्रकार की नौकरी नहीं करने देना चाहता था। शायद नौकरी को हेय दृष्टि से देखने के कारण ही मधेशी समाज लम्बे समय तक अर्थोपार्जन के उस स्रोत से दूर-दूर रहा जो उन्हें आर्थिक समृद्धि के साथ-साथ सामाजिक हैसियत तथा राजनैतिक दिशा-दृष्टि दे सकती थी।

सांस्कृतिक, सामाजिक एवं राजनीतिक बदलाव की वर्तमान दौड़ में मधेशी जनता की मानसिकता, प्राथमिकता, आवश्यकता और आकांक्षा पूरी तरह रूपान्तरित हो चुकी है। शांतिपूर्ण ढंग से अपने अधिकारों की मांग को निरंतर ठुकराये जाने से आहत मधेशियों का अब न तो लोकतांत्रिक नीति में विश्वास बचा है और न उन नेताओं में गहरी आस्था, जो मधेशियों के लिए संघर्ष करने का दावा करते हैं। मधेश अब हिंसक प्रतिरोध का रणक्षेत्र बन चुका है और मधेशियों ने हल की जगह हथियार उठा लिया है। ऐसा नेपाल में माओवादी आंदोलन के प्रभावी होने के बाद हुआ है। आरंभ में कुछ मधेशी जातियां यह सोचकर माओवादियों के साथ हो गई थीं कि शायद वे उन्हें न्याय दिलाने में मददगार हों, किन्तु जब उन्होंने देखा कि सत्ता में आने पर माओवादियों पर भी अन्य नेताओं का रंग चढ़ गया है और वे भी मधेशियों की मांगों की उपेक्षा कर रहे हैं, उन्होंने माओवादियों की तर्ज पर खुद ही हथियार संभाल लिये⁹ यद्यपि मधेशी आंदोलन से जुड़े लगभग दो दर्जन सशस्त्र गिरोहों के पास माओवादियों की भांति हथियार और गोला-बारूद का विशाल भंडार नहीं है, फिर भी जिस प्रकार अब तक हुए विभिन्न संघर्षों में माओवादियों को क्षति उठानी पड़ी है जिससे यह बोध होता है कि मधेशियों में जोश और जज्बा का स्तर काफी ऊँचा है।¹⁰ लेकिन, नेपाल में सत्ता के गलियारे का मन-मिजाज बदला है। भूल के आधार पर भेद-भाव और टकराव की राजनीति से बाहर आकर आपसी सहमति और विश्वास के पथ पर कदम बढ़े हैं। नागरिकता, समान अधिकार, सांसद में प्रतिनिधित्व और राज्यों के गठन जैसे मुद्दों को सुझाने और भारत से संबंध मजबूत करने को इच्छा शक्ति वर्षों बाद नज़र आ रही है। अपनी दूसरी पारी में पुष्प-कमल दहाल प्रचण्ड के नए अवतार और उन्हें नेपाली काँग्रेस का साथ मिलने से राह अब भी आसान नहीं है। मधेशियों, थारूओं, दलितों, अल्पसंख्यकों और महिलाओं का दिल जीतने के लिए प्रचण्ड सरकार द्वारा लाए गए संविधान संशोधन प्रस्तावों को कड़े विरोध का सामना भी करना पड़ रहा है। भारत विरोध की धूरी पर एमाले (एकीकृत माओवादी-लेनिनवादी) ने आठ छोटे दलों का मोर्चा बनाकर संशोधन प्रस्तावों को चुनौती दी है। प्रचण्ड सरकार के पास बहुमत तो है, लेकिन संशोधन प्रस्तावों को पारित कराने के लिए अपेक्षित दो तिहाई बहुमत नहीं है।

नेपाल के एक दशक तक चले माओवादी गुरिल्ला युद्ध के जनक रहे प्रचण्ड की पहचान भारत विरोधी की रही है। 2008 में जब पहली बार प्रधानमंत्री बने तो उनका तेवर कुछ और ही था। वे खुद मानते भी हैं कि उस समय क्रांति और युद्ध का मेरे दिमाग पर गहरा असर था। राजनीति के मिजाज को अच्छी तरह समझने के लिए उन्हें समय चाहिए था। बीते 4 महीने के उनके इस छोटे कार्य-काल ने यह दिखा दी। प्रधानमंत्री बनने के ठीक एक महीने बाद वे दिल्ली

यात्रा पर आए। इधर उन्होंने कई ऐसे कदम उठाए हैं जिन्होंने बदले हालात का संकेत दिए हैं। उन्होंने भारत से संबंध बेहतर करने तो दूसरी तरफ देश के अंदर मधेशियों और थारूकों के असंतोष के संवैधानिक प्रावधानों में संशोधन की पहल की है। इसी का नतीजा है कि लंबे अरसे के बाद नेपाल की तराई इलाके में अमन चैन है और लोगों की आँखों में उम्मीद जगी है।

नेपाल बीते ढाई दशक से अशांति और राजनीति अस्थिरता से जूझाता रहा है। राजशाही के अंत के बाद वहाँ अबतक कोई ऐसी सरकार नहीं बनी है जो अपनी कार्यकाल पूरी कर सकी हो। आठ साल पहले 2008 वहाँ पहली संविधान सभा के अस्तित्व में आने के साथ राजशाही की औपचारिक विदाई हो गई। हलाँकि संविधान सभा के गठन के बाद भी स्थिरता नेपाल के हिस्से में नहीं आई है। पहले संविधान सभा संविधान नहीं दे पाई। जबकि इसके कार्यकाल का दो बार एक-एक साल के लिए विस्तार भी हुआ। दूसरी संविधान सभा के गठन के तीन साल ही हुए हैं और इस तीन साल में नेपाल ने तीन प्रधानमंत्री और दो राष्ट्रपति देख लिए। 20 सितम्बर 2015 को 67 साल बाद नेपाल का नया संविधान पारित हुआ। उस समय शुशील कार्दाला प्रधानमंत्री और रामवरण यादव राष्ट्रपति थे। कोईराला 10 फरवरी 2014 को प्रधानमंत्री बने और 15 अक्टूबर को वहाँ तख्ता पलट हो गई। इनके बाद के.पी. शर्मा ओली प्रधानमंत्री बने और 03 अगस्त 2016 को उनकी भी विदाई हो गई। प्रचण्ड ने 14 अगस्त को बागडोर संभाली है। नया संविधान पारित होते ही इसके प्रावधानों के खिलाफ बड़े हिस्सों हिंसा, प्रदर्शन, धरना का दौर शुरू हो गया था। नए संविधान से वहाँ के मधेशियों, थारूओं, दलितों और अल्पसंख्यकों को अपना वजूद खतरे में नज़र आने लगा। पुलिस को कई स्थानों पर गोलियाँ चलानी पड़ी। कोईराला ने विरोध के इस ताप को महसूस किया था और मधेशी दलों से बात-चीत कर समाधान निकालने की पहल भी शुरू की। नए संविधान पारित होने के बीस दिन बाद ही उनकी विदाई हो गई। उनके हटने के बाद के.पी. शर्मा ओली के तेवर न रहीं। सही उम्मीदें भी खत्म कर दी। इस अर्थ में प्रचण्ड ने न केवल गंभीर पहल की है बल्कि वह अपने स्टैण्ड पर कायम भी है।

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